DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1945-46.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXIV.

EDITOR:
R. C. REID

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

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

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1945—46.

19th OCTOBER, 1945.

Annual General Meeting.

Chairman—The PRESIDENT.

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The accounts of the Hon. Treasurer, showing a balance of £325 14s 2½d on Current Account and an increase in the Capital Account from £416 6s 9d to £490 10s, largely the result of the legacy of the late Mr Frank Miller, were approved; so also was the annual Report of the Secretary.

The list of Office-Bearers, 1945-6, proposed by the Council, was confirmed.

Mr Arthur B. Duncan then delivered his Presidential Address.

Birds of the Stewartry.

By the PRESIDENT.

In this address the President dealt with the changes that take place in the avi-fauna as the nature of the vegetation changes. Whereas young plantations are occupied by certain birds, these give place to others as the plantations grow, and later, when the trees are well-grown and thickly placed, another avi-fauna appears.

9th NOVEMBER, 1945.

Chairman—The PRESIDENT.

Notes on Roman Road through Annandale.

By JAMES ROBERTSON, B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E.

The earliest known roads in Dumfriesshire are those constructed by the Romans, no evidence nor records having yet been produced, so far as is known, of any pre-Roman roads which may have existed. Various excavations of Roman sites in the county already carried out have confirmed the presence of the Romans beyond all doubt, and much additional information of probable Roman locations has been obtained in recent years, especially from aerial photography. Lengthy portions of the principal Roman road through Annandale are still clearly visible mainly on the higher uncultivated ground, and these, together with certain other portions no longer visible, are indicated on the ordnance survey maps. The author has commenced investigations of the evidence still remaining of this route and of other Roman roads in the county with a view to confirming and, if possible, extending the map records already available. At this stage the progress made is yet of insufficient extent to merit the reproduction of the large-scale maps required to define the routes with reasonable accuracy, but, pending the completion of these, the following record of the information so far obtained is now given.

The original Roman road through Annandale dates from Agricola about A.D. 80 and would be used intermittently and possibly repaired and perhaps improved and re-aligned in places by his successors, until the end of the brief and spasmodic Roman occupations. On the ordnance survey it is shown entering the south-eastern corner of the county about 170 yards up-stream from Plump Bridge, which carries the present Longtown-Springfield road over River Sark. It then proceeds almost westwards, joining at the eastern end of the village the present main street through Springfield, and continues on a straight line by the present road to Headlesscross, where it deflects slightly north-westwards and

thereafter joins the present Carlisle-Glasgow main trunk road at Hill Toll House, which it follows to within a short distance of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Railway Station. It is then shown slightly south of the present main road and continues to Newton, where there is again a slight deflection of direction to the north-west. Immediately thereafter it crosses to the north side of the present main road and proceeds north-westwards to shortly east of Woodhouse, from which point it is unmarked on the ordnance survey.

The continuation of the preceding straight beyond Woodhouse crosses the present trunk road at Merkland Village and thereafter reaches Kirtlebridge and aligns with the straight portion, three-quarters of a mile in length, of the trunk road between Kirtlebridge and Galls Bridge (carrying the trunk road over the railway). This straight portion of the present road indicates the probable line of the route, and a further slight deflection north-westwards from Galls Bridge would complete the portion to the extensive Roman Station at Birrens. With the disturbance caused by the construction of the modern road and railway between Merkland and Birrens, it is possible that the evidence on the site of the actual line of the road may have been obliterated but corroboration of the route at Birrens itself may be obtained as exploration of that site advances. Codrington[1] mentions the road as proceeding by the south-west corner of Birrens Camp —where it appears to be 18 feet wide under a few inches of turf. It remains unmarked on the ordnance survey until about 1½ miles north-west of Birrens at West Gill Burn, and is then shown proceeding north-westwards, deflecting slightly past the southern edge of Burnswark and continuing to a point slightly north-east of Courstein, where it is also stated, from excavations made in 1894, as 18 feet wide with 6 inches camber.[2]

Under favourable weather conditions the portion between Burnswark and Courstein is still clearly visible on the ground. Directly on the line of the road, on the crest of a

1 "Roman Roads in Britain," p. 161.
2 "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," 1894, p. 309.

knoll approximately midway between Courstein and Mosshead, there is a small raised mound some 20 feet by 12 feet in extent, unmarked on the ordnance survey, which may be the location of a small Roman Post. Between Courstein two miles south-east of Lockerbie and Broomhills, 2½ miles north-west of Lockerbie, the road is unmarked on the ordnance survey. It is fairly evident on the ground, however, that the crossing of Water of Milk was at Drove Ford, as mentioned by Codrington. A portion of an old road, locally referred to as the old Drove Road, still exists from east of Courstein north-westwards towards Drove Ford. On the ground the Roman road appears to continue closely on the eastern side of this old road, the southern approach to Drove Ford, still visible, possibly being common to both of these roads.

Evidence of the actual location of the Roman road in the vicinity of Lockerbie may no longer remain, but the route continued via Lockerbie and Beckton to Gallaberry Fort, immediately east of Dryfeholm steading, where a lateral cross road proceeded westwards over River Annan past Woody Castle near Lochmaben, and thence by Amisfield to join in the vicinity of Carzield the Antonine Road up Nithsdale which has now been proved as far as Auldgirth and almost certainly enters Ayrshire.

The Annandale route is again marked on the ordnance survey proceeding almost due north from immediately south of Broomhills past the western side of the steading and later immediately east of Jardine Hall Mains and continuing with a slight deflection on a curved line to join the present main trunk road at Dinwoodie Green, which it follows, past Hangingshaw to Dinwoodie Lodge. It then leaves the present road and continues northwards along the water shed of the high ground between the trunk road and the public road east of same from Dinwoodie Lodge to Moffat, which was the former stage coach route. It deflects slightly east of north immediately south of Dalmakethar Burn and passes east of Dalmakethar Smithy and of the site of a fortlet north of same. A convenient crossing of River Annan lies

immediately ahead opposite Girthhead, but the line shown on the ordnance survey continues east of the river to join the Dinwoodie Lodge-Moffat road at a bend south of Girthhead, which it follows except for two slight diversions to the west of same immediately south of Newton Village and again between Stenrieshill House and Newbigging, where it ceases to be marked on the ordnance survey. This point is some 270 yards east of the River Annan.

Directly opposite, on the western side of Nether Murthat and about 400 yards west of River Annan, a continuation north-westwards of the route is shown on the ordnance survey, and this is accepted as undoubtedly the Roman road. The route above mentioned between Girthhead and Newbigging has not the typical direct alignment of a Roman road, and the exact crossing of the River Annan has not yet been established. Several locations for a crossing are available: one already mentioned opposite Girthhead; another near the present railway crossing at Broomhills; also there could have been a "square" crossing between Newbigging and Nether Murthat. The course of the river itself along this stretch may have appreciably altered since Roman times, and with the disturbance arising from the construction of the railway, evidence of the actual Roman crossing may no longer exist. It was hoped that information might have been available from the surveys taken at the original construction of the railway. These have now been examined by the author and are found to be lacking in this respect, however.

The route north-westwards from Nether Murthat proceeds by a straight line immediately east of Upper Murthat, then through Milton steading, and through the site immediately north of same where excavations on a series of forts upon the site long known as Tassieholm are now proceeding. Continuing on the same straight line it crosses Evan Water immediately north of Douglas Acre, and afterwards skirts the north-western corner of Coatshill Quarry and then coincides with a short section of the present public road immediately west of Chapel, the straight run continuing for

approximately 1¼ miles beyond Chapel, where there is a deflection to a more northerly direction. The line then continues, crossing Holehouselinn slightly to the east of a small circular sheep fold, and approximately 300 yards west of the bridge carrying the present Moffat-Edinburgh road over the Linn. The route then continues northwards and crosses the present Moffat-Edinburgh road south of Auldhousehill Bridge, the distance of this crossing on the ordnance survey being about 170 yards. The author found this distance on the ground to be rather less, at approximately 125 yards. The crossing of the watercourse immediately down-stream from Auldhousehill Bridge is unmarked on the ordnance survey but is clearly visible on the ground.

In October, 1945, the author excavated across the road slightly north of Holehouselinn (see fig 1), where an abnormal width of about 40 feet of construction was uncovered. This appeared to have a cambered carriageway of about 10 feet width flanked on the western side with a roughly paved surface of 16 feet width and with a further paved surface of about 14 feet on the eastern side and possibly containing a ditch. The paving material was of greywacke rubble from 3 ins. to 6 ins. size, obtainable in the locality, overlying a greyish blue silty clay which was present for some 2 feet depth over the underlying natural rock. The abnormal width of construction at this place was possibly adopted in view of the soft nature of the subsoil.

From Auldhousehill bridge northwards the line no longer continues on the long straights of the preceding alignment but winds appreciably owing to the contours of the adjoining hilly ground. It re-crosses to the western side of the modern road at the same point as the former stagecoach route from Moffat, both of these old roads then proceeding up the steep ascent along the western edge of Ericstane Height. The Roman road rises to a slightly higher elevation than the stagecoach road and continues west of the latter until slightly south of Hassock Well, where it crosses to the east of the stagecoach road. The ordnance survey only shows the route of the stagecoach road along this section, which is rather

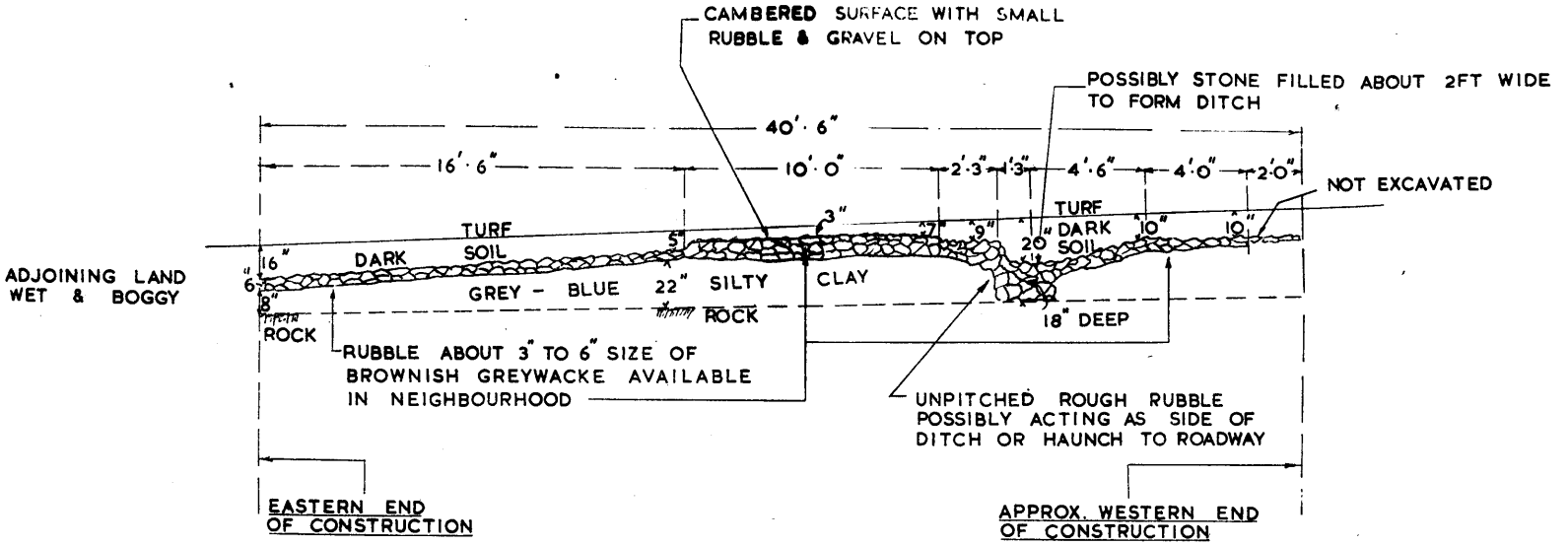


Fig. 1.

CROSS SECTION

remarkable as both roads are equally prominent on the ground, and are both shown from Hassock Well northwards. From this latter point the Roman road again follows a slightly higher elevation than the stagecoach road and is generally some 200 yards east of same and crosses by a ford the small water course of March Burn which forms the county boundary between Dumfriesshire and Lanarkshire. The approaches to this are still distinctly visible on the ground.

Some 400 yards down-stream from same there still exists the remains of the rubble masonry abutments of the stone arch bridge which carried the stagecoach route over March Burn. About 800 yards east of the Roman crossing both roads again coincide and follow the same route to the next water crossing of Redshaw Burn, after which they again diverge. On the southern side of the road and immediately east of Redshaw Burn a small fortlet is visible. Throughout this section both roads are now similar in appearance except that the stagecoach road is generally somewhat broader than the Roman road. Also, there are pits at intervals from which materials would be taken for road construction, and one of these actually penetrates through the Roman road and therefore provides a ready means of distinguishing the more recent road, which elsewhere is sometimes difficult owing to the present similarity in appearance.

As has been mentioned by other writers on old roads, the appearance of the vegetation along these old routes is striking on the higher uncultivated ground, bright green moss being prominent on soft wet ground, where defects in the original road drainage system now cause an undue accumulation of water, while at other places the vegetation has a dried and somewhat withered appearance compared to that on the adjoining land, owing to the additional drainage provided by the road construction itself. In general the road surface throughout these hill lands is now covered by vegetation to a depth of some 6 to 12 inches but can be readily found by use of a probing bar. The usual side ditches are in evidence where required for drainage purposes, and while further excavation is required to establish the actual widths of con-

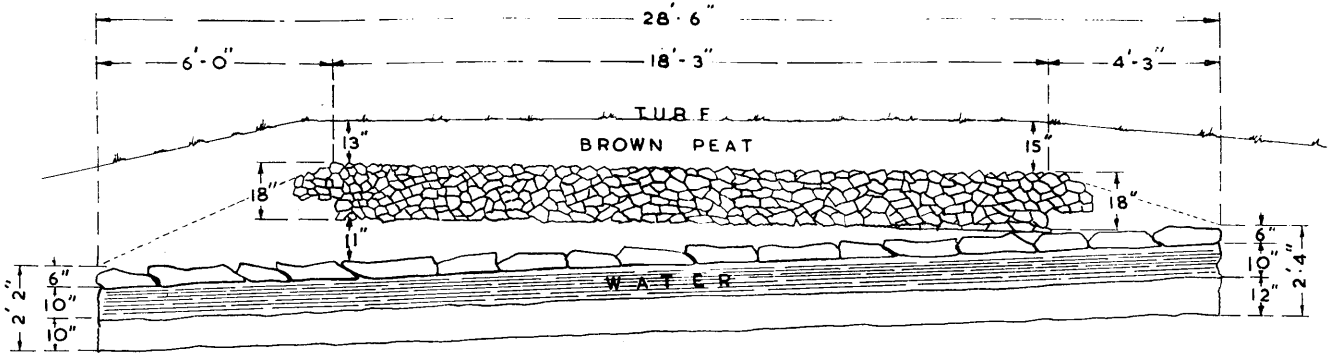
struction, this is stated from excavations made in 1893 as being 21 feet wide on Chapel Hill and 15 feet wide about one mile farther south on Coates Hill, both in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Juxta.[3]

OLD CULVERT ON FORMER STAGECOACH ROUTE AT ANNANHEAD MOSS.

The author has been tracing with interest certain of the former stagecoach routes in the county which are shown on maps published about 1775 and subsequent years and appear to be copies of the surveys made by Taylor and Skinner. The former Glasgow-Carlisle route is that above mentioned as being in close proximity to the Roman road north-west of the Beef Tub. This road was joined at the southern end of Annanhead Moss and immediately west of Ericstane Height by the Edinburgh-Dumfries stagecoach road, the joint road then proceeding to Moffat before again diverging. Immediately west of the junction of these two roads at the southern end of Annanhead Moss, the Glasgow road is slightly embanked across a slight declivity. The adjoining ground was heavily waterlogged and the surface water drainage from Annanhead Moss passed across the surface of the road.

In October, 1946, the author had excavations carried out at this place to confirm whether a culvert had originally been provided to carry the drainage from Annanhead Moss southwards across the road. The excavations disclosed a dry-stone rubble masonry culvert at about 3 feet 6 inches depth below the ground surface at the southern edge of the road, and 2 feet 9 inches below the surface at the northern edge. The side walls were from 24-32 inches in thickness, about 22 inches deep, projecting 12 inches into the peat subsoil, and giving 10 inches depth of waterway. The width of waterway was 18 inches. Large rough flags some 3 feet in length by 15-27 inches broad and about 6 inches average thickness were used as roofing slabs. No paving was present in the bed of the waterway and no projection or scarcement was provided to the foundations of the side walls. The total length of the culvert was 28 feet 6 inches.

3 "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," 1894, p. 315.

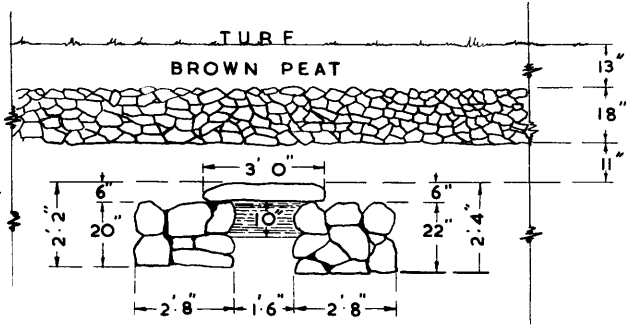


SECTION ALONG CULVERT

ROAD FORMATION 18" DEEP CONSISTING OF ANGULAR GREYWACKE UP TO 6" SIZE BOUND WITH REDDISH-YELLOW CLAY MATERIAL.

CULVERT COVERS APPROX. 6" THICK x 15"/27" WIDE.

ROUGH RUBBLE ABUTMENTS OF GREYWACKE UP TO 32" THICK.



SECTION ACROSS CULVERT

EXCAVATED - OCT 1946

Fig. 2.

At the southern edge the road crust was 13 inches below ground surface and continued for 18 inches depth, and thereafter there was 11 inches depth of filling material between the underside of the road surface and the roof of the culvert. A surprising feature was that this filling material consisted of soft peat similar to the adjoining subsoil. Under modern practice a hard gravel or similar strong material would have been used for such a purpose. The soft peat in this case would probably be that excavated in the construction of the watercourse, and may have been intentionally adopted for filling to give a cushioning effect from the peat and turfs excavated. No peat filling material was present at the inlet end, the underside of the road crust coinciding with the roof of the culvert at that point (see detailed sketch, fig. 2).

From excavations in the adjoining roadway it was proved that no brushwood or similar rafting construction had been adopted under the road crust over the soft peat subsoil. It was anticipated that a rafting construction might be present, but its absence may explain the increased depth of 18 inches of road crust which was used. The stone used for the culvert construction was of greywacke similar to that available in the locality. The larger roof flags were also of greywacke but possibly from a more distant source than the smaller material used for the side walls. The road crust, about 19 feet wide, consisted of angular stones up to 6 inches size bound together with a reddish yellow "clayey" material. The whole structure of the culvert was found to be in thoroughly sound condition but was completely blocked at the inlet end and therefore could not function, hence the waterlogged condition of the road.

It was of considerable interest to find that in the material blocking the mouth of the culvert there was a very large number of broken bottles, which may indicate a nearby site of an inn or halt. This particular route for Glasgow to Moffat traffic would be abandoned about 1808 after the first improvement of the present road down Evan Water had been completed.

30th NOVEMBER, 1945.

Chairman—The PRESIDENT.

Spitzbergen and Greenland.

By Professor JOHN WALTON.

The Regius Professor of Botany at the University of Glasgow gave this lantern lecture, based on his own experiences many years ago.

Further Note on the Garrocher Urn.

By R. B. K. STEVENSON, M.A., Keeper of Museum of Antiquities.

Whilst in the Cardiff Museum in September I saw two vessels with small holes below the rims which at once reminded me of Garrocher Urn, illustrated in your *Transactions* (Vol. XXIII., p. 138). I see that in his comments Professor Childe did not adduce any examples of this feature.

One Welsh vessel came from Culver Hole, Gower, Glamorganshire, a cave containing a number of vessels of Bronze Age character, but probably of somewhat later date (*Museum Catalogue*, No. 455). The other was a squarish cinerary urn very similar to the Garrocher Urn in shape (height, 209 m.; mouth diameter, 195 m.), with internally bevelled rim, found with burnt bones in Crug-coy Barrow, Llanarth, Cardiganshire (*Museum Catalogue*, No. 435. Coastal connection between Wales and Creetown is certainly possible. It would be worth while to make a thorough search in West Coast local Museums for further specimens.

Note on Burial Cist at Mouswald.

By Dr. T. R. BURNETT.

LOCUS.

One inch to a mile Ordnance Map, Sheet 88, Ref. 544964—or, more exactly, Road from Breconrae to Mouswald Place, 80 yards south of field gate at which Breconrae Burn crosses the road, and 17 yards measured into the field westwards from the fence.

The field which contains the site is large and level generally, but the cist was found on a slight mound a few feet in height, which may be wholly or partly artificial. The ground is stony, and in the course of cultivation many large stones have been extracted and in several places the live rock has been exposed.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE SUBSTANCE OF INTERVIEWS WITH MR WILLIAM WALLACE.

On 6th April, 1946, he was working the field with a tractor when the implement struck a stone which brought it to a standstill. On being uncovered, this stone was found to be large and flat, and it was decided to follow the usual practice and remove it. On being lifted, the stone was found to be covering an oblong chamber, in which was a vessel " like a flower pot " standing mouth upwards[1] and containing burnt bones. As the urn was being lifted it fell into pieces and dust, and the fragments were scattered by children. The bones mostly fell to powder. There was about a foot of earth above the cover stone, and the chamber was not silted up. The finder thought the pot bore " flower-like " incisions, but admitted that these might have been a herring-bone pattern.

. . . . . .

A presumed fragment of the urn was found on the road, having been crushed by the wheels of a vehicle. From this it appears that the urn was of a reddish terra-cotta colour. Some portions of bone were also recovered and

[1] Mr Wallace's recollection on this point is not too clear.

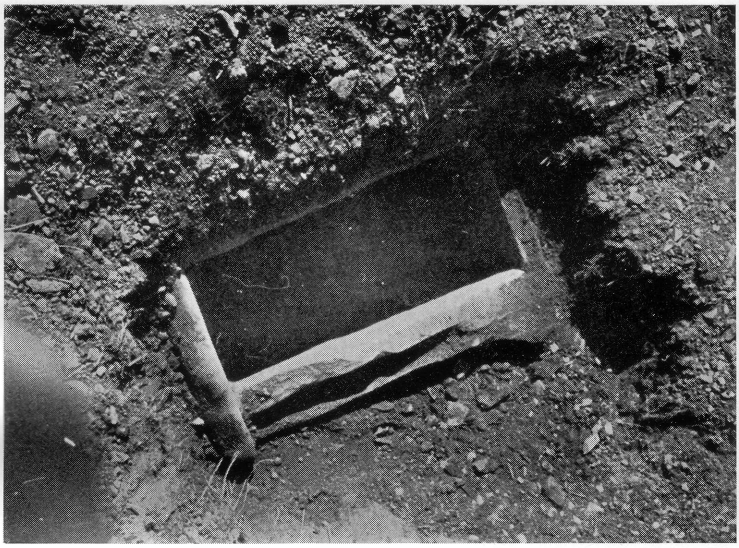
were identified by Dr. Roemmele, Breconrae, as (1) head of femur; (2) portion of tibia; and (3) fragment of scapula.

MEASUREMENTS AND DESCRIPTION.

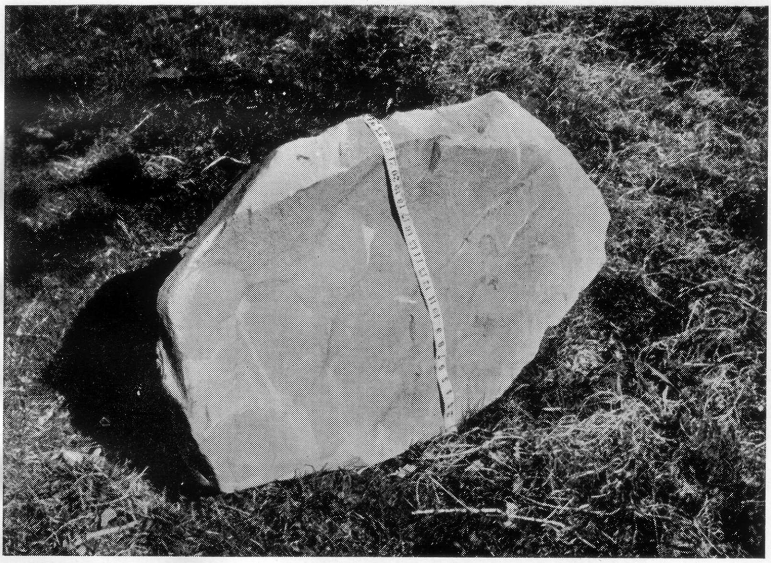
The cist is rectangular, in horizontal section, and measures 24 inches by 10 inches at the top and 24 inches by 15 inches at the presumed floor, which is of the natural till, there being no base stone. It is 15 inches deep. The increased measurement across the bottom is due to the fact that the side stones slope towards each other at the top. This inclination may have been brought about by the lateral pressure of the surrounding earth, to which there is no structural resistance. The average thickness of the four enclosing stones and of the cover stone is about 4 inches. The inside surfaces are fairly smooth—probably cleavage planes—and show no signs of tooling. The ends of the side wall stones have been cut off square, allowing the end stones to butt against them to make close joints. The top edges of all four wall-stones are approximately level, and as the cap stone has maximum measurements of 39 inches by 24 inches there is ample coverage. All the stones appear to be of the local silurian rock. The longer axis of the cist lies almost exactly in an east and west line. While many stones in the field bear glacial striae, the scratches on the cap stone are due to the plough or to the tools used in its removal.

. . . . . .

The stones were marked and numbered in situ, and were later removed to the Burgh Museum, Dumfries, with a view to reconstruction and preservation.



Urn Burial Cist at Breconrae.



Cover stone of Breconrae Cist.

Anwoth Old Kirk.

By Major-General Sir ANDREW J. M'CULLOCH, K.B.E., C.B., of Ardwall.

Although Anwoth Old Kirk dates only from 1627, as may be seen from the date on the west gable, Anwoth has had its church from very early times, and it is suspected that the site of the present ruin is also that of an earlier building, its predecessor. This suspicion received some support from the discovery in the Churchyard, at the close of the last century, of a slab of grey stone, described in the Ancient and Historical Monuments Commission Report, on which is inscribed a rudely shaped cross and which is thought to be of considerable antiquity.

The Church of Anwoth is first mentioned in the 12th century, when one, David, the son of Terri, granted the Church of Anwoth and the Chapel of Culenes (*sic* for Cardinnes) to the Abbey of Holyrood.[1] David, or perhaps his father, was one of that numerous band of Anglo-Normans from Cumberland who crossed the Solway into Galloway, probably at the invitation of the early Lords of Galloway, and received grants of land for services rendered, leaving as evidence to this day of their residence in Galloway, motehills on the lands so obtained. David's mote is doubtless that known as the Green Tower Mote, immediately behind the farm of Boreland of Anwoth.

It is just possible that the above ancient slab inscribed with a cross that stands within the old kirk may be a memorial to David, son of Terri, or some member of that family. The late W. G. Collingwood, in his *Early Crosses of Galloway*, said it must date from about 1100 (D. and G. *Transactions*, 1922-3, 229).

Records of Anwoth Church in these early years are, however, scanty, and the next mention of it is not until 1539, when Alexander M'Culloch of Cardiness was involved in litigation over the "teinds and fruits of the Kirk of Anwoth."[2] The same Alexander was also accused of a

[1] "Holyrood Charters," pp. 39-40.
[2] A.D.C. et Sess. XII., 108.

vicious attack on one Henry Cairns, whom he seriously wounded within the actual sanctuary of Anwoth Church. A local assize acquitted him of the offence, but the acquittal was so manifestly unjust that the Justice Ayre reviewed it, placed the erring assize on trial, and delivered the person of Alexander M'Culloch into ward in charge of the Captain of Edinburgh Castle.[3]

Of the pre-Reformation clergy of Anwoth, the names of only a few have survived. In 1432 William de Kirkcaldy, perpetual vicar of the parish, was old and unable to serve the cure in person. Under pressure from Alexander, Bishop of Whithorne, he resigned the vicarage reluctantly, not into the hands of the Bishop but of the Pope. The Bishop at once collated to the vicarage his personal chaplain, Stephen Forest. But the Pope claimed that the living had been resigned into his hands and he therefore had the right of filling the vacancy. The Pope assigned it to Alexander de Kynglassy, priest of the diocese of Dunkeld, and issued a mandate to the Provost of Lincluden to annul the Bishop's collation.[4] The next recorded vicar was Dom. John Fraser, who in 1465 received Royal Letters declaring him innocent of complicity in the crimes of James of Douglas, a thief.[5] In 1511 Dom. Michael Lowiesoun, vicar of Anwoth, received a Crown protection,[6] and when in 1539 Dom. John Schaw, vicar, died, the Crown gifted all his goods and effects to George Gordon, seeing that they pertained to the Crown by reason of escheat of bastardy.[7] Schaw was succeeded by Dom. John Acarsane, who as vicar witnessed a charter on 25th July, 1543[8] By 1558 Mr Malcolm M'Culloch was the vicar,[9] and lived through the Reformation changes. In 1575 he gave a lease to George M'Culloch, his son, for 19 years of all the

3 "Pitcairn," I., 218-219.
4 "Papal Letters," VIII., 472.
5 "R.M.S.," 1424-1513, 823.
6 "R.S.S.," I., 2264.
7 "R.S.S.," II., 3079.
8 "R.M.S.," 1513-46, 2946.
9 "R.M.S.," 1546-80, 1333.

vicarage lands,[10] adhered to the ancient faith, and resided at Craigdow in Glasserton parish, on which he may have held a wadset.[11] Though vicar, he did not at first serve the cure of the parish. The Reformed Church appointed in 1563 James Wylie as " reader " at Anwoth, who received a salary of £12.[11a] In 1571 Alexander Young was appointed as " exhorter "— a somewhat higher grade than a " reader " —at a salary of £20, but was either dead or removed within a year.[11a] For in 1572 Mr Malcolm M'Culloch, by this time perhaps more reconciled to the Reformed Faith, became reader at Anwoth, thus retaining to himself the third of the pre-Reformation emoluments of the benefice due to the Reformed ministry, which as vicar he had not paid since 1566.[11a] On the death of Mr Malcolm M'Culloch the Crown on 17th January, 1577, presented to the vicarage of Annat (sic) Elias M'Culloch, and directed the Commissioners of the Kirk to try his qualifications.[11b] He had previously been reader of Balmaclellan from 1563-72,[11c], and may only have officiated at Anwoth for a brief space. On 13th June, 1586, he was presented by the Crown to the vicarage pensionary of the Kirk of Kells, vacant by decease of Schir Donald Mure.[11d]

In 1578 the above George M'Culloch, who had married the heiress of Torhous, as tacksman of the vicarage, had a lawsuit with David Murray, a youth, who was son of Charles Murray of Cokpule, as to whom the teinds of the parish were to be paid by the parishioners.[12] George lost his case.[13] David had been presented in 1577, was deprived of all the functions of the ministry in 1585,[14] became Sir David

10 " Acts and Decreets," Vol. 80. f. 74.

11 He married Margaret Hamilton, and died in December, 1577 (" Edinburgh Tests ").

11a MS. Collector's Accounts at Register House.

11b " R.S.S." of date.

11c M.S. Collector's Accounts.

11d " R.S.S." of date.

12 " Acts and Decreets," Vol. 74, f. 106.

13 " Acts and Decreets," Vol. 86, f. 294.

14 " Fasti."

Murray of Clonyard,[15] and was succeeded by his brother, Robert Murray, who became Reader about 1578, and was formally presented to the vicarage on his brother's deprivation in 1585-6.[16]

There are no further known records of this early Anwoth Church, and one can only hazard the guess that it fell into disuse and decay at the time of the Reformation. Possibly the fabric of its ruins was used in the building of its successor. This, as we have seen, occurred in 1627. At that time, in the words of the parishioners of Anwoth,[17] their "soules were under that miserable extreame femine of ye word that (they) had onlie ye puir help of ane sermone everie second Sabboth by reason of ane most inconvenient union with uther twa Kirkis" — namely, Kirkdale and Kirkmabreck. To remedy this lamentable state of affairs, the church was built and a minister provided. He proved to be the illustrious Samuel Rutherford, in whose reflected glory Anwoth has so long basked, and whose memorial monument is such a feature of the parish.

It is unnecessary here to give details of the well-known career of Rutherford: it is sufficient to record that he spent 12 years at Anwoth, during two of which he was deposed on account of certain writings, unpopular with his Bishop, Sydserff, and confined at Aberdeen. He left the parish for work of greater importance, only under the most earnest protest, both by himself and his devoted parishioners. Anwoth thereafter lapsed into that peaceful rural seclusion, which it has always enjoyed, and which, it is to be hoped, it always will.

There is little further, therefore, of historical interest to relate, though the occasion may perhaps be taken of correcting a minor error of local history. Both Nicholson and Sir Herbert Maxwell, who no doubt followed him, in their *Histories of Galloway*, state, in discussing smuggling

15 "Scots Peerage," I., 224.

16 "ibid."

17 Petition of the parishioners of Anwoth against the departure of Mr Samuel Rutherford.

on the Solway, and to demonstrate that all classes were involved in the " fair trade," that in 1767 the Reverend Robert Carson, minister of Anwoth, was deprived of his living on account of his activities in this direction. The facts are that in 1762 the reverend gentleman was charged at the instance of a number of his parishioners with lewd and lascivious conduct. He defended himself, and after protracted proceedings succeeded in clearing himself before the General Assembly.[18] One of his defences was that the charge was made against him only in spite, on account of his strongly discouraging attitude to the smugglers. He was still minister of Anwoth at his death in 1769.[19]

The old kirk survived in use for some 200 years, when the present church was built. Dr. Chalmers recorded in 1826: " Went first to his (Rutherford's) church: the identical fabric he preached in. The floor is a causeway. There are dates of 1628 and 1633 on some old carved seats. The pulpit is the same, and I sat in it. It is smaller than Kilmany, and very rude and simple. The church bell is said to have been given him by Lady Kenmure, one of his correspondents in his ' Letters.' It is singularly small for a church, having been the Kenmure house bell. We then passed to the new church that is building: but I am happy to say the old fabric and Rutherford's pulpit are to be spared. It is a cruel circumstance that they pulled down (and that only 3 weeks ago) his dwelling-house and his old manse. . . . It should have been spared. Some of the masons who were ordered to pull it down refused it, as they would an act of sacrilege, and have been dismissed from their employment."[20]

Fifty years later, in 1876, Gilmour recorded in his *Life of Rutherford*: " As one stands inside the ivy-clad ruin, it is not difficult even now to fill in the main features of the picture as they must have presented themselves to a worshipper two centuries and a half ago—the door by which

18 " W.S. Library Session Papers," 588, 2.
19 " Fast. Ecc. Scot," Vol. II.
20 " Life of Dr. Chalmers " (Hanna).

Rutherford entered the oaken pulpit with the spacious oval window behind it, shedding in streams of light upon his Bible: the spot in front of the pulpit where the pastor used to stand on high sacramental occasions, surrounded by his elders and with the Communion Table before him covered with 'fine linen clean and white,' to dispense to his flock the symbols and pledges of his redeeming love: the galleries at either extremity of the house which were occupied by the titled families and principal proprietors of Anwoth . . .: and, lining every other part of the sacred edifice, the densely packed seats of the farmers and tenants, who sat, listening for hours to Rutherford's melting eloquence and were often raised above themselves by the almost seraphic strains of his adoration and prayer."

With this picture we may take leave of the old kirk of Anwoth, but we cannot do so without at least a reference to some of the tombstones in the kirkyard. Of these, much the most interesting, of course, is that commemorating the Covenanting martyr, John Bell of Whiteside, who was barbarously shot at the command of "Bloody Lag" in 1685. It is unnecessary to say more, for the inscriptions on this and other stones are given in full in the Ancient and Historical Monuments Commission Report, where, it may be added, they are much more readily legible than on the original stones!

Rusco Castle.

By R. C. Reid.

It is so many years since this Society visited Rusco Castle that I have been unable to trace any record of it. But shortly after the Great War we came here, and I can remember speaking. After the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century it is high time we came here again.

In those days it was possible to climb all over the Castle—only the attic floor was missing when the Ancient Monuments Commission reported on it in 1914. Much has happened to the fabric since then, and to-day it is not safe to explore the upper structure. Glasgow evacuees are mainly responsible for this condition. From the battlements they threw down slates torn from the roofing, letting the wind and the weather into the interior. They climbed up and got through windows, they broke down the doors, and a gale completed their handiwork by lifting off part of the roof, which fell inwards, bringing down with it the second floor. The debris still lies where it fell. It is not now possible to inspect the fine hall on the first floor, so a description of the interior can be abbreviated.

In many respects Rusco Castle conforms to the architectural concept of its neighbour, Cardiness Castle. Like Cardiness, it is honeycombed with small intra-mural chambers—sure index to the date of the edifice. Both belong to the 15th century and must have been erected late in that century—else we would have expected its entrance to have been on the first floor.

The entrance door is in the middle of the east side of the tower, and is somewhat unusual in form. The arch-head is almost straight, and is formed of joggled archstones, being rounded at the corners. Two similar joggled arches are to be seen on the west side of the courtyard to Caerlaverock Castle. Over the doorway is a panel containing two coats-of-arms, one above the other. The upper one is the royal arms of Scotland, beneath a crown, with sup-

porters. I cannot suggest why these arms should be displayed at Rusco, but the Gordon family seems to have had a penchant for the royal arms—as they figure in a much larger and better preserved panel at Craichlaw Castle. The lower shield has been almost obliterated by weathering. Of its quartering, only the second quarter can be dimly discerned, three objects resembling crescents being visible. It must be assumed that another quarter contained the Gordon arms—three boars' heads. In the corners of the panel have been lettering, which to-day looks more like numerals, though one of them seems clearly to be a G.

On entering, one passes into an intra-mural passage 4 feet wide, running the length of the front of the tower—the section to the right of the entrance being used as a mural guard-room with two recesses in its walls and a narrow window to the front. At the other end of this passage is the wheel staircase to the upper floors, which is protected by an inner doorway at the foot of the stairs. An almost identical design was adopted at Cardiness. Also opening from this passage is the entrance to the gloomy vaulted ground floor, which has in its south-west angle a circular recess in the thickness of the main walls, opening some 4 feet above the floor level, which also is a feature of Cardiness. It is not known what purpose these circular recesses fulfilled.

The vaulting of the basement is very high, and served to roof an intermediate floor of wood, now missing, creating an entresol in the upper part of the ground floor, entered from the wheel stair, the entrance being long ago built up. The only light to this entresol was provided from a narrow window at the north end which was completely blocked when a 17th century annexe was built on to the tower on that side. The removal of the entresol flooring and the building up of its access door must therefore date from this addition to the building. An exactly similar arrangement is to be seen at Cardiness.

Ascending the stair to the first floor, one finds two intra-mural chambers, each with a recess in the end wall and

a narrow window to the exterior. The south chamber has a trap in the floor, which is the only access to the dark dungeon beneath it. With some modification the design at Cardiness has again been followed.

The whole of the first floor was used as a fine hall, 25 ft. 6 in. x 16 ft. 6 in., and has a large fireplace on the east wall, with moulded jambs, caps, and bases. It is provided with several mural chambers and stone seats on the ingoes of the windows. But it is not possible now to inspect this room owing to the fallen superstructure.

The parapet walk is paved with stone flags in the ordinary way, the water being carried off by numerous stone spouts, and the projecting parapet is supported by a double row of stone-moulded corbels placed chequerwise. An unusual feature of the exterior may be noted. The larger windows are protected by splayed and weathered projections of stone in order to throw the rain off the walls at these points.

The outside measurements of this tower are 38 ft. 6 in. x 29 ft., and it is almost 50 ft. high, the thickness of the walls varying from 6 to 8 ft. The corresponding measurements at Cardiness are 43 ft. x 32 ft. and 53 ft. high with walls 8 ft. thick.

Until almost 1900 this tower was still lived in, being occupied by a shepherd, who seems to have lived on the first floor—in the baronial hall, which has modern lath and plaster work. As long as it was so inhabited it must have been kept wind and water tight, as there is evidence of modern pointing of the masonry of the superstructure. But once it was unoccupied it was neglected and speedily reached its present condition. At one moment just before the war there was hope of complete restoration. An American took a fancy to the Tower and employed a well-known Edinburgh architect to restore it. But before the negotiations were complete the war broke out and nothing more has been heard of the proposal. Even now it is still capable of restoration. The walls and main structure still stand, strong and intact, and in spite of its many intra-mural chambers—

always a source of weakness—it exhibits none of the usual fissures that appear in such old buildings. Whoever was the builder, he did not build in vain.

At the northern end of the tower has been built on a typical 17th century addition, and the austerity of the previous century was forsaken for the greater comfort of the extension—now in a very ruinous condition. It consisted of two floors, the ground floor being divided into three apartments, with an entrance to the east or front. Projecting on the west or back side is a square tower which has contained a wheel stair to the upper floor. On the ground floor access was obtained to the old tower by a door roughly hacked through the north wall at ground level. This 17th century house is now used as a cattle shelter.

From an architectural standpoint this castle can be placed late in the 15th century, but I think it is possible to be a bit more precise in its date. The Inventory of the Historical Monuments Commission attributes Cardiness to that latter half of the 15th century, and it is pretty evident from what we know of the history of the M'Cullochs of Cardiness, that it was James M'Culloch of Cardiness who built that castle about the year 1480 largely out of his lucrative curatorship of his son-in-law, Alexander M'Clellan of Gelston, a natural idiot. The mental affliction of one family can be the profitable opportunity of another.

Now it is quite evident that whoever was the builder of Cardiness must also have been the controlling spirit in the erection of Rusco. The same man must have designed them both; indeed, he may have gone straight from the one job to the other. We cannot even guess at his identity, but he made a good job of both. A parallel can be found in Dumfriesshire in the towers of Amisfield and Eshieshields.

And so when Robert Gordon, who was to become heir to the Lochinvar estates, married the heiress of the lands of Rusco in or before 1494, his first action was to build this tower and inscribe over its doorway the arms of his

wife and presumably his own. And it was only natural that he should employ the master builder who had recently completed Cardiness Castle.

As a place-name Rusco first appears with the advent of Robert Gordon. Its original form (1575) was Ruschew.[1] The site was part of the estate of Glen or Glenskyreburn, which in 1494 belonged to John Acarsane of the Glen, who that year resigned the lands of Glenskyreburn and Over Polincrie in favour of Robert Gordon, son of John Gordon of Lochinvar, and his wife, Mariota Acarsane, daughter of John and of Isabella Vans, his wife.[2] John Acarsane can never have lived in this tower, but he may have resided on the Mote of Polincrie, for that early form of residence was still in use at the commencement of the 16th century. His lands cannot have been extensive, and there is no very clear evidence that he held them direct of the Crown. He certainly was not in a position of sufficient importance to warrant a castle of this size. He was dead by November, 1504,[3] when his widow claimed the liferent of the lands under the Crown Charter of 1494. But it was proved in court that, though the liferent was reserved to her by the charter, yet since her husband's death she had never been in possession or residence; that Robert Gordon and his wife had been in possession and was then at the horn, so the lands were in the hands of the Crown till his relaxation or pardon.[4] That is all that we know about Isabel Vans.

Robert Gordon on marriage took the designation first of Glen and then of Rusco. He is also sometimes referred to as Robert Acarsane of Glen. He was the eldest son of his father's second marriage. His elder brother, Sir Alexander Gordon, was well known in court circles as a gentleman of the Bedchamber and perished at Flodden, but Robert was more fortunate and was now heir male to Lochinvar. His father died in 1517, and at once Robert bought

1 "R.M.S.," 1513/46-58.
2 "R.M.S.," 1424/1513-2204.
3 "A.D.C.," XV., f. 209a.
4 "A.D.C.," XVI. f. 9 and 44.

out his niece's right to Lochinvar and was thereafter known as Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. Like most of his compeers, he was a turbulent character. When he wanted anything he was accustomed to take it. When he was in need of building materials he would help himself to a neighbour's house. It may even be that the original roof of Rusco Castle was so obtained. In January 1501/2 Robert Gordon appeared before the Lords of Council accused of destruction and casting down the house on the Crown lands of Kirkandrews and removal of the timbering and slates, for which the Crown claimed 1000 merks by way of damages. Robert tried to counter by claiming that the house belonged to him, an acquisition from the Laird of Garlies, but could not prove it; he also claimed to be feudal vassal of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, but that argument also did not impress the court. Unfortunately there is a break in the record, but Gordon must have had to make some restitution.[5]

Another early glimpse that we have of him is in connection with Rusco Castle.

John M'Culloch, a scion of the house of Cardiness and ancestor of Barholm, had purchased the marriage of Janet Porter, daughter of Walter Porter of Blacket, who had no heirs male. The Porters were an ancient and honourable family, but not of great standing. Blacket was a small estate, yet well worth acquiring. So also thought Robert Gordon. Having thus legally acquired the gift of her marriage, John M'Culloch married the lady herself, with her full consent. This was too much for Gordon, and within a year of her marriage he seized her person and carried her off to Rusco, where he incarcerated her, not allowing her to speak to anyone. M'Culloch was not powerful enough to effect a rescue, so he applied to the courts. Gordon declared she had never married M'Culloch, whom he charged with ravishing the lady, and Gordon applied pressure to her to persuade her "by circumvention or compulsion" to dispone her heritage to him. When, however, the case was called for hearing, Gordon did not appear and the Lords

5 "A.D.C.," XXVII., f. 151v., and XXVIII., f. 65.

of Council ordered him to deliver Janet to her husband forthwith.[6] It is not clear that the order was complied with, for not long afterwards the Gordons were possessed of the lands of Blacket.

