

N.S. Vol. XXIII.

THE TRANSACTIONS

AND

Journal of Proceedings

OF THE

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

Natural History and Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED NOVEMBER, 1882.



SESSION 1910-1911.

DUMFRIES:

Published by the Council of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural
History and Antiquarian Society, Dumfries and Maxwelltown
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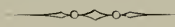
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EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Editor acknowledges his indebtedness to the Editors of the "Dumfries and Galloway Standard," "Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald," and "The Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser," for reports of meetings, and to Miss Harkness for typing the Index.

Enquiries regarding purchase of "Transactions" and payment of subscriptions should be made to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, 43 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries.

Exchanges, Presentations, and Exhibits should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Ewart Public Library, Dumfries, who will also welcome Communications to the Society, preference in publishing being given to such as embody original research in local Natural History and Antiquarian subjects.

G. W. S.

10th December, 1911.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1910-11.

21st October, 1910.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman—H. S. GLADSTONE, M.A., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E.,
M.B.O.U., President.

The Treasurer submitted his report, which was approved of.

On the recommendation of the Council it was agreed that the Departmental Curators have a place upon the Council *ex officio*. The Office-bearers and Members of Council for the Session were appointed (see p. 3).

The President submitted the following motions :—

That the Society records with great regret the retirement of its Honorary Secretary, Mr S. Arnott, after five years' devoted and whole-hearted work in that capacity.

That a small committee be appointed to consider in what way the Jubilee of this Society, which occurs on November 20, 1912, be celebrated, and also what form a publication, if any, in commemoration of the same should take.

Mr S. Arnott suggested that the selection of a committee be remitted to the Council. Both motions were then adopted.

Mr S. Arnott moved that the capital sum of £172 11s 5d which stood to the credit of the Society should be invested. This was agreed to, the President, Secretary, and Treasurer being appointed *ex officio* to administer the fund.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. By H. S. GLADSTONE, M.A., F.Z.S.,
F.R.S.E., M.B.O.U.

I have to thank you for re-electing me your President for another session. Believe me, it is an honour which I much appreciate, and I only wish that I had had more leisure during the past year to be a more regular attendant at your meetings. I am not going to promise that I will be more regular in my attendance in the session before us, for I well know that such a promise would be like "pie-crust, made to be broken." It was formerly the custom for the President of this Society in his annual address to minutely review the work undertaken by its members during the preceding session. Now-a-days, when our Transactions and Journal of Proceedings deal so fully with our work, such a review is, I venture to think, unnecessary; but I should like, with your permission, to draw your attention to one or two points, which I may call outstanding features.

It would be invidious to mention any particular paper read to us, when all show praiseworthy care and thoughtful study. The very diversity of the subjects dealt with indicates the latent talent of our members. But I should like to take this opportunity of reminding you that the quality and quantity of our published transactions depend on ourselves, and that we ought not to keep to ourselves the talents which I have described as latent, if by making them known in some paper or discussion, we can utilise our talents for the benefit of others. The self-opinionative, outspoken person may be a bore, but honestly, I believe he does more good, by calling forth corrective abuse on his head, than the shy retiring personage who, rather than hear himself speak or see his thoughts in print, prefers to take with him to his grave the results of his education and observations.

Perhaps the most notable event during the past year has been the taking under our wing of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Photographic Association. Photography now plays such an important part in scientific research that we are very glad to

encourage this branch of science. Numerous ideals occur to me which might be aimed at by our photographic members: a good collection of photographs of the various ruins in the Solway area being perhaps the most desirable.

Another study, newly enquired into as regards our Society, was dealt with at one of our recent meetings. I refer to Philately, or the collecting of postage stamps. Many of our members have fine collections, and it is to be hoped that we may have more papers on this subject in the near future. There can be no doubt that what was comparatively recently regarded as a child's amusement is now recognised as more than a hobby. I can well remember, when the British Museum was bequeathed the magnificent collection of Mr T. K. Tapling, that there was for a time a doubt whether the authorities would be justified, from the Public's point of view, in paying the estate-duties on so valuable a bequest. Fortunately, the collection did pass into the National Museum, where it may now be seen, arranged and shown as could only be done by such an expert as Mr Bacon. Philately needs no apologist, and I welcome this new subject in our list of papers.

As regards the local history of olden times; only recently a perfect mine of information has been opened up by one of our members who has access to the old Burgh records. I hardly know what his discoveries will lead to, or how far it may fall to the lot of our Society to make these discoveries public.

In this connection you may have heard of the desire of Mr R. C. Reid to start a "Record Society," or "Record Publishing Society," in this district. I am sure that many of us will welcome any such publications, and we shall await the result of his initial venture with interest. Should it be, as I sincerely trust it may not, that his scheme should not meet with the success it deserves, it may fall to the lot of our Society to see how they can help. In the meantime I think we are wise in not widening the sphere of our operations by taking on the duties of a "Record Society." Mr Reid is, I believe, about to issue a tentative circular throughout the district announcing that it is his desire, if adequate financial assistance be forthcoming, to publish two manuscript histories of Dumfries which hitherto have not appeared in print. This announcement will detail the probable cost and style of the work and will ask the recipients whether they would contribute, and if so to what extent, towards the production of the volume. A list

of other proposed publications will be appended to the circular and should the replies be sufficiently encouraging, it is quite possible that these original subscribers may become of themselves the nucleus of a local "Record Society." I have already referred to the Burgh Records which are now being arranged by Mr Shirley, and it seems to me, that in the event of a "Record Society" being an established fact, it would here find much interesting material for work peculiarly its own.

Returning again to our Society, it is gratifying to know that in the last twelve months we have been in a flourishing condition. Our funds at least show a credit balance in hand, the bound volumes of our Transactions testify to the good work done by our members, and our roll of membership has not decreased. We have had, of course, during the period under review to mourn the loss of several members by death, for "Time like an ever rolling stream bears all its sons away."

I am sure that it was a great sorrow to us all to learn of Mr Robert Service's severe illness. That so eminent an ornithologist and so enthusiastic a member of our Society should be thus stricken is a matter of regret to a far wider circle than that comprised by Dumfriesshire and Galloway. It is to be hoped that the fund recently started on his behalf may meet with a liberal response. Up till now the contributions have been most satisfactory, and it will be gratifying to him to realise in the shape of this testimonial how his services, both in public life and to natural history, are appreciated.

Rumour may have reached you of the retirement of our honorary secretary. Rumour has in this case, I regret to say, been correct. Mr Amott, after five years' service in this capacity, has found it impossible to give the required attention to his private affairs and to carry on his secretarial duties. We are of one mind that our best thanks are due to him for his indefatigable zeal and for his energetic work. I understand that he contemplates writing one or more books, and I am sure the Society wish him every success with these. We shall always remember with gratitude the labour of love which he has carried on during the past five years, and the success of our Society during that period is probably more directly due to his efforts than to any other member. As his successor we have been fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr Shirley, whom I hereby warn will have a great

example to live up to. An innovation which you will find in Vol. XXI. of our Transactions is the index. This is surely an improvement, which it will be the hope of all has come to stay, or rather, to be continued. We have to thank our new honorary Secretary for compiling this, and those of us who have had occasion to wade through the old Transactions in search of information will wish that Mr Shirley had not been the first to undertake this onerous labour.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, so much for the past. How about the future? As I have already said from this chair, the success of a Society such as ours depends on the individual efforts of each one of us. Not only must there be a desire to acquire knowledge, but there must be a desire to impart knowledge. Not only to receive, but also to give. Not only to read, learn, mark, and inwardly digest, but also to reason, elucidate, and discuss problems, which still remain problems. It may seem somewhat puerile to quote the lines, "Little drops of water, Little grains of sand, Make the mighty ocean And the pleasant land," but science is built up in exactly similar fashion by molecules of wisdom. One thing leads to another, and this is why I have already asked those of you who are shy and retiring to cast aside your bashful modesty and reveal your latent talents.

Speaking of the importance of Natural History Clubs such as ours, Sir William Jardine, the first president of our Society, wrote in 1858:—"These [clubs] are of much importance. The preservation of the condition of the present physical characters of our country will be far more dependent on them than at first appear. The last fifty years have made a great change in the surface of the country, population has increased, so have agricultural improvements, plantations, drainage, enclosures of waste land, in short, artificial work of every kind. These have often completely altered the nature and aspect of the country, and in consequence the productions, both animal and vegetable. In parts of the North of Scotland another cause, that great rage and fashion for 'sporting,' as it is termed, has influenced the distribution of the higher orders; the wild animals and birds have been reduced in numbers as 'vermin,' sometimes almost extirpated, and many will in a few years stand side by side in history with the bear and the wolf. It will be to these clubs that we shall be indebted for a record of what in their days did exist; and in the

still untouched mountains and valleys we may have the discovery of insects and plants not known to our geographic range; and when the country shall have been mapped on the large scale by the Government surveyors there is nothing that shall prevent an active club to fill up in a few years a list of the productions within their beat, and so lead on to a complete and accurate fauna and flora of our own time and age; and generations succeeding would be able, not only to mark the change of the productions, but to judge and reason upon the effects which their now so-called improvements have produced on the climate and soil, and the fertility and increase of the latter. These clubs have yet to write the Natural History of Great Britain."*

Looking through the series of our Transactions I think it will strike all of us that the ideal aimed at by Sir William Jardine is not yet by any means attained. True, much progress has been made, and faithful and diligent work has been done, but there remains plenty more for us to do.

In these days, when secondary education looms large in the programme of the Government's educational policy, I have often thought that the time is not far distant when scientific societies like ours may be called upon to fill a rôle which our founders never contemplated. Presuming, that amongst our members are to be found the local experts in all the branches of Antiquarian and Natural History Research which form our *raison d'être*, what could be more right and proper than that these should give periodical lectures to the young? You have probably seen, when in London, the parties of school boys and girls taken on their half-holidays to the British or Natural History Museums, where, under the guidance of some expert, studies and lessons, which were dull and tedious to them in the class-room, became real and interesting when illustrated by objects which could be seen at close quarters in the Museum. I should like the boy or girl who was learning Scottish history, to see at the same time the quaint illustrations to Hollinshed's "Historie of Scotland," or to read Graham's "Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century." Such books as these help to make history more than a collection of odious dates; and bring the reader back into days and customs of years gone by. Again, "Nature study" now forms a recognised

* "Memoirs of Hugh Edwin Strickland, M.A." 1858, pp. ccli., cclii.

branch in our Board School curricula. How dry as dust this study must be with but a text-book and very few, if any, specimens to use in illustration. Now-a-days, when we have itinerary teachers in cookery and carpentry travelling the country to teach these useful crafts, is it but a dream to prophesy that lecturers in Nature study or in Antiquarian research will one day be in demand? And perhaps the first sign of this movement will be the formation of local museums. We have in this district but a few; and how neglected and uncared for they become, when there is no one to explain the contents, or, in other words, to make the inanimate objects speak. The Observatory Museum contains some actual treasures, yet it would hardly be taken over to-day by a speculator as a paying investment. But I believe there is a good time coming, when the Educational Department will in its wisdom establish or sustain such museums, and will, by the appointment of well chosen inspectors, equip and arrange such collections so as to make them of real educational value. The Department will then welcome the existence of such Societies as ours, and will be able to call on us for our co-operation and assistance.

But these are castles, at present in the air; and probably the wish is father to the thought. I will therefore take up a more tangible subject; and as this is the first meeting of a session you will perhaps allow me to remark on the unsatisfactorily small attendance at our meetings. I know that a great many members of our Society live at a considerable distance from this hall, but it has on occasions struck me that it must be almost embarrassing for speakers to address the small assemblies I have at times seen here. But I have been even more surprised, in conversations I have had with people in the district, to find how very few have been asked to become members of our Society. The subscription is so small and our Transactions are now so interesting, that the full five shillings' worth demanded by the subscription is obtained by the receipt of a copy of our annual volume. I believe there would be no difficulty whatever in trebling our membership, and this is a point on which I would ask for your co-operation. You have all heard of the far-reaching temperance movement, entitled "Catch my Pal," which consists of each temperate convert obtaining a "pal" to go and do likewise. I suggest that something on the same lines might be done by us. After all, funds are a great thing, the oil which makes the machinery run well, and,

though, as I have said, our balance-sheet shows a prosperous condition, there are plenty of outlets for expenditure if we had a sufficient surplus. Excavations of certain old forts, the publication and editing of old manuscripts, the equipping and maintaining of a local museum, the possibility of having our summer excursions farther afield, and the increase in our periodical library, are all *desiderata* which might then be considered. Let us try and obtain more members, which would probably mean more papers, greater attendance at our meetings, and certainly more funds.

I cannot help thinking that it might be advantageous in the future, if our Society could be brought into closer contact with other kindred societies. If we could occasionally meet with, say the Glasgow, or the Cumberland Natural History Societies, or the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, I am sure it would be of mutual benefit. The exchange of opinion with comparative strangers would be sure to educate, and would tend to keep our Society from becoming isolated and possibly lethargic.

Speaking of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club reminds me that that society was the first of its kind to be inaugurated in Great Britain. Ours, I believe, was the first to be founded in Scotland; and it has continued till to-day, with but a short break from May, 1875, to November, 1876. As you know, the jubilee of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society will take place on 20th November, 1912. This date may seem to you a long way off, but I should like to see that occasion suitably celebrated. You may, or may not, know the volume published by the naturalists of the Clyde Area in 1901, on the occasion of the visit of the British Association to Glasgow that year. This volume, entitled "The Fauna, Flora, and Geology of the Clyde Area" (and in which your late President, Professor G. F. Scott-Elliot, took an important part), would, to my mind, be an ideal pattern for us to follow, in a commemorative volume. But although certain branches of natural science locally may be in a position to be worked up, I fear that as a whole such a publication would be impossible. I venture to think that, under the circumstances, a suitable compilation might be made of the following: (a) A complete alphabetical index to the whole series of our published Transactions. (b) A complete list of the members of our Society from its commencement. (c) A catalogue of the books

in the possession of our Society. (d) A catalogue of the specimens in the possession of our Society. Such a compilation as this would show the work done by the Society in the past. I would further suggest that on the anniversary day a meeting should be held in Dumfries, at which our past presidents, having amongst them such eminent men as Lord Loreburn, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir James Crichton-Browne, and Professor Scott-Elliot, be asked to deliver addresses, reviewing as far as possible, the progress made during the past fifty years in the various subjects, on which they are acknowledged authorities. Such, ladies and gentlemen, is a very brief sketch of what I should like to see done two years hence. I have already said that this is not my ideal, which would be the compilation of a "Fauna, Flora, and Geology of the Solway Area." It depends on your individual efforts whether this latter might not yet be completed in time. I fear not, but I should indeed be glad if it could be so. At a later stage of this meeting I shall move that a small committee be appointed to enquire into this subject, of how best to commemorate our Society's jubilee, a subject which, I think you will agree with me, is one well worthy of two years' thought and preparation.

It is on occasions such as to-night that I am reminded of the significant motto of Trinity College, Cambridge. How suggestive are those words, "*Lampada tradam*"—I will hand on the torch. The torch of study and research which calls for the constant attention of the bearer, illuminating as it goes on its way the dark places of ignorance, and which at length is only relinquished to be handed on and as zealously tended by those who come after. May the members of our Society realise the inheritance we have received from those who have gone before us and who inaugurated, some forty-eight years ago, the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

4th November, 1910.

Chairman—Rev. H. A. WHITELAW.

THE GREYFRIARS' CONVENT OF DUMFRIES AND ITS ENVIRONS.

By Mr JAMES BARBOUR, F.S.A.Scot.

The followers of St. Francis, formally constituted a Religious Order in the year 1209, appointed missions to all parts of Europe, and observing their rules of preaching, professing poverty, and exercising special sympathy for the poor, virtues which had become in a measure submerged by formalism in the Church, approbation was generally accorded them, and not by the poor only, but princes and nobles evinced esteem for the self-denying order. Convents were built for their residence, and for their sustenance slender endowments were generally added. At Dumfries such provision for the Grey Friars was made by the bountiful lady of Galloway, the founder of Sweetheart Abbey and of the Bridge of Dumfries, as well as of the Priory of the Black Friars at Wigtown.

The settlement here was installed about the year 1262, a little earlier than the foundation of the Abbey of Sweetheart, and the functions of the Friars were carried on for a space of about three hundred years, with beneficial results to the community. The brethren were distinguished for learning, and trusted as competent and honest business men.

It is not my purpose to detail a history of the Conventuals of Dumfries, but it may be useful to note some of the more outstanding incidents associated with the Friary. Edward I. of England, in 1300, several times boarded in their house, and worshipped and gave offerings in their church; and a few years later, in 1306, the Friary Church was the scene of an event—the slaughter of the Red Comyn—which proved a turning point in Scotland's history.

A story has obtained wide circulation to the effect that:—"The church thus defiled was pulled down, and another built in a different place, and dedicated to St. Michael, the titular saint of the town" (Pennant). This is an evident error, as St. Michael's was the Parish Church, and was a much earlier foundation. The Friars continued in the occupation of the Friary notwithstanding the slaughter committed within their church, and Scotland's new found King, penitent, generously increased the revenues.

The original endowment, which, it is reasonable to infer, would be made available by the Founder for the support of the Friars, was derived from a toll levied at the Brigend of Dumfries; and the Founder's successors in the Lordships of Galloway, first the Countess of Douglas in 1425, and again James Earl of Douglas in 1452, confirmed by charters which are still extant, the gifts in favour of the Friars. Shortly after the confirmation by the Countess some damage appears to have happened, by flood or otherwise, to the already ancient structure, but the Countess, although still alive, did not overtake the repairs rendered necessary, and the Friars, it may be presumed, were too poor to do so. I am indebted to Mr Moir Bryce for the tenor which follows, of a Relaxation by the Pope, granting absolution to all who should contribute towards the needed work of repair:—

1431-2.—“Relaxation, valid during twenty years only, of a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents, who on the principal feasts of the year and that of the dedication of the below named Chapel, the usual octaves and days, and of a hundred days to those who during the said octaves and days visit and gave alms towards the building of the bridge which has been recently begun over the river Nith near the burgh of Dumfries (prope Burgum de Drumfes), in the diocese of Glasgow, by the burgesses and inhabitants of those parts, and also for the amplication of the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, founded near (prope) the said bridge” (Cal. of Papal Registers, Letters viii., p. 347).

In regard to the words “recently begun,” Mr Moir Bryce writes:—“The explanation to my mind is the probable fact that the bridge had been partially injured by some flood. The words ‘recently begun’ can only mean that the repairs had commenced. It was quite the practice to speak in olden times in this indefinite manner. You will notice that the two grants by the Douglasses of the bridge toll appear separate and distinct grants by different people, instead of being as the last undoubtedly is, simple confirmations of the original grant. In view of the gift to the Friars in 1426, it is quite impossible to accept this relaxation as evidence of the first building of the bridge. Then another point is—it undoubtedly belonged to the Lords of Galloway, who probably refused to put the bridge in repair; hence the appeal to the Pope.”

No addition to this explanation is needed. It seems conclusive.

Passing to the sixteenth century, in the early part of it the Friars were in the full enjoyment of the goodwill of the town, and there appeared at this time no grounds for disquietude on their part. Of this state of affairs an interesting piece of evidence is afforded in a Town Council minute of 15th March, 1535, relative to the casting of a great bell for the Friary:—"Quo die," it runs, "Mungall hynd and Mertin blakstok ar maid fre burgesses and suorn yrto, ffrellie gevin to the warden and qwent (convent) of the freyr minors of Drumfress to qtent (content) and pay the workmen for yair grate bell custyn, and the said warden and qwent and burgesses forsaid can aggre." This peculiar method of payment by the Council is of frequent occurrence. Probably the Friary was already furnished with a bell or bells, but this was a special bell—a great bell.

Darker times were, however, at hand. The English in 1547 overran a great part of Scotland, laid the Borders waste, and devastated and burned the town of Dumfries. They threatened to destroy the conventual buildings and the adjacent house of the Maxwells of Nithsdale in order to obtain a sufficiency of building material for the erection of a fort overlooking the Nith. The warden and two of his friars were summoned to Carlisle to surrender the Friary; but in the course of the following spring the English suffered discomfiture, and their plan was frustrated: The warden was, however, detained as one of the hostages for the town of Dumfries, and for some reason on the 17th March, 1549, he was hanged. After the departure of the English in 1549 the friars returned to their house, and were favoured with a short respite prior to the Reformation. The change of religious thought which culminated in the abolition of the Monastic Orders throughout the country being in active development, it was incumbent on the friars to devise means for the protection of their slender revenues. Accordingly, during the years 1557-59 they proceeded to relinquish actual possession of their lands, and to dispoise them to their tenants in feu, acquiring in return the rights of feudal superiors; and in this process the grants to the several feuars were confirmed by charter. We now arrive at the starting point of our theme. It is to the feu charters so granted that we have now to look for enlightenment regarding the friary lands and buildings, and, although the information may fall short of what could be desired, it is safe and reliable.

An important work of two large volumes, entitled "The Scottish Grey Friars," recently published, of which Mr William Moir Bryce is the author, contains in the first volume a history of the Scottish Grey Friars, including the Dumfries establishment, and in the second are the relative charters and writs. These volumes cover the whole story of the Friars from first to last, and vividly portray the origin, the fortunes, misfortunes, and endings of the several branches of the Order in Scotland; and it is to these I am indebted for bringing within my reach the charters and other information on which the following sketch is based. Mr Shirley has also favoured me with numerous extracts of minor, but locally interesting, details from the almost unreadable records of the Town Council and Burgh Court, commencing 1506 and onwards, with some intervals.

With such materials for our guidance we will first contrast the present state of Friars' Vennel and its surroundings, where it may be presumed the Friary was situated, with the conditions prevailing in the sixteenth century, as pictured in the charters and writs alluded to. All trace of the historic church has long since disappeared, and only the name of the street and occasional disclosures of remains of burials inferring the existence of a cemetery give indication of the site of the ancient foundation. The aspect of Friars' Vennel is that of an old street. It is closely built, narrow, unequal in width, bent like a bow in its course, and the skyline is singularly uneven. The existing buildings are, however, wholly modern, and, with the exception of the venerable bridge, shorn of three of its bows, there is not a vestige of antiquity within view. All the land northwards of the vennel, up to the bank of the river, with the exception of the small Common called "The Greensands," is now built upon. Buccleuch Street and Bridge Street were formed following on the opening of the New Bridge in 1795, and Castle Street, George Street, Charlotte Street, and Gordon Street have been built between that time and the present, a period of a little over a hundred years. These streets display the characteristics of the modern town.

Going back some three hundred and fifty years to the middle of the sixteenth century, this northern area was, with the exception of Friars' Vennel, practically void of buildings, and in regard to the Vennel itself—thought to be the oldest part of the town—it may occasion surprise to learn that the greater part of it,

namely, the west part between St. David Street and the river was known as the Newton, or New Town, of Dumfries. The oldest portion of the burgh must have been further south, viz., near or around St. Michael's Church. The tenements on the south side of the Newton were built prior to 1519, and those on the north side are described as being built "after the departure of the English in 1549." The street in 1519 had not acquired a specific name, but was alluded to as "The way from the gate of the Friars minor to the bridge." It was described in 1569 as the passage called Newton, and in 1636, "The street called Newton, alias Friars' Vennel;" while in 1645 it had come to be known by its present name. The upper part of the street eastwards of St. David Street was the Friars' Vennel of the sixteenth century.

Referring to the south side of Newton Street we have an illustration of the piety of those times, and how churches became enriched and churchmen increased in number. The whole of the tenements there between Irish Street and the river, as well as the two tenements at the "Vennelheid," belonged to Master John Logan, Vicar of Kowen. All these possessions, under reservation of five marks granted to the Friars Minors for divine service on his behalf, he gifted for the foundation of an altar in the Parish Church of Sanquhar, his native place. "Know that I," the Deed of Gift proceeds, "to the honour and praise of Omnipotent God, and to the glorious Virgin Mary, his mother; of the sacred blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and of St. Bridget the Virgin, patroness of the Church of Sanquhar, and of all the saints of God, for the salvation of the soul of the most excellent and Serene Prince of happy memory the late James IV., by the grace of God King of Scots, most illustrious King, and for the prosperity and safety of the most serene and victorious Prince James V., by the same grace, now King of Scots; and of the souls of his ancestors and successors; and for the salvation of my soul, etc. . . . I have given granted, and by this my present charter confirmed. Also I yield as gift and by this my present charter confirm to the said Omnipotent God, and the most glorious Virgin his Mother, to the sacred blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and all the saints of paradise; and to that discreet man the chaplain, who shall celebrate masses and divine things to be celebrated at the altar of the sacred blood of My Lord Jesus Christ to be founded by me, and placed in the said Parish Church of Sanquhar, diocese of Glasgow. In

pure, free, and perpetual gift all and whole my lands and tenements of Newton as underwritten with pertinents lying in the Burgh of Dumfries in the street leading from the gate of the Minor Friars to the bridge and water of Nyth, on the south part of the same street. (Transumpt of Gift, Town Charter Room.) The inclusion of the name of James IV., who fell at the battle of Flodden in 1513, in this charter of 1519 is an indication of the deep and lasting impression that untoward event "When the flowers of the forest were a' wede away" had made on the nation.

Irish Street claims a word of remark. In the sixteenth century in the above writ it is called Galloway Gate, and in others Irish Gate. The people of Galloway being Irish, the terms may have been regarded in their eyes as synonymous. The street extended from the Newton southwards to the town proper, and its length marks approximately the distance between the old town and the new. This southern position of the town, it may be observed, appears to have a bearing on the purpose of the bridge, which, being built not opposite the town, but considerably further north, and exactly opposite the Friary, had evidently some special connection with the latter. This was the longest, most ancient, and finest bridge in Scotland, which had in the sixteenth century borne the traffic of an important thoroughfare over the river Nith for four hundred years, and was destined to continue to do so for two hundred and thirty years more before relief and rest came to it through the provision of a substitute. It still retained the full number of nine arches, and extended eastwards in length quite up to the present Brewery Street.

Immediately south of the east end of the bridge there was a water mill called the "Sandbed Mill," which belonged to the vicar of the Parish Church. It was acquired by the town, and continued in use until about 1680. A culvert pierced the landstool of the bridge providing for the passage of the water to actuate the Mill. According to a minute of the Town Council of 28th May, 1522, the water was conveyed by a "watergang," which extended from the "moit" (moat) to the sand beds. The old weir or dam crossed the river near the Moat, and a little lower down there was a ford called the stakeford, the approximate position of which is suggested by the existing Stakeford Mill. At this point the water is now of some depth, being held back by the weir which

is now below the Old Bridge, but prior to the change of position it would be fordable except during flood.

The "Watergang" cut off a small strip of land along the riverside, now known as the Greensands. It was part of the Burgh Common, called the "Willies." The tail race of the Sandbed Mill ran down to the head of the dock, and formed with the river an island which in the town's records is referred to as the "Willies," as is also the Mill Green on the opposite side of the river, in the parish of Troqueer, on which the Town Mills now stand. A chapel called the Chapel of the Willies with some land frequently referred to in the minutes as "Our Lady place and yards," lay between the tail race and Irish Street. It was a common method of protecting the banks of a river to plant willows, the roots of which are long, and tend to bind the earth, hence the name of the Willies applied to the pieces of land on the margin of the stream.

The Burgh Common or Willies, now the Greensands, was, in the sixteenth century, reached by a track or lane continuing the High Street north-westwards from the point where it joined the Friars' Vennel. It is described in a charter of 15th September, 1555, as "The gait or passage passing oute to Polwadum callit the Staitfurd." In its course to the Staikford it passed through "the commonn landis of the burgh of Drumfresse, callit the Willies (Bryce)." A Town Council minute of 4th May, 1525, describes this lane as "the King's Street extendand to the Staikfurd." The track is mentioned in Dr Burnside's MS. History of Dumfries, and his copyist writing 1st January, 1818, says "The road mentioned pages, 43, 44, now begins to disappear. As it is very probable that in the course of a year or two not a vestige of it can be traced, I beg leave to remark that it commenced about the western corner of the New Church, and passed to the west where the northern row of houses now stands. At the head of Buccleuch Street it passed under the northern wall of the above row of houses, and formed an angle so very near a right angle that it passes under the eastern corner of the westmost house of the row. Thence it passed to the south in a sloping direction along what was then declivity of the bank, that it will pass most probably considerably to the west and south of the southern row of Castle Street. N.B.—Not a single house of the southern row is yet built."

It only remains to mention that the site of the House or Castle of the Maxwells of Nithsdale is definitely determined by the terms of the contract for the building of the New Church, which occupied the position of the present Greyfriars. It provides that the church shall be built "upon the ground already marked out, behind the Castle." The Castle therefore stood just in front of the place occupied by the Greyfriars' Church. I should also mention that in the sixteenth century there were two houses at the "Vennelheid" belonging to John Logan, Vicar of Kowend, already mentioned, occupied by Christopher Lawrie and Andrew Mathieson, and adjoining these on the east stood a "great stone house" of Robert Edgar. Occasion may occur for further reference to these houses.

Having surveyed the present surroundings of the Friars' Vennel, and the conditions obtaining over the corresponding area in the sixteenth century, we arrive at the more important stage of our enquiry. We have now to endeavour to define the lands and other possessions of the Friars, and the situation, distribution, and character of the Friary buildings. (See accompanying plan and details.)

All the lands north of the Vennel before described as void of buildings in the sixteenth century, exclusive of the Greensands, which belonged to the town, were possessed by the Friar Minors of Dumfries. The northmost part called the Newyards contained nine roods, and two and a half roods granted to Lord Maxwell. The Freirhauch, the south-west part, extended to three and a half acres. It is described as bounded on the east by "Our papal walls." A third section, which occupied the south-east corner of the lands, and extended to about two acres, was the original site and area attached to the Convent. It was specially enclosed by "Our papal walls," and held the Friary buildings, the cemetery, and the great yard and orchard. These lands were bounded on the south by the tenements, on the north side by Newton Street, and the Friars' Vennel; on the east by the track extending from the head of High Street to the Staikford; on the north by the burgh common called the Willies; and on the west by the shingle of the river Nith; and the total area extended to about eight and a half acres. In addition, the Friars possessed a considerable number of small areas on the east side of Corbilly Hill, in the Parish of Troqueer, which, however cannot now be traced. In some

instances the rent was paid in victual. Thus, according to the Dumfries Protocols, on 7th May, 1542, "Frier Herbert Stewart, wardane of the freirs of Drumfres, admittit Richert Maxwell burgess of Drumfres, tennent to vii ruddis of the landis of Corbre hill lyand w^{tin} the prochin of Trequeir quhilks landis Johne Maxwell elder in Drumfres haud in tak of the said place quod befoir. . . . And that for payment of vi fr (firlots) meill of the mesor of Ny^t." I have several times met with mention of the measure of Nith, and sometimes the great measure of Nith. It was in use locally for at least two hundred years; but what proportion it bore to other measures I have not been able to ascertain.