For some time previous to 1523 Sir Robert Gordon had been litigating with the Agnews of Lochnaw. The Sheriff, Andrew Agnew, was a minor under the tutorship of his uncle, Mathew Agnew, and it occurred to Sir Robert that the simplest way of securing an end to the litigation in his own favour was to secure the person of the young Sheriff. So he carried him off to Rusco. He had some grounds for this action, as his daughter, Katharine Gordon, was the mother of the youthful Sheriff. Mathew Agnew, the tutor, at once charged Sir Robert to deliver up to him the person of the youthful Sheriff within three days, to which Sir Robert replied that the boy was in the keeping of his mother, who had placed him in the "scules in Dumfries." It is not recorded how the dispute ended.[6a]

With his elder brother, Sir Alexander, Robert Gordon was implicated in the murder of John Dunbar of Mochrum, *circa* 1503. Alexander, who was the principal offender, fled the country and Robert was put to the horn, during which period his estate was leased by the Crown to William Lennox of Calie.[7] In 1507, whilst still unrelaxed from the horn, he obtained a Crown protection to pass over to France,[8] and in 1511 he obtained complete remission for his share in the crime.[9] By 1516 he was knighted.[10]

Sir Robert Gordon died in 1524, being survived for some 12 years by his widow, Mariota Acarsane. Within a year she had married again, her second husband being Thomas M'Clellane of Bombie. As she was lady of Rusco in her own right, there may have been nothing to prevent

6 "A.D.C., XXVIII., f. 65.
6a "A.D.C.," XXXIII., f. 133.
7 "R.S.S., I., 1041.
8 "R.S.S.," I., 1644.
9 "R.S.S.," I., 2322.
10 "R.S.S.," I., 2814.

her leaving Rusco to the M'Clellanes and the castle built by Robert Gordon becoming another stronghold of Bombie. This incensed her eldest son, James Gordon of Lochinvar, so much that he decided to abduct her. Marion was in residence at Rusco, and was in control of all her first husband's effects, jewellery, and charters there. James Gordon feared all these would be transferred to Bombie. So with George M'Culloch, young Laird of Torhouse, and several other Gordons he seized Rusco, thus securing the effects. His mother he handed over to Robert Scott of Wamphray,[11] whom he caused transport her to the distant Borders, where she was kept a prisoner in the hands of Adam Scott of Tushielaw, a notorious Border ruffian, whose long career of outrage and wrong-doing was to terminate four years later on the gallows. M'Clellane at once appealed to the courts, and the case was heard on 26th June, 1526. In the hopes that concord might be reached between the parties, the court continued the case for 15 days.[12] But it was not concord that Lochinvar was seeking—it was revenge. Perhaps he thought the verdict of the court would be against him. At any rate that same afternoon, after the court had adjourned, deliberately, savagely, and in cold blood, but still as open enemies in the face of day, Lochinvar and his friends killed Thomas M'Clellane of Bombie in the High Street of Edinburgh. So terminated in tragedy the wedding bells and love feast of the Lady of Rusco Castle.

There is little more to tell of this tower. To the house of Lochinvar it was only of secondary importance. It became the residence of widowed ladies of Kenmure and of younger sons, and in the troublous times of the Covenant it was sold to a family named M'Guffok, who from small origins as tenant farmers in Mochrum parish by hard-headed shrewdness and dint of character acquired property, first in that parish and later at Rusco.

11 "A.D.C.," XXXV., f. 164. This entry and others following establish the unknown paternity of Robert Scott. He was son of Adam Scott of Tuschelaw ("ibid," XXXVI., f. 18).

12 "A.D.C.," XXXV., f. 181v., 183v., 198, and XXXVI., f. 18.

To-day the names of Acarsane and of Gordon alike cease to be of high importance in the Vale of Fleet.

> But. lo! a little ruined tower
> Erected by forgotten hands,
> Though once the abode of pride and power,
> Hard by the river's margin stands.
> Of old, the Lords of Lochinvar
> Here dwelt in peace, but armed for war;
> And Rusco Castle could declare
> That valiant chief and lady fair
> Had often wooed and wedded there.

So wrote the Rev. Dugald Williamson of Tungland in the *Rivers of Galloway* (1841).

Those who have now learnt something of those wooings and weddings can assess for themselves the poetic license used by the reverend author.

But I do not think there will be anyone in future to declare that this castle was " erected by forgotten hands."

14th DECEMBER, 1945.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Iona: the Nunnery, Chapels and Sculptured Stones.

By S. R. SKILLING, M.A.

A lantern lecture remarkable for its slides taken from photographs by the lecturer.

Some Letters of Captain James Gordon, last of Craichlaw.

By R. C. REID.

Captain James Gordon, the writer of these letters, was grandson and heir to William Gordon of Craichlaw, who died in 1705. His father was James Gordon, younger of Craichlaw, who died on 27th August, 1690, and therefore never succeeded to the estate, in which his father, William Gordon, was liferented. He had been implicated in the Rising of 1679 and the estate forfeited in 1680 and granted to Sir Theophilus Ogilthorpe. This forfeiture with others was annulled by Parliament in 1690, but the fee of the estate was left under a heavy burden of debt.[1] At the Revolution

[1] It is quite obvious that the financial position of the estate was very badly handled. A few papers in the Culvennan Charter chest makes this clear. About 1688 it was decided to purchase the right to the forfeiture of James Gordon, younger of Craichlaw, and £1200 was advanced by an Alderman Smith. In 1690 the Act Recissory was passed, which was a sufficient discharge against donators. So this sum was just wasted. Smith behaved very well, and agreed in 1699 to discharge the debt for £1000, but he was not repaid the principal and had to obtain a decreet of reduction of the agreement of 1699. At this stage Mr Crookshanks intervened, and seems to have taken over most of the debt, obtaining legal possession in 1708. At that date the interest due was greater than the debts. Combined they amounted to £25,582 Scots. By Whitsunday, 1729, after further advances to Gordon and liquidation of some of the smaller outstanding debts, the amount stood at £11,437 Scots—approximately £944 sterling. In 1724, perhaps without the knowledge of Crook-

[Continued foot of next page.

in the previous year James Gordon, yr., represented New-Galloway in the Scottish Parliament, and was appointed a cornet of horse for Wigtownshire, and the following year became a Captain in Viscount Kenmure's Regiment and a Commissioner of Supply. He married Janet, daughter of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, and had an only son, James Gordon, the writer of these letters.

Captain James Gordon, last of Craichlaw, succeeded his grandfather in 1705, having been appointed a Commissioner of Supply the previous year. But little else is known of him except that he wrote these letters. The estate was so heavily encumbered that nothing save a fortunate marriage or an unexpected windfall could have prevented its sale. These letters show how he tried first one and then the other, in vain. Not only was the estate sold, but he knew all too well

shanks, Gordon disponed Craighlaw to Patrick Crawford, younger of Auchinames, merchant in Edinburgh—which disposition Gordon afterwards represented "as elicite from me by fraud, at least extorted from me while in gaol and in the utmost misery, ready to comply with any terms, however disadvantageous, to gain me a present morsel of bread." In the litigation that followed the House of Lords set aside the conveyance subject to a charge on the lands for the money paid by Crawford. Patrick Crawford then endeavoured to get Crookshanks to concur in a dubious project on the estate of Craichlaw—which Crookshanks indignantly refused in a surviving letter of 23rd November, 1728. Gordon had been plunging in the South Sea Bubble: "I encouraged him [in his transactions in South Sea Stock] at first, allowed him stock at a price under current, was in advance about £4000 gratis, and more offering to retake the stock if he could not pay the money; and when afterwards he demanded more stock I refused to let him have the extent of his demand, and offered to retake the stock, allowing him 50% profit upon return of Post. But nothing less than 1500% could satisfy his expectations. He refused to let Major de Blanc what was purchased originally for him; he bought more stock of Mr Armour and a large sum of your late brother, Mr Thomas [Crawford], unknown to me, and would have run into deeper engagements if I had concurred; and he ran away from London in a hurry without staying, according to my advice, to dispose of his stock when every minute was liable to surprising alterations." Gordon had a high opinion of John Crookshanks — "a man of such notable and rare qualities" (p. 132).

from experience the horrors of a debtor's prison. To retrieve his fortunes on succession, he followed the example that many other impoverished Scots had shown in the previous century—a military career. They had entered foreign service in the Netherlands, or with the French or Gustavus Adolphus. His father had been in Kenmure's Regiment, a force raised by the 5th Viscount that fought under General Mackay at Killiecrankie (*Scots Peerage*, V., 124). But the son did not even enter a Scottish Regiment, but joined the 23rd Foot, which later was known as the Royal Welch Fusileers. The date of his commission is not recorded, but he was gazetted 2nd Lieutenant on 23rd February, 1709, in which year he was wounded at Malplaquet. He must have seen a few years' service before that battle. His name disappears from that Regimental list in 1715. He died on 24th November, 1734, without issue. What was left of the estate of Craichlaw, still heavily encumbered, passed to his nephew, Wm. Wallace of Craichlaw, who sold it to Wm. Hamilton of Ladyland, whose descendants still own Craichlaw.

Last summer I visited Craichlaw to look through the papers there, and also inspected the titles in the hands of the family lawyers. I could not find what I was looking for, but in the library Mrs Fleming Hamilton drew my attention to two bound volumes of typescript of these letters. The originals, we must suppose, had been taken over by the Hamiltons with the estate, and till recently had been at Craichlaw. They were sold in 1932 by Mrs Fleming Hamilton to Major Gordon Halswell, a descendant of Craichlaw. He had them transcribed and typed, suitably illustrated, and appended a useful and appreciative introduction, and presented these two volumes to Mrs Fleming Hamilton. Amongst his references he quotes the "Gordon Family Papers." I at once assumed that these Family Papers were the early Craichlaw titles and papers which I had been unable to find, and instituted enquiries. Major Halswell is now dead, and his widow knew nothing about them. All enquiries proved fruitless. But the typescript proved of

sufficient interest to serve the purpose of this notice. My first task was to supply some sort of background to the letters which were written from the battlefield during the close of Marlborough's campaign, and I naturally turned to that magnificent piece of historical work on Marlborough by his descendant, our present Prime Minister. Now, the first thing that any historical worker does when he is introduced to a new historical work of merit is to turn to the list of authorities in order to estimate the nature and value of the spadework that has been put into the book. This I did, and you may imagine my surprise to find in the list of authorities cited the Papers of the Gordons of Craichlaw in the Huntingdon Library in California. Huntingdon was a very wealthy American who employed agents, to whom he gave carte blanche to scour Europe and acquire valuable books and MSS. No expense was spared, and treasures were amassed at such a rate that a large and skilled staff were quite unable to keep pace with the task of cataloguing them. It would seem that one of Huntingdon's agents must have acquired these papers from Col. Halswell, and it gives some idea of the authoritative nature of the work of Mr Winston Churchill that he must have either visited the Huntingdon Library himself or employed someone to do so for him.[1a]

At the present moment the original MS. of these letters, and perhaps much else, must remain a sealed book to us.

In his introduction Col. Halswell records that the original has been partly burnt and is often illegible and that it has lost entirely both the first and last pages. But if the typescript is to be trusted it has lost a good deal more. For it purports to begin at page 10 of MS.—the first four letters being missing. Another 10 pages of the MS., p. 233-243, are awanting, being letters 61 and 62. Letter No. 50 is missing, and letter No. 51 is represented by only a few lines. Some of the letters Nos. 31-35 are out of place, and between letters 55 and 56 are inserted seven other letters. The last

[1a] On enquiry at the Huntingdon Library I was assured that the Gordon Papers were not there and that Mr Churchhill's reference is inaccurate.

letter is numbered 97. Very few of the letters have a year date, many have no date whatever. Yet they would seem to be roughly in chronological order.

From these letters we learn that Captain James Gordon must have been a most prolific letter writer, of all of which he kept copies—in other words, this MS. Writing to Thomas Wilson, an old school friend,[2] he says:

> [p. 52] I hope you will forgive the length of this Rapsody. (1) If you will consider who it is that writes, that he is more apt to be tedious than succint. (2) Since I hope it will give some small diversion to yourself. (3) Because it certainly diverts me, for instead of a particular journal of my own poor life which I always used to keep before I came abroad—ever since I have taken occasion to take notice of the public transactions of the universe (especially since I have had any small dealings in them myself) so that this is the 240th letter whereof I have copies beside me, whereby I hope to reap more benefit afterwards than I can hope now, if ever it please God I return to my country friends. . . .

The interest of these letters lies, firstly, in what they tell us of the military campaign, and, secondly, in the picture they give us of their writer. Though they do not describe any battle or siege, they provide the historian with the names of many officers and the movements of troops, as well as what the Army thought of the political intrigues and treacheries that led to the Peace of Uchtrecht. It was the year of the battle of Malplaquet and the seventh year of the war. All the warring states were beggared, if not bankrupt —only the wealth of England seemed inexhaustible. The whole of Europe was now weary of war, which almost without cessation had continued for 20 years. The power of France was broken, and Louis XIV. sought only a tolerable peace. All the original objects of the war had been gained and the Allies wished to reap the fruits of victory.

2 Beyond the fact that Thomas Wilson and Gordon had been at school together, nothing is known of him. A great many of these letters are addressed to him.

In the summer of 1708 the Dutch began unofficial negotiations with France, of which Marlborough learnt, and at once took steps to bring London and Vienna into their orbit. But his first move was unauthorised, and he intimated to the French that he was willing to receive from them a douceur promised on a previous occasion—of 2,000,000 livres for accomplishing peace. But that did not prevent Marlborough making great efforts to put in the field in 1709 the largest army seen in Europe.

Nothing, however, was to come of these preliminary soundings, till the weather took a hand in the game. For a terrible misfortune overtook France. From the beginning of December to the 6th March there was a great and almost unbroken frost. In January all the rivers of France were frozen over; cattle and sheep died in vast numbers, and game perished in woods and on the hills. By 4th February it was known that all autumn-sown corn was dead in the ground. Faced with starvation, brigandage broke out, chateaux and convents were looted, and in Paris the death rate was doubled and every class cried aloud for bread and peace. There were serious riots in Dijon and Rouen. In Paris was circulated a new Lord's Prayer:

Our Father which art at Versailles,
Unhallowed is thy name,
Thy kingdom is no longer great,
Thy will is no more done on land or sea.
Give us this day our daily bread
Which we are short of on all occasions.
Forgive our enemies who have beaten us,
But not your generals who have allowed them to do it.
Do not fall into all the temptations of the Maintenon,
But deliver us from Chomillart (French Foreign Secretary).

The great King—Louis XIV.—sued for peace, and by May the terms of the Allies were sent to Versailles for ratification. They were harsh, for each member of the Grand Alliance had sought the utmost, and Marlborough had experienced great difficulty in modifying and co-ordinating the terms. As it was, he was known to be opposed to two of the articles. Louis was for accepting the terms, but was overruled by the Dauphin, who carried the Council of State to fight on.

Two plans were now laid before the Allies. Marlborough, with a sure reliance on sea power, wished to take Dunkirk and then strike through Abbeville at Paris. This meant a new base on the sea. The Dutch and Continental Allies wanted to draw the English away from the sea and carry on the war far inland, from their own bases. Prince Eugene supported the Dutch. So Tournai was besieged, Mons taken, and Malplaquet fought, followed next year by the fall of Douai and other towns of the French Fortress Barrier. The year 1711 saw the magnificent strategy of the piercing of the Ne Plus Ultra Lines and the capture of Bouchain.

The taking of Bouchain is referred to by Gordon as follows :

> [p. 8] This Town of Bouchain, though it be very small, its pendicles and dependences are considerable, being as great a government as we have yet got, except Lille, having more than 70 villages under it. We have more than 430 odd men killed before it and 2000 wounded in 3 weeks time, being just so much (time) between opening the trenches and hanging out the flag (of surrender). Our regiment has been very lucky, more than usual, yet not so neither in another respect, first, for the Colonel and then for the subalterns, having never an officer wounded nor a sergeant killed, only 17 private men, and 58 wounded. If we have any more sieges this campaign, it will be that of Quesnoy, which, though it be not much larger than this, will be of as great consequence, bringing in Valenciennes with it, which will fall of itself, and, some say, Conde.
>
> We are levelling the trenches and repairing the breaches, and the French army are moving off, which will oblige us to move likewise.

It is rather remarkable that Gordon makes no mention of a peculiar feature of the siege which was undertaken by Marlborough against the advice of all the engineers of the Allies. Only Col. Armstrong, a Scottish Borderer, said it could be done, and said he was ready himself to undertake the most

difficult part. It consisted of seizing an elevated cowpath through a morass, the water of which was up to the necks of the 400 Grenadiers who achieved its capture. The town fell on September 12th, 1711. It was Marlborough's last conquest.

After Bouchain the Grand Army went into winter quarters.

> There are 19 battalions of us come hither to St. Amand and Marschienne, where we are encamped. . . . We are fortifying these two villages, Arlieu, etc., for the better defence of our lines. In this village of St. Amand there is a glorious huge Cathedral and cloyster of Benedictines, a very handsome magnificent fabric, not a finer pile of buildings in the Christian world. St Paul's in London, which makes such a noise in our island, is inferior to it in many respects for carved work, pillars and arches, of marble work, for painting and organs. T'was built by an Abbot at his own charge who endowed it with 200,000 crowns per annum. The expense of the whole is unaccountable; the very organs in it cost £2000 sterling. . . .
>
> I was three weeks in Douai this campaign, where there is a college of Scotch Jesuits founded by Queen Mary of Scotland, who likewise endowed it with a patrimony which has been augmented since by several mortifications; but these wars, and particularly the last year's siege with the enemies intention to recover it this year, has laid all their estate under water by an inundation made by the garrison and kept up for the strength of the Town, so they are now but very poor. However, I was handsomely entertained by three of the Jesuits, Scotchmen, and especially by Father Maxwell, who knows the most part of the people of our country, being himself a Galloway man. They are a pack of cunning subtile dogs, having always some of our countrymen under their ferule, bred up in their opinion—as they have about a dozen young puppies at present. As they are the most learned order and greatest politicians in the Church, so

they are generally reckoned, perhaps not out of mistake, the mother of all the mischief that has happened in Europe since the order commenced. Our own countries have not escaped their cunning contrivancies to bring us under their yoke; and there is no nation in Europe, perhaps in the universe, but they have had some tryal upon, rather for the sake of increasing St. Peter's patrimony and the revenue of the Church than of converting of souls to the faith.

[Here follows a quotation of 12 lines from Hudibras.] Our late evil wars in Britain, which took off the King's head and introduced a commonwealth, was a plot of theirs. Father Maxwell[3] asked for my Lord Kenmure, the Earl of Nithsdale, and Sir George Maxwell, which for my part don't recommend them to me. . . .

[3] The Rev. H. Chadwick, S.J., writes that the only Maxwell at Douai in 1711 was Father Roger Maxwell, S.J. The Register of the Scots College [New Spalding Club, 1906, p. 53] describes him as son of Edward Maxwell of Logan and of Agnes Lindsay of Mains. He was born in Scotland in 1664 (April 18th), studied at the Scots College 1677-80, when he joined the Society of Jesus. Whilst engaged in the study of Theology (in preparation for the priesthood) he was sent over to Edinburgh to teach Rhetoric at the short-lived Jesuit College set up by James II. in 1688 in Holyroodhouse. At the Revolution he was seized and imprisoned for a few months, but presently was able to return to Paris and finish his theological studies. Most of the rest of his life seems to have been spent at Douai at the Scots College—except for some three years (1698-1700), when he returned to Scotland as a missioner. He was obviously rather an invalid, though he was able to do a certain amount of work at the College, mostly as Prefect of the students there. In some old Jesuit Catalogues preserved in the State archives of Brussels he is entered as Prefectus convictorum in 1703-4, 1707, 1708, 1710, and (likely enough) for some years more (the Catalogues are not consecutive, and are printed by Professor Baxter in "Scots Hist. Review," XXIV., p. 253-4). For some years—from 1723, if not earlier—he was acting as Minister (i.e., in charge of the temporal affairs of the College; next in importance to the Rector). He was still doing light work there in 1733-4; after that date the Catalogues are missing for 20 years and more, and one learns no more of him. Professor Baxter (p. 256) gives his death as occurring on 22nd August, 1725, which is obviously wrong.

The following letter is not inappropriately addressed to Mr James Murdoch, minister of Kirkcowan.[4] It ends in a vein more jocular, surely, than serious:

> I dreamt last night you was robbed, and that all my library was carried away; that there was a burial in my garden at Craighlaw, and that I met another man asleep and half dead at the upper corner of the great Hall behind. I wish I had the interpretation of these fine dreams.

Winter quarters were at Lille:

> [p. 25] We have got Lille for our garrison, six of our English battalions with our Scotch and Irish Dragoons having arrived on Thursday. I have met with Tom Agnew,[5] who desires you to give that money to Holmstoun upon his account. . . . He was obliged to give 30 guineas to Major Paterson for my commission, which is £32 and a crown. It cost him four guineas for taking it out of the office and a crown for entering the Commissioners book, which amounts in all to £36 6s, so you may make it £34 if you please, for I know not what the exchange will come to.

The purchase of commissions was the evil system of the day. Promotion, however merited, came only by payment. It was a perquisite shared by the Commander-in-Chief and the retiring officer, and much of that vast fortune amassed by Marlborough was said by his detractors to have come from this source.

> [p. 77] As to my preferment I have a better rank in the Regiment than I could have in any other, with fair play, having only six Lieutenants before me. So that I

[4] Mr James Murdoch became minister of Kirkcowan in 1701 and died in 1718.

[5] Lieut. Thomas Agnew of the Royal North British Dragoons commanded by the Earl of Stair. The typescript says he was "son of Seuchan"—probably of Andrew Agnew of Seuchan. There was a distant connection between Agnews and Gordons, for Patrick Agnew, first of Seuchan, had married (contract 17th August, 1638) Jean, daughter of Wm. Gordon, 4th of Craichlaw.

have surmounted 19 officers all in my turn in three years time and paid only 150 guineas for both my commissions. Tis true it cost me about £60 when I was shot and as much for gay cloathing, which is all I have spent beside my pay since I came abroad.

Our soldier of Fortune was a canny Scot. There are the usual grumbles at winter quarters:

[p 28] We have only turf for our firing and can't get so much of it as will furnish faggots for they allow but for 50 a company, whereas you know we ought to have for 70, and we have no candles at all, which we imagine our noble governor the Prince puts in his pocket.

The winter was spent overhauling equipment. To a fellow-officer at Rotterdam, Gordon writes:

[p. 31] Since the stores are come up from Courtrai and the hospital from Douai your companie is in very good circumstances, much better and stronger than it was last winter. I have advanced abundance of shoes to some of the deserters and those that were taken prisoners at Arlieu and to another fellow that had his shoe stole, I suppose by Scarborough, though I cant prove it, and methinks it is hard for those poor fellows to pay for what they never had, whereof there are 2 or 3. However I have put them all under stoppages that are wanting and bare, whereof there are 5 or 6.

But life in winter quarters was not entirely garrison drudgery. There were excursions and alarms. In December there was a minor action. Three thousand foot with Cavalry and Dragoons were suddenly rushed to Pont d'Avraches.

[p. 38] This was occasioned by a motion the French made coming out of Arras, Valenciennes, and their other garrisons to the number of 14 or 15,000 and upwards towards Marschienne, Capercloche, etc., all along the Scharpe, which they were endeavouring to stop and fill

up in many places with trees which they cutt down for that end, and bombs which they planted along the river in a ditch which they made by the riversyde for that purpose with their fuzes up, and which they kindled by a train. They resolved to prevent our designs upon Arras, if we have any, next campaign, but chiefly to prevent our supplying Bouchain with provisions; whereupon all our garrisons far and near were ordered to march, and upon our first appearance the French moved off after they had done all the mischief the could, which will cost us some trouble and expense to repair, for the Schaarpe is the most commodious river we have for our communication.

Nevertheless they have lost more by this adventure than we, for near 3000 of them deserted to us upon this occasion and we have taken 400 more of them prisoners.

Lest it be thought that incendiary bombs are solely the product of aerial warfare, I give this last quotation on military subjects. It is from one of the few dated letters—13th March, 1712—and is addressed to his old school friend, Thomas Wilson. Gordon had received sudden orders to make a forced march to Arras with 300 men, all that could be spared.

[p. 49] Till then we only guessed at our design . . . we were to burn the French magazines in that city, which was all they had to depend upon to forage their army. . . . To our great surprise we found the garrisons of Douai, Tournay, Aeth, Courtrai, Aire, and Bethune to the number of 20,000 men joined us upon the plains before the gates of Arras . . . together with our great train of artillery of 40 piece of cannon and mortar which we had all mounted before 5 o'clock at night, and had with our carcasses and fireballs set all their magazines in a flame . . . to the number of 40 great stacks computed to be 1,600,000 rations of hay, the most part out of Brittany, and cost the King of France a gilder every ration before it came there. The loss of the forage is more than the loss of twice as much money because they

dont know where to get more in haste and consequently it breaks their measures, for we shall now conveniently get to the field before them in spite of their work.

During all the campaign Gordon's health would seem to have been good in spite of the pestilence and sickness that a field army of those days suffered from, often causing casualties higher than the battles:

Some thinks the fevers and agues which are so frequent are occasioned by the dog days which are generally attended with distemper; others think there is a sort of plague in the country which has been lately very common in Poland and came as far as Holstein. There died lately in Tournai above 400 in one day among whom were five Captains in General Murray's Regiment and there are near 2000 of our people in the hospital this moment at Dunkirk.

Of the pending peace and all the tortuous negotiations that led to it, these letters contain constant references. Scarcely a letter but has some allusion. If they only reflect the camp fire gossip, to us who now are familiar with all the documentary data of the European chancellaries, they are singularly shrewd and penetrating:

[p. 62] Those peacemakers at Utrecht have a great mind to shut up the Temple of Janus before they part and for as much noise of a peace as we have had since we took the field, we hear now that the war is to be pushed a little further; Her Majesty having declared herself against any separate article which some flattered themselves she resolved to clap up with the French, which God Almighty forbid, for though it be commonly talked that more of the Allies have played their parts in this war than herself (though she has borne the brunt of the war) yet she is like to get nothing for her pains if they dont all join. Those that came at the eleventh hour and only fetched so many men to the field less than they ought to have done, are like to get more than they who have borne the burden and heat of the day. *Though war be a*

fire struck in the Devil's tinder box, I should not wish for a peace at this rate.

And again, after stating how army rumour was redistributing the boundaries of Europe, Gordon comments:

> [p. 80] (It is) a shrewd sign that the French, whom we have got the better of all the war, are getting the better of it now and consequently that this peace may perhaps cost us dear; but we must say but little, think what we will.

That is a sentiment remarkable in a period when our soldiers constantly protruded themselves into politics. The wholesome doctrine of no politics till after retirement is of a quite modern adoption. Gordon's suspicions of the pending peace were not unfounded:

> [p. 98] I must own there is something in this Peace which we are like to have, that I don't like. If we slap up a peace now, t'is very probable all the war we have had, will come to no account. Push France but one summer or two more and we shall have what articles (of peace) we please. Then why should we proceed without the rest of our allies who are not like to come in. If there be any underhand dealings in it betwixt our Court and France, t'is very wrong.

Another long letter on the same subject to his cousin, Lieut. Chalmers,[6] ends as follows:

[6] Lieut. Jack Chalmers of Gaitgirth in Ayrshire, in Major-General Hamilton's Regiment in the service of the States General. After Quesnoy this Regiment was captured by the French and sent as prisoners of war to Montaubon. Gordon calls him cousin, the relationship arising from the marriage of Wm. Gordon, 5th of Craichlaw (grandfather of Captain James), with Jean, daughter of James Chalmers of Gaitgirth. In a letter to Chalmers (p. 36) Gordon draws this comparison: "(1) We both pretend to represent respectable families; (2) both estates are heavily encumbered, for which neither were to blame; (3) both estates left in pawn for their predecessors' transactions; (4) both now abroad in army to repair their misfortunes—one in the service of the States General where one is preferred with money—the other in H.M. Service where it is hard to rise without money or influence."

> [p. 109] But who is in the right and who in the wrong at this critical juncture, and what wonderful great things we have got by this plan, is not yet perfectly knowen; but a few months, at least a very few years, will bring all out, whether the mountains are in travail or not and what they will bring forth.

Then to the Allied Army came the news of Marlborough's disgrace. To the Allies it was the death knell of the Alliance; to the Army a shock from which it could never recover. Its idol had been smashed. The foremost figure in Europe, the greatest soldier of his age, the victor of 100 fights, the General who never lost a battle (though sometimes won at fearful cost), had been brought low and hounded into seclusion on the Continent which he had so long dominated, by the petty rancour of the aged and diseased woman on the throne of Britain. The man who had been mainly instrumental in placing her there, who by his victories had brought lustre to her throne and security thereby to its occupant, who had brought his country into a dominating position in international politics and made his Queen virtual arbitrix of Europe, was at her instigation impeached by Parliament. Such was Marlborough's treatment at the hands of "Good Queen Anne."

Writing yet again to his old friend, Tom Wilson, Gordon records this understanding tribute to his General:

> They are doing strange things in Great Britain. They have overturned our Captain General, and meantime we are without a head. They have taken from him all his Publick Offices, but for what we dont know.
>
> They have impeached him in Parliament for several things and yet we dont hear he can be found guilty. It may give a moral reflection upon the unsteadiness of human affairs—a great man and one of the greatest generals and subjects in the world, stript of his glory in a moment when neither his friends or foes expected it. Some thinks he deserves it, though his misunderstandings be not yet produced; others think otherwise. For

my part I dont know what to think, but as it is no new thing, so its all one to me.

If her Majesty be pleased, so am I. Though he were the least man in Britain, I think its a reflection on her Majesty's Faculties and management to say it is ill done. One may think what he pleases; indeed she may perhaps have had counsellers and if she have, God send her better. In my humble opinion, though a better general cant be found a juster man may; and though his failings be not yet exposed, they have doubtless reduced him to a private man.

Shortly before the conclusion of peace, Gordon writes:

[p. 138] I am now the sixth subaltern officer and the only Scotchman in the Regiment by the removal of Col. Paterson who dyed yesterday morning and was buried next day afternoon, having left five guineas to drink his bonne allée, or as they say in my country—Dirge withal—in a bowl of punch. You must know that I was a little fuddled last night and almost half still, though I be now on guard.

On active serve there was but little opportunity of fuddledom. But in winter quarters there was time to enjoy life. In a letter to Lieut. James Cary,[7] which he commences "Chum," he writes:

I have the rarest diversion here that can be. I have a bottle both of punch and champagne every day; so that for my daily bread and water I can at present dispute felicity with Jove himself.

There is something pathetic in the eager way he looked for letters from Scotland and his friends:

[p. 23] I covet correspondence now more than yourself which will be your fault if ever it fail. I never

[7] Lt. James Cary was a fellow-officer in the 23rd Foot. He was a 1st Lieutenant in 1711.

begrudge postage of letters from my friends. I think it is the best money that I spend.

He reproaches his cousin, Alexander Gordon,[8] merchant in London:

> [p. 33] I have such an itching to correspond with my friends that I am sometimes angry at my own fondness when I consider with how little zeal and friendship they regard my scribbling. This is only my fourth to you for your once to me since I saw you.

And in another letter to Lieut. Chalmers:

> Since I shook hands with my native country I have written to all the friends I have in the world upon every point of the compass; and too many of them have taken no notice of it, so that I have good reason to believe they have adjudged me to everlasting forgetfulness.

It is not known where Captain James Gordon was educated. But for a soldier of Fortune he was singularly well equipped with classical learning, wide reading and foreign languages. His letters show a cultural level far above what was expected from a professional soldier. Heraldry, the Bible, Hudibias and Caesars Commentaries—he quotes them all. Telemachus and Temple he was reading, both in French. His letters are full of references to Cato, Gamaliel, and the like, and part of one is rendered in rhyme. One correspondent on leave in Scotland he bids [p. 30] call at Robin Wood, the seal cutter in Edinburgh, for one of the last volumes of *Nisbet's Heraldry*, and to another he writes:

8 Major Gordon Halswell identifies this Alexander Gordon, merchant in London, with a somewhat distant cousin of Craichlaw—Alexander Gordon, son of John Gordon of Croskerie, and afterwards in Mains of Penynghame. The identification is supported by Gordon's reference to Alexander's marriage, which is known to have taken place in June, 1711. Alexander was born about 1682, and in 1711 married Helen M'Clellan, at which time he was residing in Penynghame. This may have been a second marriage, for Captain James ends his letter: "Give my respects to your wife and family, whom I have a perfect regard to." This letter (p. 33) was writen in the winter of 1712.

[p. 164] If you can spare as much money, pray bring me the following Plays, if Mr Johnston the bookseller at the Hague can provide them, for he deals much in all sorts of books of that nature . . . Julius Caesar, Tamerlane, Hamlet Prince of Denmark, Henry IV., Ulysses, Mary Queen of Scots, King or no King, Plain Dealer, Spanish Foryar, Lying Loves and Disease[d] Mother—or at least what he has of them, about 8 or 10 stiven apiece.

One would imagine either that he had received no ordinary education or that he was a man of great natural gifts. All we know [p. 41] is that he and Thomas Wilson were together at "Alma Mater Academia" when Anne was proclaimed Queen in 1702. The style of these lengthy letters is easy and fluent, occasionally dramatic, and at times pathetic. He suffered from nostalgia, and, like a true Scot, his thoughts were never far from the hills of Galloway and his beloved Craichlaw. From one letter—to his sister—should there be lengthy quotation:

[p. 9] Dear Eleanor. That there has nothing passed betwixt us this campaign cant be my fault, having writ last 8 April and had nothing from you since. . . . My neighbour [p. 12] Sir James Dunbar[9] and Drumoir,[10] my Uncle David[11] and Cousin Harry[12] has writ to me since we took the field and I think thats all. . . . All is well

9 Sir James Dunbar of Mochrum had two sons serving in Flanders—George, who succeeded his father, was in the Scots Greys, served at Oudenarde and Malplaquet, and died in 1747. He is mentioned in these letters [p. 22]. John, his younger brother, also served in the Greys, and died of wounds after the battle of Tasnieres.

10 Alexander Adair of Dromoir in 1673 married Margaret, daughter of Patrick Agnew of Seuchan, whose wife was Jean or Janet, daughter of William Gordon, 4th of Craichlaw.

11 David Gordon of Barnearie was uncle of Captain James. He married Margaret, youngest daughter of James Chalmers of Watersyde, with issue three daughters.

12 Cousin Harry has not been identified.

on our side for there has no been a more glorious campaign this way. I hope now to live and see the end. . . . It (Hope) is all in all to anybody, yet their wants and difficulties be never so great. In some cases patience and it jumps together and are both the same. . . . It gives a lustre to the sun and value to the diamond; it irradiates every metal and enriches lead with all the properties of gold. It brightens smoke into flame, flame into light and light into glory. A single ray of it dissipates pain care and melancholy from the person on whom it falls . . . and its presence changes every place into a kind of Heaven. . . .

I forebear reflecting on the misfortunes I was born under and have met with since, which is enough to make me more melancholy indeed — my parents leaving me when I was young—my being deserted by my maternal friends—the utter incapacity of my paternal friends who took me up through age, and to take care of themselves. When I have a further retrospect to my fathers misfortunes which in regard to my estate are all centred and centuplicated on me. When I consider Lord Basil Hamilton's untimely death which in some respects was probably a greater loss than all the rest — my nearest relations taking up arms against me when I was not capable to defend myself—my own capacity to do it and my grandfathers unwillingness when it was out of time —I have neither paper nor time to mention them they are so many. . . . When I revolve on what little advantages I have had, I reckon all my misfortunes. But they yield me such inward peace and contentment and my thoughts are sometimes so lofty and exalted upon that head (but yet with due ballance of humility and resignation) that I can dispute my felicity with Jove himself. Of all the friends I have in the world I wonder most at my cousin Glencaird[13] whom I have writ to more than twice and yet can never hear of him. Pray give my

13 The reference has not been traced.

respects to him and his family and all my other friends, particularly old granny and all those with and beside you for a myle around. Pray tell me what news you have, if the old tower be yet standing and the new house I built before I left the Kingdom which, you may depend on, I always remember with as much zeal as Naboth did his vineyard.

Truly there was something very human in our Soldier of Fortune—and tender, too, if one judges by this letter to Lieut. Jack Chalmers :

> [p. 35] If ever you take occasion to stumble in to my brother [in law] Galrig's house, pray get me what accounts you can of my nephew, the little boy whom I like more than all the children of men, — for my poor sister being gone, I wish his new mother may do him justice.

His sister Eleanor, first wife of William Wallace of Galrigs, was dead, and the little boy was to succeed to and sell all that was left of Craichlaw.

In addition to his correspondents already named, these letters include some addressed to Lt. Boyd of Penkill,[14] Ensign William Hannay,[15] Mr James Houston,[16] Mr John

[14] Lt. Boyd of Penkill, of General Collier's Regiment (Royal Scots), is described by Gordon as a cousin [p. 32]. The relationship has not been traced unless it be the truly remote one of the marriage of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar (father of the first Gordon of Craichlaw) with Annabella, daughter of Lord Boyd.

[15] Ensign William Hannay of Kirkdale served in General Laudère's Regiment in the Dutch Service. He married Margaret, daughter of Rev. Patrick Johnston, minister of Girthon, and was father of Sir Samuel Hannay, M.P., and of Col. Alexander Hannay, who fought at Minden.

[16] Mr James Houstoun was ordained to Bathgate 1st September, 1694, and translated to Kirklinton in 1716; he died in 1749, and his widow, Isabel Baillie, in 1762. He was probably a member of the family of Houstoun of Cottreoch and Drumastoun.

M'Caul,[17] Thomas Davidson,[18] and Mr George Hutchison[19] who for a time acted as man of business for Captain James.

The last letter that calls for quotation is in a class by itself. It is an imaginary letter from the Infernal Regions, one of those literary curiosities of the period of Pope and Swift. It is described as a *Letter from Hell*, and is rich in local interest, for all the Lairds of Galloway seem to have congregated there. It is not known for whose immediate benefit it was written, but it is quite obvious that Gordon enjoyed the writing of it.

It purports to be written by the long deceased John M'Culloch of Myrtoun, whose son was to be the first Baronet of Myrtoun, and is addressed to the still living Laird of Barholm—that John M'Culloch of Barholm whose foolish persistence in attempts to entail his property led to litigation that lasted for some 90 years. The ghost of Myrtoun addresses the Laird of Barholm as "cousin," though the connection was so remote as to be still unestablished.

Cussin, Tis now near 40 of your years ago since I

17 The Rev. John M'Caul, born 1685, referred to by Captain James Gordon [p. 44] as "our old friend and co-disciple," was son of John M'Caul, farmer in Corsbie, Penninghame (who was at Bothwell Brig). He was educated at the University of Glasgow, licensed in 1708, and called to Whithorne in 1712. He died in 1741, having married Elizabeth Stewart, with issue: (1) John, minister at Glasgow; (2) Alexander, merchant in Glasgow; (3) William, a W.S.; (4) Archibald in Broughtoun; and (5) Grizzel, spouse of Robert Baillie, chamberlain to the Earl of Galloway.

18 Thomas Davidson was commissioned on 16th June, 1695, to be a Captain, vice Gordon, in Col. George Lauder's Regiment of Foot, which served at the siege of Namur as part of the Scots Brigade ("Dalton," IV., 110). He was a cousin [p. 76] of Captain James Gordon.

19 Mr George Hutchison of Monkwood was uncle to Gordon, having married, c. 1703, Jean Gordon, an unrecorded member of the Craichlaw family. He was admitted advocate in 1695 as son of Mr John Hutchison, minister of Maybole, by his wife, Agnes Wallace. He was born 1674, and died 24th December, 1725, with issue three daughters—Jane, married to William Graham, merchant in Edinburgh; Sarah, married to John Hutchison of East Sanquhar; and Susanna. He acquired Monkwood in December, 1702.

came hither (to Hell) and truly few of our name has the good luck to go elsewhere, for they are all here round about me, from the first constitution of our family which justly pretended to be chief while in being.

The writer then goes on to describe his comrades in Hell:

Sir Hugh M'Culloch of Pilton[20] is as jealous of his lady as ever; my son Sir Alex.[21] continues as amorous. My grandson Sir Godfrey[22] has been these seven years beging a furliaf (furlough) from his Majesty (the Devil) to pay a visit to my Lady Castle Stewart. My great grandson Sir Gilbert[23] was detached hither by a bullet from Flanders to give notice that my representative Sir John M'Culloch,[24] Sir William Maxwell (of Monreith)[25]

[20] Sir Hugh M'Culloch of Pilton is believed to have belonged to the northern M'Cullochs as descended from Cadbol, whose connection with the Galloway family has never been established. He appears to have used the heraldic blazon of the northern family, but "Nesbit, I., 215, says that in the New Register at the Lyon Office his arms are those of Myrton differenced." Sir Hugh certainly had business relationship with Myrton. It will be noticed that Gordon makes old Myrton call him "my cousin" [p. 146].

[21] Sir Alexander M'Culloch, the 1st Baronet of Myrton, was during his father's lifetime designated of Ardwell. He was son of Old John M'Culloch of Myrton, formerly of Ardwell till he acquired Myrton in 1635. It is not known what public services he may have rendered to merit his title. He died in June, 1675.

[22] Sir Godfrey M'Culloch, 2nd Baronet, was executed on 26th March, 1697, for the alleged murder of William Gordon of Cardiness. He married Agnes Kennedy of the Girvan Mains family, and is believed to have had no issue, the Baronetcy terminating with him, but see next footnote. As Gordon states that Sir Godfrey had been seven years in Hill, the date of this letter must be 1704.

[23] Sir Gilbert M'Culloch, otherwise unrecorded, must have been a son of Sir Godfrey. Captain James Gordon was a contemporary and neighbour, and his statement that Gilbert fell in battle in Flanders must be accepted.

[24] Sir John M'Culloch also is unknown to genealogists. Gordon does not give his relationship, but makes old Myrton describe him as "my representative." He was perhaps a cousin of Sir Gilbert, as Sir Godfrey had brothers, or a younger son of Sir Godfrey.

[25] Sir William Maxwell of Monreith had bought Myrton from Sir Godfrey M'Culloch in 1683. His father, William Maxwell of Monreith, had married in 1632 Margaret, daughter of Old John M'Culloch of Myrton.

of merry memory, Provost Coltrane[26] of cunning memory, and Torhouse[27] were immediately coming down (to Hell). I would not have you surprised at this, but if you have any credit for a damned ghost you may believe that Ardwall,[28] Torhouskie[29] and everyone else not only of my name but of all those that ever descended from or wedded with my family as Baldoon[30] Birscon[31] Borg[32] Larg[33] Craighlaw etc. shall have a warm lodging here to all eternity . . . . . and I assure you there are some of my own family (here) whose names would make a cata-

[26] There were two Provosts Coltranes, father and son. The former was Patrick Coltrane of Culmalzie and Airless, parish of Kirkinner. The latter was his second son, William Coltrane of Drumorrell, whose name will always be remembered for his part in the tragedy of the Wigtown Martyrs.

[27] Torhous was George M'Culloch of Torhous, a small estate that had been in the hands of this branch of the M'Culloch family since 1466. He was seriously involved in the financial difficulties arising from the execution of Sir Godfrey M'Culloch, whose executor "qua creditor" he was. In 1711 he transferred part of the estate—Torhouskie—to his brother, John, and died in 1735.

[28] The reference is probably to James M'Culloch, late of Mule, who in 1687 was infeft in Killasser and Ardwell ("Gen. Reg. Sas.," Vol. 56, f. 242a). He had previously been known as of Inshankis, and claimed to be heir to Sir Godfrey M'Culloch. Ardwell was acquired by Sir Wm. Maxwell of Monreith in 1705.

[29] John M'Culloch of Torhouskie received Torhouskie in 1711 from his elder brother, George M'Culloch of Torhous, in place of a patrimonial bond. He had been tenant of Chippermore in 1701, and was twice married—first to Janet Hathorn, and secondly to Janet M'Adam.

[30] Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon married Elizabeth, daughter of Old John M'Culloch of Myrton. Their daughter, Janet Dunbar, was mother of Captain James Gordon.

[31] Birscon has not been identified.

[32] Borg had belonged to Wm. M'Guffok of Rusco. His daughter married Hugh Blair, a son of Dunskey, who took the name of M'Guffok. He married Margaret Dunbar, and their eldest son, David, had sasine of Borg in 1706. Blairs, Dunbars, and M'Guffoks were all closely related to Myrton.

[33] William Lin of Larg married c. 1662 Agnes M'Culloch, daughter of Alexander M'Culloch of Ardwell.

logue larger than would reach betwixt Myretoun and Barholm. . . . . Whether there be degrees of glory or not, as you who flatter yourselves to go thither are told by your preachers I know not but you may assure yourself there are degrees of damnation and why not? for you who I hear is guiltie of such aggravated heinous crimes (as)

1 to break your father in laws house when he died and rob his son of £1000 he had in his coffers.

2 to carry away his children to your own scandalous sluggish nasty management and living, and (to) be villainously accessory to the death of the one and making the other a greater fool than he really had been if he had continued with Craighlaw who is the just and lawful heir to his estate.

3 When out of revenge to that gentleman (Craighlaw) who did nothing to assist in that affair you disappointed him so far as obliged him to go abroad and quit his estate, till his fathers debts were paid, in hopes that his destiny would have sent him hither (Hell) by a (musket) ball in a short time . . . whereas if the £1500 had been payed he needed not have left the country at all. . . . You shall also engross that estate to yourself so long as you like, but you may depend on it your posterity shall never enjoy a foot on't because your heirs male, if ever you have any more shall be in immortal circumstances with the rest of their name before they live seven of your terrestial years. . . . . .

4 Your incomparable unparalled hypocrisy, and to cover all this glorious wickedness with a cloak of religion, I say indeed you have reason to expect a higher post, a much warmer habitation in these regions than myself or any of my family. . . . . .

Dear Cuscin (for your qualities make you dear to all who are damned) if you want to know how I understand your proceedings so very well I'll freely tell you. . . .

Your father in law Culvennan[34] came down here as drunk as a devil, and no wonder, for the brandy burnt out his mouth, like a candle lighted. He made such a damned noise that all Hell was in an uproar. He called for old Charon immediately to ferry him over with as much freedom as if he had been acquainted with him from Eternity. The old man whom he bastinadoed for asking his fare, was never so frightened since he ferried over Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar[35] and old Barnbarroch. He (Charon) was forced to run the boat a little off the shore and so they parleyed at a distance; at last they agreed, tho' he (Culvennan) told him he had not a farthing in his pocket, for he was rifled in the house where he died. . . . I got my friend into the gates and having asked what he was—sayes he "I am a gentleman, who are you?" I replied very soberly (for Pluto knows I never was drunk since I came to his dominions, but once with my cousin Sir Hugh, my son in law Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, the Laird of Broughtoun,[36] Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn,[37] and old Monreith with Utopian wine)—"Sir I perceive you are a stranger in liquor, and dont know where you are." "How the devil should I, replied he when I cant see. Are there no candles here?" . . . . I told him who I was, and then for very joy he cursed

34 William Gordon of Culvennan, whose grandfather was a younger brother of James Gordon, 5th of Craichlaw. He inherited Culvennan in 1685, and died unmarried in 1716, being succeeded by his sister, Jean Gordon, wife of John M'Culloch of Barholm.

35 Sir Robert Gordon of Glen, afterwards of Lochinvar, succeeded to those estates in 1604 and died in 1628, being father to the first Viscount. He was a violent man. His wife left him, his mother fled from him. Murder, piracy, burnings, slaughters, and adultery were all laid to his charge ("Scots Peerage," V., 115).

36 The reference is probably to Alexander Murray of Broughton, son of Richard Murray of Broughton, and Anna Lennox of Calie. He was M.P. for the Stewartry in 1715-27. He died at Calie in 1750.