The Burgh Court books also contain evidence of possession by the Friars of several small annual rents and feu duties derived from tenements in the town. In connection with these, appeal to the Court to enforce payment was frequent, and the Warden appointed a procurator in the interest of the convent; 5th May, 1525; "The samin day freyr Robert little, Wardan of the freyrs of Drumfress hes creat maid qstitute and ordanit Thomas Welche his procurator in all his causes movit and to be movit ferm and stable," the following is an example of the proceedings in Court: "The quhilk day the balze Dauid Neilson hais reconquest ane west tenement lyand in the burghe of Drumfress of wmqhill Cuthbert Maxwele lyand betuix ane tenement of Her[bert] Cunyghame on the west part on the ta part and ane tenement of John Schortrig on the Est part on the toyr part in the hands of Thomas Welche bailze and procurator to the Werden and qwent of the Freyrs minors of Drumfress, in defalt of payment of sex schillings of monye annuell to be pait to the said Warden and qwent, be gift of ord and staine (earth and stone) as it yt was vnstrenzeable this cort as the secund court." A tenement, it seems, was distrainable only after being before the Court a third time.

In what way the Friars became possessed of these sources of revenue does not appear except in one instance, where Master John Logan, the Vicar of Knowend (Colvend), already referred to, gifted to the Friars five merks annually from one of his two tenements at the "Vennelheid," in return for Divine Service in the Friary Church; "The Chaplain and his successors were to celebrate between the hours of eight and nine in one week each year for ever, two masses for my soul and the souls of those forsaid at the altar, in his Church of Saint Salvator (the

Redeemer) situated next the altar of Blessed Mary outwith the choir, one (Mass) to be of 'Corpus Christi' with the office 'Cibavit,' and with the usual fifth Feria (Thursdays) (commemoration) and the other to be of the 'Five wounds' with the office 'Hamiliavit' without the usual sixth Feria (Fridays) (Commeration.)' It is said that altars of Saint Salvator are extremely rare; and special conditions are required for the service of the "Five Wounds." There is also an instance recorded in the Burgh Court books (last day of July, 1533) of a Friar inheriting property. William Saidlar, one of the friars, appeared in Court, and was served heir to his brother Sir John Saidler, Chaplain and Vicar of Dumfries. These details are submitted for the purpose of indicating the nature of the local revenues, but it is not intended to offer an estimate of the proceeds either of local or other sources of income.

I now turn to the more difficult, but at the same time more interesting task of endeavouring to locate the convent, and map out the main lines of the plan of the historic church. Before proceeding, it may be proper to notice for the purpose of comparison and guidance some of the general arrangements of such mediæval edifices. The church was generally built in the form of a cross, having a nave, with aisles, a central tower, and transepts north and south of the tower, whilst eastwards of the tower was the choir. In general design, the churches of the Friars materially differed from those of other monastic orders, being more simple. According to Professor Banister Fletcher's "History of Architecture":—"Their churches were large, plain, and without aisles, being designed for preaching purposes." I have searched the comprehensive volumes on Scottish Ecclesiastical remains by Messrs M'Gibbon and Ross for an example of such a monastery, and the Friary of Elgin appears to be the only one in Scotland of which any remains exist sufficient to admit of the plan being traced. It is imperfect as regards the conventual offices, but the illustrations show the plan of the church entire, and a perspective elevation of the remaining walls. The plan is in agreement with the description of Professor Banister Fletcher, being a simple oblong consisting of a nave and a choir separated by a rood loft which is evidenced by corbels for the reception of beams in the north and south walls. The length internally is one hundred and ten feet by twenty-two

feet in width, the nave being sixty, the choir forty, and the rood loft ten feet from west to east. The principal door is in the south wall under the rood loft, and between the nave and the choir. A smaller external door pierces the north wall at the west end, and a door near the east end of the south wall gives access to an adjoining chamber, the sacristy. Although the conventual buildings have disappeared, broken-off fragments of walls attached to the church show where they stood, namely, at the south side of the church.

Proceeding to the enquiry regarding the situation and distribution of the Grey Friars Convent of Dumfries, it will be found, as already indicated, that the building stood within the area enclosed by "Our Papal walls," the south boundary of which corresponded with the north side of Friars' Vennel. This area constituted the close or precincts of the convent, and was usually open to the public. A similar arrangement, but on a larger scale, may be seen at Newabbey. Adopting the north side of the Vennel to serve as a base on which to reconstruct the plan, the charters of the lands furnish definite evidence of the position of the church relative thereto. The south wall of the church, it will be found, fronted towards the Vennel, but retired some distance back from the street, and a tapering garden intervened. This garden was divided in its length into two portions by a passage, near the centre, which led from the street across the garden, up to the principal door of the church. In the year 1558, John Richardson and his wife, Elizabeth M'Kinnel, acquired the western part of the garden, described in their charter as having a frontage of twenty-eight ells (86 ft. 6 in.) and a width of nineteen ells (58 ft. 9 in.). It was bounded "by the southern wall of our said Friars' Church on the north side." In the same way the east portion was acquired in 1559 by John Marshall, and the lot is described as having a frontage extending to twenty-six ells in length (80 ft.) and a width of eleven ells (34 ft.), "bounded by our church choir on the north." The position of the church is thus made perfectly clear and free of ambiguity. Its distance from the street across the west garden was fifty-eight feet, and across the east garden the distance was thirty-four feet, the difference being due to the orientation of the church. It will be observed that the principal door was in the south wall immediately east, according to one charter of the aisle of St. John the Baptist, while another

describes it as leading to our choir. The door therefore entered the church between the nave and the choir, exactly corresponding in this respect to the position of the door of Elgin Friary Church. Further, there is evidence of another door at the west end of the church, an inner door, not in the west gable, but adjacent to "our great dormitory," which it may be presumed formed a communication between the church and the conventual offices. This door was approached from the passage corresponding with the present St. David Street by a stair known as "The Friars' Steps." The site is now so much obscured by buildings that its character is not readily observed, but when examined it is found to consist of an elevated plateau rising abruptly eight or ten feet above the level of St. David Street, a circumstance which accounts for the provision of the Friary steps. The cloisters were more frequently attached to the south side of the church, as at Elgin. Here, however, they were on the north side apparently owing to the requirements of the site. The great dormitory, as before mentioned, occupied, as usual, the west side of the cloister court or garth. The kitchen and refectory are usually found on the north side, and the sacristy and chapter-house on the east side, and there would be other apartments.

It is requisite for the completion of the plan to discover the length and width of the church. Of these there is no direct evidence, but from the frontage available the length of the building may be inferred approximately. The two front gardens described extended to twenty-eight and twenty-six ells in length respectively, and allowing two ells as the width of the passage between them, the total frontage between the passage now St. David Street and Logan's tenements at the "Vennelheid" occupied by Christopher Lowrie and Andrew Matheson would extend to fifty-six ells, or one hundred and seventy-three feet in length. There is reason to believe that the Dumfries Friary was somewhat more important and not likely to be of less dimensions, as it certainly was more ornate, than that of Elgin, and considering the limits of the available space it would appear not to have been materially longer. Elgin Church measured about one hundred and eighteen feet in length over the walls, being fifty-five feet short of our available frontage; and taking the internal divisions as corresponding with those at Elgin the west gable of the church would stand back twenty feet from St. David Street, a distance

which would seem to be suitable to the abrupt rise of the ground and the space the Friars' steps would occupy. At the east end there would be a space between the east gable of the church and Logan's tenement of thirty-five feet, and that there was such a space is evidenced by a deed describing the tenement to be bounded on the west by the cemetery. I conclude that the church here did not materially differ in length and width from that of Elgin.

I should mention in regard to the orientation that the choir did not point due east, but east twenty-five degrees north. On this subject an old writer says:—"One end of every church doth point to such place where the sun did rise at the time the foundation thereof was laid, which is the reason why all churches do not directly point to the east; for if the foundation was laid in June, it pointed to the north-east, where the sun rises at that time of year; if it was laid in the spring or autumn it was directed full east; if in winter, south-east; and by the standing of these churches it is known at what time of the year the foundations of them were laid." The church was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and contained several altars. The high altar would occupy a place at the east end of the choir; there was an altar of St. John the Baptist in the nave immediately west of the principal door; an altar of Blessed Mary west of that; and an altar of St. Salvator, that is the Holy Redeemer, further west, along the south wall.

Proof of the high veneration in which St. Mary the Virgin was in these times held in Dumfries is furnished by the number of dedications in her honour. Sir Christopher Seton's Chapel, where St. Mary's Church is now; the Chapel at Castledykes; the Chapel of the Willeis, and the Friary Church were all dedicated to St. Mary, as well as an altar in the Parish Church, and another in the Friary Church. It will be remembered that the Pope's relaxation for the repair of the bridge embraced the amputation of the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, founded near the said bridge, that is the Friary Church, which is here again bracketed with the bridge, showing that they were in some way inter-dependant. It appears probable that a tower or steeple of some kind was attached to the church, it may be at a period subsequent to the foundation. A great bell was installed in 1535, and there was a "knock" or clock, both of which were regulated

after the Reformation by the Town Council, and it may be supposed that the clock was sufficiently elevated to be serviceable to the community. The amplication may have referred to the erection of a tower.

At the risk of seeming repetition, I submit the following extracts, translated, from the charters relating to the situation of the church and various details, in support of the foregoing description. Feu Charter of 10th June, 1558, in favour of John Richardson and his wife.—“All and whole the portion of the lands of our garden lying in the Burgh of Dumfries in the Northern part of the same within the limits of the grounds of our said Friary containing nineteen ells of land in width, and twenty-eight ells in length, with its pertinents, on the East side marching with and bounded by the passage leading from the King's highway called Friars' Vennel through our garden on the East side of the aisle of St. John the Baptist to the Choir of our Church; by the said Friars' Vennel on the South side; and by a passage along the eastern gable of the newly-built tenement of David M'Ghie to the end of the Friars steps leading to the inner door of our said Friary adjacent to our great dormitory on the West side; and by the Southern wall of our said Friars Church on the North side.” Feu Charter of 8th July, 1559, in favour of John Marshall.—“Also a certain portion of the land of our front garden lying in the Burgh of Dumfries next Friars' Vennel between our Church choir on the North part, and the tenements formerly of Christopher Iowry and Andrew Mathesoun on the East part, the said Friars Vennel on the South part, and the passage leading from the said Friars Vennel to our Choir on the West part, extending in length to twenty-six ells and in width to eleven ells, with their pertinents . . . the said portion of front garden above described being set forth in our rental book and valued at twenty pounds usual money of the Kingdom of Scotland” (Bryce).

So much for the distribution of the Monastery; the architectural character it exhibits claims brief reference. In the year 1866 the walls of the “New Church,” built in 1727 on or adjoining the site of the Castle of the Maxwells of Nithsdale, were taken down to make way for the existing Greyfriars' Church, when a number of moulded and enriched stones were recovered which had evidently belonged to some earlier structure. The stones

were of two types, baronial and ecclesiastical. Of the latter there are jamb mouldings, some of them of two orders of bold chamfers, others of two orders, the first a large roll deeply undercut, the second a chamfer. Arch stones of lancet windows are moulded and hooded, and enriched with bold dogtooth, the characteristic ornament of the period. There is also a fragment of the canopy of the sedilia, a recessed seat in the south wall near the high altar. On the occasion of a short visit of Dr Thomas Ross, architect, who may be said to have handled every baronial and ecclesiastical moulding in Scotland, I called his attention to some of the stones in question. He unhesitatingly pronounced them fragments of an ancient ecclesiastical edifice of about the middle of the thirteenth century. Earlier than Newabbey, they are as conclusive of the period of erection, although not of a definite date, as a charter of foundation might have been.

Piecing together the foregoing details, it may be possible to present something approaching a picture of this interesting landmark of the history of religion and civilisation in its pristine form. A carefully chosen site is displayed, situated at some considerable distance north of the old town. It is the summit of a gentle slope rising from the banks of the Nith, which affords a view not often equalled of the broken, purple-tinted hills of Galloway. On such a site the Friary buildings were distributed. The church was oriented east, 25 degrees north, and the south or front wall stood 46 feet on an average back from Friars' Vennel, the distance being greater at the west than at the east, and a passage from the Vennel across the front garden led up to the principal door which was in the south wall. The church consisted of a nave and a choir, west and east of the door respectively. On the north side of the church was the cloister and conventual offices, the great dormitory on the west side, which was reached by an inner door at the head of a stair called the Friars steps, starting from a passage now represented by St. David Street. Within the church there were several altars—of St. John the Baptist, the Blessed Mary, of St. Salvator, and the High Altar, near which in the south wall was the sedilia.

There remains something to be said of the ending of the fabric. The building was old, the friars were poor, and very likely dilapidation had progressed towards insecurity, but in 1563 the church was still in use although not as a Friary. A minute of the Town Council of 16th November, 1563, ordains "Charles

hwym minister of the freir kirk situate in the samin burt to keip the knob and bell being yrintill, wt the mornin preweris dailie, and he to be pait and dewly anserit of ten mks money at the feists of Vitsunday and Santt Mertin in vinter be evin portionis of the commone purs, and ordains the knob to be mendit and sett in order on the tounis coist be George Moffett smyth wt expedition."

Charles Hume, Warden of the Convent, had reached a great age, and is supposed to have been the last surviving friar in Scotland.

In 1568 the town obtained a Crown Charter conveying to them the possessions of the Grey Friars within the burgh excepting such as had before been granted to others, and the Friary seems to have been dispersed immediately thereafter, as may be inferred from accounts noted in the town's records under date 22nd December, 1575, as follows:—

"We Archibald McBriar provest, Thomas McMinynes, harbert Ranyng and Robert McKynnell, bailleis of Drumfries, grantis ws to haif had and resawit be the delyverance of Harbert Ranyng younger, the sowme of foir scoir of pundis vsual money of Scotland of the rents of the freris fewe fermis and vther dewties to the freirs and of the Kirk rents of Drumfries qlk he intromettit wt at our command the zer bypast. . . .

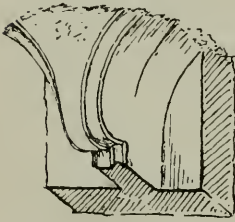
The compt of the ristic of the freiris lands gevin vpe be the said Harbert ristannd vnpayit befir the term of Witsunday in 1575 zer followis.

Stewin palmer at brigend for v or vi zers—	3 sh ilk zeir	
Summa	...	18 sh.
Robene Maxwell land ristic vnpayit v zers or mair	3 sh ilk zer	15 sh.
Johne Caruthers land ristic v or vi zers	20 sh ilk zer	6 li.
quhair of Roger hereis hes payit at townis will	...	50 sh.
Janet Kirkpatrick ristes v zers payit vi sh ilk zer is in the hale	...	30 sh.
John Reid ristic bygains	...	22d.
Herbert skails wyf restis	...	—
Amer fergussonne for the Closter ristic, v termes	...	5 sh.
My Lord Maxwell for the zard and Kirksted vi zer ane term	...	54 sh. 3d.
James Lauders place ristic 6 zers ane term	13 sh 4d zerlie."	

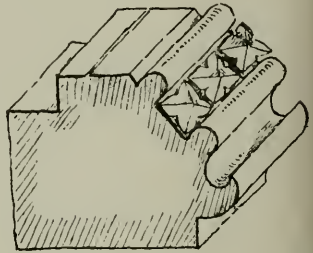
Taking six years from 1575 gives 1569 as the year the town

had dispersed the subjects. It will be observed that Lord Maxwell had acquired the Kirkstead, while Amer Fergusson possessed the Cloister.

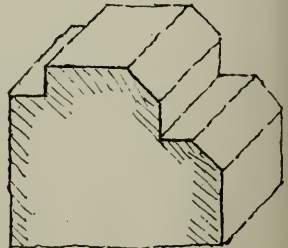
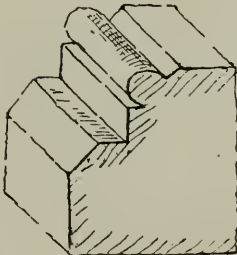
Lord Maxwell's castle was "cast down" by Lord Scroope at the instance of Queen Elizabeth in 1570, and the Friary, being then Lord Maxwell's property, probably suffered the same fate; the town also was burned. Shortly afterwards the Castle was rebuilt, and the Friary having passed into the possession of Lord Maxwell and become a ruin, the materials would naturally be appropriated to the erection of the new Castle, which in turn through the troubles of the times, having become waste, the materials were again made use of in the erection of the New Church, hence the preservation of the stones characteristic of ecclesiastical work before referred to.



Fragment of Sedilia.



Vousoir of Arch.



Door or Window Scuntions.

A word about the seeming connection between the Friary and the bridge which spans the river at a point just opposite the site of the Monastery. I have in a prior paper endeavoured to give expression to the view that the Friary and the bridge are coeval, parts of the same plan, devised and executed under the same beneficent authority. That a study of the history of the Greyfriars' Convent materially strengthens this position I think can hardly be doubted. It is sufficiently evident that the Friary was founded at the time of Devorgilla, who possessed the Lordship of Galloway; and the charters show that the Lords of Galloway possessed the superiority of the bridge, and granted the bridge toll as an endowment to the Friars. It is not to be assumed, however, that the structure was built for the benefit of the Friars only. Bridge building was itself a pious work, and the great thoroughfare from England passing through the Lordship of Galloway to Ireland made a dry passage over such a river as the Nith, which is liable to frequent and prolonged floods, a matter of general concern, and that the bridge was founded for the convenience and safety of travellers may be admitted, but the idea of founding a religious house in connection with the bridge might very well arise from the consideration that the importance of the route would result in providing, by the usual creation of a toll, a sufficient endowment for its support.

I may be asked to name the spot, all trace having disappeared where the high altar stood, before which the Red Cumyn fell by the hands of Robert the Bruce, an incident so startling and important in its consequences as to continue, even after the passing of six hundred years, an outstanding landmark in history, and to lend to our Friary Church a more than local interest.

A passage, No. 93 Friars' Vennel, leads to a small back court, in the north-east corner of which is the site, or within a few feet of the site, of this historical high altar of the Church of the Grey Friars of Dumfries.

THE DRYSDALES OF DOLLAR AND THEIR DUMFRIESSHIRE ORIGIN.

By the REV. ROBERT PAUL, F.S.A.Scot.

In this paper the Rev. Mr Paul recounted the legend that the Drysdales of Dollar were descendants of Thomas, William, and James Douglas, sons of Thomas Douglas of Brushwood Haugh, in the parish of Drysdale, or Dryfesdale, and shire of Dumfries, who, through slaying, in a feud, their neighbour, Johnstone of Greenstonehill, fled to Clackmannan on the 20th day of May, 1503, and assumed the name of Drysdale. He endeavoured to fix the site of their property as near Old Walls, and traced briefly the history of the family. The paper will be found in full in *The Dollar Magazine*, March, 1909 (Vol. viii., No. 29).

 COMMUNION TOKENS, WITH DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THOSE OF DUMFRIESSHIRE. By the REV. H. A. WHITELAW, Dumfries.

[The following paper was delivered in the form of a lantern lecture on April 21st. It was issued in separate form, restricted to 170 copies, in July, 1911, and, for convenience in re-printing, is inserted here.]

INTRODUCTORY.

“If we could get an account of all the Communion Tokens at which they have been used, the names of the places and of the ministers, the number of the communicants with the texts of action sermons, and a taste of the savoury table addresses of that period, it would be very interesting. Could some of these old square tokens speak, what a story they would tell! I have often thought that an excellent book might be made of it. We have the History of a Guinea and of a Shilling, why not of a Communion Token? It would bring out the deepest inner working of the human soul in communion with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ; the night-long wrestling in prayer where there was no eye to see,

no ear to hear, but that eye which sees in secret, and that ear which is the hearer of prayer, seeking for the inward token, the seal of the Spirit, pleading that the Master Himself would say to His guests at His table, 'Eat, O friends, drink, yea drink abundantly, O beloved.' " The foregoing quotation is taken from a "Historical Sketch of the R.P. Congregation of Dumfries," a paper read by a highly respected office-bearer at the annual soiree of that congregation, held on 23rd February, 1864, in the Mechanics' Hall, Dumfries.

To Mr Robert Shiells, Neenah, Wisconsin, belongs the honour of having first told "The Story of the Token." All subsequent workers in the same field have but built on his foundations. By his monumental work, entitled "Old Scottish Communion Plate," the Rev. Dr Thomas Burns has made students of token-craft his debtors. His wide search into Burgh and Session Records, with its resultant multitude of extracts, will be the quarry from which future writers must draw much of their material. The late Mr A. J. S. Brook has provided the groundwork for the ultimate comprehensive catalogue of Tokens of the Established Church of Scotland. His pages of illustrations are the most valuable guide to these the collector possesses. What Mr Brook did for the tokens of the Established Church the Rev. Robert Dick, Colinsburgh, had done for the tokens of Churches other than the Established. To collectors, "Brook" and "Dick" are simply indispensable. Ere long, it is hoped, these will be revised, corrected, and amplified. The present work originated in an attempt to provide as complete a catalogue as possible of all the tokens used in the Churches within the area of a single shire. Fulfilment of this primary intention will be found in Chapter V. As the work proceeded the scope widened and the material accumulated to such an extent that it seemed desirable to add a few extra chapters. These, it is hoped, may do a little towards explaining what to many people seems an unaccountable modern craze. In the hands of some more advanced collector these chapters would certainly have obtained an ampler justice. But many years must pass and much more work of research be done ere a labour of this kind can, if ever, escape the charge of incompleteness. Such as it is the work has had a host of creditors but for whose assistance it would have been impossible. Unfailingly courteous and kind were the Ministers and

Kirk-Sessions of the Established and non-Established Churches throughout Dumfriesshire. For generous help of various kinds thanks are due to the Rev. John Cairns, M.A.; Robert C. Porter, Esq.; James Barbour, Esq., F.S.A.; and G. W. Shirley, Esq., Librarian, Dumfries; to John Corrie, Esq., F.S.A., for the use of the Glencairn and Moniaive blocks; and to the following for the loan of some of the tokens illustrated: Mrs Henderson, Logan, Cumnock; Rev. J. Richmond Wood, Sanquhar; Rev. Wilson Baird, Mauchline; Rev. J. M. Campbell, B.D., Torthorwald; Miss Kirkpatrick, Holywood; James Davidson, Esq., Dumfries; Rev. George Orr and Kirk-Session, North U.F. Church, Langholm; Rev. J. M. Campbell and Kirk-Session of St. Michael's, Dumfries; Rev. R. Neill Rae, M.A., Lochmaben; and the Trustees of the Thornhill Museum. Also to the Rev. A. A. Milne, Cambuslang; J. P. Dickson, Esq., of the *Kilmarnock Standard*; Colonel Montagu Campbell, Edinburgh; S. A. G. Macquoid, Esq., Greenock; W. T. Ramsay, Esq., Dundee; Rev. John M'Combie, B.D., Holywood; and others, is the author greatly indebted. For the biographical and historical notes free use has been made of Dr Scott's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ" and Dr Small's "History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900."

Collectors will notice important additions to the special issue in the notes under Tongland (12), Canonbie (87), Greta (144), Hutton (160), Johnstone (162), Keir (164), Kirkpatrick-Fleming (176), Moffat (207), Sanquhar (237), Torthorwald (250), and Bibliography (21, b, 4), and items (j) and (k) on page 125.

If these imperfect pages succeed in securing for their subject a portion of the interest of members of the society publishing them, the writer will be pleased. If they provide an incentive to some individual of more leisure and larger means to take up for fuller treatment this branch of numismatic study, the work will have gained its end and the labour its reward.

I.—THE SIGN: ITS ORIGIN AND USE.

Communion Tokens have an important place in the history of Church life in Scotland. It will be our endeavour to show this in the short chapters that follow. The word "token" is the equivalent of the Saxon "tacn" or "tacen," and of the Gothic "taikns." It means a "sign" or proof-mark of some sure word

of promise to be kept, high right or privilege to be enjoyed, or inevitable transaction to take place. The earliest instance in history of such a "sign" is the "Rainbow Token" of the book of Genesis (ix. 12). Of a similar sort was the "Blood Token" of the Passover. Quite different was the "Shibboleth" prescribed by Jephthah (Judges xii. 6) to be handed in at the passages of the Jordan. In the case of Tobit's "handwriting" (v. 3; ix. 5) we see the idea developing still further in the direction of our subject. Passing from the sacred records of the Christian and the Jew we come into the more secular atmosphere of the amphitheatre, the army, and the social life of ancient classical times. One authority,¹ writing about the early coinage of Rome, remarks that "besides coins proper, there are certain pieces in metal which resemble money in appearance, but which were never meant to pass as currency. These are the medallions which correspond to medals of the present time, and the tickets, which served as passes to the public entertainments, etc." "Of the tickets the most important are the *CONTORNIATES*, so-called because they have the edge slightly turned over. These pieces are of copper, . . . and they have for types on one side some mythological, agonistic, or historical subject, relating to the public games or to the contests which took place for the honours of the amphitheatre, the circus, the stadium, or the odeum; and on the other side, a head or bust, imperial or regal, or of some philosopher, author, or poet. The question of the object of these pieces . . . has provoked much discussion, but . . . seems now to have been fairly settled. It appears that they were made for presentation to the victors at the public games and contests, who used them as a kind of check, on the presentation of which at some appointed place and time they were awarded the allotted prizes." If this be correct² we have here an approximation to the modern development of the ancient Hebrew *אֹת* "oth" or "token." We find ourselves on surer

1. "Coins and Medals, their place in History and Art," by Stanley Lane-Poole. London, 1885. p.p. 68-70.
2. Vide "Roman Coins; Elementary Manual," compiled by Comm. Francesco Gneecchi. Translated by the Rev. Alfred Watson Hands. Messrs Spink and Son, London, 1903. Chapter xxxviii., §§ 317, 318. The same may be seen in Spink and Son's "Numismatic Circular," Vol. x. (1902), pp. 5308-5309.

ground when we come to the HOSPITIUM or league of friendship which classical writers tell us obtained between individuals of different states in the earlier stages of Greek and Roman civilisation. In days when the population of these republics or empires was but a cluster of tribes, allied or hostile, the traveller abroad ran much personal risk of arrestment and summary handling as a suspect. It was therefore necessary for him to have an understanding with at least one of the citizens of the particular state or states into which he proposed to venture. This understanding or league of friendship held good reciprocally and, once made, became hereditary. To secure the bona fides of such a bond tokens were exchanged by the contracting parties. These tokens, called *tesserae hospitales* were preserved and handed down. Thus an individual might go abroad and claim the rights of hospitium in a strange city "at the hands of descendants of ancient contractors of a league, even although such descendants were quite unknown to him and all intercourse between the two families had been suspended for generations.³ In these "*tesserae hospitales*" we have the idea of the modern passport to the Lord's Table almost fully developed. When we enter the Roman Camp we see the thing complete. The dispositions of the soldiery for the safe-guarding of the camp have been made. For the night season precautions are redoubled. Four times in the night the guards are changed. The watchword is not passed verbally. Inscribed on small wooden tablets called *tesserae militum* it is placed by the Commander-in-chief in the hands of the Tribunes, who in turn entrust it to four men out of each Legion. These men, named "tesserarii," carry the "tesserae" to the outposts farthest removed from headquarters. Passing from company to company, and from legion to legion, the timber password returns to the Tribunes at each period of the night—a token that all is well. As the "tessera" bore with it the password without which the soldier was unfit for his duty as night-guard, so the leaden or pewter passport was a token that the bearer was judged to possess the recognised qualifications for

3. Professor William Ramsay in his "Roman Antiquities," chapter III., gives an example of an individual claiming rights of Hospitium in a foreign land at the hands of a Hospes whom he had never seen. Vide the "Poenulus" of T. Accius Plautus (250-180 B.C.), Act V., Sc. ii., 82.

participating in the Lord's Supper. Amongst the Romans the idea underlying such a use of "tesserae" was adapted extensively. Thus to the poorer citizens of Rome was given the *tessera frumentaria*, in exchange for which a free grant of corn could be obtained. Again the *tessera gladiatoria* was the oblong ivory token given to the gladiator who had triumphed in a certain number of contests. This token bore the names of the combatant and his trainer, also the date of his first victory, and the letters S P (*spectatus*). The "white stone" mentioned in the letter "to the angel of the Church in Pergamos" is thought to be a reference to one of these tesserae (Revelation ii. 17). The need of safeguards to Christian privileges appeared early in the history of the Christian Church. In the first half of the first Christian century we find religious communities subjected to considerable annoyance "because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty" (Galatians ii. 4). Aquilla and Priscilla and the rest of the Ephesian brethren therefore deemed it necessary to write "exhorting the disciples to receive" Apollos "when he was disposed to pass into Achaia" (Acts xviii. 27). This document, or *littera peregrinorum*, became known as a KOINONIKON, and commended the bearer to the sympathy and fellowship of the Christian community wherever he might go. To the stranger thus accredited, at least in the Church of post-Apostolic times, all the privileges of the "communicatio pacis" and "contesseratio hospitalitis" were freely conveyed. It was probably to such a passport the Apostle Paul referred in his second epistle to the Corinthians (iii. 1), when he said, "Need we as others epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?" Subsequent adaptations of the tessera, token, or voucher idea in France, Britain, or any other country present few if any features unfamiliar to Roman usage. This remark holds true, for example, of the references in the two deeds of the Counts of Nevers, dated 1167 and 1173. There the token is called by the Low Latin designations, *merallum*, *marellum*, *maralli*, and *maralum*. These were badges or vouchers that their bearers had exclusive rights in exposing and selling certain commodities. Such a use of badge-tokens or vouchers was familiar to the custom of a much earlier time. Nor was it any advance on the manner of the Romans when in the fourteenth century in France tokens were given as checks

to be presented to the authorities for the supply of provisions. This ancient custom of supplying pauper parishioners with Communion tokens for use as "Beggar's Badges" long survived the Reformation, and was known to exist in some parishes in Scotland within living memory, if indeed it does not still continue. Frequently these small lead or pewter badges were pierced and strung, and thus worn by their needy possessors for their safer keeping. The French word for token "le mereau" varied almost with the district—*merreau*, *marreau*, *marrou*, *masreau*, *merel*, and *marque*. In the Treasury Registers of the Chapter-house of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers there are entries in 1466, 1472, 1476, and 1479 in which certain sums were paid to the "marreleur" or "marrelier" for performing certain duties: "paid to our marrelier for distributing our marreaux, etc., 60 sols." Thus the various and continuous use of Tokens throughout France during the centuries preceding paved the way for the introduction of Communion tokens among the Huguenots in the sixteenth century. Their first mention in the Records of the Reformed Church in France, according to Mons. Gelin (1891), is in 1560. On the 30th January of that year Calvin at the Council of Geneva proposed the adoption of lead tokens in the following terms: "To prevent the profanation of the Table it would be well if each took lead tokens for each of the eligible ones of their households. Strangers giving witness of their faith could also take these, but those not provided with tokens would not be admitted to the Table." This was first adopted in France by the Reformed Church at NIMES in 1562. Its use was extended throughout over forty districts, but did not become universal. In GENEVA itself the token was not adopted till about 1605. It would appear that in France, at least, the intro-