37 Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn was a well-known Edinburgh W.S., with a considerable practice in Wigtownshire.

and swore more than ever. "Old John M'Culloch of Myrton, says he, is it possible and where am I?" I told him he was in Hell where there was abundance of his countrymen. . . "Yes, sayes he, I am Will Gordon of Culvennan, a Galloway Laird." . . . . Till now he never considered what or where he was, he was so drunk he knew not whether he was dead or alive, whether he was saved or damned but by this time the fumes were near dispelled and he began to reflect. . . . He told us there was little or no news extraordinary of the elementary world, that adultery was as much in request as ever, that cuckoldom and drunkeness maintained their ground, cursing and swearing, lying and stealing, bribery and murder . . . reigned gloriously everywhere; that very few of the lairds went to church, saying prayers at home, only some ladies and country people met everie Sunday and asked how one another did . . . that the works of darkness went merrily on and the Kingdom of darkness was like to flourish. "For my own part, says he, tho' I am an elder of the kirk, I was never there above once a year."

. . . . . .

And so on for 12 pages of typescript.

The Laird of Barholm had married the heiress of Culvennan, an estate to which Captain James Gordon thought he had right under an old entail which he suspected Barholm of destroying. Further, he thought Barholm had ill-advised his aged grandfather, Wm. Gordon of Craichlaw, concerning the Craichlaw estate. So his picture of Barholm may be unduly coloured.

In two of his letters to Alexander Gordon[38] he writes of matrimony:

[p. 115] These seven years past I have been otherwise employed and durst not provoke the Tempter too far; but now if any of those fair Tempters can be found that will be persuaded to accept of their humble servant

[38] See footnote 8.

for a husband, I depend on you for your assistance, for I assure [you] I will be about your house, but take care to have the £3000 in view.

And again:

[p. 34] The £3000, the chief point, I have got a Mistress in Rotterdam of 50,000 guilders portion, but I dont like her Hugger Mugger phizsionomy: I write this to let you know I dont prefer money to *everything* else which, if you imagine, you certainly wrong me for I'll never sacrifice either my honour or love to that damned wretched pelf.

Nor did he. For it is likely that he married a tocherless lass of whose family we know naught and who is only once referred to. On 26th March, 1738, this marriage was proclaimed: Patrick Vance, Esq., of the parish of Kirkmabreck, and Bettie Gordon Lady Craichlaw of Penninghame parish.

And therewith oblivion enshrouds the sprightly form of our Soldier of Fortune.

11th JANUARY, 1946.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The Philosopher's Stone.

By A. LODGE, M.A.

An interesting lecture, starting with the Alchemy of the Middle Ages and ending with the atomic bomb.

Sophia MacDowall: A Genealogical Note.

By G. GOLDIE.

According to our family records my great-great-grandfather, George Sharpe Goldie, one of the Bankers of the British Linen Company, who died at the age of 48 in Edinburgh in 1783, being the only son of the second marriage, 1733, of Thomas Goldie, W.S., of Mains,[1] with Henrietta, daughter of John Sharpe, Esq., of Hoddam Castle, and of Susan Muir of Cassencarie, married in Edinburgh in 1779 " Sophia, daughter and only child of Captain William MacDowall " — described variously as " R.N." and " H.E.I.C.S."—" and of Grace O'Reilly " or Riley. Captain William was the second son of John MacDowall of Freugh, whose eldest son, Patrick, became 6th Earl of Dumfries.

Among our family papers there is no trace of the marriage certificate of Captain William MacDowall and Grace O'Reilly, and no doubt at this late hour it would be difficult to obtain unless any who may read these notes can by chance put us in possession of this valuable evidence.[2]

Of indirect evidence there is no shortage, as a number of other documents—letters, etc.—are in our possession.

There is a letter from Sophia's father to her mother, dated on board his ship, the " Culloden," off Leghorn,

[1] From Thomas Goldie's first marriage in 1715 with his cousin, Margaret Irving of Gribton, are descended the Goldie-Taubmans of the Nunnery, Isle of Man. He was also Laird of Airdries, Fellside, Ladylands (inherited from his mother, Isobel Irving), Meikle Bareness, Crokencailzie, etc., in Dumfriesshire and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and died in Edinburgh in 1741.

[2] Some note of the MacDowall-O'Reilly marriage may yet survive in the parish registers of Stepney (of which, by custom of the manor of Stebunheath, all seamen were parishioners), in the East India Company's Chapel, Poplar, in the H.E.I.C. records at the Public Record Office and India Office, or in the records of the Worshipful Companies of Shipwrights, Watermen and Lightermen, but to find it might entail considerable research.

July 31st, 1757, beginning "Dear Molly" and signed "Your most affectionate husband, W. M'Dowall," speaking of "the child." Ten years later, in 1767, Captain M'Dowall writes to his daughter, "Sophy M'Douall," who was at school at Hammersmith, approving her marriage with Captain Osborne subject to her uncle's (Patrick's) approval, "he being on the spot." Another letter from her father is addressed to Sophia as "Mrs Osborne" in 1768.

On March 7th, 1779, John MacDowall, merchant in Glasgow, and third brother of Patrick, Earl of Dumfries, writes to Mrs MacDowall (Captain Osborne's widow and his niece) on her son's death, and speaks of her pension as being the relict of a naval officer.

On 9th March, 1779, Elionora M'Ghee, née M'Dowall, writes to Sophia a letter with some allusions to family matters, and speaks of a Miss Crawford, possibily the sister of Mary Crawford, wife of Patrick, Earl of Dumfries.

On 12th July of that year Sophia was married to George Sharpe Goldie, and in the contract we read: "The Right Hon. Patrick, Earl of Dumfries, and John M'Douall, Esquire, merchant in Glasgow, his brother, uncles to the said Sophia MacDouall alias Osborne . . ."

On 26th April, 1786, Patrick Heron, of Heron and Kirouchtree, one of the witnesses of the above marriage and an intimate friend, writes to Sophia Goldie as follows: "If the Earl and his brother have so little feeling as to presuppose the death of the Lady Elizabeth" (the Earl's daughter and heiress, who later married Lord Mountstuart) "which they must look to ere they commence the process you have heard they intend, I think you may bear it with indifference, as I some time ago learnt that you have most indubitable proof of your parents' marriage, and that the Lord Advocate is clear and decided in that opinion; if so the sooner that it is clearly proved the better, for your family and those who act for them should not flinch from a Process but rather wish for it. I am still clear in the opinion that the measure should have originated in you, and not in them,

and I said so to the Earl 2 years ago . . ." etc.

Of her second marriage Sophia had had two children, both born at Moray House in the Cannongate in Edinburgh: Henrietta (born 12th August, 1781), and George (born 25th October, 1784). In 1843-45 Henrietta wrote her memoirs, which I have before me at this moment ("Days of Yore"), to which I shall have occasion to refer.

In 1791 Sophia Goldie, being again a widow, embraced, under the influence of her intimate friend Mrs Strickland of Sizergh, the Catholic Faith at Rouen, 20th or 21st December, 1789, and her children's Guardians appealed to the Dean of Faculty, the Hon. Mr Henry Erskine, and the Solicitor-General, Robert Blair, as to their duty under this circumstance and asked whether it is not their duty to separate the children from their mother "as she has lately become a convert to the Roman Catholic Religion," and urging that "with respect to their eternal salvation, the first and greatest of all considerations, it is not, perhaps, of much importance whether they are educated in the Catholic or Protestant persuasion, but with regard to worldly considerations it is otherwise. In that view it may be a disadvantage to them in this country to be brought up in the Catholic Persuasion; various instances will occur to Counsel where this may be the case. The Memorialists will only mention one: Failing the present Earl of Dumfries and heirs of his body, Mrs Goldie, and of course her son, and, failing him, her daughter, would be entitled to the honours and estates of that noble family."

This document was in the first instance submitted to Mrs Goldie. In "Days of Yore" (iv., 12) I find the following: "Hitherto our Guardians had left us very quiet, and had not interfered with our religious education. But before the end of 1791, and at the beginning of 1792, my dear Mother received from Mr Heron, Colonel Goldie and even Mrs Maxwell, several letters that gave her the greatest uneasiness, and made her wish to take us abroad again. I was to be left to choose my Religion and my Guardians when I had completed my twelfth year, but George was not

to enjoy that privilege until he had completed his fourteenth year."

In answer to the document quoted above, Mrs Goldie wrote on 17th November, 1791: "For the succession to the title of Dumfries, it is at present most improbable, the heiress of that family being of an age when many heirs may be expected of her; or, if it should ever become a question, it would most probably be decided by a lawsuit, which might greatly involve my son's patrimony."

The Opinion of Counsel (Henry Erskine and Robert Blair) is dated 24th November, 1791, and declares: "We are clearly of opinion that it is the duty of the Memorialists to prevent the Pupils from being educated in the Roman Catholic Persuasion, as, independent of any religious consideration, their professing that Faith would only be attended by patrimonial loss to both of them," and, speaking of the removal of the children from their mother, "advises" that this should be carried out.

The Guardians were Patrick Heron of Heron, Esq.; Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Goldie of Goldielea; William Campbell, Esq., W.S.; the Hon. Miss Charlotte Gunning (later Mrs Digby); and Mrs Grizel Maxwell, widow of William Maxwell of Corriden, Esq.

Mrs Goldie wrote an admirable letter to Lieut.-Colonel Goldie on this decision being made known to her, and then, on the advice of Bishop Hay of Edinburgh, decided to escape secretly abroad, "to secure her children from the power of those arbitrary and inhuman laws which thus invade the rights of nature and are a disgrace to a free country."

It must be remembered in this connexion that in 1791 the Penal Laws were still in force in Scotland, the actual position being as follows: "Persons educated in or professing the Popish religion, if they neglect upon their attaining the age of fifteen years to renounce its doctrines by signed declarations, cannot succeed in heritage, but must give way to the next Protestant heir, who will hold the estate irredeemably if the Popish heir does not within ten years after incurring the irritancy sign the Formula pre-

scribed by the Statute." (See Erskine's *Principles of Law in Scotland*, p. 565.)

To quote again from " Days of Yore " : " On Monday, 21st March, 1792, we had to bid a long adieu to Edinburgh, and very soon after to Scotland; we did not revisit our native city or country for seven long years. We did not, however, know this when we set out early in the evening of the above-mentioned day in a chaise for Blackshields Inn, twelve or fourteen miles from Edinburgh. The chaise contained only my dear Mother, Miss Murphy, George and myself. George was dressed as a little girl, with a white frock, coloured sash, and straw bonnet; it was not, however, much of a disguise, for he looked very well in that dress. . . . At Blackshields Inn we got into the Newcastle coach. There were two gentlemen besides ourselves inside. . . . Our fellow-travellers took great notice of George, whom they soon discovered by his conversation and manner to be a boy. . . ."

They arrived safely in Rouen, where they were imprisoned throughout the Terror, but after the fall of Robespierre were able to leave France for England on 20th April, 1795, settling in Winchester.

The above documents seem to prove clearly enough the relationship between Sophia Goldie and the noble House of Dumfries, but perhaps some reader may be in a position to enlarge upon the evidence.

25th JANUARY, 1946.

Chairman—Dr. T. R. BURNETT.

Mochrum Cormorants and other West Coast Sea Birds.

By Rev. J. M. M'WILLIAM.

This lecture was illustrated by excellent lantern slides taken by the lecturer.

On this date Mr Arthur Duncan, owing to ill-health and inaability to attend meetings, resigned the Presidency, and under Rule 9 the Council nominated Dr. Burnett as President in his Place.

The Pottery from the Roman Fort at Carzield.

By Eric Birley and J. P. Gillam.

I. INTRODUCTION.[1]

The excavations carried out at Carzield in 1939 were described in an earlier volume of these *Transactions*,[2] to which reference may be made for an account of the site and its setting, the structural remains and their interpretation, and a first summary description of the finds. The small but interesting series of metal objects requires further study before it can be published, but it is now possible to submit a report on the pottery found in the course of those excavations,[3] and to put forward some suggestions for further work at Carzield in the light of the evidence which the pottery provides—or fails to provide.

It will be recalled that in 1939 evidence was found for two structural periods in the *intervallum* road, though it was not clear whether the higher of the two road-surfaces represented reoccupation after a break in the occupation of the fort, or merely refurbishing in the course of a single

[1] We are responsible jointly for the Introduction, and individually for the sections to which our names are attached. Well-known excavation reports are indicated by a site-reference "in italics"; it may be convenient for us to subjoin references to the places where certain of these reports are to be found:

"Birdoswald"—Cumb. and Westm. "Transactions," new series, XXX., 1930, 175 f.

"T(urret)" 50b—Appletree turret, "ibid," XIII., 1913, 339 f.

"Birrens"—"Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," LXXII., 1938, 309 f.

"Mumrills"—"Ibid," LXIII., 1929, 501 f.

"Corbridge"—"Archæologia Aeliana," 4th series, XV., 1938, 266 f.

"M/c 9" — Chapel House milecastle, "ibid.," VII., 1930, 160 f.

[2] Cf. "Transactions," XXII., 1942, 156 f.

[3] This supersedes as well as amplifying the brief preliminary notice in "Transactions," XXII., 162.

historical period; and the structural remains of the barrack and stable buildings had been so reduced, by ploughing and stone-robbing, that no corresponding evidence (if it ever existed) survived in them. It can now be added that the small series of pottery, both Samian and coarse ware, seems to fall within the period *circa* A.D. 140-160; and the question naturally arises whether the lower limit represents the end of Roman occupation of the site, or merely the horizon above which all overlying material has been scraped away from the surface in the particular field where we were digging. An answer can only be expected to come from such parts of the fort's area as have not been so drastically denuded as those examined in 1939; and it may be noted that the most promising place to go to will probably be the ditch-system, though a search for rubbish tips beyond the ditches[4] might, with luck, provide the most copious supply of material. Excavation primarily directed to recovering pottery, in the area outside the rampart of the fort, should be well within the capacity of beginners in archæology—for example, it would be an ideal practical job for schoolboys, working at week-ends or during school holidays; if the necessary permission can be obtained, it is greatly to be hoped that an opportunity may be found in the near future for such work to be undertaken, in order to settle the historical problem. There are two alternatives. Either Carzield was abandoned *circa* A.D. 160, after an occupation of only twenty years at the outside (and in that case its series of pottery would be of exceptional value for its close dating, whilst the historical implications would require serious consideration), or, like most other Antonine sites in Scotland, it was reoccupied (after a break of indeterminate duration) shortly after the middle of the second century, and the higher road level represents the sole surviving structural evidence of that break. The problem certainly invites further attention from the spade, not merely to round off

[4] Particularly on the western side of the fort, on the slope down to the Nith, we might expect the Romans to have tipped their rubbish.

the examination of Carzield fort itself, but in order to settle its place in the general framework of the Roman occupation of southern Scotland in general and Dumfriesshire in particular.

II. THE SAMIAN WARE. By Eric Birley.

There is nothing to add to the brief notice of the half-dozen plain vessels already published,[5] and none of them require to be drawn; it will suffice to emphasise that they fall readily into the same period as the rest of the pottery.

The small group of figured Samian ware (fig. 1) includes two pieces, Nos. 1 and 2, for which parallels on Hadrianic sites can be quoted, and typologically they are undoubtedly earlier than A.D. 140, but these are best interpreted as "survivals," brought to Carzield on its first occupation in the early years of Antoninus Pius; similar Hadrianic survivals can be adduced from the Antonine deposits at *Balmuildy* (pl. xxxiv. 56), *Mumrills* (fig. 78, 21), and *Old Kilpatrick* (pl. xii. 2 and 10). The latest pieces in the group, Nos. 5 and 6, by contrast need not be dated much earlier, and can hardly be dated much later, than A.D. 160; it may be noted that No. 5 has been heavily burnt, like much of the coarse pottery—and that may support the view that the occupation of the fort was either terminated or at least interrupted by a conflagration at about that date. It will be recalled that at the neighbouring fort of Birrens an inscription attests re-building in A.D. 158, and that excavations there have shown reason to suppose that that re-building followed destruction by fire. We may be justified in concluding that the same historical explanation —presumably a native rising—applies in each case.

The soil at Carzield is in general not favourable to the preservation of Samian ware, and none of the pieces is in very good condition, No. 6 in particular being very much abraded; in consequence, some of the decoration is not now easy to decipher. Detailed notes on the individual

[5] Cf. "Transactions" XXII., 162; Dragendorff's forms 18/31, 31 and 33 were each represented by two vessels.

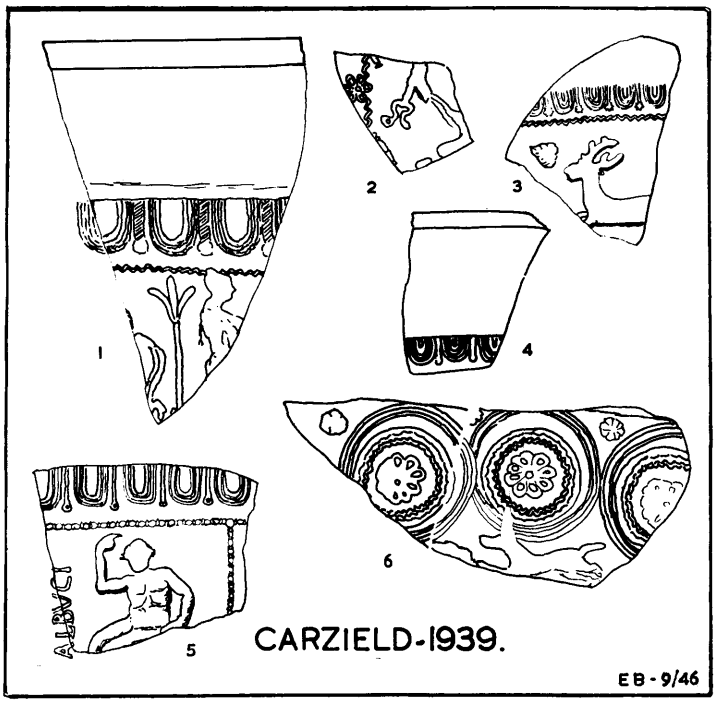


Fig. 1. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

pieces follow; it may be premised that the figure-types[6] usually descended from potter to potter, often continuing in use for upwards of a generation, so that they seldom enable us to identify the maker of any given bowl on which they occur, though in some cases (e.g., No. 3) they may justify firm attribution to a particular period; the smaller decorative details, however, as in the case of No. 2, often allow far closer dating.

1. Parts of two figure-types are preserved: to l., the arm only (poorly impressed in the mould) of the *seated man to l.*, D.534a; to r., *Diana with the large hind*, D.64. Both types occur freely from the time of Trajan (styles of BVTRIO, DONNAVCVS, and IOENALIS) till the middle of the second century (ADVOCISVS and DIVIXTVS used both of them, BANVVS and CINNAMVS the latter only); but the bold *ovolo*, with a *rosette* (badly blurred in this case) awkwardly set at the end of a thick and rather clumsy corded tassel, *wavy line* below it, and *trifid* leaf surmounting the upright blurred *bead-row*, are all characteristic of a Hadrianic potter whose name is not yet known; examples of his work have been noted at Benwell on Hadrian's Wall, Cambridge, and London, and he has several obvious points of contact with the Hadrianic potter BASSVS; vessels in the latter's style have come from Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall.

2. Fragment with a poorly impressed portion of the *scarf-dancer*, D.219, used by several potters of the period Trajan-Hadrian; the *wavy line, rosette and astragali* (both across the wavy line and in the field) are reminiscent of the Hadrianic potter, G. IVLIVS VIBIVS, though not identical with his types.

3. The *stag*, D.874, was used by CINNAMVS and other Antonine potters; cf. *Balmuildy*, pl. xxxvi. 87;

[6] I quote Déchelette's classification of types (D. followed by a numeral, referring to the second volume of his "Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine"); for a conspectus of the potters who used individual types, reference may be made to Oswald's "Index of figure-types," which includes a table of equations with Déchelette's series.

Mumrills, fig. 77, 10; and *Old Kilpatrick*, pl. xiv. 41; the neat *ovolo* with small rosette terminal to its tongue, and wavy line below, seem nearer to the style of ATTIANVS, though not identical with any of his known types.

4. Rim fragment; of the decoration, only a somewhat featureless *ovolo* survives. Probably Lezoux ware, certainly Antonine.

5. Fragment, burnt black in a wood fire, carrying part of the potter's stamp ALBVCI, among the decoration. ALBVCIVS was a Lezoux potter of the Antonine period (cf. *Mumrills*, fig. 77, 12), whose *floruit* may be set nearer 160 than 140; the figure-type, *Jupiter seated to l.*, D.4, was used more frequently by him than by any other potter. Note the characteristic *ovolo* and the use of *astragali* in series in place of bead-row or wavy line.

6. Two pieces conjoined, in very soft and friable condition, from an East Gaulish bowl. I cannot identify its origin with certainty, but it was perhaps made at Lavoye (cf. *Saalburg Jahrbuch viii.*, 1934, pl. xiii.).

For so small a handful of figured pieces, Carzeld has yielded a remarkably high proportion of interesting ones; but it is obvious that a far wider basis for dating the occupation of the site is called for, and the present group cannot be regarded as more than a suggestive sample.

III. THE COARSE POTTERY. By J. P. Gillam.

The pieces illustrated in figures 2 and 3 include most of the fragments of coarse pottery that could be drawn. The selection is representative. Two-thirds of the fragments found are in grey or black fumed ware, which may be described as burnished or polished. Almost every vessel shows signs of exposure, in varying degrees, to fire (often after fracture); this evidence of burning is most striking in the case of the lid, No. 18.

Flat-rimmed platters are the most frequent single type; their commonness in Antonine deposits was noted by Mr Miller at *Balmuildy;* together with cooking-pots and mortaria, platters make up almost the whole of the Carzield series. As types the platters are not closely dateable, but

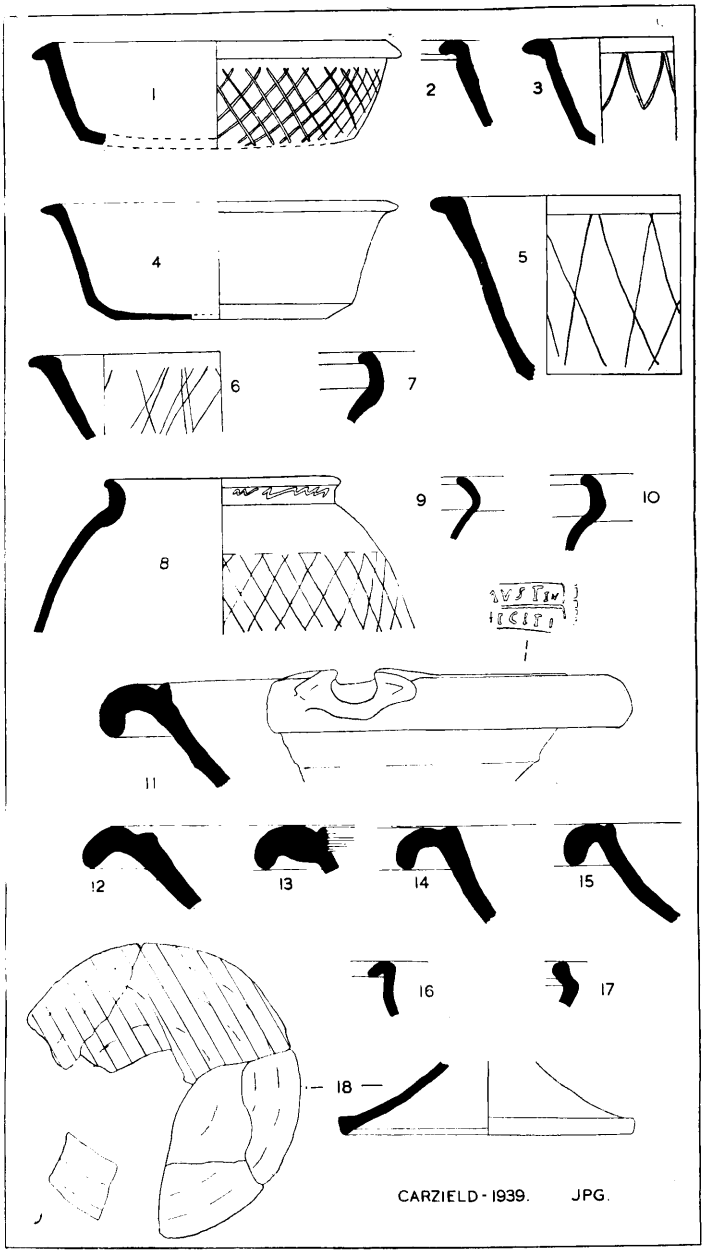


Fig. 2. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

it may be noted that there is no example here with either the deep chamfer between base and wall characteristic of Hadrianic deposits, or the completely flat base usual in the third century. The chamfer on No. 4 is slight, while No. 1 has a gently curved base. The cooking-pot rims are less outbent than those from the deposit at *Bewcastle* dated to immediately before A.D. 197;[7] the fabric of the mortaria, a hard reddish ware, is typical of the middle of the second century. To sum up, there is no single vessel amongst the whole group that one is compelled to assign to a date earlier or later than the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161). Detailed notes follow.

(a) **Platters.**

1. Light grey fumed ware, rim partly burnt bright pink on surface and in fracture. This vessel is tending towards, but has not so flat a base as, *Corbridge*, fig. 8, 6 (second Antonine level); for the base, cf. *Birdoswald*, No. 72 (Wall period I.). Diameter, 7 in.

2. Black fumed ware, burnt, showing fine white crystaline grit in fracture; the outer surface lacks the usual scored pattern. Diameter, 6¼ in.

3. Black fumed ware; cf. *Birdoswald*, No. 65 (period I.). Diameter, 6 in.

4. Black fumed ware. Diameter, 7 in.

5. Large platter in black fumed ware, grey in fracture. Diameter, 10 in.

6. Black fumed ware; rather coarse, dark grey clay, sandy and friable. Diameter, 7½ in.

(b) **Cooking-pots.**

7. Black fumed ware, grey in fracture, burnt pink in places. Cf. *Birdoswald*, No. 18b (period I.), and *Corbridge*, fig. 9, 12 (first Antonine). Diameter, 5 in.

8. Black ware, burnished above the zone of decoration; note the external wavy line immediately below the rim.

[7] Cf. Cumb. and Westm. "Transactions," NS, XXXVIII., 1938, 219 f.

Cf. *M/c* 9, No. 58 (period I.b); *Corbridge*, fig. 9, 2 (second Antonine); and *T* 50*b*, No. 85 (period I.b). Diameter, 5 in.

9. Fine, hard, smooth grey ware; cf. *Birrens*, fig. 30, 4 (level III.). Diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.

10. Grey fumed ware; cf. *Birdoswald*, No. 18 (period I.). Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Fig. 3. Cooking-pot with two diametrically opposed countersunk handles; a scored line runs horizontally above the zone of hatched decoration. Except for the handles this is a typical cooking-pot of the Antonine period. Vessels with similar handles are common in the south of Britain in the first century, and in the north in the latter part of the fourth; they occur only sporadically in the intervening period. Diameter, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.

(c) **Mortaria.**

11. Hard, pinkish buff ware, with traces of a cream slip; grey in mid-fracture at the thickest part of the rim; large, well-worn, multi-coloured grit on the interior surface. The spout is small, neat and well-moulded, contrasting both with the heavy moulded spouts of pre-Hadrianic mortaria and the thumb-depression spouts of the third century and later. There are identical stamps impressed on either side of the spout, at five inches distance, reading *Austin(us) fecit* —"Austinus made (this vessel)." Mr Birley tells me that mortaria with the identical stamp have been found at Balmuildy and Corbridge, whilst mortaria carrying one or other of the remaining stamp types used by AVSTINVS have been found at Birrens and Durisdeer in Dumfriesshire; Bar Hill, Camelon, Mumrills and Newstead; Cardurnock and Carlisle in Cumberland, Ambleside in Westmorland, and Chesters in Northumberland. This distribution suggests that the potter worked somewhere in the north-west of Britain, possibly in the Carlisle district; his Antonine date is not in question. Diameter, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in.

12. Light brick colour, hard and rough; much worn or burnt; traces of white grit remain on the inner surface. Diameter, *circa* 13 in.

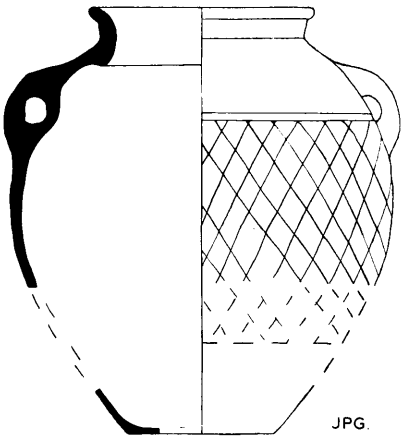


Fig. 3. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

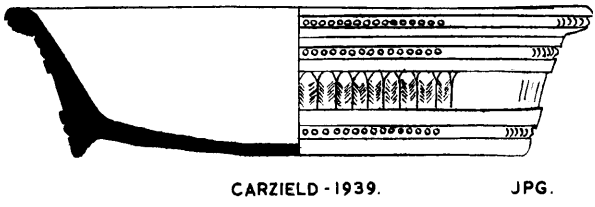


Fig. 4. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

13. Bright pink ware, soft and rather smooth. Diameter, *c.* 11 in.

14. Fabric as No. 13; cf. *Mumrills*, fig. 91, 21, and *Balmuildy*, pl. xli. 26. Diameter, 7 in.

15. Fabric as No. 11, surface blackened by smoke; medium, well-worn black grit. Diameter, 8 in.

(d) **Miscellaneous vessels.**

16. Wide mouthed jar or bowl, grey in fracture, burnt brick red. Diameter, 5½ in.

17. Small jar, biscuit coloured, with traces of cream slip inside and outside; light grey in fracture. Diameter, 5 in.

18. Lid in seven fragments, three of them grey and four burnt brick red; three grey and three red fragments fit together, showing that the burning occurred after breakage. Diameter, 6¼ in.

(e) **Post-Roman.**

Fig. 4. Small dish, with an impressed pattern in imitation of silver ware. The fabric is harder and more compact than that of most Romano-British coarse pottery; it is brick red, and fairly smooth. No parallels have yet been noted, but a date somewhere in the eighteenth century seems possible.

The parallels quoted from other sites are not so much intended to establish the date of the Carzield deposit, as to suggest correspondence between it and certain other second-century deposits in the north of Britain. One would expect the Carzield material to correspond to the first Antonine series at Corbridge; and it is not impossible that the break in occupation, between periods I.a and I.b in the milecastles and turrets of Hadrian's Wall, fell at about the same time as the establishment of the fort at Carzield. In that case, the Carzield material would be intermediate between the types of periods I.a and I.b on Hadrian's wall, but could display affinity with either or both groups; and in any event the Carzield series will be overlapped by that of Wall period

I. from Birdoswald: the extent of its correspondence with the pottery from the successive occupations of the forts on the Antonine Wall remains to be determined.

The following table will illustrate the correspondence between the occupation deposits on a selection of northern sites in a series of twenty-year periods; round numbers have been taken for convenience, the equation between them and historical events being as follows:

A.D. 120: The building of Hadrian's Wall (A.D. 122-128).

A.D. 140: The Antonine re-occupation of Scotland (A.D. 139-142).

A.D. 160: The governorships of Julius Verus (A.D. 155-158) and/or Calpurnius Agricola (A.D. 162-166).

A.D. 180: Barbarian inroads and the punitive expedition of Ulpius Marcellus (A.D. 181-184).

A.D. 200: Barbarian inroads following the withdrawal of troops to the Continent by Clodius Albinus (A.D. 196-197).

TABLE OF OCCUPATION PERIODS.

	120-140	140-160	160-180	180-200
Carzield	Unoccupied	First or only period	?	?
Birdoswald	Wall Period I.	Wall Period I.	Wall Period I.	Wall Period I.
Turrets and Milecastles	Wall Period I.a	Wall Period I.b or intermission	Wall Period I.b	Wall Period 1.b
Corbridge	Intermission	First Antonine	Second Antonine	Second Antonine
Birrens	Period II.	Period II.	Period III.	Period III.
Antonine Wall	Unoccupied	Period I.	Period II.?	Period III.?

The periods, as arranged above, are neither firm nor final. For example, the three structural periods observed on the Antonine Wall have been set forth in accordance with the conclusions reached by Sir George Macdonald in the second edition of *The Roman Wall in Scotland*,[8] except that the end of the third period has been advanced from *circa* 184 to *circa* 197; but there are several other arrangements (all of them, in the present state of our knowledge, possible though none capable of proof) of the periods of the Antonine Wall within a historical framework: (i.) If all three periods fell within the second century, it is still uncertain whether the first ended *circa* 158 or *circa* 162, or whether the third ended soon after 184 or in 196. (ii.) If, however, we admit the possibility that the forts on the Antonine Wall were re-occupied under Septimius Severus, *circa* 208-211,[9] then we are left with three main possibilities: (a) that the first period ended and the second began *circa* 160; (b) that the first period ended and the second began *circa* 180; or (c) that there was an intermission between the first and second periods of occupation, lasting from *circa* 160 to 180. But in any event it is certain that the first occupation of the forts on the Antonine Wall began in or shortly after 140, and it is reasonable to assume that their first structural period ended *circa* 160.

Any conclusions reached on the coarse pottery from Carzield must necessarily be provisional; only further digging can finally answer the question whether the fort was re-built and re-occupied after *circa* 160. If there were indeed two periods of occupation, as the two levels in the *intervallum* road seem to suggest, and if the second of these followed an intermission in the occupation, or a disaster (as the evidence of burning would suggest), then the group of pottery certainly belongs as a whole to the first period, though the lack of stratification means that it may be con-

[8] "The Roman Wall in Scotland," 2nd ed., 1934, 477 f.; cf., however, Mr Birley's observations in "Transactions," XX., 1938, 159 f., and "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," LXXII., 1938, 342 f.

[9] Cf. "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," LXXII., 340 f.

taminated by a few later fragments. The similarity noted between some of the Carzield vessels and examples from the second Antonine level at Corbridge might be taken to suggest such contamination; but it is to be expected that material deposited over a period of twenty years will include pieces showing affinities with that in use in the immediately following period: compare the converse case, two of the Carzield fragments of figured Samian ware surviving from the immediately preceding period.

The alternative explanation would be that Carzield fort, built on a virgin site, shows only one main structural period, and no later re-occupation; the coarse pottery helps to date the fort to a period that may well correspond to the first period of the Antonine Wall. If this equation proves correct, the site will date the pottery, which provides a small uncontaminated group of early Antonine coarse pottery types — and we can say of each, whether its life as an individual vessel or as a type was long or short, that it was definitely in use in the period 140-160. Such a closely dated series would provide a most welcome key for unlocking the problems of other sites in the north of Britain.

15th FEBRUARY, 1946.

Chairman—The President (Dr. T. R. BURNETT).

Early Days in Dumfries.

By Miss BALFOUR-BROWNE.

The lecturer gave some charming historical vignettes, mainly on the Grey Friars, Bonnie Prince Charlie, and Burke and Hare.

Some Relations of John Paul Jones.

By R. C. Reid.

My attention was recently drawn by Mr Campbell to a small bundle of papers that had long lain in the office of his predecessors, Messrs Primrose & Gordon, Dumfries. They are dated 1847-8, and relate to the estate of Capt. John Paul Jones in the service of the U.S.A., who at that date had been dead for half a century. The papers consist of a certified copy of the Captain's Will, an affidavit as to his heirs, a pedigree chart explanatory of the affidavit, and two covering business letters.

One of those covering letters, dated 18th August, 1848, from Richard Coxe of Washington to W. C. Maitland of New York, states that Primrose & Gordon had some claim against the deceast Miss J. Taylor, one of the heirs of Paul Jones, and that she was entitled to some portion of the money due from the U.S. to Jones, and that Mr Gordon looked to this fund as a means of reimbursing himself. The letter adds the following as to the state of the law in the U.S.A. : There is no means furnished by the law of this District by which this fund can be made specifically responsible for this debt. But after Miss Taylor's administrator receives the fund an action may be sustained to receive what Miss Taylor actually owed.

Such was the legal position, and it must have been in preparation for such an action that Mr Gordon secured this certified copy of Jones' will and fortified it with the affidavit.

But little is known of the relatives of Paul Jones.

His father was John Paul, gardener at Arbigland, the residence of Robert Craik, M.P., who undoubtedly befriended the son. His mother was Jean M,Duff. Their issue was :

(1) William Paul, who was established in Frederickburgh, Virginia, as a merchant, dying without issue in 1774.

(2) Elizabeth, died unmarried.

(3) Jane, wife of William Taylor, watchmaker in Dumfries.

(4) Mary Anne, spouse of (1) Mr Young; (2) Mr Lowden.

(5) Unnamed, died in infancy.
(6) Unnamed, died in infancy.
(7) Capt. John Paul Jones, born 6th July, 1747.

John Paul, the gardener at Arbigland, had a brother, George Paul, also a gardener, at St. Mary's Isle who retired from that employment about 1750, and started a market garden business in Kirkcudbright, and was dead by 1753. His wife's name is not recorded, but he left the following known issue:

(1) George Paul.
(2) John Paul, carpenter and builder at Kirkcudbright, died at age of 72; married Mary Kerr, who survived him and died in 1828, leaving 12 children, of whom John Paul settled, c. 1800, at Charleston, Virginia, served as a Captain in the war of 1812, retired and returned to Kirkcudbright in 1828, where he married Isabella M'Whinnie, and died on 2nd June, 1846, with four sons and four daughters, one of whom was mother of William Birnie.
(3) Elizabeth.
(4) Margaret, spouse of Andrew White, boatman.

According to the family tradition, both the gardeners, John and George Paul, were sons of an unnamed man at Leith who kept a " mail-garden " there, having come from Fife. But there were Pauls in the Stewartry long before that. On 29th January, 1678, a John Paul in Almerness gave a bond for £10 11s Scots to John Tait in Castlegower (*Stewart Court Deeds*, envelope XIX.).

The above genealogical data is derived from *The Life and Letters of John Paul Jones* in 2 vols. by Mrs Reginald de Koven, supplemented by the affidavit prepared for Mr Gordon's claim.

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN GREGAN, 1847.

John Gregan of Dumfries, in the County of Dumfries, North Britain, cabinetmaker, maketh oath and saith as follows—vizt—That he is now 75 years of age; that he knew and was well acquainted with the family of Captain John Paul Jones, formerly in the service in the United States

of America, and he, this dependent, when a boy also knew and remembers to have seen the mother of the said John Paul Jones; that the said John Paul Jones at this deponent understands and very (*sic*) believes, died at Paris in or about the year 1792; that he left no brothers or other relatives surviving him except two sisters, the one named Jean or Janet, who was wife of William Taylor of Dumfries aforesaid, watchmaker, and the other named Mary, who was married *first* to Robert Young of Whitehaven in Co. Cumberland, mariner, deceased, and *afterwards to* Mark Louden of Stank, in the parish of Ruthwell and Co. Dumfries, aforesaid, farmer, also deceased; that the said Jean or Janet Paul afterwards Taylor died many years ago, leaving two and only two children surviving her procreated of the marriage between her and the said William Taylor—vizt—William Taylor and Janet or Jess Taylor.

That the said last named William Taylor, who afterwards went to and was for sometime resident in the said United States of America, died there as this deponent understands and verily believes about 30 years ago, leaving two and only two lawful children who as this deponent also understands and verily believes have both since died unmarried and without leaving lawful issue.

That the aforesaid Janet or Jess Taylor who was sometime resident in Dumfries also afterwards went to and was resident in the city of York in the said United States of America, where, as this deponent understands and verily believes, she died on or about 1843 likewise unmarried and without leaving lawful issue.

That in this way the lawful descendants of the above named Jean or Janet Paul afterwards Taylor have all failed and become extinct.

That the above named Mary Paul afterwards Young and afterwards Louden also died many years ago; that of the marriage between her and the said Robert Young, her first husband, there was procreated two and only two children—vizt—Jane Young afterwards Williamson of Dumfries aforesaid who is still alive and who is widow of David Williamson of Dumfries aforesaid merchant,—and Elizabeth

Young afterwards M'Kinnell of Thornhill in Co. Dumfries, now deceased, who was spouse and afterwards widow of Thomas M'Kinnell of Minnyhive, in the parish of Glencairn, Co. Dumfries aforesaid, gentleman. That the said Elizabeth Young afterwards M'Kinnell died at Thornhill aforesaid on or about the [ ] May in this present year, leaving her surviving the following children procreated of the marriage between her and the said Thomas M'Kinnell—vizt—Robert M'Kinnell of Thornhill aforesaid, farmer,—Mary Ann M'Kinnell—Jane M'Kinnell—and Janet M'Kinnell all of Thornhill aforesaid, spinsters—Samuel M'Kinnell also of Thornhill aforesaid, Postmaster, and David M'Kinnell of Allantoun in Co. Dumfries, joiner.

That of the marriage between the aforesaid Mary Paul and Mark Louden her second husband there were procreated four and only four children who survived their said mother —vizt—Nancy, Samuel, Mary Ann and John Louden. That the said Nancy Louden and Samuel Louden both died many years ago, unmarried and without leaving lawful issue. That the said Mary Ann Londen is still alive and is resident at Glencaple Quay in the parish of Carlaverock aforesaid.

That the said John Louden a good many years ago left this country and went to the said United States of America where, as the deponent understands and verily believes he was married to a lady of the name of Ann Leckie now deceased. That the said John Louden as this deponent understands and verily believes, died in the said United States of America about 10 years ago, leaving two and only two children him surviving—vizt—George Leckie Louden and Mary Ann Louden afterwards Arnott.

That the said George Leckie Louden died at Philadelphia in the said United States of America, leaving surviving him, as this dependent understands and verily believes, one only child—Marion Stewart Louden—procreated of the marriage between him and Frances Elizabeth Stewart. That the said last named Mary Ann Louden, daughter of the said John Londen, who is now widow of Archibald Arnott, surgeon in the service of the Hon. East India Company, is still alive and is presently resident at the Glencaple Quay in Co. Dumfries aforesaid.

The Littlegill Murders, 1589.

By R. C. Reid.

This is the story of a vendetta in which a Dumfriesshire family then resident in Lanarkshire were actively involved, and which led to their return to this county, where till within the last 50 years their descendants have been Baronets and prominent Borderers. We do not know why they made their migration, but when the story of this vendetta has been told we may well believe that it was because they had made Lanarkshire too hot for further residence there.

James Johnston of Westraw, in the parish of Pettinane, was descended of Dumfriesshire stock, his ancestor having received a grant of half of Pettinane in 1455 as a reward for his services at the battle of Arkinholme. He was the 5th Laird of Westraw; must have been born about 1560 and was dead by 1634. He was therefore still a young man when in 1589 he was implicated in the Littlegill Murders. Now the local annals of this period are full of acts of violence, slaughters and bloodletting. Toleration was unknown, any disagreement led to blows, blows to bloodshed, and consequential sudden death was too often followed by vendetta. Such, we now know, was the origin of the Littlegill Murders. If, therefore, we are to seek the motive for the crime, it is necessary to go back to the previous generation.

His father, James Johnston, the 4th Laird, had led a violent life and came to a violent end. He had been accused of participation in the murder of David Riccio, but, like the rest of the perpetrators of that outrage, was never brought to justice.[1] He came to an untimely end in January, 1571, in the commotions arising from the conflict between the Regent Morton and the powerful Hamilton family representing Queen Mary and the Roman Catholic interests. It is said that he was slain by Lords John and Claud Hamilton,

1 "R.P.C."

sons of the Duke of Chatelherault, at the siege of Draffan Castle.

The Castle of Draffan now goes by the name of Craignethan, and its extensive and imposing ruins render it an object of major archæological interest in Lanarkshire. It was given its new name when purchased in 1661 from Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, by Andrew Hay of Craignethan. Forfeited from the Douglases in 1455, it passed to the 1st Lord Hamilton, and is said to have been built by Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart, known as the Bastard. It is obviously of various dates and periods, and was a place of great strength. It must have been a storm centre in the fierce and complicated politics of the century.

In the year 1570 its owners, the Hamiltons, who formed the Queen's party, were in armed opposition to the Regent and the Kirk. Drury, the English Commander from Berwick, had ravaged the Hamilton estates in Clydesdale in May, and a long list of their destroyed seats is recorded, but Draffen is not amongst them.[2] But Morton was determined to clear the Hamiltons out of what he called "the denne of Dreffan,"[3] which Sussex, writing to Cecil, described as "a strong house of the Dukes but situat in a hole so that it is commanded on every part and has no ordinance."[4] Between July and October, 1570, Morton must have got possession, for the State Papers include this report: "The Regent by October, 1570, having departed to England, the Hamiltons raised their heads again . . . and the castell of Draffen assegit and last contrenit to render before the Regent returnit in Scotland and sensyne has been retenit agins the Kingis autoritie."[5]

So at some date after October, 1570, the Hamiltons besieged and re-took Draffen Castle, and at this siege Westraw was slain. No details have survived as to how long the siege lasted or what were the terms of its surrender. But it may well be that Westraw occupied a prominent

2 "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 178.
3 "Cal. of Scots Papers," III., p. 301.
4 "Ibid.," p. 182.
5 "Ibid.," p. 404.

position in its defence. That he was a henchman of Morton is clear, as he held, of the Regent, the property of Mote of Robertoun, which had probably descended to him from his mother, Elizabeth Douglas, believed to be a sister of the Regent Morton. It is equally clear that he did not perish in fair fight. The letter of slains and the vendetta should be evidence enough. If we may offer a conjecture, it is that Westraw may have been in command of the garrison and surrendered on honourable terms, which were broken by the Hamiltons. Johnston may have proved a thorn in their flesh, and with him in their hands they may well have seized the opportunity of getting rid of him. Some dirty work must have taken place, to which the Lords Claud and John Hamilton may have been privy, though the actual deed was done by one Alexander Baillie of Littlegill.

The crime, of course, caused an outburst of vengeful feelings, which were only partly assuaged by payment of compensation. Morton himself acted as intermediary between the Hamiltons and Johnstons. In March, 1574-5, the Hamiltons agreed to pay 2000 merks to the widow and bairns. Letters of slains were issued next day by the widow and the Regent to the Hamiltons, who completed the provisions of the assythement in this picturesque manner.[6] This is the description by a contemporary who may have been present:

> "On 8 March, 1574, between 11 and 12 of the day [Lord] John [Hamilton] abbot of Abirbrothoc and his brother Lord Claud, in the invart clois of the Abbay [of Holyrood] presentit ane nakit sword be the poynt to the Earl of Angus for the slauchter of umquhile James Johnstoun of Westerhall servitor to the said Earl; and Gavin Hamilton of Raploch . . . [and many other named Hamiltons] . . . ilk ane of thame efter [each] uther, in lykmaner presentit ane nakit sword to George Douglas capitane of the Castell of Edinburgh qulk he deliverit to the Laird of Kirkmichael because he was neirest of kin to the said James Johnstoun."[7]

[6] "Annandale Peerage Case," p. 137-8.
[7] "Diurnall," p. 346.

It was characteristic of the times that after this ceremony the Hamiltons were embraced by the Regent and remained to dinner with him.

This colourful ceremony was a token of penance and was a regular feature of assythements for slaughter.

The letters of slains issued by the widow and her friends forgave all the Hamiltons for the crime. But one man was specifically excepted — Alexander Baillie of Littlegill. For him there was to be no forgiveness. Clear notice had been given him that the Johnstons intended to settle their score with him. In future he was a marked man. Henceforth he must walk warily and with circumspection, if he was to survive.