REFORMED CHURCH
OF FRANCE



REFORMED CHURCH
OF FRANCE

duction of metal Communion tokens into the Reformed Church was closely connected with the enforcing of a stricter discipline. French tokens are round, some almost the size of a florin, but mostly about the size of a shilling. A common type has an open Bible surmounted by the sun, having on its open pages the legend, NE CRAINS POINT PETIT TROUPEAU (Fear not little flock), and S^T LUC C^B XII. W^T 82 (St. Luke chapitre xii verset 82—error for 32). On the reverse is a shepherd blowing a horn, and sheep feeding. Sometimes a bird of prey is in the sky. A 17th century token of NIMES has the city arms on one side, and on the other a heart pierced by two swords, and a cross of four flames issuing forth, the whole surrounded by the legend, CHRIST SOLEIL DE JUSTICE (Christ the Sun of Righteousness). Others have a cup with bread on either side of the stalk, and on the other side the initial letters of the name of the church. Tokens were commonly used in Holland, the Walloon Church in Amsterdam having them dated as early as 1586. About the year 1500 Erasmus makes mention of the “plumbei angliae.” These were leaden tokens issued for some purpose during the reign of Henry VII. (1485-1509). During Elizabeth’s reign (1559-1603) there were issued many private tokens made of lead, tin, latten or candlestick brass, and leather. In connection with the Communion it is said they are mentioned in England as early as the reign of Queen Mary (1553-1559). The occasion of their use was that Cardinal Pole might discover who conformed and who did not. That the Puritans had adopted the use of Communion “tickets” is evidenced by the existence of seventeenth century lead tokens like that of EXETER, which bears the following inscription:—MARY MOORE 1657. EXON. DRINK YEE ALL OF THIS, with representation of a Communion cup. Obviously Exeter at that time had yielded to Puritan influence and Presbyterianism prevailed at St. Mary Major’s, called “Mary Moore” or “Mary the Moor,” a corruption of St. Marie-la-Mère. In the Token-books of St. Saviour’s Church, SOUTHWARK, extending from 1559 to 1630, we see how Church dues were collected by selling the Sacrament. In 1596, 2200 Tokens were sold at 2d each, and in 1620 nearly 2000 at 3d each. Against the parish of NEWBURY, Berkshire, in 1658, there is a charge for 300 Tokens at 3s 6d. The incumbent of this parish a few years later (1666-1674) had his tokens marked with a Bible

and inscription, "Joseph Sayer, Rector of Newbury." The parish records of HENLEY-ON-THAMES, Oxfordshire, in 1659, refer to tokens being used, and speak of them as "Communion halfpence." In the Church Register of St. Peter Mancroft, NORWICH, we have an interesting list of entries, extending from 1632 to 1696, showing the use of tokens, giving at the same time details of their manufacture and cost, and information as to how by means of tokens the Communion dues were collected. The temptation to farm out the Communion dues at Easter and other such Sacrament seasons did not come to Presbyterian as it did to Episcopalian clergymen.⁴ The Presbyterian Church never had Communion dues and "never sold her sacraments." Of this assertion the following extract from the ABERDEEN Kirk-Session Records of date March 22, 1618, is a corroboration rather than a contradiction, for this was the period of the prelatic usurpation:—"The Sessioun . . . thinks it expedient for the better help of the poore that tua of the magistratis stand at the end of ewerie tabill in both the kirkis the tyme of the ministratioun of the holie communioun and demand of ewerie communicant at thair rying from the tabill, sume almes to the poore according to the forme obserwit in reformit congregatiounes in the south pairtis of this realme." It was in Scotland that the Communion token practice struck deepest root. Any change that commended itself to our conservative forefathers of the Reformation times must already have had some antiquity about it ere it could have secured their sanction. We can easily believe that in the matter of the Church Token they adopted "a custom already hallowed by primitive usage" rather than "an innovation of their own." The first General Assembly of the Church of the Reformation in Scotland met on 20th December, 1560. More than seven months earlier, or on 2nd May, we have the first mention of Communion Tokens or "tickets" in the Kirk-Session Records of ST. ANDREWS. There "Walter Adie is delatat with thir wordis Willie Mayne will ye give me ane techet." That is to say, Walter Adie is sessioned for contemptuously refusing a ticket proffered to him by William Mayne, one of the elders. That the token or

4. Vide the trial, in 1634, of John Richardson, who farmed the tithes and oblations of the Chapelrie of St. Margaret's, in Durham. ("Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham." Surtees Society, pp. 82-100.)

ticket thus early in use in our own country was paper, or a card is more than probable. For in the same Records, on 7th May, 1572, we find that "the seat hes ordeined that in tyme cuming nane sal present thair selves to the communion wythtout tikat resavit fra the clark of the quarter quhair they dwel or minister." A little further on, at 3rd June, 1573, trouble has arisen owing to some having appeared at Communion "wytht fengyeit tickatis of the dait the vij day of Maii, 1572." Difficulties of this kind must have arisen frequently. In the same Records at date 24th July, 1583, "Jhone Hwniman seidman confessis he producit at the Lordis Tabill ane fangyeit tikket, quhilk wes gevin him be David Robertsoun." And again, "Androw Broun younger tailyeour lykewys accusit for presenting him self to the Lordis Tabill, he nocht being at examinatioun, nocht ressavand ane tikket, bot be his maisteris tikket." Possibly it was owing to the frequent occurrence of such tricks that the change to metal tokens was made at ST. ANDREWS. An entry here on 27th May, 1590, runs as follows: "The quhilk day Patrick Gutherie, at command of the Sessioun, hes maid the ironis for streking of the takynniss to the Communioun and hes ressavit fra the Sessioun for his panis xls." On 15th July "the Sessioun hes payit to Patrik Gutherie, for twa thowsand taikins to the Communion, ten merkis." An interesting item from the EDINBURGH Burgh Records is of date 1579-1580, January 6th: "Ordanis thatt in all tymes cuming, fra this communion furth, thair be na allowance maid to the denes of gild, present or to cum, in thair comptis of ony expenssis for stamping of the communion tikkētis, because the samyn is ane nouatioun quhilk hes nocht bene vsit of befoir, and ordanis that quhensoever ony auditouris beis chosin for hering of the dene of gildis comptis, this ordinance be intimat to thame for the better obseruing heirof." Apparently against the will of the Town Council, metal tokens were introduced into Edinburgh City Church in 1579. This is the earliest record of metal tokens being used for Communion purposes in Scotland. Though the metal token was adopted in ST. ANDREWS parish in 1590, cards were again in use in 1596, and continued at least until 1656.⁵ On April 13th, 1588, the GLASGOW Kirk Session

5. In "Faithful Contendings Displayed" (Michael Shields), Mr Robert Hamilton, in a letter to the societies, dated 7th Dec., 1685, refers to the treatment meted out to Rathillet by his

“appoint some to speak to the Baileys about making a new stamp and carts for tickets.” In the same minute “the Session appoints new tickets to be made with the penitent’s silver marked with this sign, 1588.” Five years later, on 9th August, 1593, “the Session allows 50 shillings for stamping of the tickets of lead.” From these extracts it will be sufficiently plain that both cards and tokens were introduced at a very early period in the history of our Scottish Reformed Church. The material of which these metal passports were made was most frequently though not always *lead*. In 1603 the GLASGOW token was *tin*. A *tin* token was also in use at KIRKMABRECK. *Brass* was used at AUCHTERLESS, FETTERESSO, FORGUE, FYVIE, and METHVEN. At CAMPBELLTOWN the token was struck out of thin *sheet-iron*. *Silver* tokens were not used in Scotland, but those of CROWN COURT CHAPEL, LONDON, were of that superior metal. Such, too, were the tokens of the Presbyterian Church at CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, dated 1800. *Nickel silver* was used at LIVERPOOL by the Shaw Street Reformed Presbyterians. The token of the First R.P. Church of NEW YORK CITY was made of *ivory*. When the Lord’s Supper was first dispensed to the Secession congregation at CERES in 1743 the tokens used were pieces of *leather*. For that occasion 2000 were made, about the size of a shilling and with a hole in the centre. Tokens of *copper* belong almost entirely to the nineteenth century.

II.—THE TOKEN: ITS MANUFACTURE AND DESIGN.

By the necessity of the times the Church of the Reformation in Scotland was no doubt snared into regarding the Sacraments too largely as instruments in the Church’s discipline. To this fact is due the presence of so much iron among her nobler features. The thoroughness with which she entered into her new discipline may be seen in the habit of appointing elders to give

brethren. After commenting on the fact of his being debarred from Communion, he adds, “We went to Mr John Hog to see what was the cause; who told us that the elders had done it without his advice, and thereupon gave out tickets to Mr Thomas Douglas to give to Rathillet, whereupon that great witness for Christ would not accept of it.” (Edition by John Howie of Lochgoin, Glasgow, 1780. p. 218.)

their personal superintendence to the making of the tokens. Thus at PERTH the Session Records in 1681, 1683, and 1685 tell of the appointment of "attenders on the striking of the tickets." The two methods in the manufacture of tokens were "striking" and "moulding." The "striking off the tickets" was done by means of an iron punch which was placed on sheet-metal and hammered, the impressions being cut off to any size or shape. A good example of this may be seen in the ECCLEFECHAN Associate token, which is a round impression struck on sheet lead and cut to oblong, square, or diamond shape (vide Dumfriesshire illustrations, 56-58). Or the lead was poured into a wooden or stone mould, then struck with the punch. The earlier DUMFRIES tokens have thus received a rude octagonal impression in a heavy shapeless frame (illus. 1-3). Such a token punch is that of the BEREAN CHURCH, EDINBURGH, preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities (vide Brook, p. 23). A third method of striking tokens was by means of an iron stamp, or punch, in a box. From the end of this box the tokens were struck out to a uniform size bearing the desired impression. The SWINTON AND SIMPRIN token is from a stamp and box of this sort (Burns, p. 453). At DORNOCK, Dumfriesshire (illus. 44), the thin sheet-lead was apparently cut into small squares, and each square hand-punched with two separate irons to receive incuse impressions of the capitals DC. This accounts for the fact that no two issues have been struck exactly alike. On some tokens the initial of the place is merely scratched with a sharp point on small pieces of sheet-lead and cut to shape. A good example of this is seen at HALTWHISTLE, where the small token bearing the letter H is known to belong to the same period as the old pewter Communion Cups dated 1745. About the year 1828 it is mentioned in the Haltwhistle Kirk-Session Records that there were 33 tokens for the use of communicants. The method largely adopted was "moulding." Ancient moulds were made of stone, iron, and sometimes even wood. In rural parishes stone moulds were preferred to iron as being easier to make and requiring less skill to use. When soft stones could be had, as the Water of Ayr, or the Cam Stone, slate, or any such workable material, they were usually employed. From moulds like these have come some of our finest tokens. The halves of the mould were locked together by means of pegs or bolts or other contri-

vance, and thus made ready to receive the molten lead. CRAIL and SALTOUN parish tokens are from stone moulds that have been preserved, and an old token mould is said to be in the Museum at Thornhill (Burns, p. 452). In later times the token moulds were made of brass or iron. Dumfriesshire instances are mentioned in the notes under DUMFRIES ST. MICHAEL'S 1829, LOCHMABEN ASSOCIATE, and ST. MUNGO PARISH 1830. Some Churches still possess their token stamps and moulds. Others have allowed them to wander from their rightful guardianship into public museums or private possession. A still greater lack of veneration has permitted more to get destroyed and to disappear. Witness the treatment suffered by the calme of the token of the Reformed Presbyterian Church at HIGHTAE. The reverse of this token (vide illus. 67) is illustrated here. In his endeavour to corroborate his attribution the writer came across an old villager who when a lad in his father's home had the iron mould to play with. What came of it he could not tell, but fancied it would get thrown out when the paternal home was broken up many years ago. Other such moulds would find their way to the place of scrap-iron, and change their form to serve some other no doubt useful if more secular end. The rude workmanship of many 17th and 18th century tokens is sufficient evidence that the duty of making new tokens was frequently laid upon the town or village blacksmith, whose chisel and hammer were his stamp and mould. Kirk-Session Records attest the fact. Time and again recurs the charge "to the smith for tickets" (RATTRAY, 1666); "paid to the Smith who made the tokens at the Sacrament ffour Pound" (KEMBACK, 1709). In EDINBURGH (1579) it was John Mosman, goldsmith, who executed the work. Patrick Guthrie, who did a like duty for ST. ANDREWS (1590), was also a goldsmith. But pewterer, plumber, and even the wright, were commissioned for the work. Thus, "John Ross peuterer for tokens 12s. Lead for tokens 2s 6d" (TAIN, 1748). In the notes under HOLYWOOD will be seen that the maker of the tokens there, and possibly for many of the places around Dumfries, was James Simson or Simpson, glazier in Dumfries. While many of



HIGHTAE

the earlier tokens are rude both in form and design, it may be noted that some are really fine. A glance over Mr Brook's carefully drawn illustrations, or better still, an examination of the pieces themselves on the collector's tray, will make this clear. There is a pleasing variety of shape. *Circles* and *squares*,



GLENCAIRN.



GLENCAIRN.

oblongs and *ovals*, are agreeably interspersed with *hearts*, (as at AIRTH, ALLOA, CLACKMANNAN, DOLPHINTON, DUNFERMLINE, KIRKMABRECK, KIRKTON, KIRKURD, LESWALT, and RERRICK); *diamonds*, (CLUNY, CROY, FORRES, GLASGOW FREE PRESBYTERIAN 1783, OCHILTREE, RAFFORD, and SALINE); *star-shapes*, (DENNY, KINFAUNS, LADY GLENORCHY'S, and MUIR-AVONSIDE); *triangles*, (ABERLADY, HUMBIE, KIRKBEAN, and LAMINGTON); *hexagons*, (DYSART, MINNI-



KIRKBEAN



HADDINGTON

GAFF, and SOUTHEND RELIEF); *octagons*, (AMULREE, CAMPSIE RELIEF, COMRIE, DULL, DUNBOG, EDZELI, FORTINGALL, LESMAHAGOW, and ST. BOSWELLS); the *laver-shaped* token of BAVINGTON; the *clock-shaped* token of PAISLEY CANAL STREET RELIEF; the *shield* token of HADDINGTON; the *quatrefoil* of NORTH LEITH; the *trefoil*, and many another device. When we come to consider the obverse and reverse designs we find a great host of a type that is severe, simple, and even rude. These have one initial or more, with or without a date. Others are embellished with decorations of sign and emblem. Among these the following may be men-

tioned:—*A heart*, (EVIE & RENDALL, GRANGE, MOCHURUM, and SORBIE); *a bird*, (ANWOTH, DUMBARTON, A.C., EDINBURGH ALL SAINTS, GIRTHON, KETTLE U.P., MAXTON, STAIR F.C., and TARBOLTON F.C.); *Town and City Arms*, (ABERDEEN, ARBROATH, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, HADDINGTON, KIRKCALDY, MELROSE, MONTROSE, PEEBLES, PERTH, PAISLEY, ROXBURGH, and ST. ANDREWS); *burning bush*, (ABERNETHY, CAMPBELLTOWN 1803, CUMBERNAULD, DUNNICHEN, DYCE, FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND “bush patterns,” and the “Amo Amo” tokens of the North); *a lighted candle*, (AIRTH—the lamp of Airth); *a star*, (CONTIN, COYLTON, CULROSS, DALSERF, NEW DEER, and WOOLER); *a flower*, (DUNDEE, KIRKCOLM, and PORTPATRICK); *a vine*, (KILWINNING); *a thistle*, (LARGO); *a Church*, (ALYTH, BIGGAR, BLAIRGOWRIE, LANARK, LIBBERTON, PEEBLES, ST. MONANCE, SOUTH LEITH, and TARBOLTON); *a Cross*, (BALMERINO, CAMPBELLTOWN, FORFAR, LANGTON, MARYPORT, PANBRIDE, and ST. MUNGO); *Cross standing on closed Bible* (SOUTH LEITH); *Open Bible*, (INVERKIP, ANWOTH, GIRTHON, and WHITHORN); *Communion Table*, (APPLEGARTH & SIBBALDBIE,



HADDINGTON



CARSPHAIRN



AYR

CANADIAN STOCK, and LOCHMABEN); *Communion Cup*, (AYR, CARSPHAIRN, COLINSBURGH RELIEF, DUNINO, GLENISLA, MONKTON, and NEWBURN); *Communion Bread*, (AYR, CARSPHAIRN, DALMELLINGTON, and DALRYMPLE); *Sand-glass*, (CARNBEE); *The Sun*, (PORT OF MENTEITH); *Fish*, (NORTHMAVEN—supposed to stand for ICHTHUS, the Greek word for fish, and made up of the initials of the Greek words for Jesus Christ—of God—the Son—Saviour); *serpent*, (ELGIN); *pentacle*, (RUTHWELL); and the

mystic concentric parallel circles rising from central hollow to rim in the token of GATESHEAD Presbyterian Church, 1818. These, with innumerable commonplaces thrown in between, lie in close proximity, and are selected at random from the pages of Mr Brook and Mr Dick, or from the trays of a moderate-sized collection. Clever hand-tooling is seen on the GIRTHON token, dated 1794. Here the workman has been a man of no mean skill. On the writer's tray is one of this type in which the artist has been interrupted in his work, for it bears only the letters W T engraved, with unfinished star between, without date or anything on the obverse. Perhaps the most interesting piece from the point of view of symbolism is KIRKOWAN, 1742. The man who made this token was a scholar, or had a scholar at his elbow.