Alexander Baillie of Littlegill was a cadet of the Baillies of Lamington, and held of the barony of Wandel the 5 merkland of Littlegill, in Wandel parish, facing Roberton across the Clyde. For a minor laird he occupied a position of some prominence in the county, being an active adherent, as was Baillie of Lamington,[8] of Queen Mary, and the Hamiltons. He married Jean Hamilton, daughter of James, 1st Earl of Arran, and widow of Sir Wm. Baillie of Lamington, Master of the Queen's Wardrobe.[9] So it was natural that his political predilections lay with the Hamilton party. He had many enemies. The most dangerous, because the nearest to hand, were the Jardines of Applegarth, Dumfriesshire, who had been granted the barony of Wandel or Hartsyde about the year 1329, which they retained till 1617, when it passed to the Earls of Angus. The Lairds of Applegarth were non-resident, but many Jardine retainers were tenants in the barony. There had long been trouble between the Baillies and the Jardines. Some time prior to 1550 John Jardine of Applegarth raided Littlegill and carried off immense loot, which is detailed *in extenso* in a Crown Charter.[10] They carried off Alexander Baillie's father,

8 Wm. Baillie of Lamington was in charge of Bothwell Castle for the Hamiltons ("R.P.C., III., 663).

9 "Upper Ward of Lanarkshire," I., 235.

10 "R.M.S.," 1546-80, 451.

imprisoning him in Spedling's Tower and Elshieshields, thereafter transporting him to England and delivering him to Sir Thomas Wharton, the English Warden of the Marches, who confined him in the Castle of Carlisle till he found caution in £800 Scots as his ransom from the English. Once home again, Alexander's father had sued Jardine, and was awarded nearly £3000 Scots against him. Failing payment the Crown gave Alexander's father a charter of apprising of most of the barony of Wandel.[11] These lands were retained by the Baillies till March, 1558-9, when Alexander resigned a large part of them to the Jardines upon a part payment of the full sum.[12]

Such justice must have been gall and wormwood to the Jardines, but the relationship between the two families seems to have been relatively quiet till 1583, when the Jardines attacked and burnt Littlegill. Sir Alexander Jardine was at once apprehended and warded in Edinburgh Castle, whence he emitted two petitions, the first on 23rd April, which resulted in the release of all his followers as innocent of the charge, whilst he himself was retained in confinement. The second petition in May requested either that he be brought to trial or that his "strait ward" in the Castle be relaxed to ward within the Burgh. Though his wife appeared to support him, the Privy Council refused this relaxation, but named the 5th June for the trial.[13] But Sir Alexander decided not to await that risk. With his personal attendant, William Tailzefeir, he broke ward and escaped. John Stewart, the watchman in the Castle, was arrested for helping his flight.[14] But not till November, 1584, did he find John Tweedy of Drumelyear as pledge that he would underlie the Law for burning Littlegill and escaping from the Castle.[15] Thereafter Sir Alexander kept away from Littlegill. But his son was not intent to allow the feud to

11 "Ibid.," 451.
12 "R.M.S.," 1546-80, 1347.
13 "R.P.C.," III., 566.
14 "Pitcairn," I., 108.
15 "Pitcairn," I., 135.

die of inanition. On 30th July, 1585, along with Thomas Jardine of Burnock and other Jardines, he raided Littlegill and drove off 60 cattle. Jean Hamilton, wife of Littlegill, at once appealed to the Privy Council.[16] It is rather suggestive that it was always left to Jean Hamilton to appeal to the Law. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Alexander Baillie, in fear of his life, was keeping out of the way, leaving his wife to hold the fort at Littlegill alone. It must be remembered that the Jardines still owed about half of the damages for their treatment of Alexander Baillie's father in 1550, and part still of the barony of Wandel was in Baillie hands under that apprisement—an impossible position in the eyes of the Jardines. The Baillies, of course, would not legally release the lands, from which neither side could have derived any benefit.

It was at this stage that James Johnston of Westraw appeared upon the scene. If the Baillies were in a position of embarrassment that was Johnston's opportunity.

James Johnston, the 5th Laird of Westraw, was served heir to his father on 20th December, 1580, whilst still a minor, the Act of Curatory being completed the same day.[17] His first act was to re-establish his right to the Mote of Roberton, as against Lord Maxwell, in June, 1582.[18] It is significant that the Baillies of Littlegill had got possession. Johnston seems to have made no attempt by Law to eject them. He probably anticipated that the settlement of the blood feud would *ipso facto* determine the possession of the Mote. Not for a moment was he to be diverted from the blood feud. His father had been slain; as eldest son his duty was clear. *Lex Talionis* was his only guide.

With one eye on the Baillies Westraw sought an opportunity to deal with another of his father's slayers. Robert Hamilton of Inchmauchane was at Stirling, probably in the entourage of the well-hated James Stewart, Earl of Arran. The fall of Arran on 2nd November, 1585, gave Westraw

16 "R.P.C."
17 "Acts and Decreets." Vol. 89, f. 88.
18 "Acts and Decreets," Vol. 100, f. 197.

his chance. Westraw and a horde of Armstrongs was at the capture of Stirling Castle that day, which has been described as a bloodless Revolution.[19] So it was for all—save Westraw. He sought out Robert Hamilton, to whom flight was impossible, as the Armstrongs, instead of seizing the castle, had stolen all the horses. Westraw found him in the Park of Stirling and slew him.[20] At that date Westraw must have been about 24. Then he turned his attention to Littlegill.

But it was nigh four years before his opportunity came. In the interval he cultivated the acquaintance of Thomas Jardine of Burnock, a desperate character from Dumfriesshire, who, as will be seen, was ready, no doubt at a price, to undertake any crime. Such a partner was always a valuable precaution for a man of Westraw's standing. If anything went wrong and they were brought to justice, it would be possible for Westraw to plead that his partner had exceeded his instructions, and in as much as Thomas Jardine was a badly wanted man, all the blame could be skilfully diverted on to his head. Justice would thus be satisfied, whilst the real culprit might get off very lightly. If such were the calculations of Westraw, the sequel will show that they were shrewdly prophetic.

In the spring of 1589, Alexander Baillie, wherever he may have been residing,[20a] was back in Littlegill. At once Westraw and Burnock got busy. In February they attacked and burnt the Places of Moit and Davidshaw,[21] but Baillie was at neither. On 6th July they found him at Littlegill,[22] and there killed him and then proceeded to burn down the tower of Littlegill. Within it were Rachel Baillie, described both as his daughter and his niece, and two retainers, Andro Aitchison and Katharine Forrest, all three of whom perished

19 "A. Laing," II., 316.

20 "Calderwood," IV., 391.

20a In 1586 he served at an assize at Edinburgh ("Pitcairn," I., 149).

21 "Pitcairn," I., 184.

22 "Pitcairn," III., 54.

in the conflagration. There must have been a desperate resistance, for it is difficult to believe that the two women were immolated in cold blood.[23]

At once the clumsy and slow-moving wheels of Justice were set in motion. Though the actual perpetrators were Westraw, his henchman, Mathew Moffat, and the notorious Thomas Jardine of Burnock, their respective clan chiefs were suspected and at once appehended. In the days when there was no organised body of police for the prevention of crime and the apprehension of criminals, it was a common practice for the Crown to seize a clan chief and keep him in durance vile till he agreed to hand over the criminal; so James Johnston of that Ilk and Alex. Jardine, yr. or Applegarth, were incarcerated, and on 14th October were brought to trial. Both denied having anything to do with the crime, and, seeing the case going in their favour, Mathew Baillie, son of the victim, procured a warrant signed by the King for an adjournment of the hearing till 10th January following, which the Court obeyed in spite of the vehement protests of the accused. But the adjourned hearing cannot have been held; both the accused must have been relaxed for lack of evidence. But Johnston of that Ilk had to find caution not to reset Westraw, and that the widowed Jean Hamilton should not be harmed by him.[24]

Westraw and Burnock for a while disappeared, perhaps southwards across the Border, and for five years nothing is heard of them. But Westraw was probably back in Lanarkshire in 1595, when Sir James Johnston of that Ilk again had to find surety not to reset him.[25] The next month John Baillie, son of the murdered Alexander, entered a protest that though his family, under direct pressure from the Crown, had given an assurance for a year to the Jardines, that assurance was not to include Westraw.[26] Another five years elapse before further reference to the crime occurs.

23 "Pitcairn," I., 184, and II., 491.
24 "R.P.C.," IV., 420.
25 "R.P.C.," V., 672.
26 "R.P.C.," V., 277.

In the interval Westraw had, no doubt, been able to lay most of the blame upon Burnock, who skulked, still unapprehended, in the South. Westraw even came out into the open and persuaded James Bannatyne of the Mote to be his surety that he would, *if required*, deliver up his dwelling places of Mote and Westraw and enter ward in Blackness Castle at the instance of the Treasurer and of Mathew Baillie of Littlegill.[27] He must have been pretty sure of himself by that time.

Search has failed to reveal any trial of Westraw. After all, ten years had elapsed since the crime, and he had had plenty of time to concoct a cast-iron defence. But Thomas Jardine of Burnock was kept on the run. By the summer of 1605 Thomas was apprehended, perhaps by the Warden of the Marches, and found sureties to stand his trial. Such was the usual procedure, but it was taking a risk with a man like Burnock. He did not appear for his trial and his sureties were forfeited.[28] Four years later Burnock was brought to Justice. This time no sureties were allowed, and on 9th August, 1609, he was brought to trial charged with a long list of crimes.[29] The Littlegill murder took pride of place, being the first item of the inditement, but it was easily eclipsed by some of the other items. They included two other murders and numerous cases of assaults, wounding, and incendiarism, thefts without number, the rape and ravishment of women with a charge of adultery thrown in—the whole of which inditement was ruled out of court because Thomas Jardine produced a Crown Remission dated 9th May, 1605. Remissions, of course, were easy to get; they had only to be paid for, and the Crown was always glad to accept the fee charged without asking too many searching questions.

But there was one crime not covered by the remission. Amidst so many crimes, Jardine may have overlooked it. But the astute Lord Advocate had not done so. Burnock had a man named James Thomson who was apparently one of

[27] "R.P.C.," VI., 789.
[28] "Pitcairn," II., 491.
[29] "Pitcairn," III., 54.

his followers. This man, in November, 1599, he murdered in a most cold-blooded way almost within sight of Littlegill. Thomson may have been guilty of treachery or may have threatened to denounce him. Jardine seized him, bound him hand and foot, and threw him into a pool of the Robertoun Burn, where he was drowned. This peculiarly brutal crime was not covered by the remission. So Burnock and his son, Umphra Jardine, were sentenced to be beheaded at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. So exactly 20 years after the Littlegill Murders were committed one only of the perpetrators suffered the penalty, and that for a different offence. That is a not unfair comment on conditions in the south-west of Scotland prior to the Union of the Crowns.

Though the record of it has not come to light, it is almost certain that Westraw had also provided himself with a remission. For in 1607 he was warded at St. Andrews and later in Edinburgh. It was open ward which gave him the freedom of the city, during which he figured in the unusual guise of a complainer, claiming protection from the brothers of Lord Maxwell, who had announced their intention of murdering him in his lodgings in Edinburgh. The next year he was present when his chief was treacherously slain by Lord Maxwell near Trailflat.

In his private affairs Westraw dealt with his neighbours, and even his own family, with the same inborn violence that marked his personality and career. He had married a Somerville of the house of Cambusnethan, and the *Memoirs of the Somervilles* are full of his exploits. This one is typical. It depicts a fight with Hew Somerville of the Writes. They had often before fought on equal terms. One day Hew was standing at the head of the West Bow in Edinburgh. Westraw was coming up the street behind him, and, fancying he stood there with his back turned in contempt, whipped out his sword, and crying "Turn, villain," he cut Hew on the hind head a deep and sore wound, the foulest stroke that Westraw was ever known to give, and acknowledged so and much regretted afterwards by himself. Hew, however, was on the higher ground, and was one of the tallest and

brawniest fighters of his day. He drew, and pressed Westraw down the hill. Westraw, being of low stature, was hard put to defend himself. The *Memoirs* continue the story:

> Thus they continued near a quarter of a hour, clearing the causeway so that in all the straight bow there was not one to be seen outside their shop doors, neither durst any man attempt to rid them, every stroke of their swords threatening present death both to themselves and others who should come near them. Having now come from the head of the Bow, near the foot thereof, Westraw being in a pair of black boots which for ordinary he wore close drawn up, was quite tired. Therefore he steps back within a shop door and stood upon his defence. The very last stroke that Writes gave went near to have broken his broadsword in pieces, having hit the lintel of the door, the mark whereof remained there for a long time. Thereafter the town being by this time all in an uproar, the halberdiers coming to seize them, they were separated and privately conveyed to their chambers. Their wounds were but slight, except that which Writes had upon his head proved very dangerous; for there were many bones taken out of it. However, at length he was perfectly cured and the parties themselves reconciled and the injuries forgotten.

So much for Westraw's neighbours. Let us see how he treated his relatives. One would have thought he might have had some sense of filial duty to his widowed mother, but he had no more bowels of pity for her than for anyone else. She was entitled to her terce from Westraw, and certain of the tenants had been directed to pay their maills to her as terce. The assets of a small laird in the 16th century were quite inadequate if he was to be a roisterer in Edinburgh, and his mother's terce must have been a serious drain on Westraw's paternal estate. Accordingly by threats he made these tenants pay the full rents to him. His indignant mother appealed to the Law, and the tenants, though they had already parted with the rent, were compelled by process to provide her with her terce. Sore at heart, they went to

Lanark with some horses to sell at the mart in order to pay the terce. But their rascally laird got wind of it, and, in defiance of Law and Sheriff alike, went to the Mercat Cross " with certane theivis of Annindale " and violently went off with the horses. What happened ultimately to the wretched tenants is not recorded.[30]

In 1605 Westraw acquired the lands of Glendining in Dumfriesshire, naming his new residence Westerhall, and parting with Westraw a few years later. In his long life he married no less than four times. His vitality must have been immense, for, when close on 70, he achieved a natural son by an Edinburgh woman.

30 " Annandale Peerage Case," p. 143.

8th MARCH, 1946.

Chairman—The PRESIDENT.

A Visit to a Roman Tumulus and some places of Antiquarian interest in Essex.

By ALEX. SIMPSON, M.A.

The lecturer described the Romano-British tumulus on Mersea Island, Essex, which was successfully excavated by the Morant Club in 1912. The mound, which was of large dimensions (22 ft. 6 ins. in height and 110 ft. in diameter), was found to contain a leaden casket and a beautiful glass urn containing the cremated remains of an adult. The approximate date has been limited to some time within the Flavian period, i.e., between A.D. 60 to 96. Among the stirring events of this period was the revolt of the Iceni in A.D. 62 under their Queen Boadicea or Boudicca, culminating in the last stand made by these gallant Britons in the Temple of Claudius in Colchester.

Across the estuary of the Blackwater is Bradwell-on-Sea, the site of the Roman fort of Othona, one of five such forts built as a protection against Saxon pirates. There one can see the unique chapel built by Bishop Cedd in the 7th century, using the stones of the old Roman fort.

Some distance to the westward is the parish church of Copford, which, apart from its architectural interest, contains an extraordinarily interesting series of mural paintings. These paintings were thoroughly cleaned and preserved in 1931-32 by Prof. E. W. Tristram, the distinguished authority on mediæval mural paintings. The church was fully described by the lecturer.

The attractive county of Essex is rich in the raw materials of archæology and history, and many who reside there, and who care for those treasures of bygone days, have laboured diligently to interpret their meaning and significance.

Bird Notes.

By O. J. PULLEN.

SCOPS OWL (*Otus Scops Scops*). A bird of this species, the first ever recorded in the South-West of Scotland, was seen and caught by Mr Dickson, Gillhead, Kirkbean, in May, 1944. We kept it captive for some time at Wallace Hall Academy, and there was no doubt as to its identity.

Mr Dickson's attention was first drawn to the bird when he heard it being " mobbed," as owls often are, by small birds like blackbirds. Noticing that it was an exceptionally small owl, he set about catching it and it was cleverly snared by a wire-loop at the end of a long fishing rod.

It was a beautiful little bird with the characteristic facial disc of all owls, but in size, smaller than any British owl, being only about seven inches long. On the head, above the eyes, it had very neat ear-tufts of feathers, or " horns." When erected these looked very much like the pointed ears of a cat, but when laid along the head they were hardly noticeable. The neat plumage was prettily and delicately coloured with a general background colour of brown or brownish grey, and with black-brown central streaks on the feathers and black-brown wavy bars across many of them. Many of the feathers of the head and mantle had creamy patches, giving them a speckled appearance, and there was a distinct line of white patches along the shoulder region.

We released the bird in a classroom at Wallace Hall Academy and watched its typical owl-like or moth-like flight. In its cage it often drew itself up until the whole body appeared tall and slim. When angry or frightened it would often adopt a threatening attitude, puffing out its feathers to increase its size, and crouching, or swaying to and fro on rigid legs in a very menacing fashion.

Scops owls are common enough in Mediterranean countries or even in France, where they are said to feed on

insects—beetles, large moths, grasshoppers, and earwigs. We kept it alive by feeding it on mice. It refused to touch them by day, but they always disappeared before morning. Much of the flesh was torn off the head end and the rest swallowed whole. As is the usual habit of owls, it ejected the fur and bones in the form of pellets measuring less than an inch.

ROSE-COLOURED PASTOR (*Pastor roseus*). A cock bird of this rare species, in fine breeding plumage, was seen and caught by Mr Alexander Crawford, Sanquhar, in June, 1945. Rose-coloured Starlings, as they are often called, are birds of South-East Europe, of the Steppes of Hungary, and the hills of Turkey and Dalmatia, and are only seen on very rare occasions in the British Isles. This seems to be the first record for the South-West of Scotland.

The bird was much like an ordinary starling in appearance, with the same slim body-build and long pointed bill, the same size, and the same restless active habits. Mr Crawford, being an experienced observer of birds, noticed the rose-pink colour of the slender bill and the pale pink in a heart-shaped patch on the back below the dark neck. He noticed particularly how the bird occasionally erected the handsome crest of dark feathers, which at other times hung like an inch-long mane down the neck.

The colour of the plumage scarcely merits the description, rose-coloured. The back, breast, and under-parts were very pale shell-pink, almost salmon-pink. Only the rump and flanks, exposed when the bird spread its wings, were bright rosy-pink. The head was black with a bluish sheen, and the wings dark but with a blue-green irridescence. The legs were bright red, and the bill, which had a curving upper mandible, was rose-pink at the tip. At times the dark feathers of the crest could be seen hanging very prettily over the pink of the back.

GOOSANDER (*Mergus merganser merganser*). These birds, which were first recorded as a breeding species in Dumfriesshire in 1936 (see *Transactions*, Vol. XXI.), are now nesting in several glens in the county. In 1944 I was shown

a nest in the Enterkin glen, and received a goosander duckling which had been found dead beside the Shinnel burn, Tynron, and in 1945 I was shown a nest in a glen on the opposite side of the Nith to the Enterkin glen.

TREE SPARROWS (*Passer montanus montanus*). In 1937 I reported the nesting of this species at Annan to the Society (*Transactions*, Vol. XXI.). At that time several pairs were seen in the district. It seems that their numbers are declining, for Mr Dickson, Annan, has written to inform me that only one pair was seen in the winter of 1944, and throughout the following nesting season. Apart from the nesting pair, he only saw a single bird.

GANNET (*Sula bassana*). Storm-driven birds of this species were found in Nithsdale after rough weather on September 28th, 1945. One was picked up in an exhausted condition at Arkland, Penpont, and another at Springfield, Auldgirth.

HEDGE-SPARROW (*Prunella modularis occidentalis*). An interesting case of two hens sharing a nest was reported to me by Mrs Graham, Newlands, Duncow. The two birds laid nine eggs and then could be seen brooding the eggs, sitting tail to tail quite amicably on the nest. Two suggestions have been made to explain this interesting state of affairs. A first possibility is that the cock of one pair may have died and the male bird in the adjoining territory took on the bereaved hen, his two hens then laying clutches of eggs in the single nest. The second possibility is that two pairs settled in closely adjoining territories, and when one hen was on the point of laying the first egg of her clutch, her nest was destroyed. She then laid her egg in the neighbouring nest and continued laying there until her clutch was completed.

PHEASANT-HEN HYBRIDS. Interesting hybrids between the Common Pheasant and a Domestic Fowl were reared in 1945 at Duncow. The hen, a Wyandotte-Rhode Island cross, laid away, and when she brought in her brood of fourteen chicks they were seen to be hybrids, for they had the appearance of partridge chicks. It seems likely that the father was a cock pheasant, for, as the clutch developed, many of them showed

plumage of the pheasant type. Others were like the mother, but more golden-brown in colour. One chick had a head more like a game bird than a hen.

NOTES ON IMMIGRANT MOTHS.

Specimens of the largest moths ever occurring in Britain, the Convolvulus Hawk Moth, were found and sent to me from the following places in September, 1944: Closeburn, Carsethorn, Beattock, and Dumfries. There must have been a considerable immigration of this species from the continent in the late summer of 1944.

In 1945 the equally large Death's-Head Hawk Moth was found in several parts of this area. I received specimens from Closeburn, Sibbaldbie, Colvend, and St. Mungo. This, like the Convolvulus Hawk Moth, is a form which migrates from the continent in considerable numbers in some years. The specimens I received were all found in the month of June.

Report on Excavation at Tassieholm (Milton). Beattock, during 1946.

By JOHN CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

The work of which this is an interim report was the outcome of a discovery made at the very end of the 1939 season, when excavation had established the Roman origin of a small, rectangular enclosure in a field to the north of Milton Farm, Beattock.[1] A cut made outside the gate of this small enclosure to test the behaviour of the road encountered a ditch choked with what looked like the debris of a turf rampart, and stones such as might be the remains of a ruined rampart base.

The significance of this discovery was at once apparent. Two centuries ago Roy had noted near the small enclosure some surface indications of a corner of what he imagined might be a marching camp, one of the series which he sought to trace along the line of Agricola's march into Scotland; and indeed some surface indications of a corner were still visible, though much nearer the small enclosure than shown in Roy's plan.[2] The ditch which we found, from its position, bore a possible relation to the corner which we thought we could see. But, and this was most intriguing, the ditch and its contents suggested not a marching camp but a permanent fort, or at least a fort solidly constructed for an occupation of some anticipated duration. Further, its position in relation to the small enclosure proved its earlier

1 This small enclosure is described in a volume presently to be published by Glasgow Archæological Society. It had been a post for road patrols in the Antonine period. The same volume will contain evidence of other such posts now identified along the line of Roman roads in Dumfriesshire. See also Dumfries and Galloway "Transactions," XXII., p. 153.

2 Roy, "Military Antiquities," Plate VIII. Some error has crept into Roy's measurements in his plan of the site generally. In addition to showing the corner wrongly, his placing of the edge of the slope to the river-haugh is some 70 yards out. It may be a confusion of feet and yards in some of his measurements.

construction, for the ditch ran under the roadway by which the small enclosure was served; and as the pottery from the small enclosure conclusively established its Antonine date, we had the interesting possibility that the hypothetical fort associated with this ditch might be of first century.

Much as we would have liked to test the matter more fully at the time, circumstances made further digging impossible. Then came the war, bringing preoccupations amid which hypothetical Roman forts were of little moment, and it was not till Easter of 1946 that the quest could be resumed.

An exploratory attack was made on the site with the help of highly intelligent German P.O.W. labour for a week in April. The initial objective was limited. We intended to pick up our 1939 ditch, to follow it and to see how it behaved; whether in fact it defined a possible fort. The ditch was picked up without difficulty close to the point where it had been found in 1939. The first section, carried across it at right angles for a distance of 74 feet. yielded evidence of a turf rampart, rather ill-defined at the margins, but apparently of about 25 feet in width, a 17 foot ditch full of jumbled turf, and beyond it a small 4 foot trench of doubtful significance.

Thus encouraged, we proceeded to cut two similar sections across what we judged from surface indications might be the four sides of the fort. The initial cut had been made on the south side. A second cut on this side at a distance of 56 yards from the first again gave us the ditch, though little evidence of rampart. Passing to the west, we again found the ditch in two widely spaced sections; here its width was only 13 feet and its profile approached a Punic form, with almost perpendicular scarp. The first section on the north gave a very wide 27 foot ditch, which, when cleared, revealed itself as two ditches with a low mid-rib. The second on this side repeated the evidence of the first, with this difference, that the mid-rib had risen to a platform between the two ditches. Results on the presumed east side were less definite. The first cut yielded a fire-hole, such as often is found behind a rampart, no trace of rampart, but a 13 foot, shallow ditch at a suitable distance from the fire-hole, assuming a rampart

to have intervened; a second cut yielded nothing; a third gave us the shallow ditch again. The absence of any ditch in the second cut seemed possibly explicable by the presence of a gate at this point.

Reviewing the evidence, we felt that we had made substantial progress towards establishing the presence of a fort of an area of some three acres on the site. The ditch system appeared to have the elements of coherence; and if the rampart was not clearly evident in all sections, it was quite definitely present in some, and the extreme shallowness of the surface soil (in places only eight inches) offered a reasonable explanation of its absence in others.

The small collection of objects, also, had been most interesting. Of the typical Antonine ware, such as had been found in the adjacent road-post, there was no trace. Instead, a fragment of the first-century Samian cup, form Dragendorff 27, had turned up, a piece of a Samian bowl, form Dragendorff 37, with ornamentation of unambiguous Flavian style, and a mortar rim of texture and style equally suggestive of first century.

Altogether we felt that the scent was strong, and before the week ended we tried to fix the north and south gates on the assumption that they would be found where the Roman road, as marked on the O.S. map, traditionally ran. Immediately we were in trouble. Where the south gate on this assumption should have been, there was neither gate nor road, but a water-logged disturbance of undefined extent, obliterating the ditch and extending under the rampart which was traceable passing over it. That was disquieting. On the north also, no trace of gate or road appeared at the assumed point.

Finally, though this had been no part of the original intention, having no hope at this stage of solving the problem of the gates, we yielded to curiosity and made one short trial cut in the middle of the fort area. We encountered cobbled surfaces intersected by one sleeper trench of a timber building. And with that the Easter work had to end.

Mr Robertson, county road surveyor, had most kindly

Plate 1. Termination of north ditches of south Fort, west of gate. The rounded nose of the platform between the ditches is shown. The small peg (left) marks the sharp tongue of undisturbed soil where the ditches of the earlier Fort and those of the later one intersect.

offered to have the work surveyed, and his offer was gratefully accepted, for the accurate fixing of points in a large field calls for more than amateur skill. His plan, when in due course it arrived, was a rude shock. The area defined by the ditches as we had traced them was an irregular quadrilateral, not the familiar rectangle which we had anticipated. True, the sides were not badly out, but they departed quite sufficiently from the orthodox parallel arrangement to make it certain that something was wrong. It was equally certain that the ditches existed where the plan showed them. What, then, was the explanation of the irregularity? That was the problem which we had before us when the work was resumed in the latter half of July.

As the relation of the Fort to the road seemed a crucial point, we decided first to examine the north side where no disturbance had been encountered, rather than the south, and to fix quite definitely its line and the point where the road passed through. A fresh section near to where we had in vain sought a north gate at Easter gave a very clear sequence of rampart base, here only 16½ feet wide, with a massive outer kerb of river-stones, and two ditches, an inner of 8½ feet and outer of 10½ feet, separated by a 7 foot platform. From this point the defences were followed along the north side eastwards by frequent cuts yielding similar evidence for a distance of 64 feet. Here the ditches contracted in width, the middle platform finished in a neatly rounded nose, and we felt we had now reached the gate. (Plate 1.)

But more trouble was in store. Exploration beyond this point revealed a heavily cobbled surface but under it lay not the undisturbed natural soil. Instead there was turf debris, with layers of sand, gravel, and natural soil, the whole giving the impression that the turf had been tumbled in and upcast from later dug ditches thrown on top of it. This mass underlay the gateway and continued under the rampart where it resumed beyond the gate.

Several days passed before the confusion was reduced to coherence. Then it became apparent that we were dealing with an earlier ditch system, which swung in from the south

under the gate (Plate 2), impinged upon the ditches which we had been following and almost immediately came to an end. This earlier system consisted of two ditches separated by a platform. After leaving the gate it turned sharply eastwards and continued beneath the later rampart. It was full, at all points where it was sectioned, of the characteristic mass of decayed turf.

East of the gate, and outside the rampart, a companion pair of ditches to those on the west side began and continued normally eastwards. The whole complex is most readily understood from the plan. (Fig. 1.)

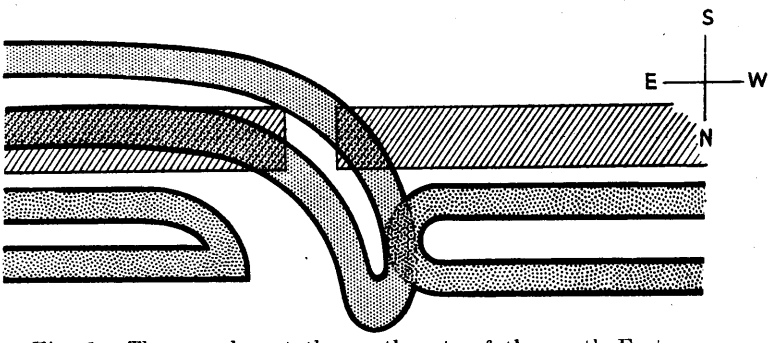


Fig. 1. The complex at the north gate of the south Fort.

It was by this time apparent that we were dealing, not with one fort but with two, the defences of the one for some distance overlapping those of the other. Incidentally an explanation became plain of the irregularity as between the south and north lines on the Easter plan; our second cut on the north side had picked up the intrusive ditches, not those of the fort we were tracing. Also, if the fort we were examining at Easter was Flavian, as the associated pottery seemed to show, then the fort of the intrusive ditches must be Flavian also, though earlier. Moreover, the earlier fort, if one was to judge from the contents of the ditches, had had a substantial turf rampart and had been either destroyed or demolished. Thus there appeared the most interesting possibility that we might have here at Milton evidence of two phases of Flavian occupation.

Plate 2. The ditch of the earlier (north) Fort passing under the cobbled surface of the gateway of the later (south) Fort.

At this point, while we were still uncertain how the earlier fort lay in relation to the later one, Miss A. S. Robertson paid us a visit and suggested that the earlier probably lay, for the greater part of its area, in the field adjoining to the north. The matter was immediately put to the test. A cut in that field on the presumed west front of the earlier fort at once yielded substantial remains of a massive turf rampart and two ditches. (Fig. 2.) The same afternoon, while Miss

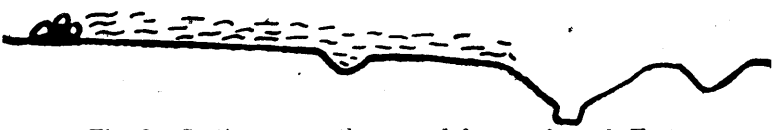


Fig. 2. Section across the west defences of north Fort.

Robertson was still present, the men following the early ditches east of the gate were fortunate enough to find the very spot where these ditches turned north, intersecting the ditches of the later fort, to form the east front of the earlier one. (Plate 3b.)

When Mr Scott, the owner of Milton Farm, who daily displayed a keen interest in what was going on, saw how things were shaping, he told us that he was required next year to put the north field in crop and that we could not expect to get back into that field for any extensive digging till a four-year crop rotation had run its course. It therefore became imperative to pursue the work in the north field and get as much information as possible while the opportunity was present, leaving the full elucidation of the other field over till next season.

The course of the west defences of the earlier fort was traced without difficulty by a series of sections and the position of the gate identified in the middle of that side,[3] though the structure of the gate and the behaviour of the ditches were not examined in detail. The course of the east defences was

[3] The ditches became single between the south-west corner and the south gate. (Fig. 5.) How this single ditch behaves when it reaches the gate is not yet known.

examined by three sections only. On this side, which lies on sloping ground, the rampart had been terraced into the slope and its width was capable of accurate measurement. It had been 24 feet wide, 17 feet less than the evidence suggested on the west, a circumstance which may ultimately have some significance. The ditches were double, the inner being 13 feet wide, the outer 10 feet and shallow. (Fig. 3 and Plate 3a.)

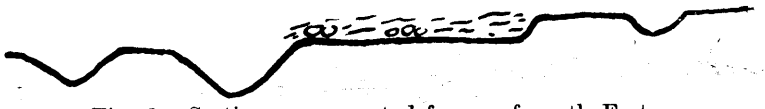


Fig. 3. Section across east defences of north Fort.

This is no matter for surprise, for the defences here run along the edge of the sharp slope, descending to the river-haugh, and their construction at all was a matter of formal routine. The gate was not identified by digging, but surface indications make an assumption of its position in the middle of the side fairly safe meantime.

Fortunately one of our sections here was carried some distance into the interior of the fort, leading us to a quite unexpected discovery. As shown on the plan we encountered a ditch, apparently of the palisade type, which presently terminated in a small well-defined inverted clavicula, and after a gap picked up again under the intervallum street. From it came a piece of grey rustic ware. How far this ditch runs and what area it defines are as yet unknown, but there is a strong suspicion that it is the same ditch which we found at Easter and took for the east ditch of the fort in the south field. That is a matter for future test. Meantime there is a ditch with its implication of a still earlier phase of occupation, so that we have now three phases, and all apparently Flavian.

Lastly we came to the north side, full of hope that here we should be able to examine the gateway without complications, and to use its evidence as a check on the difficult gate on the opposite south side. The suspicion that we were dealing with a system of defences similar to that of the early

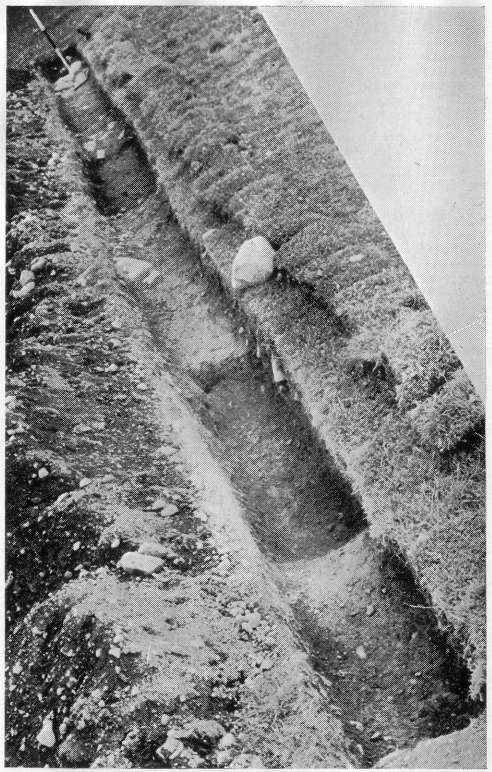


Plate 3a. Section across east defences of north Fort. From the ranging pole (in ditch) we have in sequence the rampart outer-kerb, the cobbled rampart-base, the excavated foundation shelf, and the small ditch of the earliest period.

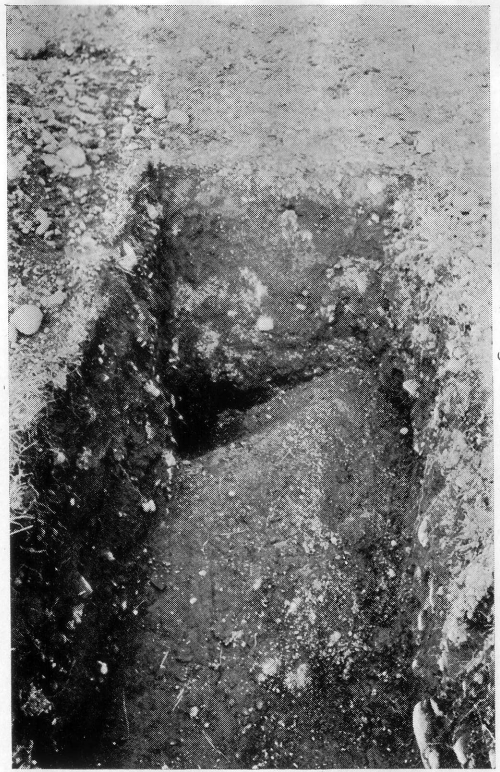


Plate 3b. The intersection of the ditches of the two Forts. Note the masses of white leached turf in the ditch (left).

fort at Newstead (Fig. 4) naturally was beginning to arise

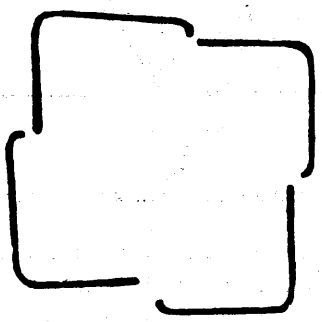


Fig. 4. The early Fort at Newstead.

in our minds in view of the form of the ditches at the south gate.

Between the north-west corner and the north gate there was nothing abnormal. The remains of the rampart were fragmentary; outside ran the two ditches with their separating platform. When the gate was reached, however, all hope of simple normality at once disappeared. What was found will best be followed by reference to the plan. The ditches approaching from the west terminated in an unusual way, but without assuming the inverted clavicular form which had been anticipated. The heavy cobbling of the roadway overlapped them for three feet. Separated from these ditches by a narrow strip of undisturbed natural soil, another ditch was found coming in towards the gate almost at right angles to the line of the defences. This ditch ran right under the gate (which was 12½ feet wide) and immediately terminated. When its course was tested outside the gate it was found to swing eastwards and run parallel to the rampart but 28 feet out from it. The rampart was quite clear, with its outer margin of stone well-preserved at the point examined. Its course was not in line with the rampart west of the gate. On the strangely wide berm there was no trace of any structure such as the remains of an earlier rampart in closer association with the ditch. (Fig. 5.)

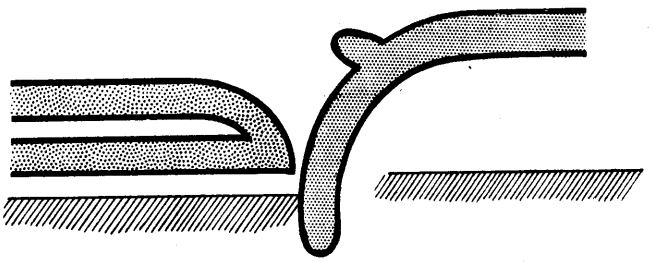


Fig. 5. Complex at north gate of north Fort.

Where the ditch began to swing in towards the gate, the profile of outer lip appeared to hesitate, as if there had been an intention that the ditch should terminate at this point, or indeed as if it had once terminated here. And an extraordinary short horn branched off westwards for a distance of 14 feet. It appeared to be quite full of broken pottery, both pottery and the ground burnt deep red. A cautious interpretation of this phenomenon as an *ustuarium* is very tempting pending further examination. Certainly the pottery appeared to be mainly cinerary, some of it reminiscent of native cordoned funeral ware. The discovery was made at the very end of the digging, and it seemed wiser to leave the area undisturbed meantime rather than attempt a hasty examination.

It would be foolhardy at this stage to attempt to rationalise this evidence from the north gate or to do more than sketch hypothetical plans of the defences of the north fort as a whole. (Fig. 6.) Clearly the suspected parallel with the early fort at Newstead does not hold, at least in simple form. One sure assertion, and one only, can be made, namely, that the defences at the north gate underwent radical reconstruction; and bearing in mind the discordant evidence of the width of the rampart on the east and west fronts, we may suspect that the reconstruction was not confined to the north gate.

That one assertion is important enough when taken along with the rest of the evidence obtained from the site as a whole. A surprising sequence begins to unfold. For, consider what we have. First we have a fortified enclosure of

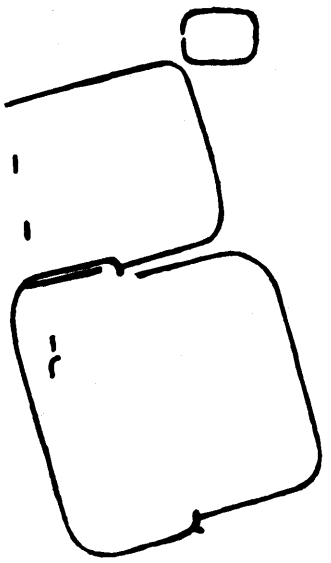


Fig. 6. Conjectural plan of Forts.

unknown extent, of which the evidence is the ditch behind the east rampart of the north fort and under the intervallum street. Next we have the north fort in a form with inverted claviculæ at two gates at least, this fort being of an internal area of some 5 acres. Next a reconstruction of this fort, certainly at its north gate, possibly on its west rampart, and perhaps at its south gate as well. Such a reconstruction can scarcely have been an episode during continued occupation. Then we have the south fort of smaller extent (this being subject to correction as its eastern front is not yet satisfactorily defined). The whole complex appears to be connected with the pre-Antonine phase of the Roman occupation. Not a single fragment of the typical Antonine pottery was turned up.[4] True, the total number of finds was not great, but it was sufficient to make the complete absence of Antonine types very significant. The evidence definitely is of the first century, even in the south camp, which must be the latest

[4] Mr Birley, who saw the pottery, agrees.

of the complex, from the fact that its rampart was built over the ditches of the north camp. It is to be remembered also that both forms of the north camp, and the south camp as well, were solid structures, built with an intention of some permanence, whatever may in fact have been the length of their occupation.

The whole picture is at striking variance from that implied in the Tacitean phrase, "*perdomita Britannia et statim missa*," in which he sums up the situation on Agricola's recall. Evidence of the falsehood of the Tacitean phrase has been accumulating for many years, but nowhere has that evidence appeared in as compact and clear form as Milton seems likely to supply it. The site is plainly of crucial importance, and its continued excavation calls for support in the coming seasons.

So far that support has been generous and readily forthcoming. The greater part has been supplied by the Carnegie Trustees, supplemented by private donations from members of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian Society through Mr R. C. Reid, and by a contribution from the Hunterian Fund of Glasgow University. The whole work was facilitated by the unsparing good offices of Mr Reid in innumerable ways and by the assistance in the field of my colleague, Mr W. A. Anderson. The Dumfriesshire Agricultural Committee released German P.O.W. labour, without which it would have been most difficult to obtain adequate assistance. More intelligent and willing workers can seldom have fallen to the fortunate lot of an archæologist. And, finally, no thanks can repay the tolerance of Mr Scott of Milton Farm, who not only gave free access to his fields but showed the liveliest interest throughout, and to Mrs Scott, who by her kindness contributed much to the goodwill shown by our German labour.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr Patrick Forman, Drumcrieff, for the use of his photographs of the excavations for illustrating this article.

29th MARCH, 1946.

Chairman—The PRESIDENT.

Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway (1559-1575), and his work in the Reformed Church.

By GORDON DONALDSON, Ph.D.

[1]Alexander Gordon, grandson of the third earl of Huntly, was the son of John, Lord Gordon, and of Margaret Stewart, natural daughter of King James IV. by Margaret Drummond. He was thus brother of the fourth earl of Huntly and cousin of Mary, Queen of Scots; through his maternal grandmother and by his mother's second marriage he was connected with the powerful Perthshire family of Drummond. Born about 1516, he spent much of his youth in the company of his uncle, James V., who was some four years his senior. We know nothing of his education, but from his style of "Master" we may assume that he graduated Master of Arts.

The story of Gordon's life from 1544 to 1560 is a tale of successive attempts to establish him in one of the Scottish bishoprics.[2] The greater benefices were at that time almost the preserve of noble families and a vacancy often led to a struggle, in which victory went to the house possessing most influence with the government. During the minority of Queen Mary, the Huntly family was attached to the party of the Queen Mother, Mary of Guise, in her contest for power with the earl of Arran, governor of Scotland. In 1544 the triumph of the Dowager, with Cardinal Betoun, bore fruit in rewards for her supporters, and Alexander Gordon was nominated and elected to the bishopric of Caithness. A four years' struggle ensued with Robert Stewart, administrator of that see, who was ultimately

1 All the MS. sources referred to throughout this paper are in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

2 "Scottish correspondence of Mary of Lorraine" (Scot. Hist. Soc.), passim; "Papal negotiations with Queen Mary" (Scot. Hist. Soc.). For Gordon's consecration, see C. G. Mortimer, "The Scottish hierarchy in 1560," in "Clergy Review," xii., 442-50

allowed to retain the bishopric. The Dowager next made an attempt to place Gordon in Glasgow, but was unable to overcome the opposition of Arran (still governor) to his candidature. Gordon, who, in expectation of his preferment, had gone to Rome in 1550 and had been consecrated there, was solaced by the titular dignity of archbishop of Athens and the more substantial commendatorship of Inchaffray (1551). In 1553 he was provided to the Isles, with Iona *in commendam*. The completion of his title to these benefices was somehow prevented, possibly through the fall of the Huntly family from favour in 1554, when Mary of Guise, now governor, began to pursue an intensely French policy which alienated much Scottish sympathy. For some years Alexander Gordon was styled archbishop of Athens, postulate or elect of the Isles, commendator of Inchaffray and Iona.

The see of Galloway became vacant in September, 1558, by the death of Andrew Durie, who, according to Knox,[3] died of shock after a protestant riot in Edinburgh. The Huntly family was once more in favour, and the earl had become lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Alexander Gordon was nominated to Galloway early in 1559.[4] Some defect in his title long persisted. The appointment never received papal confirmation (which was legally necessary until the pope's authority in Scotland was abrogated in August, 1560); and the crown from time to time acted as if the bishopric was vacant—the temporality was gifted to the earl of Eglinton in January, 1560, and pensions were granted in July, 1561, and June, 1563. Possibly the explanation of the crown's action might be found in the relations of the house of Huntly with successive governments.[5] It is clear that while Gordon remained technically " bishop elect " yet he was for all practical purposes bishop from 1559 or 1560. In September,

3 Knox, " Works," i., 261-2.

4 " Papal negotiations," pp. 28, 40, 55, 122; " Exchequer rolls," xix., 451.

5 For instance, the gift to Eglinton (" Registrum secreti sigilli," xxx., 19) may have been due to Gordon's association with the protestant revolt. The various pensions are discussed below.

1560, he wrote to the English ambassador requesting a "passport general" for his "dyocesianis" of Galloway[6] and he had effective possession of the revenues from 1561 at latest.

The value of the see, with the annexed abbey of Tongland, is given in contemporary records. The annual income in cash is stated variously as £1226 14s and £1137 6s 8d. There were in addition quantities of bere (8 chalders, 7 bolls or 6 chalders, 15 bolls, 3 pecks), of meal (10 c. 7 b. or 7 c. 9 b.), of malt (8 b.), and of salmon (268). These rents were worth an additional £200 or so in 1561 and their money equivalent increased as prices rose in succeeding years. The total revenue may be put at about £1400. The abbey of Inchaffray, set in tack to the Drummonds, yielded £666 13s 4d yearly. The impressive total of Gordon's income—over £2000 Scots—was, however, subject to the deduction of a number of pensions. The fact is that the "tulchan" principle, which received its quaint name in the 1570's, was already notorious in the previous generation, when episcopal appointments were almost invariably accompanied by grants of pensions, often on such a scale that the fruits were in substance divided among laymen, leaving to the bishop only a modest competence. In this instance, Sir John Maxwell of Terregles had a pension variously stated to be £500, 600 merks or 500 merks, and he undoubtedly received £500 in 1561 and 1562; Thomas Stewart, son of the laird of Garlies, had a grant from the crown on 18th January, 1563, of a pension of 100 merks; on 18th July, 1561, Stephen Wilson was granted one of £150; on 2nd March, 1564, Archibald Crawford, parson of Eaglesham, received a crown gift, with the bishop's consent, of a pension of 600 merks; and the bishop himself granted some smaller pensions. Those pensions are together approximately equal to the *money* revenues of the bishopric; there may have been others besides those mentioned, and no doubt Inchaffray also was burdened with pensions. How many of the pensions from the bishopric were being paid concurrently is not clear; moreover, we

[6] "Calendar of State Papers, Scotland," i., 483.

know that Stephen Wilson's pension was not paid, at least before 1568, and there was litigation about Archibald Crawford's. The whole position remains obscure, but so far as one can see the bishop's net income cannot have been greatly in excess of the £500 to £700 which was regarded as a comfortable salary for an ecclesiastical administrator of the period.[7] The £1 Scots of 1560 should be multiplied by about three to give some indication of its equivalent in purchasing power in present-day sterling.

Alexander Gordon's career down to the year of the Scottish reformation had been a search for a settled and eminent position in the church. Self-interest had no doubt been the main motive, and that motive continued to exert a strong influence on his life in succeeding years. We should not, however, forget that in the 1540's he had shown a very strong loyalty to the Queen Mother even when her cause was not in the ascendant, and we shall see that he later exhibited a similar enthusiasm in his attachment to her daughter, Queen Mary. There is little in what we know of his life which gives any clue as to his probable attitude to the religious revolt of 1559-60. But two points should be noted: possibly, like his brother the earl, he had been alienated from the conservative cause in the late 1550's by the Dowager's disregard of Scottish national sentiment; and it seems that, generally speaking, those bishops who were well entrenched in their benefices tended to be more orthodox than those who, like Gordon, were less firmly established.

Whatever his motives and whatever his opinions, Gordon's actions left no doubt of his attachment to the reformed cause even while the issue of the protestant revolt was still in doubt. In September, 1559, he was associated with the protestant lords, and in the following month he

7 "Books of assumption of thirds"; "Accounts of collector general of thirds," 1561-2; "Registrum secreti sigilli," xxxi. 61-2, xxxvi. 120; "Register of acts and decreets," xli. 419, lxxvi. 202, lxxviii. 272, lxxix. 78, lxxxi. 327; "Register of presentations to benefices," i., 82.

was, along with Knox, Goodman, and Willock, a member of their council for religion. With Knox he long continued to be on peculiarly intimate terms. In the early months of 1560 he was in the reformers' inmost councils and seems to have influenced his brother, Huntly, who was not a strong party man, towards the reformed side. Of the four bishops present at the reformation parliament in August, 1560, Gordon was the only one committed to the cause of reform; he was described as having " renounced papistry and openly professed Jesus Christ " with the reformers. Knox, three years later, expressed his conviction that the bishop's conversion had been quite genuine. Shortly after the parliament we find him preaching earnestly—when preachers were few—and praying heartily for Queen Elizabeth (on whom, in certain circumstances, the maintenance of the work of reformation might depend). In January, 1561, Gordon signed the *Book of discipline*, the reformers' scheme of church polity.[8]

The reformation made it possible for the bishop to acknowledge his wife.[9] The lady was Barbara Logie, apparently a daughter of David Logie of King's Cramond and a sister of Robert Logie. The bishop and she had been married in all but name for some seventeen years, and had a family, including John, born about 1544, in whose favour his father made a resignation of his bishopric in 1568 and who later became dean of Salisbury; George, who had a gift of the bishopric of Galloway in 1586; Laurence, who had the temporality of the bishopric for a time and became commendator of Glenluce; Robert; Alexander; William; and Barbara, who married Anthony Stewart, parson of Pennigham, a son of Alexander Stewart of Garlies. Professional rules alone had hitherto debarred Gordon from formal matrimony; but references to his children, born before 1560 out of lawful wedlock, continue for some time to be decently reticent about their relationship to the bishop.

8 " Calendar of State Papers, Scotland," i., 252, 254, 349, 372-3, 471; Knox, " Works," ii., 56, 63, 88, 129, 258, 374-5.

9 " Cal. S.P. Scot.," i., 483.

Gordon's support for the reformation was clearly enough defined. What place could be found for such a prelate in the Knoxian church? To understand the attitude of the kirk to the bishop we must examine with some care the reformers' scheme of ecclesiastical polity and the modifications in their programme which the political and financial circumstances of their church rendered necessary.[10]

The compilers of the *Book of discipline* acknowledged the need for a rank of clergy who should have the oversight of inferior ministers. Writing while the issue of the protestant revolt was still in doubt and they had no assurance that the existing hierarchy would be dispossessed, they could not use the title "bishop" but proposed to commit the essential functions of supervision to ten "superintendents," each with charge of about a hundred parishes. Their caution was fully justified, for the parliament of August, 1560, although it adopted a protestant *Confession of faith* and passed statutes forbidding the celebration of Mass and the exercise of power derived from Rome, did not venture to legislate on polity. It must have been plain that a meeting of the estates could not impose its will on the bishops, many of whom belonged to the most powerful families in the land; they could neither be coerced into acceptance of the *Confession of faith* nor deprived if they refused to conform, Queen Elizabeth's proceedings could not be imitated, and the entire structure of the old *régime* remained intact. The reformers had also to learn that their comprehensive claim to the ecclesiastical revenues must be modified in favour of the clergy in possession. An act of council provided that all persons holding benefices should continue to enjoy their fruits with the exception of one-third, which was to be collected to augment the revenues of the crown and pay stipends to the reformed clergy. Neither full establishment nor satisfactory endowment had been secured for the reformed church.

[10] References to the evidence on which the succeeding paragraphs are based may be found in the writer's "The Scottish episcopate at the reformation" in "English Hist. Review.," lx., 349-64.

Superintendents were appointed to five of the dioceses defined in the *Book of discipline*, and they performed the administrative and judicial functions usually exercised by bishops. They took the leading part in the induction of ministers to charges; they visited and inspected the parochial clergy, whom they had power to translate, suspend, and deprive. With the kirk session of his chief town, a superintendent constituted a court which tended to inherit the jurisdiction of the old episcopal courts and was a judicature of the first importance; he had also wide powers of acting independently of any court. "My lord superintendent" was much more than a chairman or a figurehead and was sometimes popularly styled "bishop." No more superintendents, beyond the five instituted in 1561, were ever appointed. From time to time commissions were given to ministers to undertake superintendents' duties in parts of the country which had not superintendents. Such "commissioners"—sometimes styled "superintendents"—received only £100 or £200 in addition to their parochial stipends, and this represented a considerable saving as against the £500 or £700 paid to a full-time superintendent. There also arose the question of the possible value to the reformed church of those bishops who supported it. The parliament of 1560 had merely forbidden the bishops to exercise those powers which they possessed by papal authority and in practice the bishops had continued, quite legally, to give collation to benefices and even to exercise some of their judicial functions. Only two of the eleven Scottish bishops in office were conscientious papalists; five occupied what we should now call broadly an Anglo-Catholic position; and four—Alexander Gordon of Galloway, Adam Bothwell of Orkney, Robert Stewart of Caithness, and James Hamilton of Argyll—supported the reformation. Galloway, Orkney, and Caithness were all accorded recognition as superintendents in their dioceses. It is not difficult to follow the reasoning which led to their recognition. John Knox had laid down that a bishop who receives profit and feeds not the flock by his own labours is a thief and a murderer, and the implication might be that

a bishop who received profit had a right and a duty to feed the flock. The argument must have run like this: there is episcopal work to be done in the church; there are no revenues to pay superintendents to do it, but there are men receiving episcopal revenues, professing the reformed faith and legally entitled to exercise certain episcopal functions—why should not they be recognised as superintendents?

At what date Gordon began to act as a superintendent is uncertain. There is until 1563 no record of any legislation by a general assembly commissioning him to act; there may never have been such legislation, but the early registers of the assemblies are very defective. The evidence for the beginning of his work is to be found in financial records—the accounts of the collectors of thirds of benefices. For the year 1561 the third of the bishopric of Galloway was duly received by the collector-general, and this should indicate that Gordon was not at that time acting in the reformed church. On the other hand, as the bishop had never been forbidden to exercise his episcopal functions his diocesans would still expect him to act as bishop; moreover, in 1561 there were already some ministers and readers at work in the diocese, and, so far as we know, no official other than the bishop had authority to admit them to their offices.[11] In 1562 Gordon's position is clear beyond doubt. He was now officially recognised as "overseer" of his diocese, classed among the reformed clergy and, in common with all beneficed men who served in the reformed church, allowed to retain the third of his revenues which would otherwise have been uplifted by the collector general. Exactly the same was done in the following year, when the bishop was styled "Mr Alexander Gordon, superintendent of Galloway."[12]

11 A resolution of the assembly of December, 1562, indicates that some bishops had been exercising their functions in the reformed church without authorisation from the assembly ("Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 27).

12 "Accounts of collector general of thirds," 1561-2; "Account of sub-collector of thirds, Dumfries, etc.," 1563.

The position thus achieved was satisfactory neither to the bishop nor to the general assembly. In June, 1562, the bishop asked for formal appointment as a superintendent; such an appointment would extend the scope of his labours to Carrick and Dumfriesshire, but would entitle him to a superintendent's salary in addition to his third. The request was refused by the assembly.[13] The assembly of December, 1562, however, consented to put the names of Gordon and Robert Pont, minister of Dunkeld, in a leet for election to the superintendentship of Galloway, the election to take place in April; as an interim measure, Gordon was given a commission to "admit ministers, exhorters and readers and to do such other things as were before accustomed in planting of kirks."[14] For some reason the proposed election was never held. John Knox, in his *History*, takes credit to himself for having discovered a plan of Gordon to bribe the electors, but his narrative is a curiously confused one in which Knox describes himself as also defending the bishop's character against Queen Mary's criticisms.[15] There are more convincing explanations of the failure of this and other abortive attempts to appoint additional superintendents. One obstacle was that, according to the *Book of discipline*, nomination was to be by the civil power, and this procedure presented difficulties when crown and kirk were at variance. There was also always present the financial difficulty — it was notorious that the superintendents and the reformed clergy generally were ill-paid, and there were no funds available

[13] "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 15.

[14] Ibid., 28.

[15] Knox, "Works," ii., 374-5. Queen Mary said: "If you knew him [Gordon] as well as I do, you would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk . . . That man is a dangerous man." Knox declared that "if he [Gordon] fear not God now, he deceives many more than me," and added that Gordon was "at that time the man that was most familiar with the said John, in his house and at table." The passage, if wholly written by Knox, may reflect the hostility between Knox and Gordon after 1568; but it may have been written partly by a hand more hostile to bishops than the reformer had been.

to pay additional stipends. We may not be far wrong if we conclude that, while Gordon demanded appointment as superintendent with the appropriate salary, the assembly insisted that he should act without formal appointment and be content with the remission of his third.[16] At any rate, after the frustration of the April election, the assembly of June, 1563, renewed its commission to Galloway, along with Orkney and Caithness, to "plant kirks," etc., in "his bounds," which were simply those of his diocese, Nithsdale being expressly allotted to the superintendent of Glasgow.[17]

From 1562 until 1568 Gordon was known as "commissioner," "overseer," or "superintendent" of Galloway, and was frequently present at general assemblies in that capacity.[18] His duties were, briefly, the organising of congregations, the admission of clergy, the inspection of parochial work, disciplinary action against erring clergy, the imposition of penance on moral offenders, and the giving of judgment in matrimonial cases. Did the bishop in fact carry out these duties? The evidence for his work falls into four categories.

(1) *The remission of Gordon's third.* The remission of the bishop's third in 1562 and 1563, already mentioned, was approved by the assembly of June, 1563.[19] The accounts for Galloway are not extant for 1564-7, but in that for 1568 he still enjoys his remission as "overseer," and there can be no doubt that the remission was continuous from 1562 to 1568.[19a] In view of the extreme poverty of the reformed church in those years, it is inconceivable that good money was paid to a man doing nothing to earn it.

(2) *The reformed church in Galloway.* We have records of the stipends paid to the reformed clergy and lists of the

16 Cf. William Scot, "Apologetical narration" (Wodrow Soc.), p. 16.

17 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 32, 35 (cf. 64).

18 Ibid., 38, 44, 49, 52, 65, 77.

19 Ibid., 34.

19a From a note in the 1571 account it is plain that the bishop had enjoyed the allowance in 1567.

holders of benefices who, by conforming and continuing to "serve at their own kirks and cures" as ministers or readers, qualified themselves to retain their thirds. Out of twenty-seven parsons and vicars in Galloway whose careers can be readily traced, six had conformed by 1563 and a few others followed their example later, two as late as 1572 (when to the bribe of the third there was added the threat of deprivation). In forty-two parishes in the diocese there were by 1563 seven ministers and twenty-nine readers or exhorters (including in their number the beneficed men who conformed)—in a few cases a minister and a reader at the same church. By 1567 there were about eight more readers and exhorters.[20] Who was responsible for examining the qualifications of these clergy, for admitting them to their charges, for bringing about the increase in their numbers between 1563 and 1567, for supervising their work, and, in short, for the whole organisation of what seems to have been a fairly thriving church in the diocese? There were no presbyteries, there was no synod except one which the bishop might summon twice in a year, there were not, so far as we know, other commissioners empowered to work in Galloway. The work must have been that of Alexander Gordon. A similar argument, applied to the consistorial jurisdiction, points to the bishop as judge in matrimonial and possibly testamentary cases between 1560 and the appointment of commissaries in 1564.

(3) *Casual references.* There is little enough evidence of Gordon's presence in his diocese in those years, but we do know that he was at Tongland in April and June, 1564; May, 1566; and (probably) January, 1567.[21] No doubt a further examination of charters would yield additional evidence. A good deal of the administration could, however, be con-

20 "Accounts of collectors of thirds"; "Register of ministers, etc.," 1567.

21 "Registrum magni sigilli," 1546-80, Nos. 1719, 1743, 1763; "Calendar of Laing charters," Nos. 772, 801; Morton papers, ecclesiastical, 23rd June, 1564. Tongland, rather than Whithorn, seems to have been the usual episcopal residence at that period.

ducted by writing or by deputies while the bishop was in Edinburgh, at Stirling, or at his abbey of Inchaffray. We know from one casual reference that he was regarded as the proper judge in matrimonial causes, for in June, 1563, the laird of Garlies, younger, complained that the bishop had not done justice to Margaret Murray when she raised an action against her husband, Godfrey MacCulloch, for non-adherence. Six months later we find the bishop, along with the superintendent of Fife, delating four women to the general assembly for witchcraft.[22] There was one notable occasion when Gordon exercised his ministerial functions outside his diocese—he officiated at the marriage of Jane Gordon, his niece, to James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell. One of the witnesses at the subsequent divorce proceedings described this ceremony as having taken place "before Fastern's Eve was a year"—one of many indications that the observance of Lent did not die out as quickly as some of the reformers desired. The date was actually 24th February, 1565-6, which was Quinquagesima Sunday. A contemporary account of the marriage stressed that the bishop preached, "which of long time has been rare among us."[23] Bishop Gordon was, of course, entitled to give collation to benefices in his diocese and to provide to those which were at his own presentation. When the vicarage of Sorbie fell vacant by the death of Gilbert Oislar, Gordon provided Robert Blindsheill, minister of Wigtown, in June, 1566. In the following November he filled the vicarage of Whithorn by appointing John Kay, an ex-monk whose name does not appear among the reformed clergy.[24] General assemblies did not hesitate to make use of the bishop's abilities. In December, 1566, he was appointed a member of a committee to modify an answer which William Ramsay, a master of St. Salvator's College, had prepared to a book written by Bullinger, the famous Swiss divine, on the delicate question

22 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 31, 44.

23 "Canongate marriage register" (Scot. Record Soc.), p. 54; Hist. MSS. Comm., "Salisbury MSS.," xiii., 79, 81; "Cal. S.P. Scot.," ii., 258.

24 "Registrum secreti sigilli," xxxvi., 27, 28.

of the enforcement of the use of vestments in the Church of England.[25] After July, 1567, when the collection and distribution of the thirds of benefices became a task for superintendents and commissioners, Gordon took action in the financial administration of his diocese.[26]

(4) *The parallel cases of Bothwell and Stewart.* There is ample evidence that Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, whose career was curiously similar to that of Alexander Gordon, organised the reformed church in his diocese in 1560 and 1561 and subsequently performed a superintendent's duties there, and that Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, did good work for the kirk in his diocese.[27] Although the positive evidence for Gordon's labours—except in the matter of the remission of his third—is less substantial, there is no reason to believe that his position was in any way different from theirs.

In order to understand why Gordon's career in the reformed church was not wholly successful, we must turn to some of the other activities which helped to shape his life. His abbey of Inchaffray occupied a good deal of his attention in the earlier 1560's, but before the middle of 1565 he had resigned it in favour of one of his cousins, the Drummonds (pensions being reserved to his sons, John and Laurence).[28] As bishop of Galloway, Gordon was dean of the chapel royal of Stirling, which had been annexed to the bishopric by Pope Julius II. in 1504. His duties in that capacity sometimes put him in a curious position, for the queen was using the chapel royal largely to maintain her chaplains, who, according to the statute of 1560, were "mass-mongers" liable to heavy penalties; and yet were obliged to apply to this protestant bishop for institution in their dignities.[29] Whether by way of his position in the chapel royal or not, Gordon

25 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 90.

26 Ibid., 105; "Acts and decreets," xlii., 248.

27 "English Historical Review," loc. cit.

28 "Registrum secreti sigilli," xxxiii., 80; "Charters of Inchaffray" (Scot. Hist. Soc.), pp. xc-xcv, 160-1.

29 E.g., "Registrum secreti sigilli," xxxii. 123, xxxiii. 62, xxxiv. 57, 62, xxxv. 68, xxxvi. 2.

became increasingly an adherent of the court and of the queen, who may have thought it worth her while to use her charms to attach to herself one whom she had considered "a dangerous man." On 5th November, 1565, Alexander Gordon took his oath as a privy councillor, and on 26th November he was admitted a senator of the college of justice; until the end of Mary's reign he was in quite regular attendance as a judge.[30] The Huntly family had been out of favour since the rebellion of the 4th earl in 1562, but they were now rehabilitated; the bishop used his influence on behalf of his nephew, the 5th earl, and the family was in favour with the queen until the close of her reign. As a courtier, the bishop did not lose sight of the interests of the reformed church, and even his enemies acknowledged that he used his influence with the queen to secure an improvement in its financial position. He obtained not only "a good answer and fair promises" in the matter of the assignation of thirds to ministers, but also a gift by the queen to the ministers of a temporary supplement to their stipends, in December, 1566.[31] In the critical months which preceded and followed the Darnley murder the queen showed a marked readiness to come to terms with the reformed church; Alexander Gordon's cordial relations with her are simply one symptom of this trend.

In successive general assemblies there was criticism of the bishop. The young laird of Garlies brought two complaints—neither of them very serious—against him in 1563.[32] In December, 1564, it was implied that he had not taken adequate care to examine the qualifications of the men whom he had admitted as ministers, exhorters, and readers.[33] A year later, in an assembly which made a general condemnation of pastors who did not reside among their flocks,

30 "Register of the privy council," i., 389; Brunton and Haig, "Senators of the college of justice," p. 129.

31 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 83; Knox, "Works," ii., 532, 537-9; "Reg. privy co. Scot.," i., 494.

32 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 31, 39-40.

33 Ibid., 52, 54.

Gordon was accused of neglecting his duties and "excused himself with the building of his nephew's house.[34] In December, 1567, it was stated that "Alexander, called bishop of Galloway, commissioner, . . . had not visited these three years bygone the kirks within his charge; that he . . . haunted court too much, and had now purchased to be one of the session and privy council, which cannot agree with the office of a pastor or bishop."[35] In the new ecclesiastical democracy, the ministers took special pleasure in criticising the church dignitaries, and the charges against superintendents, from time to time, were quite as serious as those against bishops. Yet, in conjunction with our knowledge of Gordon's growing preoccupation with worldly affairs, these complaints indicate that his enthusiasm for the labours of a superintendent had evaporated. Possibly he never gave willing service after the assembly's refusal to pay him a salary. In addition, he may have shared a prevalent disappointment as the fair prospects of establishment and endowment entertained in 1560 became more and more remote; there was poverty, perhaps starvation, among the reformed clergy, and other superintendents frequently asked to be relieved of their burdensome and ill-paid duties.

The friendship of the Gordons with Bothwell survived his divorce from Lady Jane and his marriage with Queen Mary; Alexander was a witness to the marriage contract.[36] After Mary's fall, the memory of the Corrichie campaign of 1562, when the earl of Moray had been responsible for the rout and death of Huntly, made collaboration with Moray as regent impossible. The bishop was by this time primarily a courtier; but apart from family interest his opinions as a royalist in politics and a moderate in religion would have led him to support the queen's party against the regent, who was at once an usurper and the idol of the more extreme party in the kirk. The Marian party included not only

[34] Ibid., 65, 73-4.
[35] Ibid., 112.
[36] "Register of deeds," ix., 86.

Hamiltons and Gordons who had their family quarrels with Moray, and not only papalists who recognised the restoration of Mary as their one hope, but a number of moderate protestants and non-Roman catholics; men of the centre who, perhaps less zealous and certainly less vocal than the extremists, have never received the attention they deserve. For a time, indeed, both the bishop and his nephew the earl temporized; they attended Moray's parliament in 1567 and the bishop remained in Edinburgh in the following months.[37] But from the summer of 1568 onwards they were convinced and open Marians.

The assembly of December, 1567, had shown itself sufficiently hostile to Alexander, on purely ecclesiastical grounds, even when his attitude to the new government was benevolent. He had, indeed, received a fresh commission, with admonition to be diligent in visitation;[38] but he could clearly expect no mercy after he committed himself wholly to the queen's cause. The assembly of July, 1568, delivered an ultimatum: the commissioner of Galloway must come to Edinburgh at the time of the next parliament to show his diligence in the charge committed to him and to answer whether he would await on court and council or upon preaching the word and planting kirks. John Row was appointed to visit Galloway.[39] Presentations were no longer directed to the bishop, and he was forbidden to take up his thirds.[40] The assembly, however, had no executive power and the government which maintained it controlled only part of the country. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the assembly of July, 1569, found it necessary to renew its prohibition of Gordon's exercise of spiritual functions and of his uplifting his thirds. An action was raised against him and

37 In March, 1568, a presentation was directed to Alexander as "bishop and superintendent" of the chapel royal ("Reg. sec. sig.," xxxvii., 53).

38 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 114.

39 Ibid., 131.

40 There are no references to Gordon as collator in the "Register of presentations," beginning in 1567; "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 150.

the bishop was "put to the horn" for non-payment of thirds, but by 1572 the kirk had not succeeded in making him disgorge the thirds for 1569 and later years, and the bishop remained "at the horn."[41]

Gordon was a prominent man among the Marians as long as the civil war lasted; he continued to exercise spiritual functions—for a time he occupied John Knox's pulpit in Edinburgh and the substance of one of his sermons has been preserved; he remained in possession of his revenues. John Row was meantime the assembly's commissioner for Galloway, but, like his predecessor, he did not come up to the assembly's exacting standards and in any case found the office a thankless one of which he sought in vain to be "disburthened."[42] The assembly of March, 1573, repeated the inhibition against Gordon's exercise of any function in the kirk and ordained Commissioner Row to summon the bishop to appear before the next assembly to answer charges against him.[43] At the next assembly, in August, certain accusations were brought against Gordon, concerned with his support of the Marian cause and his activities as a preacher while his party held Edinburgh. The bishop made a dignified and logical reply, mainly on the legal ground that by the act of pacification he was indemnified for his offences during the civil war. "The greatest offence," he declared, "that can be laid to my charge is only the preaching of the Word, which I did at command of the other authority and by election and admission of such as professed the same." He reminded the assembly of the services rendered by many of the Marians—including Hamiltons and Gordons—to the reformed cause in earlier years and proudly claimed that he had been "the first that publicly preached Christ in face of the authority." The assembly insisted on a threefold penance in sackcloth and, as the bishop had taken refuge in his

41 "Accounts of sub-collectors of thirds, Dumfries, etc."

42 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 186, 190, 200, 239, 256-7; "Cal. S.P. Scot.," iii., 609; Calderwood, "History," iii., 91, 102-5.

43 "Acts . . . of the general assemblies," i., 261, 263.

diocese, ordered him to be cited at his cathedral of Whithorn. A lengthy period of bargaining ensued. The bishop did not materially recede from his position, but in March, 1575, the assembly agreed to waive the sackcloth and be content with a single act of public penance at Holyrood. In the following August the assembly declared itself satisfied and exhorted the bishop to assist the commissioner of Galloway in his visitations "for keeping good order and discipline within these bounds."[44]

Gordon did not long enjoy the reconciliation, for he died on 11th November, 1575. The total value of his "goods and gear" was under £800.[45] He died a rather poorer man than John Knox, who had so loudly protested his preference for being a "painful preacher of the blessed evangel" rather than a "great bishop." One can only comment that if Alexander Gordon's career was devoted to self-aggrandizement it had been singularly unsuccessful.

[44] Ibid., 273-7, 282, 309, 319, 331, 334.
309, 319, 331, 334.

[45] Edinburgh Testaments, 9th March, 1575/6, and 27th April, 1577.

List of the Birds of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

By ARTHUR B. DUNCAN, B.A., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U.

PART I.

The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the eastern portion of the ancient Province of Galloway, contains within its modest bounds a great variety of country and therefore a varied avifauna. It is most surprising that there is no recent list of its birds, in fact the only list worthy of the name is that of Service in Maxwell's *Guide to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (1902). In the study of the fauna of any area a specific list is an essential preliminary and it is as such that I have prepared the following one.

This part deals only with the order Passeriformes and I hope to complete the list in the next number. On the British List used here—that from Witherby's *Handbook of British Birds* (1941)—there are 159 species of Passeres divided into 223 subspecies: in the Stewartry we have 75 species covering 83 subspecies. I have followed Witherby's nomenclature entirely, as it is only by following an authoritative list and disregarding personal predilections that any coherence, let alone finality, can be achieved in the chaos of modern nomenclature. I have, however, departed in one important particular of arrangement, in that I include all subspecies under one specific head; this arrangement seems to me not only more natural but to put the subspecific status into its proper perspective.

I have endeavoured to give an idea of each bird's local distribution and status in a few words. A list of this type must always owe much to previous writers, and I freely express my indebtedness to them all.

RAVEN.

Corvus corax corax L. A quite common resident, breeding in numbers in the hills and also along the sea-cliffs from Douglas Hall (Colvend) westward. I can find no

evidence of any increase in numbers in autumn or winter though at these seasons it becomes more widespread.

HOODED CROW.

Corvus cornix cornix L. One shot at Monybuie (Balmaclellan) is reported by Gladstone as the first ever seen in the district (S.N., 1912, p. 43). I have not yet seen a true Hooded Crow in the county. Hybrids, not necessarily of the first generation, between this and the next species are common enough, particularly in the more mountainous parts of the county. Winter visitations to the seashore appear to have been common in the past.

CARRION CROW.

Corvus corone corone L. The most destructive and most numerous of all feathered vermin. Far too common on every type of ground. There is some evidence of considerable autumn immigration and the winter roosts are pretty large. I have seen several hundreds at a communal roost in May when all breeding birds should be nesting.

ROOK.

Corvus frugilegus frugilegus L. A common resident, reaching its maximum density in the area around Castle-Douglas. There is a correlation between the rook population and the area of arable cultivation.

JACKDAW.

Corvus monedula spermologus Vieill. A common resident. There are colonies in the towns, on the sea-cliffs and also on some inland hillsides, but most of the local Jackdaws breed with rooks, being particularly fond of rookeries in conifers, and of all conifers prefer "stag-headed" Scots firs.

MAGPIE.

Pica pica pica (L). No bird increases more swiftly when not persecuted, and it is to-day more widespread than I ever remember it. In normal times (it may be somewhat optimistic to regard the days of game preservation as normal or maybe some might even say pessimistic) a bird of somewhat strange distribution locally, its strongholds being in certain

littoral parishes and again among the plantations in the upland parishes—in fact a bird that is typical of the fringe of cultivation.

JAY.

Garrulus glandarius rufitergum Hart. Before 1897-8 it appears to have been absent, but in that winter there was a considerable influx (Service, A.S.N.H., 1898, p. 181). Since then the species has been resident in small numbers, particularly in the eastern part of the county : while this is a most unusual method of colonisation there are other cases of similar happenings. This bird has a predilection for larch plantations over 15 feet high. Local Jays agree well with birds from other parts of Scotland and appear to me to be somewhat duller on the mantle and of a darker vinous on the breast than birds from the southern half of England.

CHOUGH.

Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax (L). Extinct locally. Formerly resident on the sea-cliffs from about Douglas Hall (Colvend) westward, but became extinct in this county, as in many other places, shortly before 1885 and has not been recorded since. For a full account of its previous distribution and its extinction see Service's paper in the *Proc. and Trans.*, N.H.S., Glas. New Ser. Vol. I., pp. 117-122.

STARLING.

Sturnus vulgaris vulgaris L. Abundant everywhere, save on the moors, at all seasons, being both a true resident and a winter visitor and passage migrant. This species is interesting as having been almost extinct and then staging a remarkable recovery, of which a good account is given by Service (A.S.N.H., 1895, pp. 92-96).

ROSE-COLOURED STARLING.

Pastor roseus (L). Has been recorded once at Kippford (Colvend) in September, 1935 (Gladstone, S.N., 1936, p. 29).

GOLDEN ORIOLE.

Oriolus oriolus oriolus (L.). Has been recorded once;

a fine hen found dead at Gatehouse on 6/5/25 (Tait, S.N., 1925, p. 100).

HAWFINCH.

Coccothraustes coccothraustes coccothraustes (L). There are breeding records from Dalskairth (Troqueer) in 1926 and 1927 (S.N., 1927, p. 95). There are only six records of its occurrence before this and I know of no subsequent record.

GREENFINCH.

Chloris chloris chloris (L). An abundant resident, though subject to enormous fluctuations in numbers. In the breeding season particularly favours thick cover such as is provided by shrubberies and " policy " grounds, and in winter spends the day on the arable ground and in stack-yards, roosting communally in thick shrubs.

GOLDFINCH.

Carduelis carduelis britannica (Hart). Not at all a scarce bird, breeding in rough places in the arable areas and particularly near the coast though it does breed well up the valleys where there is suitable ground. In winter is much more conspicuous and widespread, though there is no evidence of immigration.

SISKIN.

Carduelis spinus (L.). A resident that has increased in numbers of recent years, and is more conspicuous in winter than in summer; in winter, at least has a preference for alder and birch woods.

REDPOLL.

Carduelis flammea flammea (L.). *Carduelis flammea cabaret* (P. L. S. Müll). The resident race (*cabaret*) is a common resident favouring thick young woods for breeding, and in these it often nests in a semi-communal manner. The typical race or Mealy Redpoll is a winter visitor that occurs sporadically like the Crossbill. After one of these irruptions Service was inclined to think that it bred in his nursery garden at Maxwelltown (Troqueer). (A.S.N.H., 1904, p. 67.) Though this has never been mentioned in any standard work, I am prepared to accept it as most probable;

there is nothing much more inherently unlikely in this bird remaining to nest with us than in the Crossbill doing so, as indeed it habitually does. The great individual variation among Redpolls indeed suggests that the races may get mixed up after an irruption to a degree not hitherto suspected.

TWITE.

Carduelis flavirostris pipilans (Latham). I presume that the flocks of twites that are seen somewhat rarely in the littoral parishes in winter belong to this race though I have examined none. I have no knowledge of the bird breeding presently in the county though Service (1902) says " a few remain to breed with us."

LINNET.

Carduelis cannabina cannabina (L.). A common resident on waste ground in or bordering arable land. Some emigrate in winter and the rest winter on the cultivated country. This bird, like the other members of the genus, tends to nest communally.

BULLFINCH.

Pyrrhula pyrrhula nesa Math and Ired. A common bird wherever there is suitable habitat, but it has exacting requirements and for breeding needs heavy cover of young trees, very thick shrubberies or hedges. In the winter spreads out a bit and is then often seen up cleuchs in the hills where there are some deciduous trees and long heather.

CROSSBILL.

Loxia curvirostra curvirostra L. As elsewhere arrives at irregular intervals in the autumn and some birds of the irruption often remain to nest. I would hazard a guess that the years when a pair of Crossbills do not nest in the county must be few, but these colonisations never appear to be successful and fresh immigrants are required to keep them going.

CHAFFINCH.

Fringilla cælebs cælebs L. *Fringilla cælebs gengleri* Kleinschmidt. At all seasons the Chaffinch is the most abundant small bird in the county occurring wherever there

is tree growth and spreading over the arable lands in winter. Ringing has proved the occurrence of the typical race, and doubtless some of our locally-bred birds (gengleri) emigrate.

BRAMBLING.

Fringilla montifringilla L. A winter visitor, apparently much more scarce than formerly. I see no more than about one Brambling for 250 Chaffinches and have never seen large flocks of Bramblings by themselves.

CORN BUNTING.

Emberiza calandra L. A local resident. The distribution of this bird is very interesting; it is confined to arable ground both in summer and in winter and, though thick enough in some areas, such as the immediate vicinity of Castle-Douglas, is absent from other apparently suitable places, and, where it occurs in the nesting season, is almost in pockets or loose colonies. Some emigration appears to take place in the autumn.

YELLOW BUNTING.

Emberiza citrinella citrinella L. An abundant resident, particularly attached to dry and rough places amid or bordering arable ground. Winters commonly at the farm steadings.

REED BUNTING.

Emberiza schœniclus schœniclus (L.). Chiefly a summer visitor, though a certain number winter with us in the mixed flocks of finches and buntings that haunt the farm steadings and stackyards. For nesting this bird requires rough and wettish ground, and, like so many other birds, its distribution is limited by its rigid habitat preference or selection; within its chosen habitat it abounds, without it it is absent. An albino was shot at Brae of Lochrutton (Lochrutton) in December, 1909 (A.S.N.H., 1910, p. 118).

SNOW BUNTING.

Plectrophenax nivalis nivalis (L.) A common enough winter visitor to the hills, where it favours rough grassy and rushy hills rather than heather ground. There are records of its staying very late in the spring, and it may yet be found

to breed with us near the tops of some of our highest mountains.

HOUSE SPARROW.

Passer domesticus domesticus (L.). A common resident around the habitations of man; locally, I believe, a true resident. One often loosely thinks and even speaks of this as perhaps our commonest bird, forgetting how limited is its habitat, a factor which, in a sparsely populated area like ours, makes its abundance more apparent than real.

SKY LARK.

Alauda arvensis arvensis L. Common resident, winter visitor, and passage migrant. Much somewhat complex movement occurs; the breeding birds leave their breeding grounds in September and return in late February. Although the hills are without larks all winter, the cultivated lands never lack larks in plenty, though whether these are locally-bred or visitors or a mixture of both we do not know.

RICHARD'S PIPIT.

Anthus richardi richardi Vieill. Service (1902) writes: "A specimen of Richard's Pipit was procured many years ago in Terregles, and it was long in possession of Mr Hastings, Dumfries. I have failed to trace its subsequent owner." I think that this record can be safely accepted and know of no other occurrence.

TREE PIPIT.

Anthus trivialis trivialis (L.). A quite common summer visitor to areas where there is some cultivation and scattered trees.

MEADOW PIPIT.

Anthus pratensis (L.). An abundant summer visitor to the uncultivated hill land. We are never without Meadow Pipits, but the summer haunts are practically deserted by November and the winter birds elsewhere in the area do not represent a tithe of our breeding population.

ROCK PIPIT.

Anthus spinoletta petrosus (Mont.). Found all along our seaboard both in summer and winter alike on the rocky

coasts and on the merseland. A certain emigration takes place, at least birds appear scarcer in the winter than in summer. I refer our Rock Pipits to this race without having had the opportunity of examining local birds critically.

YELLOW WAGTAIL.

Motacilla flava flavissima (Blyth). A bird about which more information is particularly required. I only know it as a scarce summer visitor to the lower end of the Urr valley.

GREY WAGTAIL.

Motacilla cinerea cinerea Tunst. A common summer visitor, nesting beside burns and fast-flowing streams. Some winter, though most leave us, and at this season have a partiality for farm steadings, particularly where there is a really juicy midden.

PIED WAGTAIL.
WHITE WAGTAIL.

Motacilla alba yarrellii Gould. *Motacilla alba alba* L. Of the Pied Wagtails the typical race, or White Wagtail, is a bird of double passage, passing through in April on its way north and again from August to October on its southward journey. Our local breeding birds—Pieds—are largely summer visitors and delight in the haunts of man; a good many winter with us, perhaps 20 per cent. of the birds bred locally; it might be more accurate to say that the winter population is 20 per cent. of the summer one, as the wintering birds may not be locally bred.

TREE CREEPER.

Certhia familiaris britannica Ridgw. Resident in all woods but prefers deciduous or mixed woods to those of pure conifers. A species whose numbers are markedly reduced by a hard winter.

GREAT TIT.

Parus major newtoni Prazak. Common resident, particularly abundant in grounds around houses where there are shrubberies and scattered trees.

BLUE TIT.

Parus cæruleus obscurus Prazak. A common resident

wherever there are trees but preferring deciduous woods and particularly " policy " and garden ground to conifer woods.

COAL TIT.

Parus ater britannicus Sharpe and Dress. The common tit of coniferous woods, though it does frequent deciduous ones, particularly in winter.

WILLOW TIT.

Parus atricapillus kleinschmidti Hellm. Not rare, but somewhat scarce, and preferring natural woodland; probably therefore most commonly met with where the rivers and burns are leaving the hills and coming down into the cultivated lands.

LONGTAILED TIT.

Ægithalos caudatus rosaceus Mathews. The least common of the four common tits and the one suffering most severely in a hard winter, probably on account of its being more entirely insectivorus. A lover of deciduous trees and bushes rather than conifers.

GREAT GREY SHRIKE.

Lanius excubitor excubitor L. A scarce winter visitor, which, however, probably occurs each year, though in very small numbers.

RED-BACKED SHRIKE.

Lanius collurio collurio L. Has only been recorded once and of this occurrence no details are given (Service, 1902).

WAXWING.

Bombycilla garrulus garrulus (L.). A winter visitor, occurring at irregular intervals and in small numbers, but there is some evidence of larger influxes about every ten years. These larger influxes or invasions appear to be a movement of a different kind from the usual winter migrations and more allied to the irruptions of Sand Grouse or Lemmings.

SPOTTED FLYCATCHER.

Muscicapa striata striata (Pall.). A common summer

visitor. Here again we have a bird whose numbers we tend to over-estimate owing to its marked preference for the vicinity of the habitations of man; of all types of terrain it delights chiefly in grounds with spacious lawns and walled gardens—a very sensible preference.

PIED FLYCATCHER.

Muscicapa hypoleuca hypoleuca (Pall.). A scarce and local summer visitor. This is a bird whose preference is for tree-lined streams on the edge of cultivation rather than for the woodlands of the low ground, but it may be that this preference is founded on the greater numbers of suitable nesting sites that occur in the trees growing in such situations—they are usually old birch and alder and full of suitable holes.

GOLDCREST.

Regulus regulus regulus (L.). *Regulus regulus anglorum* Hart. I include both races with some hesitation as though doubtless many, or may be most, of the winter visitors and passage migrants are of the typical (continental) race. I have not examined any critically, and it would clearly be equally wrong to include the winter visitors under the British race. Probably the best course would be simply to adopt binomial nomenclature. The British race (anglorum—a bitter pill for Scottish Nationalists) is a common resident, whose numbers are greatly affected by the type of winter, becoming more numerous after a spell of open winters and sharply declining after a severe one : a bird of conifers in the breeding season, though by no means neglecting deciduous trees at other times.

CHIFFCHAFF.

Phylloscopus collybita collybita (Vieill). *Phylloscopus collybita tristis* Blyth. A summer visitor with an interestingly local distribution, being found pretty generally within two or three miles of the sea and elsewhere in pockets usually in the grounds of some country house. The Siberian race (*tristis*) has been recorded once at Little Ross Lighthouse on 3/12/16 (S.N., 1917, p. 33).

WILLOW WARBLER.

Phylloscopus trochilus trochilus (L.). *Phylloscopus*

trochilus acredula (L.). An abundant summer visitor and passage migrant, nesting wherever there are trees and a sufficiency ground cover. The northern race (*acredula*) has been recorded on autumn migration.

WOOD WARBLER.

Phylloscopus sibilatrix (Bechst). A quite common visitor to certain areas in the county. It prefers mature woodland and, above all, mature oak woods, though it is not averse to mixed woods and even open conifer stands. It greatly favours woods on the edge of the open moors.

YELLOW-BROWED WARBLER.

Phylloscopus inornatus inornatus (Blyth). Has been recorded once as seen near Blackmark (Dalry) on 15/10/13 (S.N., 1914, p. 20).

GRASSHOPPER WARBLER.

Locustella nævia nævia (Bodd). A locally distributed summer visitor. This bird likes rough moss ground with tall heather and young plantations, 2-6 years old. It often nests in a somewhat colonial manner—several pairs nesting in a little pocket with many acres of similar and apparently equally suitable ground round about being untenanted.

SEDGE WARBLER.

Acrocephalus schœnobœnus (L.). A common summer visitor, requiring rank vegetation for nesting, and, therefore, generally speaking, found in the vicinity of water.

GARDEN WARBLER.

Sylvia borin (Bodd). A very common summer visitor, frequenting chiefly shrubberies and thickly underplanted woods.

BLACKCAP.

Sylvia atricapilla atricapilla (L.). A summer visitor, affecting the same type of ground as the Garden Warbler but very much less common.

WHITETHROAT.

Sylvia communis communis Lath. The commonest warbler of the genus, frequenting rough hedgerows and waste places.

LESSER WHITETHROAT.

Sylvia curruca curruca (L.). This is a species of which our knowledge is extremely unsatisfactory. It occurs on passage, probably in some numbers, and has undoubtedly bred (Bolam, S.N., 1916, p. 264), but probably does not do so regularly.

FIELDFARE.

Turdus pilaris L. A very common bird of double passage, and many winter with us. Most leave about mid-April, though we usually see some in May. One shot at Cairnsmore (Kirkmabreck) on 10/6/15 contained three eggs, one due to be laid in four days (S.N., 1915, p. 263 and 356). It frequents open land, both pasture and plough, and also berry-bearing trees and shrubs; at times, if not regularly, they roost on the ground.

MISTLE THRUSH.

Turdus viscivorus viscivorus L. A common resident and an early nester, mostly in woods of moderate size and with trees of some size, but also in gardens and policies. After the nesting season go about in family parties and are somewhat nomadic. The breeding birds are back in their breeding quarters mostly by November, although a good many Mistle Thrushes appear to emigrate and return in the spring. This is probably one of the birds where the migratory instinct is greatly affected by the age and sex of the individual.

SONG THRUSH.

Turdus ericetorum ericetorum Turton. *Turdus ericetorum philomelus* Brehm. The British race (*ericetorum*) is an abundant bird, chiefly as a summer visitor from February to October (it is perhaps somewhat of a euphemism to call this period summer), and some winter in the lower parts of the county. The continental race (*philomelus*) is a bird of passage, and some may winter; this race when with us frequents open ground and shuns the wooded haunts of our own birds.

REDWING.

Turdus musicus musicus L. Common on double

passage and as a winter visitor particularly to the less elevated areas of the county. The Iceland race (*T.m. coburni* Sharpe) has not as yet been detected in the county.

RING OUSEL.

Turdus torquatus torquatus L. A scarce visitor to the uplands in summer, where it nests in rocky gullies. After breeding assembles to feed on rowan berries, but seems to migrate directly from the hills and is rarely seen on the low ground at all. Has been recorded in winter (A.S.N.H., 1893, p. 43).

BLACKBIRD.

Turdus merula merula L. Abundant resident, passage migrant, winter and summer visitor. A bird of small woods cultivation and civilisation. In the winter most of the hens leave us, at least at the higher elevations, though all males occurring then are not home-bred. Apparently local adult males tend to be true residents and females and juveniles tend to be migratory—a state of affairs that is probably more widespread among other species also than has been recognised hitherto.

WHEATEAR.

Œnanthe œnanthe œnanthe (L.). *Œnanthe œnanthe leucorrhoa* (Gm.). Both races of Wheatear occur. The Greenland (*leucorrhoa*) is a regular passage migrant both in spring and autumn, and the typical race is a summer visitor as well as a bird of passage and breeds wherever there is suitable ground, which means any open ground intersected by dykes, though its optimum habitat seems to be the rough marginal ground between the ploughlands and the hill ground.

WHINCHAT.

Saxicola rubetra (L.). A common summer visitor chiefly to upland valleys, where there is plenty rough growth of grass and bracken, in such ground it ranges up to about 1000 feet; it is particularly fond of young plantations when the trees are about 3 ft.-6 ft. high, but deserts them once a canopy is formed.

STONECHAT.

Saxicola torquata hibernans (Hart). I refer our local Stonechats to this race tentatively. This is a bird which is a remarkably scarce resident in a county where there are many thousands of acres of typical Stonechat country. Where it does occur it tends to form small colonies with a quite small area divided up into separate territories of the colony and separated often by miles from the next colony although the intervening ground may appear in every way suitable. Suffers severely in a bad winter, and is found both by the coast and among the hills.

REDSTART.

Phœnicurus phœnicurus phœnicurus (L.). An uncommon summer visitor, favouring old natural wood and scrub of alder, birch and oak and hardwood woods generally. It is most often seen where the hills join the cultivated land, but this may probably be because the woods of its choice occur in such places.

BLACK REDSTART.

Phœnicurus ochrurus gibralterensis (Gm.). Has been recorded a very few times in the winter months.

ROBIN.

Erithracus rubecula melophilus Hart. A common resident and a most noticeable one, being primarily a bird of civilisation and the neighbourhood of man.

HEDGE SPARROW.

Prunella modularis occidentalis (Hart). I refer our local birds to this race rather than to *hebridium* Meinertz, as although some do approach that form the majority seem to me to be nearer the British race. It is a common resident of the civilisation complex and there may be some migration.

WREN.

Troglodytes troglodytes troglodytes (L.) A common resident in woods, particularly the very old and the very young, rough places and around houses.

DIPPER.

Cinclus cinclus gularis (Lath.). A common resident.

A bird of fast-flowing waters in the breeding season; in winter also occurs by lochsides and far up into the hills on the sheep drains when the floods raise the level of the rivers and burns. It is rather interesting to find a bird that often winters at a higher elevation than that at which it breeds.

SWALLOW.

Hirundo rustica rustica L. A common summer visitor to the haunts of man and more particularly to the dwellings of his domestic animals. Also a noticeable passage migrant, particularly during the autumn migration when Swallows may be seen drifting in small parties over the moors and cultivated lands alike, making steadily in a southerly and westerly direction.