KIRKOWAN



KIRKOWAN

On the obverse is accurately and skilfully reproduced the Hebrew word אֹת "oth" or "token" (Exodus xii, 13), the Old Testament "Blood-token" of the Passover. On the reverse is a T for token, and a heart, the "Love-token" of the New Testament Passover. Doubtless the designer of this piece was the cultured minister, the Rev. James McClellan, A.M. (1719-1743), who would not fail to instruct communicants on the complete nature of the symbolism borne by the leaden passport which was to admit them to the Lord's Table. Devotees of this cult must have noticed that almost more than those of any other district the Dumfriesshire tokens conform to the severest and least ornate types. Conventional squares and circles, and the more modern ovals and oblongs with cut and uncut corners make up the Dumfriesshire tray. Octagons at LANGHOLM and CANONBIE, and three shapeless octagons at DUMFRIES, are barely sufficient to redeem the charge. No, not even when to these are added the Communion tables of LOCHMABEN and APPLE-GARTH, or the characteristic design of the eccentric incumbent of ST. MUNGO, or the pentacle-token of Dr Henry Duncan at

RUTHWELL. There not being "any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath" it is well for Dumfriesshire if she be as clear of guilt on the nine other counts of the Decalogue as she is, at least in the matter of token types, on the second. The Stewartry has more to answer for—a triangle at KIRKBEAN, a dove and open Bible at ANWOTH and GIRTHON, two hearts at RERRICK, a transfixed heart at KIRKMABRECK, a bleeding heart at ANWOTH. These are a few items. Deviations from absolute severity of type might be gathered in almost every corner of the Stewartry. In Wigtownshire these types are repeated with emphasis. Such a display of symbolic emotionalism is unequalled among the tokens of any other district in Scotland. Across the Grampians and in the land of the Celt emotionalism has less need of a symbol, for there it gives itself a voice. There and there only do we hear the sacramental cry, "Love, Love" (ARDCLACH, AVOCH, CAWDOR, and KIRKHILL). There, too, may be heard in a strangely un-Celtic tongue this vehement protestation, "Amo, Amo" (AVOCH, FEARN, NAIRN, and SPEYMOUTH)—with a pardonable over-accentuation of the opening of the 116th Psalm—though this is supposed by some to be the blundered rendering (for Amor, Amor) of the former cry, by one whose learning has done scrimp justice to his legend, and whose skill or eccentricity has made for "burning bush" a blazing field of stubble. Tokens with *unusual lettering* or *unfamiliar texts* are welcomed by the collector. On some may be seen the words "Sacramental token" (DUMFRIES 1829, BRYDEKIRK 1836, IRONGRAY F.C. 1843, RUTHWELL 1830). On others it is "Communion token" (ANSTRUTHER EASTER, DUMFRIES NEW CHURCH 1830, DUMFRIES ST. MARY'S, MAXWELL-TOWN PARISH 1830, PETËRHEAD). The letter "T" is found occasionally (KEMBACK, KIRKOWAN, LAURENCE-KIRK, SLAMANNAN), while "Token" appears sometimes in full (CULTS, HIGHTAE R.P., KEITHHALL & KINKELL, KNOCKBAIN F., NEWCASTLE JOHN KNOX), and sometimes contracted as "Tok" (PEEBLES, TWEEDSMUIR, WHITEKIRK & TYNINGHAME), or "Tokn" (ECCLESMA-CHAN, DALMENY). The "CT" on the token of LUSS possibly stands for "Communion Token." The "CD" at OCHILTREE are the initials of "Coena Domini" or "The

Supper of the Lord." Old FORFAR and RESCOBIE tokens have "L T" for "Lord's Table." "Token of admission to the Lord's Table" is inscribed on those of KIRKMICHAEL F.C. (Dumfriesshire) and ALYTH. "Tokens of Love for Loth" at LOTH, "Sic itur ad astra" at INVERURIE, and "Unitas" at FALKLAND are interesting types. Almost unique is the letter "K" for Kirk on an associate token (KENNOWAY), or on a Relief (DUNNING). On the reverse of the MUSSELBURGH token "Relief Kirk" is the lettering. "Relief Chapel" occurs on tokens of RICCARTON (Ayrshire), and KILMARNOCK, and "Relief Church" at ST. NINIAN'S. "Chapel" appears on Established Church tokens at ARDOCH, MAXWELLTOWN (Troqueer Chapel), GLASGOW GAELIC, and PAISLEY GAELIC. At GARTMORE it is "Garthmore Chappel." The letters "I H S" we might look for on Episcopal tokens (FORFAR, FYVIE, LOCHLEE), but they are unusual on a Presbyterian (EVIE & RENDALL and ST. MUNGO), and possibly unique on a U.P. (LEVEN), where the letters, though



LEVEN



LANGTON

intended primarily for "Jesus Hominum Salvator," also stand for the initials of the minister. The letters "INRI" (Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum) over a cross (LANGTON) are hardly looked for on a token of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. On the MORDINGTON token the letters TH are the initials of Thomas Hay, the Laird of Mordington, who in 1721 presented to this parish the Rev. John Law, minister of a Presbyterian Church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1706-1721). BY / YS coming after I O: 13 / 35, and signifying "By this" or the first two words of the text, is decidedly curious, and is seen at GREENOCK. DOUBLE on the reverse of the BROUGHTON token is interesting. "Only Believe" (QUEENSFERRY), "Believe, Love, and Obey" (MONTROSE METHODIST), and "Faith, Love, Knowledge, Repentance" (ST. VIGEANS), are

types similar in character. In Glasgow U.P. Churches occur "For a Friend of Jesus" (SHAMROCK STREET), "For the Friend of Jesus" (JOHN STREET), "For the Friend of Christ" (GREENHEAD, RUTHERGLEN, and also FALKIRK), and at GLASGOW ST. PAUL'S we have surrounding the city arms the prayer, "Lord let Glasgow flourish through the preaching of Thy word." "Remember Christ died for you" is the script legend across the face of the OLD MELDRUM token. On the HUNTLY ASSOCIATE, 1815, the letters M V D, signifying "Minister Verbi Dei," follow the minister's initials. "Keep the Feast" (LESMAHAGOW), "Ye shew the Lord's death" (DUNBLANE A.C., 1837), and "We will remember Thy love" (DUNDEE, TAY SQUARE, 1834), are types not often repeated. Like such legends, "texts" did not appear on tokens until the close of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century. The stock texts were, "But let a man examine himself" (I. Corin. xi. 28), and "This do in remembrance of ME" (I. Corin. xi. 24), and these were subject to variations. On the INVERNESS QUEEN STREET U.P. token both these texts are rendered in Gaelic thus:—"Ceasnuicheadh / duine e fein / deanaibh so / mar chuimhneachan / ormsa." The token of the Original Seceders at SUNART & ARDNAMURCHAN (1836) bears a similar inscription. The following text also appears:—"As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do shew the Lord's death till He come" (I. Corin. xi. 26), INVERNESS WEST 1840; final portions of the same, at HADDINGTON WEST A.C. 1824, and BRIDGE-OF-ALLAN U.P. 1849; "This cup is the New Covenant [for Testament] in My Blood" (I. Corin. xi. 25) KEITHHALL & KINKELL; "Drink ye all of it" (Matt. xxvi. 27) COUPAR-ANGUS SECESSION; "My flesh is meat indeed," "My blood is drink indeed" (John vi. 55) EDINBURGH ALL SAINTS EPISCOPAL; "Christ died for us" (Rom. v. 8) ABERDEEN ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL; the same rendered in Latin, "Chr. mort. pro nobis," MONTROSE EPISCOPAL, and PETERHEAD EPISCOPAL; "Who gave Himself for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity" (Titus ii. 14), ALYTH, and KIRKMICHAEL F.C. 1859; "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity" (II. Tim. ii. 19), ARDERSEIR 1842, and GLASGOW, ANDERSTON U.P.; "The Lord knoweth them that are his" (II. Tim.

ii. 19) DOLLAR 1830, FERRYPORT-ON-CRAIG F.C. 1843, LOCKERBIE F.C. 1843, MONKTON F.C. 1843, ST ANDREWS A.C.; "Lovest thou ME" (John xxi. 16), ANSTRUTHER EASTER 1840, LOCHMABEN F.C. 1843, NEWTON-STEWART RELIEF, PETERHEAD 1840; "On earth peace and goodwill towards men" (Luke ii. 14), MAXTON; "Peace," "Thou knowest" (John xx. 26, xxi. 17), NEWTON-STEWART RELIEF; "We would see Jesus" (John xii. 21), SOUTHWICK & KIRKBEAN F.C. 1843; "The Lord is at hand" (Phil. iv. 5), KIRKMICHAEL F.C. 1859; "My Beloved is mine and I am His" (Song of Sol. ii. 10), DUNDEE HILLTOWN F.C. 1843; "What have I to do any more with idols?" (Hosea xiv. 8), DULL; "I will wash mine hands in innocency; so will I compass Thine altar, O Lord," (Psa. xxvi. 6), DUNNICHEN, 1842; "The isles shall wait for His law" (Isai. xlii. 4), NEW ZEALAND R.P. MISSION, 1844; "He is the head of the body, the Church" (Colos. i. 18), MAKERS-TOUN F.C. 1851. Many other texts might be added, but these will show that even in tokens of modern design it was possible to introduce some little variety at least in the choice of text. A similar variety is observable in tokens that do not quote the verse in full but simply give the reference, as I. Cor. xi., 28, 29; John vi. 55, and so on. The more uncommon references include the following: Proverbs iv. 23 (GRANGE); xxiii. 26 (GLASS); Colos. i. 20 (LANGTON and RENTON); ii. 6 (COLDINGHAM); Ps. 116 (CARSPHAIRN and DALMELLINGTON); Rev. iii. 20 (GLASGOW, SHAMROCK ST. U.P.); John xiii. 35 (GREENOCK). One of the most interesting references of this sort is Ephesians iv. 2, 3, found on the heart-shaped DUNFERMLINE (1753) token of Thomas Gillespie, who seceded in that year and founded the Relief Church. All things being considered, his choice of a text seems as remarkable as it is significant: "With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Surely the enduring apologia of a refined and beautiful spirit! Obsolete names for some parishes have been perpetuated by means of the Com-



DUNFERMLINE.

munion Tokens. Thus the MF in monogram on the FYVIE brass for "Meiklefolla;" MK on the KILSYTH token of date 1755, for "Monyabroch Kirk;" "Conveth" for LAURENCE-KIRK; "Seil" for KILBRANDON & KILCHATTAN; and IK on the token of BUCHANAN (1712) for "Inchcalzeoch Kirk." Ancient and illiterate spellings may be noticed on many pieces. A few instances will suffice: "Afflek" for AUCHINLECK; "Air" for AYR; "Balbiggie" for BALBEGGIE A.C.; "Damhelentoun" for DALMELLINGTON; "Monigoff" for Minnigaff; "Minnihive" for MONIAIVE A.C.; "Machline" for MAUCHLINE; "Musslburgh" for Musselburgh R.; "Neubigging" for NEWBIGGING A.C.; "Yethlom" for YETHOLM A.C.; and others. The word "Relief" appears to have been an ancient source of trouble. At CAMPSIE in 1786 it is rendered "Releif," and "Relife" at Couper-Angus in 1791. Peculiarities like these, and there are many others, lend an interest to the pursuit of what might be made a very instructive hobby.



MONIAIVE.

III.—THE ANTIQUE: ITS SURVIVAL AND INTEREST.

In olden days Communion Tokens were struck on a handsome scale. Thus it is recorded in the minutes of the GLASGOW Kirk-Session, 31st May, 1664, "that all the old tickets be struck upon the back with a 4th figure and new ones made, and out of the new and old to be made 4000." On a similar scale, according to the requirements of the parish, tokens were struck in these large numbers. The notable thing is that few if any of these early century tokens have survived. Many ancient pieces are of unknown date. The period of others is determined by the initials of the minister. Of these a comparatively small number belong to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. A list will be found in the succeeding chapter. Fewer still bear a seventeenth century date. Of these also a list is added. The question

arises, how comes it so few of these old Sacramental passports are to be found? In the COLDINGHAM Session Records, 19th July, 1696, it is "reputed by the minister and J. Smith, elder, that they had agreed with Joseph Foster, plumber, to make 1000 tickets to be cast in a mould for the use of the Church the letters to be first syllable of this parish." A few out of such a hoard were almost certain to survive, but where are the thousand? The answer to our query is manifold. Communion Tokens having become in the hands of the Church instruments of discipline, a peculiar, an almost superstitious sanctity attached to them in the mind of the people two and a half centuries ago. They were carried about from place to place, and at certain periods were vouchers sufficient to obtain the sacrament in different parishes. Thus many tokens migrated and failed to find their way back. So venerated, too, was the token that church members at their decease were wont to have their tokens interred with them. This must account for the disappearance of a few more. But the main reason no doubt is that the older pieces went into the melting-pot as lead, towards the casting of the new issues. Diminished as they must have been through migrations, burials, and the habit of non-communicating members neglecting to return them, the older tokens when melted down invariably required a fresh supply of metal added to make up the necessary number. We see an instance of this in the Holywood Session Records, 4th August, 1737, quoted in full in Chapter V. (page 93). The same is implied in the minute at Rattray, 1st September, 1689—"Abraham Low in Cowper Grange, for making the Communion tickets and furnishing some lead to them lib. 03:00:00." For many tokens, therefore, migration would simply mean a change of melting-pot and a mingling of their substance with that of strangers. Notwithstanding all such hazards, many interesting pieces are still to be had. Some owe their survival to migration, others to circumstances that can never be traced. Many have escaped owing to their having been neglected, while more, if not most, of the tokens found on collectors' trays are there because of their late and continuous use. Indeed, it must be said that for collectors interest is mainly derived from the fact that so many ancient pieces are still procurable. Facile princeps in interest, and therefore among the most difficult to procure, are

the tokens that were used by the Scottish Covenanters. At their great Communion festivals, whether in the Lothians or on the Irongray Hills or under the dark-browed sentinel at the head of the Irvine valley, the Covenanters made use of small metal tokens. This one can easily believe. In days