HOUSE MARTIN.

Delichon urbica urbica (L.). A common summer visitor. Although this bird is found nesting on buildings in every type of country in the county, it has a preference for high-lying and remote farmsteads and buildings on the fringe of the moorland. There are also colonies on at least two sea-cliffs in the county, and it is interesting to watch these birds nesting there and to speculate idly as to whether in the days before houses these two small ones were the only ones in the county or whether other cliff sites were abandoned with the advent of more modern sites.

SAND MARTIN.

Riparia riparia riparia (L.). Probably the most numerous of the swallows locally, nesting wherever there are suitable straight and sandy banks by the rivers and larger burns and even in holes in masonry by the River Nith within the burgh boundaries of Dumfries.

John Gibson: an Early Nineteenth Century Innovator.

By Bryce Craig.

When the centenary of Kirkpatrick Macmillan's invention of the bicycle was celebrated last year after a postponement from 1939, it was suggested to me that a certain John Gibson, cabinetmaker, of Dumfries, might have a claim to distinction in the history of cycling by the fashioning of a " velocipede " in July, 1819. Presuming that the " John Gibson " in question was a forebear of the head of Dumfries's oldest established business, Messrs John Gibson & Son, cabinetmakers, Irving Street, I made enquiries. To my great satisfaction I was handed the vellum bound book of some 170 pages in which this ancient craftsman recorded his business dealings. To describe the book merely as a business book is more convenient than accurate; better can it be described as a common-place book, containing, as it does, many of the features of such repositories. John Gibson, an obviously methodical man, with a gift for penmanship and self-expression, has recorded every salient fact in his business and private life, and by deduction one can learn much about the physical circumstances of the typical craftsmen of his day and not a little about his psychological approach to life. Moreover, the book, inherited from his mother, Sarah Dickson, daughter of John Dickson, who tenanted Lands, New Abbey, in the seventeen forties, has many interesting references to the farming transactions of members of the family who at various times occupied Tallowquhairn, and Clachan of Blackshaw. The earliest entry is 1679.

But to return to the " Velocipede," the immediate object of my enquiries. On Page 152 of his book John Gibson states: " Expenses of Velocipede finished 26th July, 1819." That date may be significant, because it suggests that Gibson was early in the field with such a machine. Whether in actual fact he was, seems to depend on the exact connotation of the word " velocipede." Chambers's Encyclopædia

(New Edition, 1904) states : " As long since as 1818 something in the nature of a bicycle was introduced into England by Baron Von Drais, a Frenchman residing in Mannheim, and was known as the Draisnene or Célérifére. While velocipedes or manu-motive machines with three or more wheels were in occasional use in England, the Draisnene consisted of two wheels about 30 inches in diameter running one in the wake of the other, and connected by a beam of wood upon which, midway from each end, was placed a saddle or perch. At the fore-end of the beam an arm-rest was secured. The rider placed his leg over the beam and got into the saddle, and, resting his arms on the support, pushed the dandy-horse ahead by kicking the ground with his right and left foot alternately." According to the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th Edition, 1929), the " Velocipede " or " Boneshaker " was in use round about 1865. The same article refers to a " ponderous four-wheeled carriage propelled by a footman whose unenviable task it was to depress two heavy timber levers alternately, this turning the rear wheels by a crude rack-and-pinion device." Then, apparently using the word " velocipede " in a non-specific way, it continues : " Nothing was gained by such contrivances, for the best speed, even with two drivers, was barely equal to walking pace, and there is no further trace of the velocipede in history until 1816, when an important development occurred in Paris. This was the introduction of the hobby-horse, a simple device consisting of two wheels and a cross-bar, upon which the rider sat while he propelled himself with his feet against the ground. . . . The celeripede, as it was called, quickly gained favour. In 1818 it was further improved, and in the same year it came to London, where many models were made by Denis Johnson of Long Acre. The price was high and the machine was not within the reach of ordinary folk; thus it became known as the dandy-horse and was used by the Prince Regent among others."

Could it be that what John Gibson manufactured in 1819 was a hobby-horse or a dandy-horse of 1816 or a célérifére of 1818? I should think the latter, because his list of com-

ponents would seem to indicate such a contrivance. That precisely such a vehicle was uncommon in the Dumfries neighbourhood even years later is attested by some facts taken from Gordon Irving's centenary book on the bicycle, *The Devil on Wheels* (Dinwiddie, Dumfries, 1946). Irving suggests that Kirkpatrick Macmillan was inspired to invent his crank-driven machine by seeing a dandy-horse ridden by a Dumfries wood-turner, Charteris, on the Carronbridge Road " in or around 1837." John Findlater, a friend of Macmillan, is reported as having seen Charteris on " a simple strut o' wood, with two bits o' wheel " which the driver sat astride and pushed with his feet. Findlater and Macmillan thereupon decided to make such " hobby " or " dandy " horses, and it is reported that they completed their mounts some months later. When the novelty of the crude apparatus wore off, Macmillan began the experiments which culminated in the crank-driven " hobby-horse," " dandy-horse," or " velocipede "—like the other writers, Irving uses the word interchangeably.

And now for John Gibson's " Expenses of the Velocipede, finished on 26th July, 1819." Below this heading are the following details, the punctuation being his :

Paid for Iron, viz. Hoops, Saddle Screw, Steel for Springs and Sundries		5	6
Paid William Johnston making Springs		3	6
Paid Haining for making Truck wheels, Iron, rest do. Stirrups and Sunds.		2	6
Paid Haugh Handle, nutts &c.		1	0
Paid William Charteries polishing Handle Iron ...		1	0
Wood &c from G. & C. including Hair for Saddle Tab Screws &c.		6	8
Fringe for Saddle and rest		2	0
Out Laid—Cash paid	£1	2	2
Say for Assistance from J. Charteris		10	6
Do. My own work	1	5	6
For Carpet for Saddle &c. not charged		2	0
Say for painting pd. but say		10	6
	£3	10	8
Say for the whole underated		13	4
May be said the neat Cost	£4	4	0

It is interesting to note the name J. Charteries—because almost undoubtedly it is the " Charteris " of Irving's story. In M'Dowall's *Memorials of St. Michael's* and in the obituary notices in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* he is described as a turner and as one of the founders of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Mechanics' Institute. M'Dowall goes on: " Besides being an industrious and ingenious mechanic, Mr Charteris devoted much time to scientific subjects, more especially electricity, in which he was an adept." At the risk of being discursive, and of appearing to cast some doubt on Irving's date for the Carronbridge excursions, let me make reference to an interview with Charteris's nephew, David Johnston, which appeared in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* of June 2nd, 1897, under the caption, " The Origin of the Cycle." Johnston says that it had been wrongously stated and accepted that his uncle was the maker of a bicycle " of very crude form, the rider of which simply placed his feet on the ground, and by pushing with them alternately, carried the machine and himself along." Charteris's daughter, Mrs Boardman, says Johnston, had been given to understand that her father had a " dandy horse " so early as 1816, and that he used it to go courting at Carronbridge. Johnston himself had no knowledge of that, but he remembered his mother (Charteris's sister) telling him about 1835 or 1836 that her brother bought a " dandy horse " in Glasgow in 1826 and had it sent home by carrier's cart. Johnston's own recollection was that his cousins, Charteris's sons, used to ride a " dandy horse " about 1829, but that " it was propelled by pedals or stirrups just much the same as the modern bicycle." This recollection, obviously a challenge to Macmillan's position as the inventor of the first crank-driven bicycle, began a long and bitter controversy in the local and national press.

The foregoing evidence does nothing to disturb the postulate that Gibson was an innovator in this field; indeed the dates tend to substantiate the theory.

It would appear from Gibson's components that his machine approximated most closely to the Draisnene or

Célérifére, and if the date of its introduction—according to Chambers's Encyclopædia, 1818 — is correct, then Gibson must have been among the first imitators in Scotland. Be that as it may, it must have been a thrill for the townsfolk as the well-known journeyman cabinetmaker, foreman of Messrs Gregan & Creighton, pushed his way along the uneven High Street. Unfortunately the phenomenal occurrence receives no mention in the local press of that day.

It would seem not unfitting to interpolate at this point a report which appeared in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* of September 7th, 1819, about a manu-motive machine. Here it is :

> The Velocipede Eclipsed.—A most ingenious travelling machine has lately been invented by Mr James Stewart, flour dealer, New Bridge of Clouden, about two miles from Dumfries, which, for ease, safety, and convenience, far surpasses anything of the kind we have ever seen. It runs upon four iron wheels, the rider guiding it with a pole in the centre which requires very little exertion, and his feet being fixed in stirrups, never touch the ground. The inventor has termed it The Waterloo Travelling Carriage. As the expense is trifling, we have no doubt it will very soon come into general requisition as an amusing relaxation, and to persons of a sedentary habit, in particular, will prove a most salutary and agreeable exercise.

And now let me add a very short and inadequate account of John Gibson, the man, and his book.

John Gibson was born in 1786. His mother has already been alluded to; his father was a gardener, who, one can deduce from the transactions in the book, served with Mr Walsh, Grenhead, and Robert Grierson of Lagg. In 1800 he became " bound an apprentice " with Messrs Gregan & Creighton, cabinetmakers and upholsterers, the agreement apparently stipulating that he should be provided with his " body cloths." Full details of the value of these over the last three years of his apprenticeship are given. He became a journeyman in 1807, and was made foreman at 21s a week a year later. In 1809 he married Janet Hope, daughter of

Hugh Hope, clockmaker, Chapel Street, and in due course had eleven of a family, the third of whom followed his father's calling. In 1820 he set up business in partnership with George Kerr in the Three Crowns Close. It is interesting to note that, whereas he had been latterly dissatisfied with £60 a year with Gregan & Creighton, he and Kerr rarely took more than 15s a week each from the new business. The partnership lasted less than six months. That Gibson was a good and sure craftsman is evidenced by the examples of his work still extant. These are mostly of local elm, which he greatly favoured. That he strove hard to master his job is shown by the recipes in his diary for polishing, varnishing, and dyeing wood. His thriving business did not preclude him taking an active part in the affairs of the town. For the first sixteen years of the Dumfries Savings Bank he helped Dr Duncan, the founder, as assistant treasurer. Not only so, but he provided a room for the bank's business in his house at the Ratten Raw, and was issued with tallow dips to provide the necessary light. John was a religious youth, and we find in his book a résumé of one of Rev. Dr Thomas Tudor Duncan's sermons at the New Church. At the end of this he adds : " O that I may be assisted by Divine goodness to recollect every sermon that I hear more correctly and to practice them in my future conduct." He became an elder of the New Church in 1822 and retired at the Disruption. Music attracted him greatly, and his book contains a record of his lessons in the theory of the art. He was one of the founders of the New Church Sacred Music Institution which began in 1813 and lasted four years. His services to the Society were recognised by a gift of a casket made from the wood of the tree on which Queen Mary was reputed to have sat during the battle of Langside. This worthy man of many parts died in 1864. There can be few more complete records of the day to day life of a Scottish craftsman of the early nineteenth century than this commonplace book of John Gibson.

Excavations in Dumfriesshire, 1946.

By J. K. St. Joseph, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

The Roman forts at Raeburnfoot in Eskdale stand on a tongue of land between the Rae Burn and the Esk, just above the confluence of these two streams. The forts are so placed that they command views across the main valley and up the Rae Burn to the north-east; northwards, however, the view towards the head of Eskdale is blocked by Lamb Knowe. Like most other Roman forts in south Scotland, Raeburnfoot was, it may be suspected, placed to guard a line of communication, and the position of the site, commanding the side valley of the Rae Burn, suggested that any road was to be looked for there rather than up Eskdale. Traces of such a road were identified in 1945 by Dr. I. A. Richmond when, together with Sir Walter Aitchison and the writer, he walked over the summit of Craik Muir, approaching from the Roxburghshire side.[1]

For the first mile and a quarter above Raeburnfoot the road seems to have run in the valley, and no traces of it have been observed. Beyond the farm of Mid Raeburn it climbs gradually up to the top of a long ridge of hills, which extends north-eastwards for seven miles, linking Eskdale to the head of the Borthwick Water. In the last few centuries this route has been used for sheep droving, and even for wheeled vehicles, traffic which has left its mark in numerous "hollow-ways," like those across the hills between Annandale and the Clyde. The Roman engineers set out to construct a more permanent road across these peat-covered hills, and achieved this by digging long cuttings through the peat and founding their road upon the rock beneath. The material from the cuttings was used to make causeways across the soft mosses frequently found on these hill-tops; and the whole road is an impressive example of engineering comparable with that seen on the Roman roads across the southern Pennines. The highest point on this

1 "Journal of Roman Studies," XXXVI., p. 133, 1946.

mountain road is at Craik Cross Hill (1481 feet) at the county boundary. Beside the road at the summit, and well placed for long-distance signalling, is a small, circular mound. In June, 1946, it proved possible to examine this structure by a few trial-trenches; a little exploratory digging was also done at Raeburnfoot.

(a) CRAIK CROSS.

The position of the mound is on the Dumfriesshire side of the fence at the county boundary. The measurement from the mound centre to the Roman road, the line of which is here marked by a cutting, is 63 feet. Surface observation shows that the mound is about 3 feet high, and is surrounded by a slight hollow, which was found to mark the position of a ditch, now almost filled up. The dimensions over the ditch centres are 42 feet from north to south and 43 feet from east to west. A section through the mound from north-east to south-east shows the details of construction (Fig. 1a). Turf and peat sods had been piled on the old

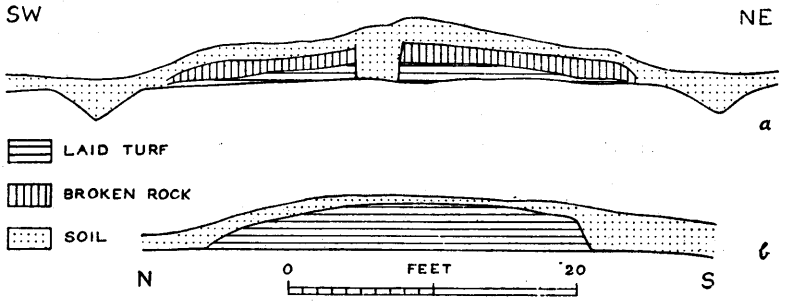


Fig. 1. Sections—(a) Craik Cross; (b) Raeburnfoot.

surface and now stand to a maximum height of 16 inches, above them is a layer of the same thickness of broken rock, such as might have been taken from the ditch or from a cutting on the road. In the centre of the mound an excavation between three and four feet wide, which had cut through both these layers, was presumably quite modern, to judge

from the 18th or 19th century china found in the filling. Possibly it had been made to hold a large guide post. The ditch bordering the mound was V-shaped, 2½ feet deep and cut in rock. A gap in the ditch was sought in the side facing the road, but none was located. Apart from the china mentioned above no objects were found.

No direct evidence of date was thus obtained. The construction, of gravel and turf, and the plan, a platform within a circular ditch, is quite normal for Roman work; while the single cross-trench might easily have missed the post-holes of a timber watchtower. But if the site and the association with the road are considered, the case for a Roman date becomes stronger. The view from the mound is the most extensive that can be obtained anywhere along the line of the road, including as it does the Eildon Hills, Rubers Law and Burnswark. Indeed it would not be possible to organise a signalling system along the road without making use of Craik Cross summit.

A section dug across the road where it is on a slope near the end of one of the cuttings mentioned above, encountered rock, a hard slaty flagstone, at a depth of a foot. Any metalling had presumably been entirely washed away.

(b) RAEBURNFOOT.

The first published description of the forts at Raeburnfoot appears to be that by the Minister of Eskdalemuir in the *New Statistical Account* of his parish.[2] In November, 1897, some excavations were undertaken at the site for this Society.[3] The report of this work, with its mention of cobbling at one of the gates, and of a gravelled road in the interior, as well as the plan, which shows that the inner enclosure was provided with two ditches, suggest that the works may have been forts rather than temporary camps.

2 "N.S.A." of Dumfriesshire (Eskdalemuir Parish), pp. 401-404, 1841.

3 James Barbour: "Trans. Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.," XIV. (1897-8), pp. 17-27 and plan, cf. also G. Macdonald: "ibid," 3rd Series, VIII. (1923), pp. 94-96.

It was with the object of determining their nature, and in particular whether occupation-levels and traces of buildings remain, that a few trial-trenches were dug in 1946.

The digging was almost entirely confined to the inner fort,[4] which measures about 270 feet by 240 feet over the rampart-centres. Its defences consist of a rampart and two ditches, which appear from surface measurements to be 15 feet and 13 feet wide. Breaks 20 feet wide in the rampart and ditches about the mid-point of the north, east, and south sides, indicate the position of gates. The west rampart was placed on the top of a high river scarp, and most of the defences on this side appear now to have been eroded by the river. The ground slopes gently from the north-west angle of the fort towards the south and east, and the east rampart has been built along the top of a bluff beyond which the ground falls away to a wet and marshy hollow, which, however, is included within the area of the larger fort.

The rampart (Fig. 1b) was examined 65 feet west of the north gate. It was 27 feet wide and had been built of turf, which was still standing to a maximum height of 3 feet 3 inches. The material was well preserved and the outline of individual clods of a thick heathery turf could still be traced. Below the turf, a few thin sticks of birch, which bore axe cuts, may have come from an initial clearing of scrub growing on the site. No trace was noted of an *intervallum* road, but digging within the enclosure disclosed sleeper-trenches, one of which, 10 inches broad, cut to a depth of 12 inches in hard clayey subsoil, was traced on a north-south alignment for 48 feet. The edge of a gravelled road that extends between the gates was located, while elsewhere patches of cobbling and pitched stones with a thin occupation-layer, suggested either internal roads or floors within buildings. Only a single fragment of cooking-pot was recovered from the trenches, and the impression gained

4 For the most recent description see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, "Inventory of Dumfriesshire," 1920, pp. 68-70.

from the small amount of work done was that of a light occupation, with Roman levels preserved 12 to 18 inches below the surface. The foundation just mentioned is evidently part of a large building, such as a barrack, parallel to the long axis of the fort; and owing to the small depth of soil it should be possible some time to determine the plan of buildings comparatively easily. The rampart of the outer fort was tested by a trial-hole near its south-west angle, and was there found to be composed of clay and gravel. The same condition seems to obtain all round the circuit, to judge from material thrown up from rabbit-scrapes.

The single piece of pottery that was found, though Roman, is not precisely dateable. However, preserved in the Dumfries Museum are a number of fragments from the 1897 excavations. These include (Fig. 2) not only *amphora*

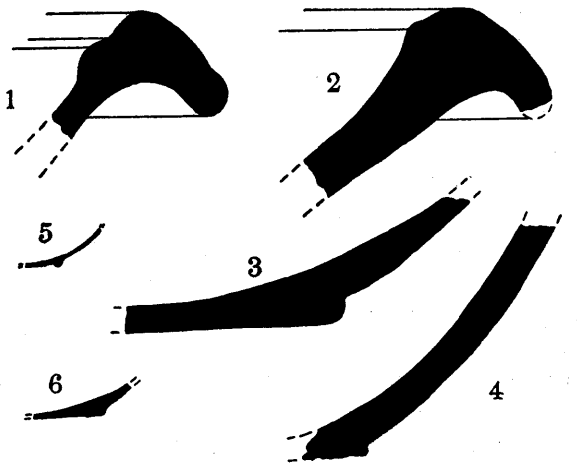


Fig. 2. Pottery found in excavations at Raeburnfoot in 1897. 1-4 are "mortaria," 5-6 are shallow bowls in coarse red ware. (Scale ½.)

and *dolium* but at least two *mortaria*-rims certainly of Antonine date.[5] It is not recorded where within the forts

[5] This is the opinion of Mr E. B. Birley, who has kindly examined drawings of the pottery.

this pottery was found, but it is evidence for a second-century occupation of the site.

The turf-built rampart and the timber building indicate that the small fort at least was designed for permanence. It is placed advantageously to guard a crossing of the Esk, and to watch over a considerable length of the Roman road to the north-east. In that direction the road has now been traced for some 10 miles from Raeburnfoot to beyond Craik farm, where it runs north of the Borthwick Water. Details of its further course are still in doubt, but the impression gained on the ground, particularly at Craik Cross where the road is seen to aim straight at the Eildon Hills, is that Newstead is the fort to which it ultimately leads. Southwards down Eskdale no signs of ancient routes, even such as the "hollow-ways" of Upper Annandale, which often mark the pack-horse tracks of the middle ages, have been noted on the ground or from the air.[6] Nor is the narrow, winding course of this river a line likely to commend itself to Roman engineers. A continuation, however, of the proven line of the road for five miles to the south-west reaches Upper Dryfesdale, whence a broad and relatively straight valley forms a natural line of communication for a further 8½ miles to the Roman road across Torwoodmuir in Annandale. An earthwork there, on Fairholm farm, examined in 1939, is suspected to be Roman in date. Certainly no other route would fit in as well with the Roman road system as at present known. The Craikmuir road thus seems to be a fragment of a Roman line across south Scotland, in use at least in the second century, to judge from the date indicated by the few fragments of pottery mentioned above. The evidence from Raeburnfoot suggests that, like other Roman frontier roads, it was guarded by permanent forts placed at strategic points, while remains of a signalling-system along the road may be represented by the mound at Craik Cross.

[6] The account of Roman roads in Eskdale given by Hyslop, "Langholm as it was," 1912, pp. 113-117, lacks definite supporting evidence.

(c) BARBURGH MILL, NITHSDALE.

Air reconnaissance in July, 1945, revealed at the west corner of field 1066 at Barburgh Mill,[7] nine miles north-west of Dumfries, the ditch of a small, square enclosure. The field was then in oats and the line of the ditch was easily visible from the air, being marked by a darker growth of crop. About Thornhill, the Nith lies in a relatively broad valley, but southwards the valley contracts, and for two miles the river flows through the narrow Auldgirth gap. The site at Barburgh Mill is at the north end of this gap, on a hillock in the middle of the valley, high above a sharp turn in the modern road. From a level platform, at about 190 feet O.D., large enough for a small fort or signal-station, the ground slopes away in all directions. The site is overlooked by higher hills on either side of the valley, though at some distance, but an extensive view is obtained southwards down Nithsdale. To the north the ridge of Kirkpatrickhill forms the horizon. No earthworks are now visible on the surface, but an air photograph taken at the time of the discovery enables the ditch positions to be readily fixed. In 1946 the field was under hay, and revealed nothing to air reconnaissance, but four days' digging in July, after the crop had been cut, was enough for a brief investigation of the site.

A V-shaped ditch, 5 feet deep and 15 feet wide in average measurements, had been dug to enclose a square level area. (Fig 3.) The dimensions over the ditch centres are 132 feet from north to south and 136 feet from east to west. The angles were not examined, but the air photograph, mentioned above, shows clearly that they are rounded. At the centre of the north side the ditch was interrupted for an entrance 15 feet wide. A few small patches of heavy cobbles lying below the plough soil are probably the remains of a rampart-base. Similar cobbles were abundant in the lower part of the ditch-filling in several sections, and conveyed the impression that they had been thrown there during deliberate levelling of the site, either

7 Ordnance Survey Maps, 25 inch scale, 2nd Edition, Sheet xl., 4.

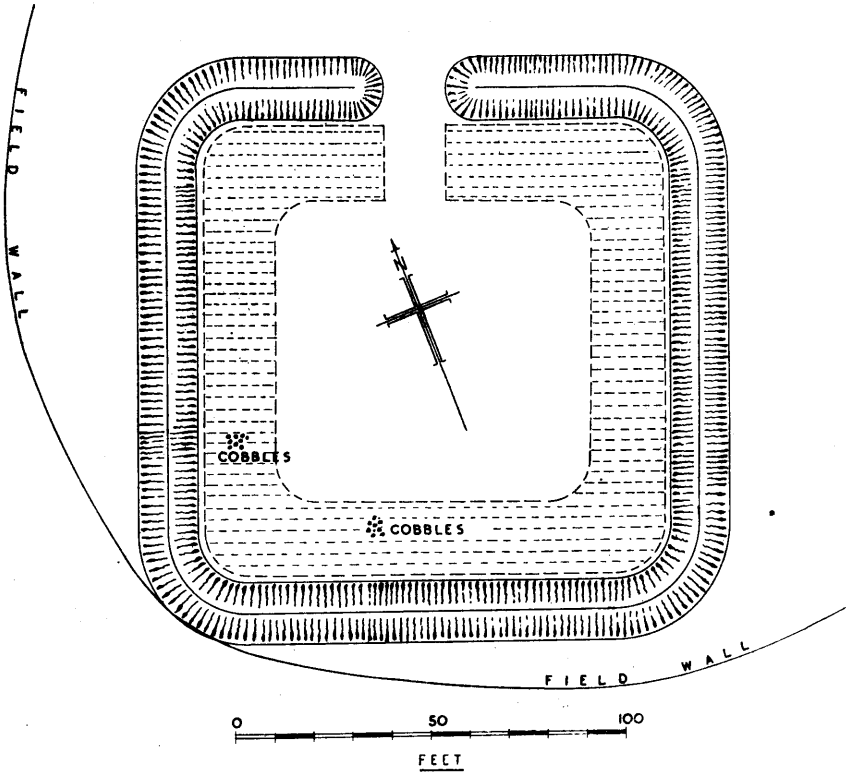


Fig. 3. Plan of Roman fortlet at Barburgh Mill.

in ancient times or for agriculture. Two long trenches across the west half of the interior revealed no structures and yielded no objects. Continual ploughing has perhaps removed Roman levels, but the possibility that foundations of timber buildings may exist has not been eliminated.

If allowance is made for a rampart some 20 feet wide, with little or no berm, the space available for occupation within the rampart would measure about 80 feet square, or approximately one-seventh of an acre. The size and plan of the work with its straight sides, rounded angles, the centrally placed gate, the V-shaped ditch finishing in neatly rounded ends on either side of the gate, and the choice of site, leave no doubt that this is a Roman fortlet similar to that at Durisdeer, 10½ miles further north. Its presence here suggests that there may have been other military posts

in the Nith valley, and it is thus a pointer to further discoveries, particularly to the Roman road of which the nearest certain portion occurs one mile south of Durisdeer fort. Indeed the air photograph shows, in the very same field at Barburgh Mill, a long crop-marking which may have been caused by a side ditch of such a road. It was not possible in the available time to examine this or other markings revealed by the photograph.

(d) MOUSWALD.

On the east side of the main road from Dumfries to Annan, in field 197 of Mouswald parish, is a faint earthwork, marked " supposed Roman " on the first edition of the large scale Ordnance Maps of Dumfriesshire.[8] Trial-trenches dug here in 1910 by Mr R. C. Reid yielded no objects, and Mr Reid suggested that a new consideration of the age of this earthwork was due, in the light of recent discoveries. The site lies half-way down the slope of the hills on the east side of the Lochar Moss, and commands a wide view to the north-west, west, and south. The earthwork consists of a bank and ditch, which, though clearly visible, are now greatly reduced by ploughing. The area within the rampart is rather less than half an acre. In 1946 the site was surveyed and two trenches were dug across the defences on the west side. As may be seen from the plan (Fig. 4), the north, east, and south sides are straight though not at right angles; the west side bulges outwards in a fairly even curve, near the centre of which is the only gate that can now be traced. The angles are rather sharp. Digging showed that the ditch was 14 feet wide, with sloping sides. The filling was cleared to a depth of 4 feet, but water prevented a deeper excavation. The mound, 9 inches high where sectioned, was composed of clay and gravel from the ditch. A trench dug half-way across the interior yielded no finds.

This site is well away from any known Roman road.

[8] Ordnance Survey Maps, 25 inch scale, 2nd edition, Sheet lvi., 7. See also Reid, " Trans. Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.," XXIII. (1911), pp. 310-312.

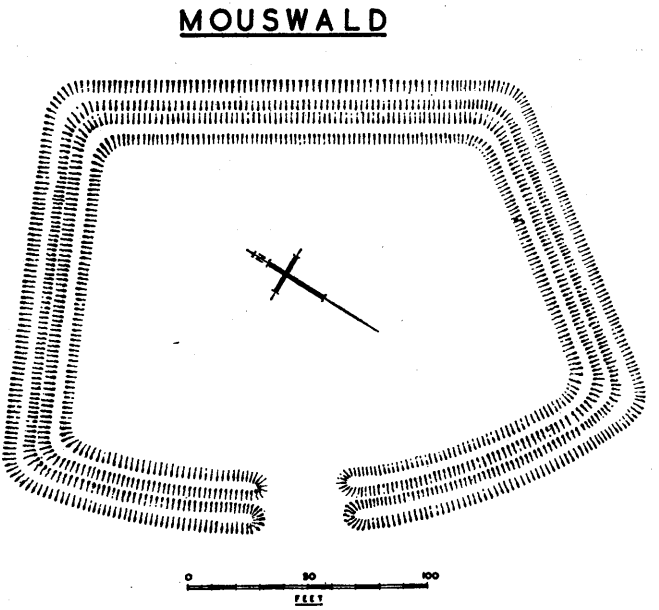


Fig. 4. Plan of earthwork at Mouswald.

The main cross route from Nithsdale seems to have been further north, on a line which might lead to Carzield, avoiding Lochar Moss. Nor does the plan, in particular the curved west side, and the lack of parallelism between the north and south sides, suggest a Roman origin. Its precise age and purpose must for the present remain uncertain, but a mediæval date seems the most likely.

The excavations described in this paper were undertaken with the aid of the Christianbury Trust. It would not have been possible to have done so much but for the continual help received from Mr R. C. Reid and Mr James Robertson.

Grateful acknowledgment for permission to dig is made to Captain Elliott of Nether Dumfedling (for Craik Cross), to Mr Aitchison of Moodlaw (for Raeburnfoot), to Mr Robson of Whitespots farm (for Barburgh Mill), and to Mr J. Gass (for Mouswald).

The Pre-Reformation Clergy of Kirkmahoe, 1319-1464.

By the late A. CAMERON SMITH, M.A.[1]

The earliest known presentations to Kirkmahoe are those made by Edward II.

1319. JOHN DE ANLAGHBY, "presented to the church of Dalswinton in the diocese of Whithorn."[2] There is only one other mention of a church at Dalswinton. In 1547 certain lands are described as lying between "the Chapel of St. Bride and the Drumgait." It stood, no doubt, on the "Site of Chapel" shown on O.S. 6 in. map 100 yards south-east of the smithy corner of Dalswinton Village and 60 yards south-west of the public road.

1319. WILLIAM DE KELDESYK, "presented to the church of Kirkmaho, in the diocese of Glasgow."[3]

1321-1328. A rector, unnamed, evidently the presentee of the Scottish patron, probably of King Robert the Bruce, appears during these years as holding the benefice.[4]

The term *rector* is properly applied when the patron is a layman (the laird of Dalswinton).[5] When the church of Kirkmahoe was erected as a prebend of Glasgow in 1429, the patronage was reserved to the lay patrons (Sir John Forster of Corstorphine, and Mary Stewart of Dalswinton, his spouse).

1 It is hoped some day to publish the MS. History of Kirkmahoe, on which Mr Cameron Smith was engaged at the time of his death. Some sixteen chapters are reasonably complete, and there are many folders of notes ready to be written up for more chapters, as well as separate studies on landed families in the parish. There should be sufficient for two volumes—far too much for a parish history. It is proposed to publish in these "Transactions" some of the material, such as this article, which is too detailed for a parish history. The tracing of missing references in this article has involved much editorial labour.—Ed.

2 "Bain," III., 653, and "Patent Rolls," 351.

3 "ibid."

4 "Reg. Arbroath," I., 213.

5

This meant that the parson had certain duties as a member of the chapter in Glasgow, and it was from this time necessary to appoint a vicar to have the cure of souls in the parish. The vicar was appointed by the bishop and paid 20 merks annually by the parson; in this case a vicarage was not erected as a separate benefice.

The Latin word *rector* is never found in the Scots vernacular, but is always translated parson, which term is its exact equivalent in Scots (and older English) usage. In this case the parson of Kirkmaho would also be known as a canon or prebendary of Glasgow.

The position remained unchanged until the Reformation and later. In 1603 the patronage of the parsonage of Kirkmaho still lay with the barons of Dalswinton. (*Retours*, Dumfries, No. 19.)

By the courtesy of the authorities of the Vatican Library at Rome the papal records of this period have now been published, and these permit a fairly satisfactory account of the priests of the period. As Kirkmahoe by the possession of its valuable £10 kirk-lands of Kirkton and Carzield was a very desirable benefice, the holders were persons of considerable importance in their time. Short biographical accounts of those individuals, whose tenure in Kirkmahoe is supported in some detail by documents, will now be attempted.

1390-1406. ELISEUS ADOUGAN. This priest, who must have celebrated nuptial mass in St. Kentigern's of Kirkmahoe for Marion Stewart in 1396, bore one of these typical Galloway surnames which, like Ahannay, Asloan, Ashennan, has since shed the prefix A corresponding to Welsh Ap (son of). While rector of Gevilstoun (Gelston) in 1381 he applied to the Bishop of Whithorn for a benefice in the gift of the "Premonstratensian prior and convent called conventual."[6] In 1389, when Archibald, Earl of

6 "Papal Petitions," I., 563; "conventual" must be an error for Candida Casa (Whithorn); it was the only priory of this order, and Gelston parish was in the gift of this priory in 1325—"M'Kerlie Lands," II., 438.

Douglas, abolished the nunnery at Lincluden and in its stead founded the College, it was Eliseus whom the founder selected as the first Provost. To enable Eliseus to retain the parsonage of Kirkmaho along with the new office, a papal dispensation was—25th November, 1390—secured for him. Enjoying the favour of Douglas (Lord of Galloway), he was destined to attain to the bishopric of Whithorn, and—24th May, 1406—obtained similar permission to retain with the bishopric the provostry of Lincluden (the building of which was unfinished), and also the parsonage of Kirkmaho.[7] A safe conduct, dated 13th June, 1404, gave permission for Sir John Herries of Terregles, Sir William Borthwick (a frequent diplomatic envoy to England in his day), and "Elias," provost of Lincluden, to pass into England for six weeks, with 20 attendants.[8] The purpose may have been to visit the Earl of Douglas, then a prisoner in England since the battle of Shrewsbury in the previous year, but we may at least suspect that they timed their departure so as to see a tournament at Carlisle in which two English knights ran six courses on horseback with lances against two Scots at Carlisle.[9] Elias, it may be mentioned, is Latin for Elijah, while Eliseus corresponds to Elisha.

In a subsequent visit to England 20th November, 1407, Sir William Borthwick took with him only Master Alexander Cairns "of Scotland."[10] Cairns is designated "provost of Lincluden," 20th April, 1408,[11] so that Eliseus had relinquished the provostry by that date and he had voided Kirkmahoe by 20th December, 1406, as is shown by the petition next following.

1406-1409. SIMON DE MANDAVILLE (Mundaville, modern Mundell). 1406, December 20. Simon de Mandeville, of noble birth, M.A., licentiate of civil law, bachelor

7 Dowden: "Bishops," 366.

8 "Bain," IV., 658. Fraser: "Douglas Book," III., 404.

9 "Bain," IV., 659; the royal licence for the tournament was dated 29 June, 1404.

10 "Bain," IV., 741.

11 "Bain," IV., 753.

of canon law, and lecturer in the same at the university of Orleans, petitions for the church of Kirkmaquho, value 80 merks, void by the consecration of Eliseus, bishop of Whiteherne, notwithstanding that the petitioner has the archdeanery of Glasgow, and a canonry of Dunkeld, with expectation of a prebend. Granted by the Pope at Marseilles. (*Pap. Pet.*, I., 635.)

Scotland possessed no university at this time, and, while Oxford was sometimes open to Scots students, such an association was at this time apt to be of negative value[1] owing to an ecclesiastical barrier which then aggravated the political separation of the two kingdoms. Under the Great Schism Scotland, like France, recognised the "anti-popes" who held their seat at Avignon and elsewhere in France, while England favoured the popes at Rome. Simon was M.A. of Orleans university, of noble origin, nephew to Matthew Glendinning, Bishop or Glasgow,[2] along with whom and Sir Symon of Glendonwyne, knight, he figures in a charter granted in 1408 at Glasgow.[3] "Of noble origin," his surname links him with Henry de Mandeville, "lord of the place of Tinwald" and patron of that church in 1427, last noble of his name,[4] although in the form Mundell it is still borne in the locality by commoners unconscious of their Norman blood.

He passed a year at Paris, being licensed in March, 1394, and in the following year, 1395, he was provided to the prebend of Dorisdere (100 m) on the petition of his uncle, Bishop Glendinning under letters of Benedict XIII. from Avignon,[5] whose court he may have visited while a student of Orleans. He shortly afterwards resigned his prebend (value £100), upon obtaining the archdeanery of Glasgow

1 Yet Simon's uncle, Bishop Glendinning, went to study at Oxford in 1363—Foedera, 6, 429.

2 "P.P.," I., 584, 585.

3 "H.M.S.S.," 10, 1, 62 (Stirling of Keir), and "P.P.," I., 583.

4 "P.L.," VII., 495; "Proc. Soc. Ant. Sco.," XLI., 313.

5 "P.P.," I., 583. Simon graduated M.A. and licentiate in laws at Paris in 1403 ("Paris," I., xxxviii., and n. 4.

in or before 1404 (worth £200), which he held till his death.[6] Thus endowed he must have become about this time "lecturer in the University of Orleans." Here Scottish students flocked to the university in numbers sufficient to justify a "Scottish Nation," of which corps of students Simon was "procurator" in 1397. In that capacity he raised a levy and purchased a mace and a book for his "nation" as early as 1397.[7] As M.A. and licentiate in laws he appears (1403) in the records of Paris university, where his uncle, Matthew Glendinning, had preceded him in 1388. In this year—20th October, 1403—the university of Paris supplicated Pope Benedict on behalf of Simon, subdean of Glasgow, M.A., and licentiate in laws, for a canonry of Dunkeld.[8] In the same records there appears the name of William Glendinning[9] (1408), who was destined to succeed Simon in two of his benefices, as will be mentioned presently.

In 1404 Simon received a general dispensation to hold, as well as his archdeanery at Glasgow, an additional benefice,[10] and two years later his petition for Kirkmahoe received the papal *fiat* as already seen.

A few months later, he, archdeacon of Glasgow, took his way from France to Scotland with a safe-conduct dated 14th March, 1406-7, allowing him to pass through England accompanied by six persons.[11] He did not return to Orleans, where his successor (next but one) as procurator was William Glendinning in 1408.[12] In the same year at Glasgow he witnessed the charter already mentioned, and

6 "P.P.," I., 585, 595, 638.

7 "Sco. His. Soc. Misc.," II., 71, 89.

8 "Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicæ (Alemanniæ) in Universitate Parisiensi" (Denifle & Chatelain, 1894). 1, lxxv.

9 William Glendinning, another nephew of Bishop Glendinning, was 15 in 1394—"P.P.," I., 614.

10 "P.P.," I., 626.

11 "Rot. Scot.," II., 182; "Bain," IV., 728.

12 "S.H.S. Misc.," II., 73, 101; interesting to note that this procurator, William Glendinning, was 29 years old in 1408; see Note 9.

he was present at the death of his uncle, bishop Matthew de Glendonwyn, 10th May, 1408.[13] Thirteen days later, by the influence of the Earl of Douglas, he secured an English safe-conduct to pass through England with twelve horsemen mounted and to return within a year.[14] He was not destined to return, as will be seen presently. Now "papal chaplain, and doctor of canon and civil law" benefices were conferred upon him without his formal petition, "a canonry and prebend of St. Andrews and of Aberdeen with dispensation to hold other benefices," 27th August, 1408, and four months later the church of Liston.[15] Now in the hey-day of papal favour, and residing probably at Perpignan, this wandering Scot ended his days in the same year. His archdeanery of Glasgow, "void by the death of Simon de Mundaville *at the Roman Court*,"[16] was in November, 1409, granted to "his kinsman" William de Glendunwin.[17] Well-born, erudite, and travelled, Master Simon had no doubt *ses entrées* at the Castle of Dalswinton, and it would be interesting to know how far his influence served to lure Sir John of Dalswinton into the service of the country which was his second home, and probably the resting place of his bones. One John Senescalli [i.e., Stewart] determined at Paris in 1407, whether the young laird of Dalswinton it is impossible to say. He may have come home with Mr Simon in that year.

1409. JOHN DE MERTON (Myrtoun) was a prominent ecclesiastic during the period when the Duke of Albany dominated the realm, and he was a considerable pluralist. A rival asserted that for unlawfully detaining

13 "Reg. Pas.," 337.

14 "Rot. Scot.," II., 185; "Bain," IV., 761; Douglas was at the time prisoner in England.

15 "P.P.," I., 638, 639; Benedict XIII., then at Perpiguan, granted both "motu proprio" (without petition); Liston is now Kirkliston.

16 It meant the seat of the antipope Benedict XIII. at Perpiquan for the time; in petitions to him Rome was referred to as "the pretended court of the intruder Martin."—"P.P.," I., 609.

17 "P.P.," I., 595.

benefices he was for a year and more under (papal) excommunication;[1] and the fact merely shows how securely he stood with the national government of the day.

When first observed he is in a party of Scots students going to Oxford under a safe-conduct dated 12th April, 1378.[2] He was bachelor of canon law, 1387, and later, 1404, doctor of the same (*decretorum doctor*),[2a] and so well qualified for the position of "official" of the episcopal court of the see of Glasgow, 1387. At that date he was also rector of Cambuslang.[3]

In 1398 Archibald, earl of Douglas, having endowed Holywood Abbey and founded Lincluden, erected (in 1398) a provostry at Bothwell, and it was John de Merton who was its first recorded provost (1400).[4] In 1395 he gave up the prebend of Durrisdeer in order to obtain the archdeanery of Teviotdale.[5] He relinquished the archdeanery and Cambuslang, probably because his tenure was somewhat illegal; and he next held the "Rectory of Glasgow"—the prebend often referred to as "Glasgow Primo." The date was probably in or before 1409, at which date a rival disputant represented that he was "unlawfully detaining a prebend of Glasgow."[6]

The illegality was partly due to his omission to disclose a "defect of birth" (illegitimacy) and at some date, not stated but probably that last mentioned, he secured the necessary dispensation in order to allow him to hold the provostry together with the "parish church of Kirkmanchquo."[7] These three valuable benefices he held till

1 Lindsay and Cameron: "Supplications" (S.H.S.), 155.
2 "Rot. Scot.," II., 8.
2a "Rot. Scot.," II., 168.
3 "P.P.," I., 567, 568.
4 Fraser: "Douglas Book," 3, 401. Baxter: "Copiale," 56.
5 "P.P.," I., 583.
6 "P.P.," I., 638.
7 "Supplications," 154; such misspellings are usually of no significance; here an "n" has been written for "u" by an Italian cleric. Other forms which occur in the papal records in this century are Kirkmanch, Kirkmahou, Kyrkmacoorcht, Kukmakhau, Rychmonthquho, besides many which convey quite a modern pronunciation, Kyrkmagwo; and others which convey the same to a French scribe.

his death in 1424, as well as the vicarage of Innerleithen and a chaplaincy of the Apostolic See.[8]

The date of his obtaining this parish may be inferred from the fact that the dispensation above mentioned was obtained from Benedict XIII. (anti-pope) "before his deposition," and he was deposed in 1409 (and again in 1417). The date 1409 is otherwise probable (see under Mandaville).

Some idea of the income drawn from the three main benefices—Glasgow Rectory, the provostry of Bothwell, and the parish church of Kirkmahoe—is gained from a statement (made by a rival aspirant) that their aggregate value was "500 merks in absence and 600 merks for those in residence."[9] In other words, the fortunate holder of these three benefices might discharge his duties by substitutes at a cost to his purse of 100 merks and so pocket 500 merks. Master John de Merton probably found his knowledge of church law more useful than all his theology.

The possession of these ecclesiastical revenues permitted the holder to devote much of his activity to secular and political affairs. He was a frequent traveller, and in 1392 went to Rome on the king's business with a purse of 200 gold nobles to defray his expenses.[10] In 1400 he was an ambassador from old King Robert III. to the new king of England, Henry IV.;[11] and again in 1404 he was one of a group of nine important commissioners appointed to treat for peace with the English at Haudenstank.[12]

1425. JOHN FORRESTER. For several generations the Forresters turned to Paris as their *alma mater*. Adam Forrester determined there in 1378, Walter was there from

8 Cameron: "Apostolic Camera," 89, 92.

9 "Supp.," 155.

10 "Ex. R.," III., 285; a noble was worth 8s 4d.

11 "Bain," IV., 547.

12 "Bain," IV., 664; a frequent trysting-place for such meetings, on the border near Coldstream. On these last two occasions he was with Sir Adam Forrester of Corstorphine. He had also gone once before, in 1398, to Haudenstank in the train of Sir John de Ramorgny and Adam Forrester.—"Rot. Scot.," II., 143; "Bain," IV., 510.

1375 to 1406, John from 1373 to 1400, and our "John Frostar" in 1417 and 1418. That the last is to be identified with "Mr John Forestar of St. Andrews diocese" who matriculated at Louvain in 1430 is not improbable. It is to be noted that he already had his master's degree, and he is stated to be the regent who was Dean of Faculty at St. Andrews in 1428.[1] Later on it will be mentioned how he quitted Kirkmahoe for Kilmany in Fife, and the fact adds some presumption in favour of this view, and suggests that this rector of Kirkmahoe was a student and man of learning.

What seems to be the earlier of the two Johns appears twice in a Paris connection in 1389 and in 1403, being in both cases M.A. and licentiate (bachelor) of canon law and also rector of Strabroc (Uphall). At the former date he was "official" of Aberdeen and had studied civil law for two years and lectured for three years at Paris in canon law. He was apparently well qualified to be an "official" (judge in a bishopric), and he was at this date petitioning for a canonry of Glasgow, "notwithstanding that he has a canonry of Aberdeen"[2] (see later).

At the second date (1403) Paris University puts his name before the pope for a canonry in Moray or Brechin. He is among "absents"[3] as though his residence at the university had ceased—as indeed we have seen.

Turning now to the Register of Aberdeen we find that his canonry in Aberdeen was Oyne (1392); and there are frequent mentions of Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, master of the king's household, and of his father, Adam

1 "Scot. Hist. Rev.," 25, 329n, 330 (William Turnbull, later Bishop of Glasgow, matriculated at Louvain in the following year, 1431). About 1420 all the Scots deserted Paris (for political reasons) except one—Paris (2) V. John Forster, who was a scholar at Oxford in 1402, and, having borrowed from a Scots student, repaid with violence ("Bain," 4, 448), was probably himself a Scot.

2 "P.P.," I., 574; one John Frostar was official of the bishop's court of Glasgow in 1413—"Reg. Pas.," 388. In 1422 a successful appeal was made to the Apostolic See against one of his judgments—Cameron: "Apostolic Camera," 311.

3 "P.P.," I., 627.

Forrester, knight, lord of Nether Liberton, and of Corstorphine, sheriff of Lothian. Both took freely of the church revenues but both were generous donors to the church. At a later date it was placed on record that the father gave a silver chalice and the son "a golden jewel with an image of piety" and "a jewel of silver with an image of the Crucified," and that their anniversaries were to be celebrated on the 19th and the 20th September respectively. Presumably it was the canonry of Oyne (1392) that was Sir John's scholarship to Paris; for it seems clear that the earlier John was none other than the knight who married Marion Stewart, the widowed heiress of Dalswinton.[4]

The records of the University of Paris reveal a distinct contrast between the earlier and the later Johns. On St. Edmund's day, 1375, the earlier John, "Mr John Forestarii, the Scot," was elected "procurator" of the "English Nation" at Paris, and, at the dinner of the master, gave the bedellus of the nation for his merry entry to this office a whole franc, *quem nondum perpotarunt*, as the minute puts it (which they have not yet drunk out). A franc was at the time worth 18s, and 6s was as much as most students were allowed to spend in a week; that was the *bursa* of the second John. The nation generally held its meetings at the Cock and Hen (*in taberno Gallo et Gallina*) or another tavern. In 1399 the nation desired to have a feast on St. Edmund's day "according to laudable custom," but found they had only two francs. Mr John advanced as a loan the three francs which were wanting and received the effusive thanks of the nation.

The later John (if he was our rector) could claim nobility for only half of his blood, and had an emptier purse than even the proverbial Scot abroad. When called on to pay his wages (fees)—perhaps 40s or so—John Frostar

4 "Reg. Aberdeen," I., 142, 182, 191, 195, 201, 222; II., 160, 167, 204, 218. Sir John may have at first looked forward to a learned or ecclesiastic career; he may have had an elder brother in Adam, who was at Paris as stated earlier. For a boy of 14 holding a canonry (a precentorship with prebend), see "P.P.," I., 626.

tendered a " book " of decretals. It was decided that the book was " scarcely worth what the determinant owes " and that he must be asked to give better. He was at Paris in 1417 and 1418 and entered Arts in the latter year.[5]

Sir John Forrester about 1422 married the lady of Dalswinton and thus became patron of Kirkmahoe, and we have only to wait three years to see his namesake rector of the parish. As Sir John lived 31 years after Mr John entered Paris, it is likely enough that the rector was a natural son of Sir John. The tenement of " Mr John Forrester " in Edinburgh bounded Sir John's garden on the west side.[6] Owing to his " defect of birth " our rector petitioned the pope for liberty to hold more than one benefice, and the following dispensation is based largely on his own disclosures to the papal court:

> 13 July, 1425. To John Forrestarii rector of Karkmagho, M.A.; papal dispensation to him (who formerly received papal dispensation as the son of an unmarried nobleman and an unmarried woman to be promoted to all, even holy orders, and to hold two compatible benefices, after which, having been tonsured he obtained the above rectory, value not exceeding £40 sterling) to hold four other benefices with or without cure, compatible with one another and the said rectory, and to resign them simply or for exchange, as often as he pleases—(*Papal Letters*, VII., 384).

Great as his aspirations may have been, Mr John does not seem to have been eminently successful in collecting pluralities for himself. He had made some claims to a canonry of Brechin in 1415 and to the archdeanery of Teviotdale in Glasgow (1418), but in each case had been frustrated

5 " Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicæ (Alemanniæ) in Universitate Parisiensi " (Denifle & Chatelain, 1894)—hereafter referred to shortly as " Paris "—Vol. I., 423-8; 480-2; 582-8; 805-39; Vol. II., 220-13; 222-6 " et pass." Decretals were papal legal " cases ": the " book " was, of course, MS. but had a " glosa ordinaria " (an index to the contents).

6 " Reg. St. Giles," 50.

by a rival.[6a] At the date of his dispensation (1425) he held no other benefice or the fact would have been disclosed. So far as any indications of individuality can be gleaned, this rector seems to have devoted himself to plain living and high thinking. But for Sir John Forrester he might never have been rector of Kirkmahoe, and it was Sir John who made Kirkmahoe, a prebend of Glasgow and so secured for Mr John the status of canon of that see.

As has been seen, the dispensation gave Mr John the right of exchange. On 13th June, 1431, he exercised this right, taking from John de Hawyk, another canon of Glasgow, the rectory of Kilmany—very convenient for St. Andrews—and giving him "the canonry and prebend of Kyrkmaqwo of equal value, £50 sterling, of the patronage, of John Forster of Corstorfin, knight, who has consented."[7] Bulls were issued to the two parties, 16th July, 1431.[8] Mr John Forrester may never have been much about Kirkmahoe if it was he who was at Louvain in 1430 and who became one of the regents (professors) at St. Andrews.[9] He must have been in that case an "absentee" rector to Kirkmahoe; but at St Andrews in 1428 it was he who, as Dean of Faculty, received (capped) as bachelor a future rector of Kirkmahoe (Thomas Pendewen).[10]

THE ERECTION OF KIRKMAHO INTO A PREBEND OF GLASGOW.

Kirkmahoe had been granted to the Abbey of Arbroath as a prebend by King Robert Bruce in 1321. Nothing more is known about it except that a dispute arose between Arbroath and the laird of Dalswinton. Apparently the right to the presentation *de facto* had at least reverted to the laird of Dalswinton, for in 1429 Kirkmahoe was erected anew

6a "P.P.," I., 605, 608.

7 "P.L.," VIII., 336.

8 Cameron: "Apostolic Camera," 106; the exchange seems to have been carried through by the two parties in person at Rome ("incuria").

9 "S.H. Review," 25, 329n, 330.

10 Anderson: "Early Records of St. Andrews" (S.H.S.), 10.

into a prebend with consent of Sir John Forrester and his wife, Marion Stewart, the Lady of Dalswinton. If Mr John Forrester's aspirations towards a canonry had been twice frustrated, he at length secured his ambition, thanks to the laird of Dalswinton. That experienced court official devised a scheme by which Mr John became the *last rector* and the *first prebendary* of Kirkmahoe. With the consent of the laird, his lady, and her son and heir, and of the rector, Kirkmahoe was in 1429 erected into a prebend of Glasgow, with the condition that Mr John Forrester, present rector, should be the first holder of the canonry and prebend.[11]

By the deed of foundation the Dalswinton patron was in future to " present " his nominee to the bishop for " institution " to the canonry. After " induction " by the dean to the prebend and parish he would have right to the valuable church lands surrounding the church, to the teinds of the rest of the parish, and all other fruits of the church. The " cure " of the parish he might depute to a " perpetual vicar pensioner " whose provision and collation were, however, reserved to the bishop, and to whom a yearly salary (*pensio*) of 20 merks was assigned by the deed. This vicar would be, of course, bound to reside in the parish, but in the case of most of the parishes—including Kirkmahoe—there is no mention of a parish manse and glebe as part of the emoluments. There *was* a glebe. The upkeep of the queir and the repair of the church and extraordinary expenses fell upon the prebendary,[12] an arrangement apt to be uncertain in operation. A statute made by Bishop Glendinning in 1401 taxed the prebends at each entry of a new holder for the *ornaments* of the cathedral—copes, chasubles, dalmatics, and the like. The list was afterwards extended to include new prebends, and among these Kyrkmahoo appears, taxed at £5.[13]

11 " Reg. Glas.," II., 324. Two of the witnesses were Robert Heryat and Dom. John Broky.

12 " ibid," II., 340.

13 " ibid," I., 298, and II., 345.

The canon, as a member of the chapter, had a share in the management of the cathedral and he had certain duties. For three months in each year he had to occupy his stall in the choir, clad in ecclesiastical habit, for one hour each day, at matins or at vespers, unless prevented by a reason satisfactory to the dean.[14] But here again he might delegate his duties to a *stallarius* or " vicar of the quere,"[15] at an annual cost to himself, in the case of Kirkmahoe, of 9 merks yearly salary, together with cope and surplice.[16] These minor clerics sat in the choir below the resident canons.

During the three months of duty the prebendary was expected to reside at the cathedral, and many of the prebends had " manses " ranged with the cathedral round a " close " or enclosed green. The sites of twenty-seven are known, and Provand's Lordship is now cherished as the only survivor of these manses. In the case of five, Kirkmahoe among them, there is no record of a prebendal manse ever existing, and the prebendary—when he *did* reside—must have found lodging for himself.[17] Out of the liberties to delegate duties, great abuses were destined to grow, as will be seen later.

Doubtless the cathedral stood in need of enlarged revenue, for in 1430 it was stated that the daily ration was so meagre that the canons could not be induced to reside.[18] Bishop John Cameron wrought a considerable improvement in the finances, for Kirkmahoe was only *one* of *six* new prebends erected in his term. " He decessit in the castell of Glasgw on Yule Even 1446 that was bischop 19 yere."[19]

1431. JOHN DE HAWICK (Hawyk), papal chaplain, bachelor of canon law (1394), precentor of Glasgow from 1402 till his death,[1] is to be distinguished from a namesake

14 " ibid," II., 351.
15 " Glasgow Charters," pt. 2, 66.
16 " Reg. Glas.," II., 347.
17 Dowden: " Mediæval Church in Scotland," p. 92.
18 Dowden: " Bishops of Scotland," 320.
19 " Auchinleck Chronicle," 6.
1 " P.P.," I., 588, 596.

who, also papal chaplain,[1a] was a scholar at Avignon (1395) and vicar of St. Mary's, Edrom.[2] In making the exchange, 13th June, 1431, by which he obtained Kirkmahoe from Mr John Forrester, it would seem that Mr John de Hawick was obeying a homing instinct. As is well known, Sweetheart Abbey and Balliol College, Oxford, owed their foundation to the same pious donor, the Lady Devorgilla. It is thus easy to suppose that Sweetheart was a seminary preparing yearly a batch of young clerics suitable for further education at Oxford. At the head of these, as they took their way to England in 1380, was Thomas de Kirkcudbright, a monk of Sweetheart, their master no doubt, but himself a student still as late as 1385 attending a university "seeking the pearl of knowledge," as he himself puts it.[3] With an English safe-conduct, dated 18th February, 1379-80, he took with him eleven young lads (of fourteen or so) "to study in a university." The young clerics were not provided with patronymics and were all named simply by their place of origin—Gilbert de Mousfald, Thomas de Butyl, and, last in the list, John de Hawyk. These three took the degree of B.C.L. and made their adopted surnames familiar in Scotland. Thomas de Butyl (and probably others) studied canon law at Oxford for five years.[4]

When scholars were granted leave to come from Scotland to an English university, the condition was always imposed on the strangers that "they do not attempt any prejudice to the kingdom or crown." Now just at the time when these students were at Oxford, Scotland joined the Great Schism and declared for the "antipope," thus siding

1a Papal chaplain to Prince David, Duke of Rothesay, who is said to have been starved to death by Robert, Duke of Albany. —"P.P.," I., 616.

2 "P.P.," I., 588. The two also appear together in a charter of 1408 cited in Note 10 under Simon de Mundeville. The precentor was "master"; the other, merely "sir" (dominus), had not the master's degree. See sub. Mandeville footnote.

3 "P.L.," IV., 251.

4 "P.P.," I., 570, 574; Thomas de Butyl was Bishop of Whithorn, 1414-22.

with France and breaking with England. Feeling must have run too high and the Scots must have ventured to display overmuch nationalism, for in 1382 an order was sent to the chancellor of the university that Scottish students must restrain their zeal for the anti-pope.[5]

" Master John de Hawyk, precentor of Glasgow," died 17th March, 1431-2,[6] that is to say only nine months after he had obtained Kirkmahoe by exchange; but for some reason —probably defective information—the papal office ignores the exchange. Kilmany is vacant " by reason of the death of John de Hawyk,"[7] and, as will be seen presently, Kirkmahoe voided " by the death of John Forrester."

1437. ROBERT HERIOT was presented to and instituted in the parish but seems to have failed to obtain possession. In comparison with other holders of the parish he lacked distinction and influence. His inclusion as a witness, at Edinburgh, to Sir John Forrester's foundation of the prebend of Kirkmahoe in 1429[1] suggests that he may have been one of Sir John's secretaries. He was at the

5 " Rot. Scot.," II., 20, 45; the three students mentioned had also gone to Oxford, 12th April, 1378, in other company, one being John de Merton.—" ibid," II., 8. Sweetheart Abbey, " on the borders of England and Scotland, had in 1381 been " lately burned "—" R.H. Papal Transcript," I., 208.

6 " Reg. Glas.," 615. The greatest figure of the surname at this time was Andrew de Hawyk. Of noble birth and 20 years of age, he was in 1394 clerk to Sir John Ramorgny, well known as the associate of Sir William Stewart of Jedworth, and one of the evil counsellors of the unfortunate Prince David. He became first secretary 1406-1413 to the Duke of Albany, and was canon of Glasgow from 1407 and rector of Liston from 1409. Having observed that many travellers lost their lives by drowning near his church of Kirkliston, he in 1420 built a bridge to carry the Edinburgh-Linlithgow road over the " Aumonde," and, to encourage contributors, the Pope granted them indulgences for periods up to three years. He died at the Roman court before 29th May, 1425.

7 Cameron: " Apostolic Camera," 106 (7th November, 1431): the date is too early for the statement in the text; 107 (27th May, 1432) is compatible.

1 " Reg. Glas.," II., 324.

time canon of Glasgow, as also 19th February, 1436-7, when at Bologna he obtained the bull which endowed Sir John's new college at Corstorphine with the revenues of Ratho parish;[2] and it was probable on that visit that he obtained the mandate in his favour which follows presently.

1437. WALTER STEWART may be introduced by the mandate referred to.

27 May, 1437. The petition of Robert Heriot canon of Glasgow contained that on the voidance by the death of John Forestar of a canonry and prebend of Glasgow he was presented within lawful time by John Forestar knight, "to whom the presentation belongs by special papal privilege,"[2a] and instituted; nevertheless, after he had been in possession some time, Walter Stewart clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, falsely claiming them, prevented his peaceable possession; that the present pope[2b] committed the cause to an auditor, who wrongly gave sentence against Robert; on appeal and re-trial Walter was condemned with costs against him amounting (in the three suits) to 62 florins gold of the camera. The petition adds that Robert doubts whether Walter will obey the sentences.

The pope orders the bishop of Dunblane, the abbot of Inchcolm,[3] and the archdeacon of Hainault to cause Robert to have possession, invoking the aid of the secular arm.—*Papal Letters*, VIII., 628, abridged.

The conflict was probably due to the fact that James I. and the Bishop of Glasgow (John Cameron, 1426-46) had been collating to benefices in disregard of papal authority.[4]

In order to identify Walter Stewart, canon of Glasgow,

2 Cameron: "Apostolic Camera," 116.

2a A very unusual clause; so also are those beginning "Robert doubts" and "invoking."

2b "Eugenius," IV., 1431-47.

3 The famous Walter Bower, who continued Fordun's "Scotichronicon" to this very year, 1437.

4 See Cameron: "Apostolic Camera," 339.

holding the prebend of Kirkmahoe,[4a] it is necessary to take account of three clerics of that name, all of whom were in turn canons of Glasgow, two having held the prebend of Barlanark (the Lordship of Provand), with an interval of time, and being base-born relations of the king of Scots.

A. Walter Stewart, who may be here called "the elder," was dead by January, 1433-4, so voiding the deanery of Moray, and prebends of Barlanark and Belhelvy (Aberdeen).[5] In 1418, while holding Barlanark, he was granted the deanery of Glasgow, having in his petition described himself as bachelor of canon law, student at Avignon, and brother of Robert, duke of Albany. Elsewhere he is "son of Robert, late king of Scotland."[6] There is a base-born son of Robert II. in the *Scots Peerage* bearing this name.

B. Walter Stewart, the litigious holder of Kirkmahoe, is a composite of several distinct rôles which have to be pieced together, as student, as traveller called of "Dalswinton," and as an ecclesiastic (though, like Walter the elder, he boasts no higher order than clerk). He must be the Lord Provand who died 31st August, 1454. A sketch of his career is given later.

C. Walter Stewart, who died in 1474, archdeacon of St. Andrews and later of Dunblane, papal acolyte,[7] "cousin of James III.,[8] of Glasgow diocese,[9] may be "Walter Stewart the younger," canon of Glasgow on 1st March, 1452-3.[10]

Here it may be explained that the prebend known as Barlanark or Provand (Latin *prebenda*) had the unique advantage of endowing a canon who had no duty to a parish. He was canon of a cathedral but not rector of any parish. So the lands were in fact a lairdship, and the for-

4a The name of the parish is not mentioned in the papal mandate, but there is no doubt.

5 "P.L.," VIII., 482, 490, 510, 544; "P.P.," I., 610.

6 "Supplications," 38, 244; "P.L.," VIII., 379.

7 "Apostolic Camera," 178, 275.

8 "P.L.," XII., 388; cousin of James III.

9 "Camera," 181; of Glasgow diocese (if correct).

10 "P.L.," X., 569.

tunate holder was *Dominus Prebende*, or in the vernacular Lord Provand. Once, in the year 1419, it is called the *Dominio* (Lordship) prebend,[11] and as an instance of how old names may persist the canon's town-house is still "Provand's Lordship," the oldest house in Glasgow. Barlanark House was near Shettleston.

One "Master Walter Stewart of Dalswinton," under date 30th May, 1453, took a safe-conduct through England to endure three years for the purpose of "visiting the shrines of the apostles,"[12] that is simply Rome. The company—of churchmen with one exception—was headed by Thomas Tervas, abbot of Paisley, who was to bring home from Italy ornaments for his new abbey. "He brocht many gude jewellis and claithis of gold, silver and silk, and mony gude bukis . . . and the stateliest tabernacle in all Skotland."[13] The terms of the safe-conduct leave no doubt as to the purpose of the journey; it provided for the carrying of "pokes, jewels, gold and silver, minted and unminted."[14] There was a rush of pilgrims at this time in consequence of a truce concluded with England 21st May, 1453.[15] Who, then, was this Master Walter of Dalswinton so designated in an English writ and never again?

The "Walter Stewart" (B) of the papal records has generally to be recognised by one or more of the following labels: *a* M.A.; *b* canon of Glasgow; *c* son of a dean (who was son of Robert, late king of Scots) and an unmarried woman; *d kinsman* (cousin) of James I.; *e* on his father's side of noble or royal race; *f* by both parents of a race of barons. He can also be traced by the names of the benefices and dignities which he impetrated, held or demitted,

11 "Supplications," 38.

12 "Limina Apostolorum"; "Better the Apostolic or Papal Thresholds." Fellow-travellers were George Falowe, burgess of Edinburgh; Master James Inglis, canon of Glasgow; and "Sir" Thomas Forsyth, vicar of Lagerwood; with seven attendants.

13 "Auchinleck Chronicle," 19, 56.

14 "Bain," IV., 1252; "Rot. Scot.," II., 363; "Foed. O.," II., 338.

15 "Bain," IV., 1257.

and if a full list of those could be made it would reveal an extraordinary faculty for collecting sinecures. Sometimes he must have used devious juridical arts, for once he at least had to disgorge and be habilitated; on another occasion a hint was thrown out from the papal court that he was to be watched for the besetting sin of the time, corruption or simony.

" Walterus Senescalli " graduated as bachelor in 1418, master of arts in 1419 at the university of St. Andrews,[16] which had only been founded in 1411. He was the only *master* of his name there till 1468. It may be inferred that he was born about 1400. Three years later (in 1421) one " Galterius Stewart of the diocese of St. Andrews " had his name entered on the matriculation roll of the university of Cologne,[17] and, after the lapse of another three years " Wautier Styward, canon of Glasgow, student at Cologne," had a safe-conduct 4th March, 1424-5, allowing him to pass through England on his return to Scotland. It was no ordinary safe-conduct for a party of poor students. Wautier was to travel with *six* servants, horses and harness, and the king of England issued the permit at the instance of his " tres cher cousin Descose " (James I.).[18] Here is a further suggestion that this Stewart was " sib to a king."

In February, 1439-40, Walter, at Rome in person, exchanged the archdeanery of Aberdeen, which he had recently obtained, for the prebend of Cardross,[19] the bishop being instructed to see " that there was no simony."[20] Canon of Moray, lately residing at the Roman Court (1440), Master Walter was rector of the university of St. Andrews in 1441[21] and in 1444.[22] Between these dates he may have

16 Anderson: " Early Records of St. Andrews," 5.

17 " Die Matrikel der Universität Köln " (Vol. I.), 130-67 and 132-5.

18 " Bain," IV., 977; " Rot. Scot.," II., 252; for six months, by sea and land, abiding and passing to Scotland.

19 " Apostolic Camera," 125; Walter Stewart, canon of Glasgow, was also at Rome 19th April, 1448 (" Camera," 41).

20 " P.L.," VIII., 276, 295; IX., 75.

21 " P.L.," IX., 83, 457.

22 Herkless & Hannay, " Archbishops," I., 84n.

taken a refresher course at Cologne, for "Walter Stewart can. Glasguensis" appears in the matriculation album there in 1442,[23] an entry only differing in form from that of 21 years before. (No other Stewarts ever enrolled there.)

Benefice hunters were numerous enough and unscrupulous enough, but, even by comparison with his contemporaries, Walter was the most notorious. In 1433 he had been guilty of "unlawfully taking up the fruits of the deanery of Moray and of the rectory of Tannadice," and had to pay a composition and be rehabilitated.[24] But this may only mean that he had been rather tardy in paying the necessary annates. A more serious charge, for which he had again to seek rehabilitation in 1447, was that when lately he had been archdeacon of Dunblane he had been guilty to simony in taking money on a presentation to a perpetual vicarage.[25] The fact had evidently not been forgotten in the following year when, on Walter desiring to resign a prebend of Moray, the treasurer was instructed "to watch that there is no corruption."[26]

It is possible that the prebend of Glasgow which supported him at the university of Cologne was Cardross. At least he gave up Cardross to obtain the prebend of Barlanark (Provand), succeeding William Turnbull, then (1447) promoted bishop.[27] Walter next commenced a litigation over Barlanark, and was successful, for he paid the annates in 1451.[29] From that time till his death he was therefore "Lord Provand."

[23] "Matribel Köln," I., 215, 67. One wonders if these visits of Walter to Cologne had any influence in originating (1) a letter dated 26th July, 1423, from Scots students there to Murdoch, Duke of Albany, on behalf of a German seized by Scots at sea; (2) a letter sent in 1443 to St. Andrews from Cologne describing the privileges accorded to foreign students there. "In general the more radical of the Scots went to Cologne, the conservative or papal group finding a more congenial atmosphere at Louvain"—Baxter: "Copiale," 265, 275, 494.

[24] "Camera," 231.

[25] "P.L.," X., 359.

[26] "P.L.," X., 395.

[27] "P.L.," X., 15, 82, 83, 291.

[29] "Camera," 272.

Walter Stewart, canon of Glasgow, was at a conference at St. Andrews, 6th May, 1453,[30] and the safe-conduct of Walter Stewart of Dalswinton was dated 30th May following. We now pass to the next year and quote the quaint language of the *Auchinleck Chronicle*: "Item that samyn yer (1454) the last day of August deit in Glasgu Master Walter Stewart that was lord provand."[31] Four months before the death of the lord provand a papal letter dated 19th April, 1454, was directed to "Walter Stewart, dean of Brechin, *utroque jure baccalarius*" (LL.B.), collating him to the said deanery, on condition that he gave up the prebend of Banchory-Devenick. Six months later a similar letter, dated Rome, 8th October, 1454, mentioned that Walter was dead and the deanery vacant.[32] Equation here is easy. It is of interest to mention that, so far back as 1448, Walter, true to his disposition, had had a litigation over Banchory-Devenick—probably never settled. In that connection he described himself as "by both parents of a race of barons."[33]

News of the lord provand's death had not reached Rome by the 22nd September following, on which date a mandate was directed to Walter from St. Peters for him to deal with the perpetual vicar, "called pensionary," of Morebattle.[34] At an earlier date, 1451, he had been charged to investigate the case of the vicar of Blacket and Urr, who had been keeping a concubine.[35]

Morebattle is near Minto, and Urr is near Kirkmahoe, and Walter Stewart, "kinsman of James, king of Scots," held the rectory of Minto 26th February, 1450-1, "together with another benefice" (unspecified).[36] It is suggested that

30 "Reg. Melrose," 559.

31 "Auchinleck Chronicle," 56; Dowden Bishops, 323; the year of the death of Bishop Wm. Turnbull, who had been in the same year at St Andrews as Walter.

32 "Reg. of Brechin," II., 400, 402; "P.L.," X., 260.

33 "P.L.," X., 345.

34 "P.L.," X., 693.

35 "P.L.," X., 547.

36 "P.L.," X., 174.

the other benefice was Kirkmahoe. There has survived from some date in these centuries a note of assessments of benefices, including one very unusual item: "rectoria de Kyrkmaho cum rectoria de Mynto, £15 11s 1¼d."[37] This is a unique instance of a combination of two benefices separated from one another by a distance of over fifty miles.

The one link connecting these parishes was the common patron, the laird of Dalswinton. If Robert Heriot had in or before 1437 a presentation from Sir John Forrester, it is conceivable that Walter Stewart (whether or not "of Dalswinton") might have the support of Sir William Stewart, who had long ago succeeded to his father, and who may not have relished his step-father's assumption of the patronage of Kirkmahoe, even "by special papal privilege." Sir William was undoubted patron of Minto,[38] and if the two benefices were united by a legal fiction, he may have presented Walter to Minto and so given Walter a claim to Kirkmahoe. As already seen, Walter Stewart held Minto in February, 1450-1, and Minto was vacant in 1455, when there arose the dispute as to presentation which will be mentioned under *Sir William Stewart*.

Towards the end of his life Mr Walter seems to have been established in great favour with the papal authorities, for in 1452 he was empowered to settle the merits of a claim to the treasurership of Glasgow made by Walter Stewart, priest of the diocese of St. Andrews.[39] As both of them seem to have claimed kinship to king James, it is likely enough that the claimant was successful, and that he was "Walter the younger, canon of Glasgow," who is so named 1st March, 1452-3.[40]

An aristocrat (with a bend sinister), possessing

[37] "Reg. Episc. Glas.," I., lxxii., with note "Seculi xvi." The roll exists in the Register House in the handwriting of John de Lauder, 1530; but such rolls were usually copied from older ones without revision; Dalswinton and Minto had parted company in 1459.

[38] See later sub. "Sir William Stewart."

[39] "P.L.," X., 576, 588.

[40] "P.L.," X., 569.

influential connections in church and state, a scholar like the king under whom he lived and with whom he had affinities of blood and taste, a traveller and a connoisseur, having skill enough in both kinds of law to enable him to evade the law himself and circumvent his rivals, an extensive dealer in the black market of benefices—that seems to be a not unjust epitome of the personality of this rector. In contrast with others he has not been found participating in any useful activity, unless the records of St. Andrews university can save him from the reputation of a rich idler.

The mystery of his origin and family has not been penetrated. If he was " of Dalswinton " it naturally implies that he was brought up there by his mother or foster-mother, not in a hovel of cat-and-clay but in the Castle of Dalswinton. His surname implies a father of the name of Stewart, even though the son was base-born. One may conjecture that his father was Walter Stewart (A), dean of Glasgow, natural son of Robert II., and base-born brother of Robert, duke of Albany, but it is mere conjecture. As his birth has been placed about 1400 and as Marion Stewart, heiress of Dalswinton, was married in 1396, his mother may have been an unrecorded sister of Marion; and, on careful reading between the lines, the marriage contract of 1396 seems to be designed to exclude a co-heiress from succession. No more can be said (if already too much has not been said) except to repeat that his mother was " of noble race."

1443-1447. THOMAS DE SPENS. The evidence for his possession of Kirkmahoe consists of one mention which will be found later under 1464, but he held a prebend of Glasgow and the parish church of " Kirkmichael " [? Kirkmahoe] in 1443.[1] Like one of his predecessors in Kirkmahoe (Adougan), he, while provost of Lincluden, was elevated to the bishopric of Whithorn, being provided 7th January, 1449-50 but " consecrated outside of the Roman Court " about 1447. He died, bishop of Aberdeen, in 1480.[2]

1 " P.L.," X., 401. Kirkmichael was a church belonging to Abbey of Kilwinning and not one of the churches of Glasgow.

2 Dowden's " Bishops," 368, 125.

Thomas Spens determined (bachelor) at St. Andrews in 1433, and M. Thomas de Spensa was licensed there in 1436.[3] He was therefore born about 1418. A sketch of the adventurous life of this bishop is easily accessible. "He was a personage so mixed up with public affairs that to give the details of his life would be to write the account of Scottish politics for the time."[4]

1447. ADAM DE AUCHINLECK (mod. Affleck). His tenure of Kirkmahoe is casually mentioned in documents of 1450, 1458, and 1464, which are quoted later. His name occurs frequently in the records, and in one of date 16th November, 1458, his death, as prebendary of Glasgow Primo, is referred to. He was kinsman and secretary to William, Earl of Douglas[5]—who married the Fair Maid of Galloway and was stabbed by James II.—and spent his last years as a continual commensal member of the house of William, Cardinal of Rouen.[6] He seems to have resigned Kirkmahoe in favour of Thomas Penven about 1448 (see later).

1448. THOMAS PENVEN. In the story of this rector four persons of the surname occur, and, as they seem to be all vaguely related, it may be convenient to have a list of them at this point.

A. *Thomas Penven*, the elder. He appears 17th October, 1406, as perpetual vicar of Wiston (Lan.) under the monastery of Kelso,[1] and was rector of Lochmaben in 1439. At his death in 1443 he was succeeded in Cadder vicarage by Thomas the younger, our rector,[2] who then resigned Cathcart.

3 Anderson: "Early Records of St. Andrews," 14, 17. Walter Senescalii (probably Walter the younger) "determined" (bachelor) with him but did not graduate "magister."

4 "Reg. Aberdeen," I., xl.

5 "P.L.," IX., 460.

6 "P.L.," XI., 68.

1 "Reg. Kelso," 414.

2 "P.L.," IX., 437, 449.

B. *Robert Penven*, the elder. One M. Robert Penwen witnessed, 12th November, 1411, a charter granted by Sir Archibald Macdowal, lord of Malcarston (Makerston, Rox.).[3] Priest, bachelor of canon law, he held the vicarage of Makerston, another of Berwick, and a chaplaincy of St. James, Roxburgh; but he resigned the first two when in 1424 he became rector of Sowden (Southdean, Rox.).[4] Still rector, 1455 (see later). He, Robert Penwen the elder, also had Caputh (a prebend of Dunkeld), the vicarage of Closeburn, and part of the teinds of Morton, all in the year 1443.[5] After his death Closeburn and Morton (belonging to Kelso) passed to Robert Penwen, younger, priest of the diocese of Glasgow, and, after his death, they were, 21st January, 1467, confirmed to Thomas Penwen, priest of the diocese of Glasgow, our rector.[6]

C. THOMAS PENVEN, the younger, rector of Kirkmahoe. In the fuller account of him which follows it will be seen that he gave up the vicarage of Cadder in favour of Robert, the younger, and made an astute attempt to secure for him the succession to the prebend of Glasgow Primo (the parish church of Glasgow).

D. *Robert Penven*, the younger. Born about 1430, he was licensed as Magister at St. Andrews University in 1448, eighteen years after Thomas, last mentioned,[7] and, as he was the son of a priest and an unmarried woman,[8] it is just possible that the interest which the latter showed on his behalf in giving up Cadder to him was a paternal one. On the other hand, the succession in Closeburn and Morton would equally suggest that he was son of Robert, the elder (B). He died plain vicar of Cadder in 1465.[9]

The surname Penven is still found in Brittany and

3 "R.M.S.," 1424/1513, 188.
4 "P.L.," VII., 351, 466.
5 "P.L.," IX., 357.
6 "P.L.," XII., 502.
7 Anderson: "Early Records of St Andrews," 25, 26.
8 "P.L.," XI., 429.
9 "P.L.," XII., 419.

Cornwall. About 1567 Kelso had two tenants of the name of Pennane.[10]

THOMAS PENDEWEN was received bachelor in 1428 at St. Andrews by Mr John Forrester, dean of the faculty, and was licensed there in 1430.[11] He would then be 18 years old at least. M.A. and bachelor of canon law, he soon entered upon a career which was marked at each stage by litigation and a visit to the papal court at Rome or at Florence. He was at Florence from August, 1439, to June, 1441, litigating for the perpetual vicarage of Cadder, and was successful;[12] but, on securing the rectory of Lochmaben, he gave up Cadder (1440) in favour of Patrick Penwen (*sic*, Robert the younger, who, as already stated, held it till his death).[13]

His next visit to the papal court lasted from August, 1443, to March, 1444.[14] On this occasion he was suing for the vicarage of Wiston, void by the death of Thomas, the elder (A), into which rivals had intruded.[15] At the same time he scored his first success in a legal struggle for the prebend of Glasgow Primo (Glasgow parish), and through it to that of Kirkmahoe. The narrative is long and involved.

On the death of Alexander de Lauder, 11th October, 1440, Glasgow Primo was given to Thomas Spens,[16] who forthwith resigned it in favour of Adam Auchinleck; but Thomas Penven produced papal letters and, after long litigation, obtained judgment against Adam. Later, 5th July, 1443, on William, Earl of Douglas, representing that Adam

10 "Reg. Kelso," 526.

11 "Anderson," 10, 11.

12 "P.L.," VIII., 263.

13 Cameron: "Apostolic Camera," 125, dated 26th Feb., 1439/40.

14 "ibid," 31.

15 "P.L.," IX., 437, 449.

16 Stephen Ker, at Florence, bound himself for the annates of Primo on 17th October, 1440, on Alexander de Lauder's promotion to the Bishopric of Dunkeld. He was collated on 4th October. Lauder's death six days before this transaction probably invalidated it. (Cameron: "Ap. Camera," 126, 234.)

was his kinsman and secretary, the pope revoked in favour of Adam; but Thomas renewed his petition, showing that he had ministered for several years in priest's orders and undergone great labour and expense, and, 30th November, 1444, secured a reversal.[17] Thomas Penven thus became a canon of Glasgow with Primo as his prebend.

His next two moves in the game showed that he was more than a match for Adam. He offered Primo to him in exchange for Kirkmahoe. Adam accepted, and the exchange was carried through by the official at Glasgow, without registration in the papal records. The date is a little uncertain on this account. But, under date 26th August, 1447, *before the exchange was effected*, Nicholas V. granted to Robert Penven (D) letters reserving Primo (£50) to him on its expected voidance by Thomas obtaining another prebend of the same cathedral, but not by his death. The expected prebend is clearly Kirkmahoe; if Thomas had obtained a bull for Kirkmahoe the right to Primo would have accrued to Robert. It was not till 24th November, 1461, that Robert in person at Rome bound himself for the annates of a prebend of Glasgow in expectation of Thomas obtaining another.[18] Robert, notwithstanding his papal letter of 10th October, 1461, never obtained possession, but was content to cede in 1464 his claim to Primo in favour of Thomas Forsyth for compensation,[19] namely, £20 per annum Scots or £8 sterling.

Thomas paid the 75 florins of annates for Kyrkmauchquho and Thankerton (whole fruits, £60 stg.), 19th June, 1461, and obtained his bull " of new provision " four days later. The business was done for him at Rome by Gilbert of Rerwick, vicar of Dumfries.[20]

Thomas was done with travelling and with litigating. In a dispute over the teinds of Morebattle, tried on 25th March, 1454-5, the two judges were " Master Robert

17 " P.L.," IX., 460.
18 Cameron: " Apos. Camera," 140.
19 " P.L.," XII., 225.
20 Cameron: " Ap. Camera," 147.

Pendven, rector of Sowden, and Master Thomas Pendven, rector of Kermachquho." The notary was Thomas Penven, priest of the diocese of Glasgow.[21] This entry shows that he was *de facto* "rector of Kermachquho," long before he received his bull in 1461. He had the duty imposed on him in 1468 of taking measures for the safer custody of a piece of the true Cross in Holy Cross Chapel near Peebles,[22] is mentioned in 1475 in association with John Pendwen, vicar of Sprouston,[23] and was alive in 1477.[24] His prebend of "Kirkmakhau" was vacant before 21st November, 1485, when another member of the family of Stewart of Garlies appears as rector.[25]

From this account of the ecclesiastical history even of a single parish it will be gathered that the state of morals in church and state was at a very low ebb. In 1398 lawlessness was rampant and "the kingdom was one den of thieves."[26] The deplorable state of affairs was locally due to the laxity of Robert III., and more broadly to the Western Schism, 1378-1417. During this period two Papal Sees, one at Rome and another at Avignon, were hurling anathema against each other. One consequence of this semi-anarchy was that in remote bishoprics like those of Scotland the local bishops arrogated authority to themselves, and gave preferments in complete independence of pope or antipope. The papal registers were therefore incomplete, and this explains the doubt frequently expressed in papal letters as to the manner in which vacancies have occurred. The kings of the day, and noble and potent lords, used their influence shamelessly in favour of their minions, servants, and natural sons, and secured benefices for mere lads at college or even boys at school. Added to all these evils, simony, the sin of "dealing" in church benefices, was rampant, and clerics

21 "Reg. Melrose," 582.
22 "P.L.," XII., 168.
23 "Reg. Kelso," 426.
24 "P.L.," XII., 502.
25 Cameron: "Ap. Camera," 296.
26 Dunbar: "Scottish Kings," 174.

bartered and bought benefices much as city men now handle parcels of stock and shares.

VICARS.

It will be readily understood that the great dignitaries who held Kirkmahoe, as one of their numerous pluralities, seldom visited the parish, of which the "cure" was served by resident vicars. Whether they drew the teinds on behalf of the prebendary, like a local factor, or whether the prebendaries disposed of their teinds to local "fermars"—the patron or another local resident, as they did later—is not at this date ascertained. There were, in addition to the great "rectory" or "parsonage," teinds on corn, wool, lambs, etc., the smaller "vicarage" teinds on cheese, butter, fowls, etc., and the vicar was probably expected to collect his own small *pensio* out of the latter. In any case his stipend of 20 merks, assigned to him under the deed of foundation of the prebend in 1429, must have afforded him a very bare living, and he probably eked it out by small notarial work, and perhaps also by teaching a few scholars to read and write. Under the Arbroath foundation of 1321 the *pensio* was to have been £20, or one half more than the later figure. Of these humble, ill-paid, and comparatively unlettered men—though they would necessarily have a knowledge of Latin—there is seldom any mention. It happens, however, that the name of Master Thomas Penwen's vicar has been preserved. On 5th March, 1454-5, an assize held at Dumfries on the succession to Henry Munduyl, last laird of Tinwald of his name, included as one juror "Sir Thomas Broky, vicar of Kirkmaquho."[1] Sir Thomas was not called Master—did not hold a degree—but, like other clerics and notaries, received the courtesy title of "Sir" or "Schir"—Latin *dominus*. "Dominus," like

1 "Pros. Soc. Antiq. Scot.," XLI., 313. One Robert Broky, notary, acted, 8th May, 1455, in the subsequent sasine ("Maxwell Inventory," 5). It is possible that Sir Thomas Coqui (sic), vicar of Lochmaben, is identical ("Hist. MSS. Com. Annandale Report," 9, 10).

" Sir," also indicated knighthood in the case of a layman, but the vicar of Kirkmahoe was only what the Scots humorously dubbed a " pape's knicht."[2]

Until the publication of the Papal Records advances beyond 1464 a blank of 24 years must remain in the ecclesiastical history of the parish. It is only reasonable to bear in mind that little would have been known of the ecclesiastical history of the parish but for the courtesy of the late Pope in throwing the Archives of the Vatican open to publication.

2 " Knox Hist.," 294.

12th APRIL, 1946.

Chairman—The PRESIDENT.

On this date the Society held a conversazione in the rooms of the Unionist Association, and there were 92 members and friends present. Lecturettes were given by Messrs Walter Duncan; G. D. Brown, B.Sc.; R. C. Reid; and Mrs MacLeod, Ph.D.; and the Secretary.

Field Meetings

20th APRIL, 1946.

Moffat Area.

The first excursion of this Society since the war was held in the Moffat area on Saturday, 20th April, 1946. Over 40 strong, the members visited the farm of Milton, near Beattock, where some exploratory excavations were being made on a Roman site by Mr John Clarke, Rector of Paisley Grammar School, and Mr Anderson, a master of the same school.

Just before the war they had opened up a small Roman Post of the Antonine period. This time they had turned their attention to the larger Roman site adjoining, of which there were surface indications of only one corner. Their object was to ascertain the size of the site, the nature of its defences, and, if possible, to throw some light on the period of its occupation. Both sites had been surveyed by General Roy nearly 200 years ago, and since the publication of his book it had been sometimes assumed that the site might be a marching camp of the era of Agricola. No excavations are known to have been made on this site, so it was virgin ground to the archæologist. The Roman road up Annandale is known to have passed by or through the site, but its exact line had not been proved.

Five days was all too short for such an undertaking, but Mr Clarke certainly made the most of his time. For labour he had six German prisoners of war, who took a most intelligent interest in their work. The first day's work settled beyond dispute the nature of the site. It was no marching camp thrown up for a few days' occupation. It was definitely a fort intended for lengthy occupation, covering about four acres—considerably less than conjectured on Roy's plan. It was surrounded by a wide turf rampart resting on curbs of very large boulders. No masonry of the ashlar type, so familiar on Hadrian's Wall, came to light. A double ditch of the "W" or saddleback pattern was revealed defending

the northern rampart, but trial trenches on the other sides of the fort indicated a different type of ditch there, which will require fuller examination. The north and south gates were located, but not fully exposed, and trenches cut well outside the fort area to north and south proved the Roman Road to run in the known directions from the fort gates. The road therefore ran through the centre of the fort, and both may be contemporary constructions. Close to the eastern rampart was found a fire-hole, a bowl-like depression in the occupation level, some three feet in diameter, lined with clay and stones that showed every sign of having been subjected to heat. It had been an armourer's forge, and some indeterminate pieces of lead and iron were found in it. Where the *principia* may have stood, a trial trench revealed a post-hole and some sleeper trenches.

In such a brief exploration it was not expected that much pottery would come to light, though two good pieces of decorated Samian ware, parts of a bowl, were found. It is as yet far too soon to express any opinion as to the date of the fort, but if any reliance can be placed at this stage on the pottery, the site would seem to have been occupied in the period of Agricola. Any ideas based on this brief excavation are likely to be modified or even completely upset by the further exploration of the site, which, it is hoped, will be continued in the autumn.

Such was the gist of Mr Clerk's most interesting address, and in thanking him on behalf of the Society, Dr. T. R. Burnett, the president, made an appreciatory reference to the public spirit of Mr Scott, the tenant of Milton Farm, for permitting the excavation and encouraging its renewal.

A report on the full season's work at this site will be found elsewhere in this volume.

After a picnic tea on the site the Society paid a visit to the point above the Devil's Beef Tub where the old Coach Road to Edinburgh forked off from the old Coach Road to Glasgow. The Roman Road, only a few yards away, was pointed out by Mr James Robertson, the County Surveyor,

who explained on the spot the problems presented by these early roadways, now all over-grown and water-logged. It had been hoped to have a section of the Roman Road opened, but time had not permitted.

JUNE 1st, 1946.

Colvend Coast.

On a day on which the weather was fortunately worthy of its great historical associations, members went on a Natural History excursion to the Solway shore. Embussing, as usual at the Ewart Library, they drove to Port o' Warren and thence walked along the cliff-top to Rockcliffe.

The main features of interest were the breeding colonies of Herring Gulls and Cormorant; unfortunately the Fulmar Petrels that prospected these cliffs in 1945 were not present this year. Small parties of Razorbills were seen off the coast, and a Raven's nest, from which the young had flown, was noted.

As for insects, there were a goodly number of Small Pearl-bordered Fritillaries about, which were early, but the capture of greatest interest was that lovely and most distinctive little Cranefly—*Dicranomyia goritensis Mik.* This insect was found in some numbers, while tea was in progress, among vegetation on the low damp cliffs. The species does not appear to have been previously recorded from Scotland, and this record is an interesting extension of its known range, as it was previously only known in Britain from the cliffs of Devonia and Wales.

22nd JUNE, 1946.

The Nith Bridge Cross, Tibbers Castle, and Drumlanrig Woods.

A perfect summer day and an alfresco tea in the woods near Drumlanrig Castle contributed much to the success of this field meeting.

While the locus was new to many of the members, no new facts of antiquarian interest fell to be related, so the President contended himself with a survey of the information given on previous visits. (See *Transactions*, new series, XXI., p. 210-215, and XXII., p. 183-4.)

While at the Cross at Nith Bridge, Mr O. J. Pullen, B.Sc., the leader of this excursion, mentioned some of the birds which are regularly seen on and over Nith—waders like common sandpipers, oyster catchers, ringed plover, and the common heron; smaller birds like pied wagtails, grey wagtails, reed buntings, sand martins; fish-eating birds like kingfishers, cormorants, goosanders, and mergansers.

The party then travelled by Tibbers road to Tibbers Castle. The site of the castle is overgrown with trees, mostly oak and ash, beneath which is a dense undergrowth of herbs and shrubs. The contrast between these conditions and those which would be found later at a grove of beech trees near one of the lochs was pointed out to the party.

From Tibbers Castle the party went by 'bus to Drumlanrig, several interesting trees being noted en route, particularly an enormous oak and a sycamore with girth just as great. The Weeping Beech in the gardens at Drumlanrig was admired, and the party then followed a woodland ride to the Beech Loch. Here the effect of the complete canopy of leaves was noted; the exclusion of light leads to a marked absence of vegetation on the woodland floor, as few plants can grow in such deep shade. Attention was drawn to a Wellingtonia near by, which had excavations in its soft bark made by Tree-creepers. The tiny birds make these hollows to provide themselves with snug roosting-places.

At the Beech Loch the party watched, with interest, Professor Balfour-Browne's demonstration of pond-dipping for water insects. Captures included various water-bugs—species of Notonecta — a small leech, and several embryo newts which still had the fringe of external gills jutting out behind their heads. The Coldstream Loch was the next loch visited, and in trees near this loch the party was shown

evidence of the activities of Greater Spotted Woodpeckers which regularly nest in this part of the woods. At the edge of the loch, plants growing in the water were examined. These included the Water Crowfoot, the Greater Spearwort, and Water Plantain, and Professor Balfour-Browne gave a few comments on the egg-laying habits and life history of the Giant Water Beetle. Following the path beside the burn, through beautiful woodland scenery, the party rejoined the 'buses at the Park Loch for the return journey via Penpont. At this large loch attention was drawn to the floating plant, Ivy-leaved Duckweed (*Lemna trisculca*), which is new to Dumfriesshire, and to the handsome Bogbean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*). The excursion was held too late for much bird song, but on the walk through the woods the notes of the Willow warblers and Wood warblers were heard and compared, and the calls of the Chaffinch and Bullfinch.

27th JULY, 1946.

The Gatehouse District.

In somewhat threatening weather a large party left Dumfries, being augmented at Gatehouse by many Stewartry members. The Society proceeded to Little Boreland, the residence of Commander P. B. Blackwell, who kindly permitted all the vehicles to ascend his drive and park at his front door, thus halving the climb to Trusty's Hill. At the fort the Pictish emblems were inspected, and Mr R. C. Reid spoke on the vitrification of its defences, their probable date, and the significance of the emblems (see *Transactions*, Vol. XIV., p. 366). Mr Adam Birrell added some racy remarks on various archæological objects in the district.