“When saintly men, who served the Lord,
In safety could not dwell;
When Tyranny was on the throne,
And Freedom in the cell,”

—(*Joseph Swan, Dumfries, "The Enterkin."*)

if it was difficult to find a printing press to strike off the necessary paper tickets, or inconvenient to write them out, it was an easy matter to get a blacksmith or other craftsman to strike or mould any number of small metal tokens. Three thousand Covenanters took Sacrament on Skeoch Hill at the Communion Stones in Irongray, where stands to-day a granite obelisk of commemoration. If each communicant had a metal token such as those figured on the last page of Mr Brook's work, one wonders where the thousands have disappeared to! Five varieties, and five only, of these Covenanter tokens were known to Mr Brook, but when his work was written there were at least six. Indeed until the destruction of the Kilmarnock collection (on November 26th, 1909), a sixth existed, for there the writer saw a round token larger than the five little oblongs referred to above. It bore an inscription similar to those which ran—"I am / ye bred=of / lyfe" "I am=the / vine" "I am= the / way" "Give / me =thy / hart" "holi / nes: to=the / lord." The Kilmarnock variety was stated to have been found in the neighbourhood of Loudon Castle or Loudon Hill—which, the writer cannot be sure. What matters it, for it too is gone! Almost equal to



DRON.

these in interest is the DRON PARISH metal bearing the initials of Alexander Pitcairne and the date 1688. He is spoken of as "one of the most powerful and remarkable men of his time." Admitted to the parish of Dron in 1656, his sympathies and influence were strongly on the side of the Covenanters. In consequence of this he was deprived in 1662 by Acts both of the Parliament and of the Privy Council. Being a man of outstand-

ing courage he defied the authorities and remained in his charge for nearly twenty years. In this defiant course he was encouraged by Leighton, then Bishop of Dunblane. At last the Synod was constrained to institute proceedings against him which necessitated his withdrawal from the parish. Thereupon the persecution to which he was subjected became such that in 1681 he and others departed to Holland. Six years later he returned to Scotland secretly. Not till the following year, however, a year momentous to the suffering Kirk and fraught with great changes for the whole country, did the tidings of the return of their beloved pastor reach the parish of Dron. To the parishioners of Dron the return of Pitcairne from Holland was hardly less important than the Revolution itself. In 1690 he was reinstated in his old charge and ministered there for other five years, when he was promoted to the Principalship of St. Andrews University. The old token which dates from most probably the year 1690 was struck to commemorate the two events—the return of Alexander Pitcairne (A.P.) and the coming of the Revolution (1688). Of a similar interest, and no doubt of greater rarity, is the Old TONGLAND Token which bears the initials of Samuel Arnot, the Covenanting minister of that parish. An extended note on him will be found in the following chapter (pages 66, 67). The story of this token, one of the most interesting survivals owing to migration, is told by Mr Robert Shiells in his "Story of the Token" (p. 61). To the intelligent collector this subject has the deepest fascination when tokens are procured which are connected in a direct way with leading actors in the great ecclesiastical movements in our country, or with men of other historical, literary, or biographical note. A few of these we shall proceed to mention. On the writer's tray is a piece the story of whose migration and survival is not without interest. The Rev. Thomas Nairn, who was ordained at KIRKCALDY (ABBOTSHALL) in 1710, had a



KIRKCALDY,
(ABBOTSHALL)



KIRKCALDY,
(ABBOTSHALL)

token struck in the year 1735 as illustrated. In 1737 he joined the Associate Presbytery, his reason for doing so being the reading of the Porteous Act which had just then come into force. Five years later the question of renewing the Covenants came up among the Seceders at the instigation of the Old Conservative party, whose headquarters were in Edinburgh. In the course of discussion things were said derogatory to the Old Dissenters or Cameronians with whose views not only Thomas Nairn, but also Thomas Mair of Orwell and Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, were not greatly out of sympathy. However, at the critical moment Nairn found himself alone, so in 1743 he joined M'Millan and thus enabled the Cameronians to form the first Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, at Braehead in the parish of Dalsersf. Doubtless Nairn carried over his tokens with him for use in each of the congregations and denominations he served. Hence one of his Cameronian Communicants sojourning in the Quarrelwood (parish of Kirkmahoe) district would obtain Sacrament there by handing in the Abbotshall Token. To its having thus migrated, and become mixed with the Quarrelwood R.P. tokens, which were never melted for re-issue, this token, no doubt, owes its survival, and we believe many a similar story historically or biographically interesting might be told if owners would pursue inquiries and make their discoveries known. Another prize to the collector is the little oblong of NEW LUCE. This piece has inscription NEW: / LWCE ·, and was presumably the token in use during the ministry of Alexander Peden, the Seer of the Covenant. Better ground is there for believing that the token of SIMPRIN dated 1705 was that of Thomas Boston, author of "The Fourfold Estate." Quite equal in interest are the tokens of those men who created new chapters in the history of the Scottish Church. Now that the faintest and farthest away echoes of our ancient ecclesiastical wars are being hushed, and the spirit of amity and union has taken the air, Scottish Christianity is perceptibly rising to a more generous and truer appreciation of the testimony of men like Hepburn of Urr, M'Millan of Balmaghie, Gilchrist of Dunscore, Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, his brother Ralph of Dunfermline, Fisher of Kinclaven, Wilson of Perth, Moncrieff of Abernethy, Nairn of Abbotshall, Mair of Orwell, and Gillespie of Carnock. Of increasing interest, therefore, must

tokens become which are connected with these great names. The small oblong of PORTMOAK, bearing the initials P · M / · K ·, was possibly in use during the ministry of Ebenezer Erskine, who was ordained there in Sept., 1703. On 8th July, 1731, he was inducted at Stirling, West Church. Suspended by Commission of Assembly in November, 1733, he and his three brethren, Fisher, Wilson, and Moncrieff, on 5th December, met at Gairney Bridge and formed the first Associate Presbytery. For seven years the Seceding Fathers retained possession of their pulpits until the year 1740, when acts of deposition and expulsion were carried into effect. The "Ebenezer Erskine" token of STIRLING, bearing initials E.E. and date 1742, is one comparatively easy to obtain. Not so procurable is that of Ralph Erskine, the Sonneteer of the Secession. Ordained to the col-



DUNFERMLINE



DUNFERMLINE.

legiate charge of DUNFERMLINE in 1711, he took part along with his brother in the Marrow Controversy, and stood by the brethren suspended in 1733. Though he did not withdraw from the Establishment till 1737, he was present at Gairney Bridge at the forming of the first Associate Presbytery. Mair, Nairn, James Thomson of Burntisland, and he were associated with the first four in the acts of libel and deposition of 1740. The Ralph Erskine token of this year, illustrated above, is an interesting link with an important chapter in Scottish Church history. Another exciting passage was the intrusion of Mr Richardson upon the Inverkeithing Parish in 1752. To this event the Relief Church in Scotland owes its origin. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock and five others laid on the table of the Assembly a signed protest against this unpopular settlement. The result was that Gillespie was selected for discipline, and, within twenty-four hours, "without a libel, without any formal process, was arraigned, condemned, and deposed." Ordained in January,

1741, "by a respectable class of dissenting ministers, Dr Doddridge acting as moderator," Gillespie returned immediately to Scotland and was presented to CARNOCK in the following August. The token of this parish, dated 1746, was therefore struck during his ministry. We are told it was through the instrumentality of Boston of Ettrick (1707-1732) that "Gillespie was brought to the saving knowledge of the truth." After his deposition in 1752 he removed to Dunfermline and preached in the barn used by Ralph Erskine while Queen Anne Street Church was being erected. The heart-shaped DUNFERMLINE token, dated 1753, is thus commemorative of the beginning of Gillespie's Relief ministry and of the Relief Church. Not far removed in interest and of much greater scarcity is the COLINSBURGH



DUNFERMLINE.



COLINSBURGH.



COLINSBURGH.

Relief token, dated 1762. It is worthy of note that Gillespie had for his earliest comrade Thomas Boston, the son of his spiritual father, and who succeeded the famous divine in Ettrick in 1733. Promoted to Oxnam parish in 1749, he demitted his charge in 1757, and severed his connection with the Establishment. He then became minister of the Relief Church in Jedburgh. At the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Colier at Colinsburgh, in October, 1761, Gillespie, Boston, and Colier, the three Thomases, formed themselves into the first Presbytery of Relief. Of historical interest, too, are the ABERNETHY Parish token, dated 1722, and the ABERNETHY ASSOCIATE, of date 1748. Rev. Alexander Moncrieff, M.A., was ordained to this parish in 1720. Seceding with Erskine in 1733 he became Professor of Theology in the Associate Theological College on the death of Wilson in 1741. His eldest son, Matthew Moncrieff, became his colleague and successor in 1749 and he died in 1761. Another of the

Secession Fathers was the Rev. James Fisher, during whose KINCLAVEN ministry, 1725-1740, the old token of that name may have been struck, and certainly was in use. The year of the great revival is recalled by the date 1742 upon the token of CAMBUSLANG Parish. It also bears the initials of the Rev. William M'Culloch, whose name along with those of the Rev. James Robe of Kilsyth, Thomas Gillespie of Dunfermline, and the renowned George Whitefield will ever be associated with that remarkable movement. To students of hymnology the BALMAGHIE token, dated 1770, will have an interest as shewing the initials of the Rev. Samuel Martin, hymn-writer and author of the 12th Paraphrase. Artistic pieces are found at RATHILLET (A.C. 1782) and KILMANY of the same year. The name of the one is that which will keep alive, in Scotland at least, the memory of Hackston the Covenanter, "that great witness for Christ." The Kilmany token will always have its name associated with that of the Rev. Dr Thomas Chalmers, the leader of the Disruption in 1843, and would certainly be the token in use during Chalmers' ministry there (1803-1815). Other tokens might easily be added to the list of those already mentioned, but these will suffice to show what avenues of interest are opened up to the intelligent and studious collector of these little antiques which are fast becoming articles of virtu.

On the method of arranging and exhibiting tokens a good deal might be said. Of course we are aware every collector is apt to regard his own method preferable to or at least as good as that of any other. It will be admitted, however, that the interest and value of a collection largely depends on its arrangement and method. One or two considerations may prove helpful to some collectors who are not too far advanced and who may be in difficulty on just such points as these. First of all, tokens, like coins, should be kept from rubbing against each other. The position of each token should be fixed, at least relatively, and fixed in such a way that the token will be disfigured on neither side. Further, tokens should be so exhibited as not to require fingering. Whether arranged alphabetically or not it is a decided advantage, almost a necessity, for each token to have under or over it the name of the parish or church to which it belongs. Again, in the case of advanced collections inspection is made easier, pleasanter, and more profitable if along with the designa-

tion there can be read at a glance any information of special interest connected with the token. It is surprising into how little space much legible information can be placed. Without attention to points like these the tendency is for large collections to become less interesting as they increase in size.

IV.—ANCIENTS DEFINITELY KNOWN TO BELONG TO THE PERIOD
1560—1799.

Under this heading we give a list of tokens bearing decided evidence that they belong to the period indicated.

(a) **XVth and XVIIth Century Tokens, whose date is ascertained by Minister's Initials, arranged according to age.**

1. AUCHTERDERRAN. GB / ·A· for George Boswell, 1567-1596. S., with border, 9.

This token is recorded in Brook's alphabetical list, but is not illustrated. It is the only one of the earlier century that has come under the notice of the present writer.

2. BANCHORY-TERNAN. R:R for Robert Reid, minister here in 1602. Obl. 12 × 10.

3. LEUCHARS. *Obverse*, L. *Reverse*, MAH in monogram, for Mr Alexander Henderson, 1614-1638. Almost r., 8. Brook 729.

This is the great Alexander Henderson who, along with Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, planned the renewal of the National Covenant and contributed a section to the historic document that was signed in the Churchyard of Greyfriars on the 28th of February, 1638. It was the same Alexander Henderson who drew up the Solemn League and Covenant which, on the 25th of September, 1643, in St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, was signed by 220 members of the House of Commons and by the great Westminster Assembly divines. His friend and colleague, Robert Baillie, minister of Kilwinning and Principal of Glasgow University, regarded him "the fairest ornament, after John Knox of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy." His token was found amongst the

well-nigh obliterated foundations of an old dwelling on Tents Moor, Fife, and was identified by means of the monogram which appears on the seal of a letter sent by Henderson to the Dowager-Countess of Mar, dated 26th June, 1631.

4. MUIRAVONSIDE. *Obverse*, M K, large capitals. *Reverse*, M / R·H, for Mr Robert Halie, 1616-1626. R. 13. Brook 851.
5. CROMDALE. M / D D, for Mr David Dick, 1623-1638. S. 8. Brook, not illustrated.
6. KIRKWALL, ST OLA. *Obverse*, O I. A. *Reverse*, M / I h, for Mr James Heind, 1629-1641. Obl. 11 × 10. Brook 692.
7. DUNKELD. A R, for Alexander Rollock, 1639-1645. Obl., with c.c. and serrated border, 12 × 11. Brook 340. Burns, Plate III.

A variety of this token is square, with corners uncut and having a serrated border, 10.
8. FORGUE. M / A G, for Mr Alexander Garden, 1645-*circa* 1666. Brass, s., with border, 10. Brook 437. Burns, Plate III.

This is the earliest brass token known to the writer with the possible exception of Fyvie (M F in monogram for Meiklefolla, an earlier name for the Parish).
9. DUNBOG. ·P A R I S H·D V N B O V G on a circular dotted band, ·M· / I M in centre for Mr John Makgill, 1646-1654. Oct. 12. Brook 328.
10. MARNOCH. M R in monogram, within sunk oblong panel, for Mr (John) Reidfuid, 1648-c. 1680. Obl. 12 × 9.
11. FEARN. M / I C, within sunk oblong panel, for Mr James Cramond, 1653-1690. Almost s. 8. Brook 414. Burns, Plate III.

Chaplain in England to a regiment in the service of
 "the late Unlawful Engagement in war against

England" in 1646, Mr Cramond was "suspended from the renewing of the Covenant, and from the Lord's Supper," by Act of Assembly, 19th July, 1649. It was not till 1651, and after he had given evidences of repentance and of an "unfained detestation and renunciation of that Engagement," was he restored to the functions of the ministry and subsequently became minister of this parish.

12. TONGLAND. T / S·A for Tongland, Samuel Arnot, 1661-1662. S., with serrated border, 11. Brook 1085. Shiells, p. 61.

Regarding this piece suspicion has just been confirmed by J. C. Montgomerie, Esq., Dalmore, Stair, whose reasons for attributing it to St. Andrews Lhanboyd seem quite convincing. In his valuable collection Mr Montgomerie has an old Tongland token which may have belonged to the time of Samuel Arnot, and is possibly unique. It is square, measures 12, and bears the incuse antique capitals, T L.

Whether the Covenanter claimed descent from the Superior of the ancient Monastery of Tongland we cannot tell. But it is interesting to know that in 1516 the monastery was conferred on David Arnot, Bishop of Galloway. Samuel Arnot was the brother of David Arnot of Barcaple. He took his degree at Glasgow University in 1649, and was admitted to Tongland in 1661. Deprived of his living by Acts of Parliament and Privy Council in 1662, Arnot and others took to preaching at Conventicles. In 1663 a complaint was lodged against him in the Privy Council for "still labouring to keep the hearts of the people from the present government in Church and State." Public citations were directed against him in January, 1666, and in August, 1667, for holding conventicles, but he was included in the royal pardon 1st October, 1667. Further orders were issued for his apprehension on 4th June, 1674, and twelve days later a reward of 2000 merks was offered for the capture of John Welsh, of Irongray; Gabriel Semple, of Kirkpatrick-Durham; and Samuel Arnot. Transferring his labours to Cumberland, Northumberland, and Ireland, Arnot returned to Galloway. Here again, on 6th January, 1679, he came under the ban of the Secret Council. This time 9000 merks are

offered for Welsh, 3000 for Semple and Arnot, and 2000 for any other fugitive field preachers. In December, 1684, he was still a prescribed preacher. He died at Edinburgh, 31st March, 1688. In the "Reformed Presbyterian Magazine," February, 1859, will be found a graphic and detailed account of the great Covenanters' Communion services at the Communion Stones on Skeoch Hill in Irongray in 1678. There Arnot of Tongland, Welch or Welsh of Irongray, Blackadder of Troqueer, and Dickson of Rutherglen were each assigned his appropriate function, and the services were carried through, no doubt to the satisfaction and profit of all.