The Society then proceeded to Anwoth Old Kirk, where it was met by Major-General Sir Andrew M'Culloch of Ardwall, who, in addition to recounting many traditions relating to the old kirk, gave a very interesting address which will be found elsewhere in this volume. After a

picnic lunch the Society went on to Rusco Castle, where it was met by Commander Cochrane of Rusco, who in a few words of welcome stated that he had tidied up the Tower and rendered it more accessible. Mr R. C. Reid delivered an address, printed elsewhere in this volume, in which he endeavoured to place a date on the construction of Rusco Castle, and concluded with details of several episodes connected with the Castle during the first century of its existence.

Returning to Gatehouse, the party paid a visit to Cushathill Gardens, by kind permission of Mrs Murray Usher, and admired the lay-out and distinctive character of the gardens.

3rd AUGUST, 1946.

Locharbriggs Quarry.

Under the guidance of Mr A. B. Garven, B.Sc., managing director of the Quarry, a large party of members and friends assembled at a point overlooking the vast excavated space of the quarry, and from here there were observed and discussed many features of interest, including the general geology of the district, the stratification and bedding, the dip, the varying quality of the stone, and the colouration of the water, which was attributed to biological causes.

Next the descent was made to the workings, where the methods of winning the stone was explained and the exposed faces examined in detail. Ripple marks, casual alterations in the angle of the bedding planes, and the presence of dark lines were amongst the points noted. These dark lines were said to be due to the presence of a compound containing manganese, and may be of volcanic origin. No footprints of animals have been found, though these are a feature of the stone at Corncockle.

The reasons for believing that the sand forming the stone was air-borne, not water-borne, were fully explained.

Returning to the surface level, the overlying sand and gravel were scrutinised, and a very definite band of sand standing out in sharp contrast to the muddle of rounded stones above and below it claimed special attention.

Mr Garven had very kindly arranged to have a number of machines in operation, and the cleaving and planing of the great blocks of stone aroused great interest. In particular, the circular saw, which consisted of a steel disc with a tyre of carborundum, claimed the admiration of all.

A freshly exposed surface of the stone in No. 2 Quarry came in for close examination, and revealed striæ, which were held to be of undoubted glacial origin.

Tea was taken in the stone-dressing shed, where it was revealed that the machine has by no means entirely replaced the craftsman.

While in the past the beautiful red sandstone of which almost all our local buildings and many distant ones, such as the Glasgow Corporation Gallery, are constructed, was the sole product of the quarry, its activities are now greatly extended. Not only is the waste material used for making bricks, but the great overlying bed of gravel, which extends in some places to 100 feet in thickness, has been turned to good account. It is dug and screened by modern machinery and used for purposes as diverse as concrete slabs and road-metal. So the visit to the great artificial cliff of gravel at Jericho, adjoining the Moffat Road, made an immediate appeal. This mantle consists of sand and rounded stones of all sizes up to 2-3 feet, and, while most of the material has obviously been transported from a distance, great rounded lumps of sandstone identical in appearance with that of the quarry occur in it. It is usually considered to be an outwash from the Nith glacier, but the facts that the stones are not angular and that well-defined layers can be seen, prove that water has played a large part in the deposit. It was noted that a long and clear belt of sand was heavily populated by sand martins.

LOCHARBRIGGS RED FREESTONE ANALYSIS.

Silicious Matter insoluble in Acid	97.88
Alumina	.38
Oxide of Iron	.80
Carbonate of Lime	.25
Carbonate of Magnesia	.10
Phosphate of Lime	traces
Sulphate of Lime	traces
Loss on Ignition	.50
Water	.09
	100.00

Specific gravity	2.456
Cubic feet per ton	14.46
Absorption of water	7.16

Crushing tests—392.2 and 404.7 tons per square foot.

7th SEPTEMBER, 1946.

Lanercost and the Roman Wall.

There was a large turnout for this Field Meeting. Arriving at Lanercost Abbey, the Society was met by Lt.-Col. Eric Birley and the Rev. Canon J. R. Moorman, vicar of Lanercost. A visit was first paid to the Conventual Buildings, where were housed a number of Roman altars and objects of interest, on which Col. Birley spoke. The Society was then taken into the Abbey Church and addressed by Canon Moorman on the history and architecture of the edifice. Following a picnic lunch, the Society proceeded to Banks Turret on Hadrian's Wall, uncovered and preserved by the Ancient Monuments Department in conjunction with the County Council, who slightly deviated the modern roadway to allow of complete excavation beneath part of its surface. Here Col. Birley spoke at length on the turf wall, the stone wall, its milecastles and turrets, the military way behind it, and the Vallum to the south of the whole, and explained the relationship of each with the whole. Since the last decennial pilgrimage of the wall in 1930 much work has been done on the Vallum, and it is

now evident that it was a protective feature of the wall defences towards the south and barred out the provincials from the military zone of the wall and its works.

Still under the expert and scholarly guidance of Col. Birley, the Society moved on to Birdoswald Fort, where the general lay-out of a permanent Roman Fort and the vicissitudes of this particular Fort, its reconstructions and enlargements, was fully explained. The garrison of the wall, its composition and organisation, was also dealt with. It was shortly after 4.30 p.m. that a practically continuous address, delivered without either a note or any apparent effort, compact with information and ranging over the whole Roman occupation of the wall, came to an end—the most memorable address ever delivered to the Society.

After a picnic tea the Society set out on the return journey, halting for a brief visit to Nether Denton Church, where Mr R. C. Reid drew attention to the chancel arch believed to have been brought from one of the gateways of Birdoswald Fort, and referred to the association between Nether Denton and Anwoth churches.

Presentations

November 30th, 1945.—A Latin Bible dated 1728. Presented by Dr. Agnes Turner.

January 11th, 1946.—Key of the Tolbooth of Moniaive. Presented by Miss Dickson.

January 25th, 1946.—Letter (unrecorded) by Sir Walter Scott:

Sir,—I am favoured with your letter and the lively and patriotic verses enclosed. It will seem to me, did I need it for that purpose, as an additional reason for not omitting to propose at an early time the health of the Land of Cakes, including as well such of her sons at a distance as honour her by their conduct and retain love and reverence for her in their heart. In such a health I am sure you Sir must feel yourself included, for the love of country seldom is powerful with those who do not at the same time feel they are a credit to it. I try Sir you will excuse these few lines as I am in a great hurry of business.

I have the honour to be Sir

Your obliged servant

WALTER SCOTT

Abbotsford,
26 March 1827.

Note by Mrs MacLean.—It is unfortunate that the letter bears no record of the name of the person to whom it was addressed. Nor did an examination of the back of the letter, by removing the frame, reveal anything further. It would seem, from the formal mode of address, that his correspondent was not a personal acquaintance of Scott, and, in fact, the phrase " at a distance " might mean that the writer of the verses was out of the country altogether, or, at any rate not in Scotland. At the time the letter was written Scott had just returned to Abbotsford (March 12th) from Edinburgh, and his journals record a period of intense mental activity. So much work awaited completion — a review for Lockhart, Mackenzie's edition of Home's Works, essays on Ballad and Song, and another on the state of France for the Prose Works, and, most taxing of all, his vast work on Napoleon which seemed to drag on interminably. Hard work, varied only by a short walk, was his portion at this time. On March 26th he despatched a bundle of proofs and " copy " and resolved to give himself a day to write letters. " I cannot keep up with the world without shying a letter now and then," he wrote. However, whatever letters were written on that date, the only one recorded in the Centenary edition of the Letters

under the date March 26th is to Thomas Norton Longman, the publisher, asking the favour of his influence in securing a position for James Ballantyne, who by reason of the reduction of Ballantyne's publishing establishment was seeking a post in the printing trade. It was hoped that an examination of the Journal for three months previous to the date of the letter might reveal an entry recording the receipt of the verses, although Scott did not actually reply until March 26th, but this also was unproductive. Presented by Miss Timms, Castle-Douglas.

March 8th, 1946.—An album of loose pictures of old Dumfries. Presented by Mr Wm. Armstrong, Dumfries.

March 29th, 1946.—Stone axe-hammer of large perforated type, unfinished, found in a garden of a house in Wigton, previous history unknown. The period of this type started in the Bronze Age. The craftsman who was fashioning it had hardly commenced to flatten the top and bottom of the axe, consequently no perforation has been attempted. Presumably these two surfaces were first chipped and then rubbed or hammered down. This axe shows signs of preliminary rubbing down, hence the slight longitudinal ridge on one surface. The sides have been nearly completely flattened. At Wigton it was used as a garden ornament. An unfinished axe is unlikely to have travelled, and wherever its original location may have been there might have been found the workshop of the craftsman who was shaping it. Presented by Mr Roan.

Stone axe found at East Tinwald. With its slightly flattened sides and its narrow butt, it has a deceptively club-like appearance which seems to be typical of the type of which there has been no published study. There is a pair of similar axes at the National Museum of Antiquities, found in Glenshee, Angus, one of which is nearly an inch longer than this specimen. Others exhibited at the same Museum came from Perthshire, Ayrshire, and one from Glenluce. It would be well worth collecting data of all known specimens. A study of their distribution would show if any widespread trade can be proved. All are made from a superficially similar-looking grey stone. Presented by Miss Learmont, Dalbeattie.

Exhibits

January 11th, 1946.—A medal struck for the Dumfries and Galloway Horticultural Society (instituted in 1812), dated 1814, and inscribed: "To Mr James Kennedy for the largest extent of new planted strawberry ground." Exhibited by Mr M. H. M'Kerrow.

January 25th, 1946.—(1) The Snuff Mull of Robert Burns, dated 1827, the year of his death.

(2) An original "Kilmarnock" edition of Burns's Works.

(3) Snuff Mull (180-1830), known as a Cumnock Mull from where it was made. Exhibited by Mr Walter Duncan.

March 29th, 1946.—Perforated whetstone 3¼ in. long by 9 1-16 by ½. May be mediæval or of the Dark Ages or even modern; common on Viking and mediæval sites, though not much is known of the types of whetstones. The perforation is for securing it to the person. Found on Tweedside.

Stone playing counter, unornamented and uninscribed, the size of a half-crown. Such are sometimes found on sites of Roman period and later. Found on Tweedside. Exhibited by Mr Roan.

March 29th, 1946.—Copy of "Sun" newspaper, dated London, Tuesday, 10th July, 1836, "12th edition of Thursday, 28th June, 1838," printed in gold lettering and describing the coronation of Queen Victoria. Exhibited by Mrs Henderson.

Rules

(Adopted 25th November, 1944. Revised 18th October, 1946.)

Name of the Society.

1. The Society shall be called "The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society."

Aims.

2. The objects of the Society shall be to collect and publish the best information on the Natural Sciences and Antiquities (including History, Records, Genealogy, Customs and Heraldry) of the three counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown; to procure the preservation of objects of Natural Science and Antiquities relative to the district; to encourage local research and excavations by private individuals or public bodies and afford them suggestions and co-operation; to prevent, as far as possible, any injury to Ancient Monuments and Records, etc.; and to collect Photographs, Drawings and Descriptions and Transcripts of the same.

Membership.

3. The Society shall consist of Life Members, Honorary Members, Ordinary Members, and Junior Members.

Life Members.

4. Life Membership shall be gained by a composition fee of £7 7s, which shall entitle the Life Member to all the privileges of the Society.

Honorary Members.

5. Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty in number. They shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, without subscriptions, but shall be re-elected annually at the Annual General Meeting. Honorary Membership shall, as far as possible, be reserved (a) for those who have aided the Society locally, or (b) for those of recognised attainments in Natural History, Archæology, or kindred subjects.

Ordinary and Junior Members. Annual Subscription. Privileges of Members.

6. Ordinary Members shall be proposed and elected at any meeting of the Society by a vote of the majority present. They shall contribute annually Ten Shillings (10s) in advance, or such other sum as may be agreed upon at the Annual General Meeting. All Ordinary Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Society and shall receive gratis a copy of the "Transactions" of the Society on issue. When more than one person from the same family and residing in the same house joins the Society, all after the first may pay half fee and shall enjoy the privileges of the Society, except that they shall not receive gratis a copy of the "Transactions."

Junior Members are those who have not attained the age of twenty-one. They shall be proposed and elected in the same way as Ordinary Members, and shall pay an annual subscription of Two Shillings and Sixpence (2s 6d). They shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, except that they shall not vote nor

shall they receive gratis a copy of the "Transactions." On attaining the age of twenty-one they shall cease to be Junior Members and shall be liable for the Ordinary Membership subscription.

Strangers.

7. A member may introduce a friend to any Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

Overdue Subscriptions.

8. Members whose subscriptions are in arrears for one year shall not receive a copy of the current "Transactions"; if in arrears for two years, and having received due notice from the Treasurer, they shall cease "ipso facto" to be members of the Society.

Office-Bearers. Council. Election. Quorum.

9. The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Council composed of a President, Past Presidents, four Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Ordinary Members, together with a Librarian and Departmental Curators, if any. They shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and shall be eligible for re-election with the following proviso: the President shall not occupy the Chair for more than three years consecutively and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year. Each year one Vice-President and three Ordinary Members shall retire and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year. In deciding who shall be ineligible for re-election, the Council shall take into account length of service and attendance at the Council meetings, but if vacancies occur owing to voluntary retirement or death, these vacancies shall reduce the retiring quota. Five members shall form a quorum. The Council shall have power to fill casual vacancies occurring during the year. Any person thus appointed shall be subject to the same conditions as those applicable to the person whom he replaces.

Fellows.

10. On retiring, Presidents shall become Fellows of the Society. This honour may also be conferred upon members of the Society who have done outstanding scientific work for the Society. Such individuals shall be proposed by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting. A Fellow shall be eligible for any office for which he is qualified.

Committees.

11. The Council may appoint Committees for any specific purpose, and with such powers as may seem warranted by the occasion; any such Committee to be composed of not less than three members of the Society, but with co-optive powers. The President and Hon. Secretary shall be "ex officio" members of all such committees.

Hon Secretary's Duties.

12. The Honorary Secretary shall keep a Minute Book of the Society's Proceedings, shall conduct the ordinary correspondence of the Society, and shall give in a Report at the Annual Meeting. He shall call all Ordinary Meetings.

Editor.

13. The Council shall appoint a member of the Society as Editor of the "Transactions" who shall be "ex officio" a Member of the Council.

Hon. Treasurer's Duties.

14. The Honorary Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, take charge of the funds, and make payments therefrom under the direction of the Council, to whom he shall present an Annual Account made up to 31st March, to be audited for submission at the Annual Meeting. He shall be responsible that all the belongings of, or articles in charge of, the Society be insured against fire and theft.

Invested Funds.

15. The Invested Funds of the Society shall be in the name of the President, Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer, for the time being, conjointly. Life Membership fees are to be regarded as capital, and are to be invested at the discretion of the above-named three Office-Bearers in any Stocks known as Trustee Securities, or in a Bank Deposit.

Meetings.

16. The Meetings of the Society shall be held, as arranged by the Council, and at such meetings papers may be read and discussed, objects of interest exhibited, and other business transacted.

Field Meetings.

17. The Field Meetings shall be held as arranged by the Council, to visit and examine places of interest, and otherwise carry out the aims of the Society.

Annual General Meeting.

18. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in October, and at this meeting the Officers, Members of Council and two Auditors shall be elected. Reports (general and financial) shall be submitted and any other competent business transacted. Office-Bearers and Members of Council shall be nominated by the outgoing Council, that it shall be competent for any two members to make alternative or additional nominations, provided that they are in the hands of the Hon. Secretary, together with the consent in writing of the nominee(s), at least seven clear days before the meeting. A ballot shall be held if necessary.

Special Meetings.

19. The Honorary Secretary or the President shall at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society on receiving instructions of the Council, or a requisition signed by six members. Every member of the Society must be informed of any such Special Meeting, of which not less than seven days' notice must be given.

Transactional Right to Publish Papers.

20. The Council shall have the right to publish in the "Transactions," or otherwise, the whole, or part, or a résumé of,

any paper read by any member or person at a meeting of the Society, and the Council shall decide what illustrations, plates, or diagrams shall be reproduced with any such papers.

Separate Copies of Papers.

21. Contributors of papers to the Society shall be entitled, if such papers be published in the "Transactions," to receive ten copies gratis of such papers as "separates" in pamphlet form.

Loans.

22. The Society is prepared to accept articles of interest for exhibition on loan, but they will not be responsible for their damage or loss by fire, theft, or any other cause. It is desirable that parties lending articles should state the value put upon them, that the Society may insure the articles for a similar amount. The Council shall have the power to terminate, or to refuse, the loan of such articles as they may from time to time see fit.

Rules.

23. These Rules cancel all other Rules previously passed. They shall be printed in pamphlet form and a copy shall be supplied to every member and to every new member on his election. They shall take effect from the date of the Annual General Meeting at which they are adopted.

Alteration of Rules.

24. Alterations to these Rules, or the addition of any New Rule, shall only be made with the consent of three-fourths of the members present at an Annual General Meeting, notice of the same having been given in writing to the Hon. Secretary fourteen days previous to such meeting, who shall intimate to all members that a change is proposed in the Rules.

The above twenty-four Rules, which cancel all previous editions, were approved, due notice having been given to all members, at the Annual General Meeting of the Society on October 18th, 1946.

T. R. BURNETT, President.
F. BALFOUR-BROWNE, Hon. Secretary.

MEMBERSHIP LIST, April 1st, 1947.

Fellows of the Society under Rule 10 are indicated thus *

LIFE MEMBERS.

Ailsa, The Dowager Marchioness of, Culzean Castle, Maybole, Ayrshire 1947
Aitchison, Sir W. de C., F.S.A., Coupland Castle, Wooler, Northumberland 1946
Allen, J. Francis, M.D., Lincluden, 39 Cromwell Road, Teddington, Middlesex ... ... —
Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehirst, Dumfries 1941
Birley, Lt.-Col. E., F.S.A.(Scot.), Chesterholm, Bardon Hill, Hexham, Northumberland 1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), Little Boreland, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle-Douglas 1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 92 Guibal Road, Lee, London, S.E.12 (Ordinary Member, 1936) 1943
Brown, J. Douglas, M.A., M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., Corseyard, Borgue, Kirkcudbright 1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of, P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries ... —
Buccleuch and Queensberry, Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of, Bowhill, Selkirk ... ... —
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.(Scot.), Brocklehirst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941) 1943
Bute, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire (Ordinary Member, 1936) ... 1940
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909) 1914
Cunningham, David, M.A., The Academy, Dumfries ... 1945
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs, Jardine Hall, Lockerbie (Ordinary Member, 1926) 1943
Dumfries, The Right Hon. the Earl of, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., F.S.A.(Scot.), D.L., Kames Castle, Port Bannatyne, Isle of Bute 1944/45
Easterbrook, Charles C., M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.Ed., c/o British Linen Bank, Edinburgh 1908
Ferguson, James A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie 1929
Ferguson, Mrs J. A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie 1929
*Gladstone, Sir Hugh S., M.A., F.R.S.E., F.Z.S., F.S.A.(Scot.), L.L., Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries (President, 1909-1929) 1905

Gladstone, Lady, Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries ... ... —
Gladstone, Miss I. O. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., 61 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (Ordinary Member, 1938) 1943
Gladstone, John, Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries ... ... —
Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934) 1943
Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgirth, Dumfries ... 1946
M'Call, Major W., D.L., Caitloch, Moniaive, Dumfries ... 1929
M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., 4 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh, 3 ... 1946
M'Kie, John H., M.P., Auchencairn House, Castle-Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire 1943
MacLeod, Sir John Lorne, G.B.E., LL.D., 25 Albany Street, Edinburgh ... ... —
M'Millan, Rev. W., D.D., Ph.D., St. Leonard's Manse, Dunfermline (Ordinary Member, 1913) 1924
Mansfield, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Comlongon Castle, Ruthwell, Dumfries 1939
Muir, James, Heroncroft, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire ... 1925
Paterson, E. A., c/o Messrs Jardine, Skinner & Co., 4 Clive Road, Calcutta 1945
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Hillowton, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938) 1943
Spencer, Col. C. L., C.B.E., D.S.O., Warmanbie, Annan ... 1929
Spencer, Miss, Warmanbie, Annan 1929
Thomson, Miss N. M., Carlingwark, Castle-Douglas 1929
Thomas, R. G. D , Southwick House, Southwick, by Dumfries 1929

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Agnew, Mrs David, Rutherford House, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Aitchison, Mrs M., Hoyland, Annan Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Allan, John, M.R.C.V.S., 14 Queen Street, Castle-Douglas... 1926
Anderson, D. G., 12 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries 1936
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... 1946
Armstrong, Thomas, 41 Moffat Road, Dumfries 1944
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries 1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries 1946
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries ... 1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries 1944
Ballantyne, John, West Roucan, Torthorwald Road, Collin, Dumfries 1946

Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 72 English Street, Dumfries 1946
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries 1945
Bartholomew, James, Glenorchard, Torrance, near Glasgow... 1910
Bayetto, Ronald A., c/o The British Electrical Development Association, 2 Savoy Hill, London, W.C.2 1946
Beaton, Donald, M.B., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.O.G., 51 Newall Terrace, Dumfries 1947
Beaton, Mrs, 51 Newall Terrace, Dumfries 1947
Bell, Mrs M. C., Seaforth, Annan 1920
Benzies, Wm. C., M.A., Schoolhouse, Minnigaff, Newton-Stewart 1946
Birrell, Adam, Park Crescent, Creetown 1925
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmoreland 1946
Bone, Miss E., Lochvale, Castle-Douglas 1937
Bowden, Charles, Curriestanes, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries... 1943
Bowden, Mrs Charles, Curriestanes, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries 1944
Bowie, J. M., F.R.I.B.A., Byrlaw, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries 1905
Brand, George, Kilroy, Auldgirth 1942
Brand, Mrs George Kilroy, Auldgirth 1941
Brown, Arthur, M.A., The Academy, Dumfries 1945
Brown, G. D., B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., Largie, Rotchell Road, Dumfries 1938
Brown, Mrs, Caerlochan, Dumfries Road, Castle-Douglas ... 1946
Brown, William, J.P., Burnbrae, Penpont, Dumfries ... 1944
Brydon, James, 135 Irish Street, Dumfries 1929
Burnett, T. R., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S., Airdmhoire, Kirkton, Dumfries (President, 1946-)... 1920
Caldwell, T., L.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., "Avmid," Kirkcudbright 1944
Calvert, Rev. George, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries ... 1945
Calvert, Mrs, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries 1946
Campbell, John, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries 1944
Campbell-Johnston, David, Carnsalloch, Dumfries 1946
Cargill, A. T., County Buildings, Dumfries 1944
Carlyle, Miss C. H., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie ... 1946
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie... 1946
Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries 1946
Cleghorn, H. B., Walnut Cottage, Annan Road, Dumfries... 1943
Cochran, Miss J. H. R., Duich, West Linton, Peeblesshire... 1929
Cochrane, Miss M., Glencaple, Dumfries 1946
Cormack, David, W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie... 1913
Cossar, Thomas, Sen., Craignee, Maxwelltown, Dumfries ... 1914

Crabbe, Col. J. G., O.B.E., M.C., D.L., Duncow, Dumfries 1911
Craig, Bryce, Deansgate, Nelson Street, Dumfries ... 1946
Cross, Mrs Evelyn, M.N., Earlston, Borgue, Kirkcudbright 1946
Crosbie, Alan R., Sandyknowe, Troqueer Road, Dumfries... 1946
Crosthwaite, H. M., Browne House, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries 1943
Cuthbertson, Capt. W., M.C., Beldcraig, Annan 1920
Dalziel, Miss Agnes, Glenlea, Georgetown Road, Dumfries 1945
Davidson, George D., B.Sc., Renwick Bank, Catherine Street, Dumfries 1947
Davidson, Dr. James, 4 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh ... 1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.(Scot.), Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow 1934
Davidson, R. A. M., Kilness, Moniaive, Dumfries 1938
Dempster, Miss Cecilia, 16 Watling Street, Dumfries ... 1946
Denniston, J., F.E.I.S., Mossgiel, Cardoness Street, Dumfries 1943
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ... 1930
Dinwiddie, J. S., M.A., Galloway Hill, Terregles Street, Dumfries 1944
Dinwiddie, N. A. W., M.A., B.Com., Newall Terrace, Dumfries 1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ... 1920
Dobie, Percy, B.Eng., 122 Vicars Cross, Chester 1943
Dobie, W. G. M., LL.B., Conheath, Dumfries 1944
Dobie, Mrs W. G. M., Conheath, Dumfries 1944
Dorward, Miss, 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries 1945
Douglas, James, 3 Rosevale Street, Langholm ... ... —
Drummond, Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries ... 1944
Drummond, Mrs Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries 1946
Drummond, Major J. Lindsay, Albany Bank, Dumfries ... 1947
Drummond, Mrs J. L., Albany Bank, Dumfries 1947
Drysdale, Miss J. M., Glencaple, Dumfries 1946
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries (President, 1944-1946) 1930
Duncan, Mrs Arthur, Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries 1945
Duncan, Mrs Bryce, Newlands Estate Office, 43 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries 1907
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries 1926
Ewart, Edward, M.D., Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries 1946
Firth, Mark, Knockbrex, Kirkcudbright 1946
Fleming, Charles J. N., M.A., The Rossan, Auchencairn, Castle-Douglas 1926
Flett, James, A.I.A.A., F.S.A.(Scot.), 3 Langlands, Dumfries 1912

Flett, Mrs J., D.A.(Edin.), 3 Langlands, Dumfries ... 1937
Flinn, Alan J. M., Rathan, Marchhill Drive, Dumfries ... 1946
Forbes-Charleson, Rev. C., Hillwood Cottage, Newbridge, Midlothian 1930
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat 1929
Forsyth, George H., Colvend Schoolhouse, Dalbeattie ... 1946
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield 1946
Galloway, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Cumloden, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire 1945
Gaskell, W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron, Dumfries 1934
Gaskell, Mrs W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron, Dumfries ... 1934
Gaskin, Rev. Percy C., The Manse, Lochrutton, Dumfries... 1944
Gaskin, Mrs, The Manse, Lochrutton, Dumfries 1944
Gibson, J. A., Elliceville, Lovers' Walk, Dumfries 1938
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Abbey House, New Abbey 1946
Gillan, Lady, Abbey House, New Abbey 1946
Glendinning, George, Arley House, Thornhill Road, Huddersfield 1942
Goldie, Gordon, The British Embassy, Rome 1947
Gordon, Miss A. J., Kenmure, Dumfries 1907
Gordon, Major Stephen, Closs, Lockerbie 1947
Gordon, Miss Bridget, Closs, Lockerbie 1947
Gourlay, James, Branksion House, Stonehouse, Lanarkshire 1934
Graham, C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries ... 1945
Graham, Mrs C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries 1945
Grierson, Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries... ... 1946
Grierson, Mrs Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ... 1946
Grieve, R. W., Fernwood, Dumfries 1938
Grieve, Mrs R. W., Fernwood, Dumfries 1946
Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries 1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries 1944
Halliday, T. A., Parkhurst, Dumfries 1906
Halliday, Mrs, Parkhurst, Dumfries 1906
Hannay, A., Lochend, Stranraer... 1926
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie 1927
Hawley, J. W., B.Sc., F.R.I.C., Ass.M.I.Chem.E., Ardeer, Albert Road, Dumfries 1947
Hawley, Mrs, Ardeer, Albert Road, Dumfries 1947
Henderson, James, Claremont, Dumfries 1905
Henderson, Mrs James, Claremont, Dumfries... 1927
Henderson, Miss, 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries 1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Claremont, Newall Terrace, Dumfries 1945
Henderson, John, M.A., F.E.I.S., The Academy, Borgue, Kirkcudbright 1933
Henderson, Thomas, The Hermitage, Lockerbie 1902
Hendrie, Miss B. S., Cassalands, Dumfries 1944

Henryson-Caird, Major A. J., M.C., Cassencarie, Creetown 1946
Herries, David C., St. Julians, Sevenoaks, Kent 1915
Herries, Col. W. D. Young, Spottes Hall, Castle-Douglas ... 1924
Hetherington, Johnston, B.Sc., Dumgoyne, Dryfe Road, Lockerbie 1946
Hickling, Mrs N., Drumpark Mains, Dumfries 1946
Higgins, Hugh L., Arendal, Albert Road, Dumfries ... 1947
Hislop, John, Manse Road, Lochrutton 1945
Hornel, Miss, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright 1924
Hunter, T. S., Woodford, Dumfries 1912
Hunter, Miss, Mennock, Park Road, Dumfries 1944
Hunter-Arundell, H. W. F., Barjarg, Auldgirth, Dumfries... 1912
Irvine, James, B.Sc., 10 Langlands, Dumfries 1944
Irvine, W. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A., Brynllwyn Hall, Corwen, North Wales 1908
Jameson, Col. A. M., J.P., D.L., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Jamieson, Mrs J. C., St. George's Manse, Castle-Douglas... 1930
Jardine, J. R., 15 Rae Street, Dumfries 1946
Jardine, Major William, Applegarth, Sir Lowry's Pass, Cape of Good Hope, South Africa 1911
Jebb, General G. D., Brooklands, Crocketford, Dumfries... 1946
Jebb, Mrs G. D., Brooklands, Crocketford, Dumfries ... 1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, Mouswald Schoolhouse, Mouswald, Dumfries 1946
Jenkins, Mrs, Mount Annan, Annan 1946
Jenkins, Ross T., National Bank of Scotland, Stranraer ... 1912
Jensen, J. H., Sidney Place, Annan Road, Dumfries ... 1945
Johnson-Ferguson, Col. Sir Edward, Bart., T.D., D.L., Springkell, Eaglesfield, Lockerbie 1905
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1 1911
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat ... ... —
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries ... 1945
Kelly, John, Borrowdale, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire ... 1936
Knight, R. T. F., Clarefoot, Moffat 1946
Laidlaw, A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie 1939
Lauder, Miss A., Craigie Bank, Moffat Road, Dumfries ... 1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries... 1939
Laurie, F. G., Elsieshields Tower, Lochmaben 1946
Laurie, Miss Rosemary, Maxwelton House, Moniaive, Dumfries 1946
Law, Mrs M. Balfour-, Kinver, Moffat Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Ledbrook, R. E., Struanlea, Moffat Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Lepper, R. S., M.A., LL.M., F.R.Hist.Soc., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down, Ireland 1918

Liverpool, The Countess of, Merkland, Auldgirth, Dumfries 1946
Lodge, Alfred, B.Sc., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries 1946
Lodge, Mrs A., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries 1946
M'Caig, Mrs Margaret H., Barmiltoch, Stranraer 1931
M'Connel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 171 Central Avenue, Gretna, Carlisle 1927
M'Cormick, A., Walnut House, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire 1905
M'Culloch, Major-General Sir Andrew, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., D.C.M., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle-Douglas 1946
M'Culloch, Lady, Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle-Douglas ... ... —
Macdonald, W. M. Bell, Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie 1929
M'Douall, A. Kenneth, Logan, Port Logan, Wigtownshire 1912
M'George, Mrs A. G., Dhucorse, Dumfries 1944
M'Gowan, Bertram, 135 Irish Street, Dumfries 1900
M'Gowan, J. B., 135 Irish Street, Dumfries 1937
M'Intosh, Mrs, Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries ... 1946
Macintyre, Canon D., M.A., The Rectory, Dumfries ... 1946
Mackinley, H., Kilmahew, 65 Terregles Street, Dumfries ... 1917
*M'Kerrow, M. H., F.S.A.(Scot.), Dunard, Dumfries (President, 1930-1933) 1900
M'Lean, A., B.Sc., West Laurieknowe, Dumfries 1944
M'Lean, Mrs M., West Laurieknowe, Dumfries 1944
M'Lean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries 1946
Macleod, Rev. Peter, M.A., 6 Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries... 1944
Macleod, Mrs, B.Sc., Ph.D., 6 Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries... 1944
MacMaster, T., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.(Scot.), 190 Grange Loan, Edinburgh 1926
M'Math, Miss Grace, Ye Olde Curiosity Shoppe, Charlotte Street, Stranraer 1931
M'Tavish, Alex., Glenmaid, Parkgate, Dumfries 1944
M'Wharrie, Mrs D. Quiney, Closeburn Castle, Dumfriesshire 1945
M'William, Rev. J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ... 1944
M'William, Mrs J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ... 1945
Malcolm, Mrs S. A., c/o Mrs Grierson, Stewart Hall, Dumfries 1920
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries 1947
Martin, H. M., 2 Stewart Hall Gardens, Dumfries... ... 1945
Martin, John, Ivy Bank, Noblehill, Dumfries 1945
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben 1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben 1946
Maxwell, Major-General Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kirkennan, Dalbeattie 1946

Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ... 1937
Maxwell, Miss I. A., East Gribton, North Berwick 1940
Maxwell-Witham, Robert, Kirkconnell, New Abbey, Dumfries 1911
Mayer-Gross, Dr. W., Mayfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries... 1945
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ... 1908
Miller, S. N., Damhill Lodge, Corehouse, Lanark 1946
Millar, Stewart, B.Sc., The Academy, Dumfries 1945
Milne, John, Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries 1945
Milne, Mrs J., Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries 1945
Milne-Home, Sir J. H., D.L., Irvine House, Canonbie, Dumfriesshire 1912
Monteith, Miss E. Maud, Wayside, Moniaive 1946
Morgan, Mrs H. M. A., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ... 1945
Morgan, R. W. D., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries 1945
Morton, Alex. S., F.S.A.(Scot.), Victoria Street, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire 1915
Morton, Miss, Moat Hostel, Dumfries 1947
Morton, Mrs W. R., Huntly Lodge, Moffat 1936
Murray, J. L., The Knowe, Victoria Road, Dumfries ... 1945
Murray, Miss J. J., The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet, Dumfries 1945
Murray, Miss Mary, 5 Murray Place, Dumfries 1946
Murray, Mrs, The Knowe, Victoria Road, Dumfries ... 1945
Murray, William, Murray Place, Dumfries 1945
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Myrseth, Major O., County Hotel, Dumfries 1944
Ord, Mrs, 43 Castle Street, Dumfries 1946
O'Reilly, Mrs N., c/o Messrs Coutts & Co., 44 Strand, London, W.C.2 1926
Osborne, Mrs R. S., 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries... ... 1946
Park, Miss Dora, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ... 1944
Park, Miss Mary, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ... 1944
Perkins, F. Russell, Corsemalzie, Wigtown 1946
Peyton Reid, Mrs E., Carresden, Watling Street, Dumfries 1945
Peyton Reid, Miss Jean, Carresden, Watling Street, Dumfries 1945
Prentice, Edward G., B.Sc., Pringleton House, Borgue, Kirkcudbright 1945
Prevost, W. A. J., Craigieburn, Moffat 1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Wallace Hall Academy, Closeburn, Dumfries 1934
Rainsford-Hannay, Col. F., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946

Rainsford-Hannay, Miss M., 107B Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9 1945
Raven, Mrs Mary E., Ladyfield Lodge, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1946
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore 1946
*Reid, R. C., F.S.A.(Scot.), Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dumfries (President, 1933-1944) 1917
Reith, Miss Jean, 17 Catherine Street, Dumfries 1946
Roan, William, 80 Queen Street, Dumfries 1945
Roberts, Lambert-, Milnewood House, Park Street, Dumfries 1947
Roberts, Mrs A., Milnewood House, Park Street, Dumfries 1947
Robertson, Mrs J. P., Westwood, Dumfries 1933
Robertson, James, 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries 1936
Robertson, J. P., Westwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Robson, G. H., 2 Terregles Street, Dumfries 1911
Rose, Norman, 4 Murray Place, Dumfries 1946
Russell, Edward W., A.M.I.C.E., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.(Scot.), Park House, Dumfries 1944
Rutherford, Dr. R. N., Oakley, Kirkcudbright 1946
Scholes, James W., 7 Langlands, Dumfries 1944
Scott, John, Milton, Beattock 1945
Semple, W., M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Mile Ash, Dumfries ... 1901
Service, E. L. The Schoolhouse, Glencaple Village, Dumfries 1945
Service, Mrs E. L., Glencaple Village, Dumfries 1932
Shaw, Dr. T. D. Stuart, Rosebank, Castle-Douglas 1946
Simpson, A. J., The Schoolhouse, Kirkconnel 1945
Sinclair, Dr. G. H., The Green, Lockerbie 1934
Sloan, D., Ellaslea, Dumfries 1936
Smith, A. B., Moray, Rotchell Road, Dumfries 1945
Smith, Mrs A. B., Moray, Rotchell Road, Dumfries ... 1945
Smith, Adam, Holmhead, Mouswald 1946
Smith, C. D., Albert Villa, London Road, Stranraer ... 1944
Smith, E. A., M.A., Hamewith, Ardwall Road, Dumfries... 1946
Smith, F. W., Boreland of Southwick, Dumfries 1945
Smith, John, 26 Bruce Street, Lochmaben 1946
Smith, Mrs J., 26 Bruce Street, Lochmaben 1946
Smith, Miss M. C., Wyseby, Kirtlebridge, Lockerbie ... 1936
Spragge, Commander, Denbie, by Dumfries 1931
Stewart, Alex. A., M.A., B.Sc., F.E.I.S., J.P., Schoolhouse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Stewart, Sir E. M'Taggart, Bart., Ardwell, Stranraer ... 1912
Syms, Major R. Hardy, 32 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1 1927

Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Hill, Southwick Road, Dalbeattie 1933
Telford, J. B., 5 Rosevale Street, Langholm 1936
Thomson, J. Marshall, Arnish, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries 1945
Tomter, Andres, Ironhirst, Mouswald 1946
Tomter, Mrs, Ironhirst, Mouswald 1946
Turner, Dr. Agnes, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., County Health Office, Dumfries 1937
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries 1946
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrington, Dumfries 1926
Watson, George, M.A., F.S.A., 8 Salisbury Crescent, Summertown, Oxford 1946
Waugh, W., Palace Knowe, Beattock 1924
Wightman, J., West Grove, St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries 1907
Wyllie, B. K. N., Netherwood House, Dumfries 1943
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries... 1946
Young, Miss Helen, Mouswald Grange, Collin, Dumfries... 1946
Young, Mrs W. R., Ronald Bank, Dumfries 1946

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Armstrong, Miss Margaret, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Armstrong, Miss Sarah, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... 1946
Black, Robert, Strathspey, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Bowden, Craig, 17 Galloway Street, Dumfries 1946
Brand, George A. M., Kilroy, Auldgirth 1945
Cameron, D. Scott, 4 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries 1945
Campbell, Kenneth, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet 1945
Campbell, Thomas, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet 1945
Coid, John, Abiston, Park Road, Dumfries 1946
Gair, John, The Delvin, Amisfield, Dumfries 1945
Hutchison, Miss Olive, 39 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Irvine, James, Jun., 10 Langlands, Dumfries 1945
Kingan, Miss Margaret, Blairshinnoch, Kirkgunzeon, Dumfries 1946
Laurence, Malcolm T., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries 1946
M'Donald, Ian A., 30 Cardoness Street, Dumfries... ... 1946
M'Intosh, Miss Brenda, Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries 1946
Martin, Miss Aileen I. M., 2 Stewart Hall Gardens, Dumfries 1946
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946

Osborne, Graham, 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries 1946
Robertson, James J., 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ... 1946
Smith, Miss Edna, Moray, Rotchell Road, Dumfries ... 1946

SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library 1938
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (H. Somerville, M.C., M.A., Education Officer) 1944
Glasgow University Library 1947
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas (J. Crawford, Ed.B., LL.B., Education Officer) 1944
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow 1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell Street, British Museum, London, W.C.1 ... 1938
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer) 1943

List of the Society's Presidents, 1862-1946.

Sir William Jardine, Bart., LL.D., F.R.S. 1862-74
James Starke, F.S.A.(Scot.) 1874
Dr. James Gilchrist, M.D. 1874-78
J. Gibson Starke, F.S.A.(Scot.), F.R.C.I. 1878-82
Dr. T. Boyle Grierson, M.D. 1886-88
Richard Rimmer, F.L.S. 1888-92
Sir James Crichton Browne, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. ... 1892-96
Rt. Hon. Earl Loreburn, G.C.M.G. 1896-97
Rev. Sir Emilius Laurie, Bt. 1897-99
W. T. H. Maxwell 1899-1900
Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bt., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S. 1900-02
G. F. Scott Elliot, F.R.S.E., F.L.S. 1902-09
Sir Hugh S. Gladstone, M.A., F.R.S.E., F.Z.S., F.S.A. (Scot.) 1909-29
Frank Miller, F.S.A.(Scot.) 1929-30
M. H. M'Kerrow, F.S.A.(Scot.) 1930-33
R. C. Reid, F.S.A.(Scot.) 1933-44
Arthur B. Duncan, B.A. 1944-46
T. R. Burnett, B.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S. 1946-

Statement of Accounts

For the Year ended 30th September, 1946.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Receipts.

Balance on hand at beginning of year—							
In Bank in Current Account ...	£325	6	0				
In hands of Treasurer...	0	8	2½				
				£325	14	2½
Members' Subscriptions—							
Current Year's	£94	6	0				
1946-47, Paid in Advance	7	3	0				
1947-48, Paid in Advance	0	5	0				
Arrears	6	10	6				
				108	4	6
Interests—							
On £230 3½ per cent. War Stock ...	£8	1	0				
On Dumfries Savings Bank Account...	7	5	9				
				15	6	9
Publications—							
Part of Cost of Printing Illustrations for "Transactions"	£3	0	0				
Sale of "Transactions": One Copy 1938-40	1	1	0				
Reprint of "British Birds Named After Persons"	2	2	0				
Donation	2	13	0				
				8	16	0
Excursions—							
'Bus Tickets and Private Car Passengers... ...				31	0	0
Sundries—							
Conversazione	£11	3	0				
Miscellaneous	0	0	3				
				11	3	3
				£500	4	8½

Payments.

Members' Subscriptions—							
Refund of Overpayment				£0	12	6
Publications—							
Engravings for Publication of "Transactions"	£7	5	6				
Printing Vol. XXIII. of "Transactions" (1940-44) and various Reprints	164	4	0				
				171	9	6
Excursions—							
Hire of 'Buses				24	0	0
Insurance—							
Fire	£0	10	0				
Burglary	0	16	0				
				1	6	0

Miscellaneous Expenses—						
Scottish Regional Group Council for British Archæology: Subscription and Contribution (1946) ...	£1	9	1			
Printing and Advertising	14	19	0			
Typing, Postages, etc.	13	19	11			
Conversazione: Hiring of Hall, Refreshments, etc.	10	17	6			
				41	5	6
Balance on hand at end of year—						
In Bank in Current Account... ...	£257	15	9			
In hands of Treasurer...	3	15	5½			
				261	11	2½
				£500	4	8½

EXCURSION RESERVE ACCOUNT.

Receipts.

Balance on hand at beginning of year				£10	13	1

Payments.

Balance on hand at end of year—						
In Bank on Deposit				£10	13	1

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

Receipts.

Balance on hand at beginning of year—						
In 3½ per cent. War Stock	£218	10	0			
In Dumfries Savings Bank	241	5	3			
				£459	15	3
Life Membership Fees				29	8	0
				£489	3	3

Payments.

Balance on hand at end of year—						
In 3½ per cent. War Stock	£218	10	0			
In Dumfries Savings Bank	270	13	3			
				£489	3	3

Dumfries, 30th September, 1946.

(Signed) C. H. C. BOWDEN,
Hon. Treasurer.

We have examined the Books and Vouchers of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for the year ended 30th September, 1946, and certify that the foregoing Abstract exhibits a correct view of the Treasurer's operations for the year.

(Signed) M. H. M'KERROW, Auditor.
(Signed) R. MAXWELL-WITHAM, Auditor.

INDEX

Printed by Thos. Hunter, Watson & Co., Ltd., "Standard" Press, Dumfries.

Publications of the Society.

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings:—(a) 1862-3, *7s 6d;* (b) 1863-4, *out of print;* (c) 1864-5, *out of print;* (d) 1865-6, *out of print;* (e) 1866-7, *out of print;* (f) 1867-8, *out of print;* New Series (1) 1876-8, *out of print;* (2) 1878-80, *out of print;* (3) 1880-3, *out of print;* (4) 1883-6, *5s;* (5) 1886-7, *5s;* (6) 1887-90, *7s 6d;* (7) 1890-1, *3s;* (8) 1891-2, *out of print;* (9) 1892-3, *7s 6d;* (10) 1893-4, *7s 6d;* (11) 1894-5, *out of print;* (12) 1895-6, *5s;* (13) 1896-7, *5s;* (14) 1897-8, *5s;* (15) 1898-9, *5s;* (16) 1899-1900, *5s;* (17, pts. 1 and 2) 1900-2, *3s 6d;* (17, pt. 3), 1902-3, *2s 6d;* (17, pt. 4), 1903-4, *2s 6d;* (17, pt. 5), 1904-5, *5s;* (18) 1905-6, *7s 6d;* (19) 1906-7, *5s;* (20) 1907-8, *5s;* (21) 1908-9, *5s;* (22) 1909-10, *5s;* (23) 1910-11, *7s 6d;* (24) 1911-12, *10s 6d;* Third Series (i.) 1912-13, *10s 6d;* (ii.) 1913-14, *7s 6d;* (iii.) 1914-15, *7s 6d;* (iv.) 1915-16, *5s;* (v.) 1916-18, *out of print;* (vi.) 1918-19, *7s 6d;* (vii.) 1919-20, *10s 6d;* (viii.) 1920-21, *10s 6d;* (ix.) 1921-22, *10s 6d;* (x.) 1922-23, *10s 6d;* (xi.) 1923-24, *10s 6d;* (xii.) 1924-25, *10s 6d;* (xiii.) 1925-26, *10s 6d;* (xiv.) 1926-28, *21s;* (xv.) 1928-29, *10s 6d;* (xvi.) 1929-30, *10s 6d;* (xvii.) 1930-31, *10s 6d;* (xviii.) 1931-33, *21s;* (xix.) 1933-35, *21s;* (xx.) 1935-36, *10s 6d;* (xxi.) 1936-38, *21s;* (xxii.) 1938-40, *21s;* (xxiii.) 1940-44, *21s.*

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James M'Andrew, 1882, *out of print.*

Birrens and its Antiquities, with an Account of Recent Excavations and their Results, by Dr. James Macdonald and Mr James Barbour, 1897, *3s 6d.*

Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by the Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, 1911, *7s 6d, out of print.*

History of the Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912, *5s.*

The History of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, by H. S. Gladstone, 1913, *3s 6d.*

The Ruthwell Cross, by W G. Collingwood, profusely illustrated, 1917, *3s 6d, out of print.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I., "Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746," edited with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, by R. C. Reid, 1916, *12s 6d.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. II., "The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire," by James Steuart, W.S., *7s 6d.*

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1923, *10s.*

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A. Scot., *7s 6d.*

Mr Charles Bowden, Curriestanes, Dumfries, will answer enquiries regarding the above, and may be able to supply numbers out of print.