13. BANFF. M / S, for Mr (Alexander) Setone, 1661-1679. S., with border, 11. Burns, Plate III.
14. STRICHEN. M / WS, within circular panel, for Mr William Scott, minister, *circa* 1662. Almost s. 10 × 9. Brook 1052. Burns, Plate III.

Mr Scott allied himself with the Protesters in 1651, and at the Restoration was ejected for not submitting to Episcopacy.
15. HAWICK. *Obverse*, h K, for Hawick Kirk. *Reverse*, M / A K, for Mr Alexander Kynneir, 1663-1667. Upright obl., with border on reverse, 9 × 10. Burns, Plate III.
16. KIRRIEMUIR. *M* / I·K / K K, all within a beaded oval panel, for Mr John Keith, Kirriemuir Kirk, 1663-1668. Upright obl., with rounded top, 12 × 14. Brook 690.
17. GUTHRIE. M / G S, for Mr George Strachan, 1663-1692. S., with border, 8. Brook 502.
18. SELKIRK. SK / I·C, for James Craig, 1666-1676. Upright obl., with trace of border, 11 × 13. Brook 996.
19. STRICHEN. M / I W, for Mr James Whyte, 1669-1690. S., with border, 11. Brook 1053.
20. FINTRAY. M / A F, in grotesque capitals, for Mr Alexander Forbes, 1682-1691. Obl., with border, 8 × 10. Brook 424. Burns, Plate III.

21. DESKFORD. *Obverse*, D, within square panel. *Reverse*, M I H, in monogram, for Mr James Henderson, 1684-1689. Obl., with serrated border on obverse and plain border on reverse, 11 × 10. Brook 289. Burns, Plate I.

A more ancient token of this parish is that with D on obverse and D, with I placed horizontally below, for Patrick Innes, c. 1679.

(b) **Similar Tokens of Ministries running into the XVIIIth Century.**

Under this heading comes a class of Token whose right to be included in this list is only half a degree less than the preceding. While it is not impossible to find Tokens struck during the closing year or years of ministries, it is more frequently the case that Tokens were struck to mark the ministers' admission to their charge. On that ground we admit the following to this list:—

22. CHAPEL OF GARIOCH. M / G C, for Mr George Clerk, 16— to 1702. S., with border, 10. Brook 184.
23. LOGIE-EASTER. M / K M K, incuse. M K in monogram, for Mr Kenneth M'Kenzie, 1665-1715. Obl., with c.c., 11 × 10. Brook 754.
24. CULSALMOND. M / W G, with dot at each corner, for Mr William Garioch, 1666-c. 1711. S., with border, 11. Brook 252. Burns, Plate III.
25. CUSHNIE (now Leochel-Cushnie). M / P C, for Mr Patrick Copland, 1672-1710. Obl., with border, 10 × 9. Brook 264. Burns, Plate III.
26. LOGIE-COLDSTONE. M / T A, for Mr Thomas Alexander, 1680-1715. S. 10. Brook 752.
27. LOGIERAIT. M / M M, for Mr Mungo Moray, 1681-1714. Irregular obl., with border, 12 × 11. Brook 757.

28. KILDRUMMY. M / I A, with dot in centre, all within a circular panel, for Mr John Alexander, 1682-1717. S. 11.
- The Rev. John Alexander was deposed for joining the Standard of the Earl of Mar in 1715, and praying for the Pretender.
29. FORFAR. *Obverse*, F O R / F A R · / · K I R K around three sides of edge; L T, for Lord's Table, in centre. *Reverse*, M / I · S, for Mr James Small, 1687-1716. S. 12. Brook 433.
30. HOLM. J G / H^o, for James Grahame, Holm, 1688-1721. R. 17. Brook 514.
31. LUNDEIFF (afterwards Kinloch). M / I G, within sunk circular panel, for Mr James Gray, 1697-1717. Almost s. 9 × 10. Brook 774. Burns, Plate III.
32. KINELLAR. M / I A, for Mr John Angus, 1697-1723. S., with border, 10. Brook 626. Burns, Plate III.
33. TINWALD. *Obverse*, T N. *Reverse*, M A R, in monogram, for Mr Alexander Robestone, 1697-1761. R., light borders, 11.
- For note on Mr Robestone see Dumfriesshire Catalogue, page 90.
34. CUPAR. *Obverse*, I H, block capitals, for James Hadow (1st charge), 1694-1699. *Reverse*, W G, in monogram, for William Greenlees (2nd charge), 1698-1711. R., with slight border, 12. Burns, Plate III.
35. MORTLACH. M / H I, for Mr Hugh Innes, 1698-1733. Diamond-shaped, with border (point to point), 12. Brook 838.
36. DUNDURCUS (Boharm). M / D D, for Mr David Dalrymple, 1698-1747. R. 12. Brook 333.

(c) XVII. Century Tokens bearing Date, arranged alphabetically.

37. ARDCLACH. A R D C L A C H .∴ around edge, with
·91· in centre for 1691. *Rev.*, S / L O V E / L O V E,
the S retrograde, dot in centre. *R.*, with narrow
border, 15. Brook 53.

38. BALFRON. K*B / 1697. *S.*, with border, 11. Brook 85.
Burns, Plate II.

39. BALLANTRAE. ·B· / 9·3, all within an oblong panel, for
Ballantrae, 1693. *S.*, with border, 9.

A fine specimen of this was in the *Rev. Dr Landsborough's* famous collection which was destroyed by fire in the Dick Institute Museum, Kilmarnock.

40. BOVRTIE. M / A S / 1697. Mr Alexander Sharp, mini-
ster there, 1678-1709. *S.*, with borders, 10.

41. BRECHIN. 16 / B R E C--/--H I N / 78, the N retrograde
Two horizontal lines between name and date. *R.* 14
Brook 133. Burns, Plate II.

“This token was struck to mark the year in which the *Rev. George Halliburton, D.D.*, was promoted from Coupar-Angus to the Bishopric of Brechin.”

42. CAVERS. C K with two five-pointed stars below. *Reverse*,
·1699, with a similar star below. Irregular *r.*, with
serrated border on reverse, 14 × 13. Brook 178.
Burns, Plate II.

The *Rev. Robert Bell, A.M.* (1694-1721), was one of four who dissented from an act of the Synod asserting their principles respecting the established government of the Church in April, 1703, and one of three ministers in the Commission of Assembly, 7th November, 1706, who, according to the doctrine of their Covenanting ancestors, disapproved of 26 Prelates sitting in the united Parliament of Great Britain. He was translated to Crailing in 1721.

43. CORTACHY. K I R K / C O R T / A C H I E. *Reverse*,
1684. *S.*, with border, 13. Burns, Plate II.

44. CRAILING. C / N · K between five mullets on the field, for Crailing and Nisbet Kirk. *Reverse*, 1699 between six mullets. Imperfect r., with dotted border, 14 × 13. Brook 223. Burns, Plate II.

This parish was declared by Parliament, 23rd October, 1612, to be the parish-kirk of Crailing, Nisbet, and Spittell. The Rev. John Cranstoune, A.M., 1692-1704, the father of Dr William C., who was the friend and confidant of Thomson, author of "The Seasons," was succeeded at Ancrum (1704-1748) by his son John, who became his colleague and successor in 1733.

45. CROSSMICHAEL. C P, large capitals, for Crossmichael Parish. *Reverse*, 16 / 48. R. 10. Brook 240. Burns, p. 458, fig. 102.

This token has been attributed to Carsphairn, and Mr Brook has stated there is no definite evidence showing it belongs to either of these parishes. For want of better we may take the attribution of the Rev. George Murray, of Balmaclellan (ordained 1838), who in May, 1864, presented to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries over 50 tokens with attributions, among which are two of this type, one definitely ascribed to Crossmichael, and the second among a list of uncertain. (See "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries" for May, 1864.) Between 1638 and 1658 there is in the Crossmichael Fasti a gap which Dr Scott has been unable to account for.

46. CULLEN. M / I C / C U L L E N / 1690, for Mr James Chalmers, minister here, 1689-1695. *Reverse*, incuse table number. Obl., with serrated border on obverse, 10 × 11. Brook 246. Burns, Plate II.

Mr Chalmers was deprived in 1695 for nonjurancy.

47. DOLLAR. D K / 1699, with line between letters and date. *Reverse*, plain. S., with border, 12.

48. DRON. A P / 1688, for Alexander Pitcairne, minister here, 1656-1681, 1690-1695. Obl., with border, 11 × 10. Brook 304. Burns, Plate II.

Mr Pitcairne was promoted to be Principal of the

Old College, St. Andrews, in 1695. For further note on this token see Chapter III., p. 58.

49. DUNBLANE. D B · K / 1699, with horizontal line between letters and date. Obl., with border, 11 × 10. Brook 304. Burns, Plate II.
50. ECKFORD. E C K / F O R D, the R D in monogram. *Reverse*, 16 / 96. S. 10. Brook 371. Burns, Plate II.
- The Rev. James Noble, A.M., 1694-1739, was ordained minister of the Presbyterian congregation at Branton, Northumberland, in 1688; admitted to Yetholm in 1690, and translated to this parish in 1694.
51. EDNAM. E D / N E M, the N E in monogram. *Reverse*, 16 / 96. S., with border on obverse, 11. Brook 390. Burns, Plate II.
- The Rev. Thomas Thomsone, A.M., 1692-1700, translated hereafter to Southdean (1700-1716), was the father of James Thomson, author of "The Seasons."
52. FINTRY. F, large capital, with 16 / 99, a numeral in each corner, all within a square panel. S. 11. Brook 426.
53. HUMBIE. H K, antique capitals. *Reverse*, 1699, the 6 retrograde. Triangular, 12 × 13. Brook 521. Burns, Plate V.
- There is another token similar to this with the 6 normal.
54. INSCH. I n s c h / 1685, with horizontal line between name and date. S., with serrated border, 11. Brook 530. Burns, Plate II.
55. INVERKEITHING. H I / 1674. Obl., with border, 9 × 10. Brook 541. Burns, Plate II.
56. INVERKEITHING. H D K, the H D in monogram, for Hinderkeithing Kirk. *Reverse*, 1699. S., with serrated border on obverse, 9. Brook 542.
57. KILBRIDE, EAST. K * B † / 16 C L 92, the K B in quaint script capital. Obl., with border, 11 × 10. Brook 571. Burns, Plate II.

58. KIPPEN. K / 1697, with horizontal line between date and letter. S., with border, 10. Brook 647.

KIRKNEWTON. Burns, Plate II. Brook, disputed.

59. LOGIE. 1676 / L K, all incuse, the last three figures of date united. Almost s. 10. Brook 747. Burns, Plate II.

60. LUMPHANAN. L V M / 1667. Obl., with border, 12 x 11. Brook 770. Burns, Plate II.

The Rev. Alexander Mitchell, admitted prior to 1667, was deprived of his living in 1681 because he refused to take the test. He was succeeded by the Rev. Patrick Leith, M.A., who was deposed in 1716 for active participation in the Rebellion.

61. MONKLAND, OLD. O / M K / 1686. Almost s., with border, 13. Brook 821. Burns, Plate II.

The Rev. James Main, A.M., who was translated from Fenwick in 1684, forsook his charge at the Revolution in 1688. This token was found buried in a field where a large Communion gathering had assembled.

62. NAIRN. N / 1674, within upright oblong panel. Upright obl. 12 x 14. Brook 858. Burns, Plate II.

This token was moulded to mark the ministry of the Rev. Hew Rose, A.M., who was descended from an old Nairnshire family, and who was one of the most cultured clergymen of his time.

63. OCHILTREE. 16 / O·K / 99. Diamond shape, with border (point to point), 14. Brook 881. Burns, Plate II.

64. RERRICK. R 1698. The date reads at right angles to the letter. Heart shape, point up, with slight border, 10 x 11. Brook 946. Burns, Plate II.

The Rev. Alexander Telfair, A.M., 1689-1732, entered as chaplain in the family of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Bart., at Whitsunday, 1687, was called to Rerrick in October, 1688, and was ordained sometime between 16th July and 29th October, 1689. He

published a work entitled "A true Relation of an Apparition, expressions and actings of a Spirit, which infested the house of Andrew Mackie, in Ringcroft of Stocking, Edinburgh." 4 to., 1696.

65. STRACATHRO. S C in grotesque monogram, with numerals 6 and 9 on either side. R. 14. Good specimens of this token show traces of another numeral, 1, 6, or 0, indicating the date as 1690, 1696, or 1691, rather than 1669. Brook 1040. Burns, Plate II.
66. TARVES. T A R V E S · 1692 · around edge. M / G A within circle in centre, for Mr George Anderson. R., with border, 14. Brook 1068. Burns, Plate II.

The Rev. George Anderson, A.M., 1683-1704, was translated from Methlick, to which parish he was admitted in 1663. Refusing to take the test, he forfeited his living in 1681. Only for a short time, however, as he changed his mind in the following year, and was permitted to return to his charge. In 1704 he was promoted to be Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen.

(d) XVII. Century Tokens whose date is fixed by Kirk Session Records.

To the foregoing there fall to be added those Tokens whose claim to be included in this list is equally unquestionable. These are specifically mentioned in the Kirk Session records. Of this class we have come across only four, but there must be more. When Kirk Session Records have been made to give up their secrets this list will be greatly extended.

67. ARBUTHNOTT. A R B / U T H / N O T. *Reverse*, plain. Obl., with border, 10 × 11. The date of this token according to Session Records is 1696. Brook 49.
68. ARDERSEIR. A D E R S E I R, incuse around edge. Latin capitals. *Reverse*, plain. R. 14. The date, 1647.
69. ARDERSEIR. The same as the foregoing, but spelled A R D E R S E I R. The date, 1665. Brook 54.

70. COLDINGHAM. C O L, with slight border. S. 7.
 Another variety of this has dotted border and measures
 8. The date, 1696. (See p. 29.)

The Annan token which opens the list in the next chapter has not been included here as the Session Records of the period to which the token is stated to belong are not in the custody of the Kirk-Session there, and the author has therefore been unable to verify the claim made for that token.

To this period also belong all tokens which, like HASSENDEAN, are those of parishes suppressed or united with others prior to the year 1700. HASSENDEAN was suppressed on 22nd July, 1690, by the Commissioners of Parliament for the Plantation of Kirks.

Tokens dated 1700 we have not included in this list, but may mention that such are to be found at DALGETY, DRON, DRYMEN, DUNBOG, DUNNING, MELDRUM, MERTOUN (2), NENTHORN, PENNINGHAM.

PLATES.

PLATES, ILLUSTRATING THE TOKENS OF DUMFRIESSHIRE.

CORRECTIONS.

By touching up the photographs from which these blocks are reproduced, the artist has made plain what otherwise would have been indistinct. Unfortunately, a few mistakes have crept in, but the error in each case is due more to the tokens than to either the photographs or the artist. Corrections must therefore be made as follows:—

- | | | |
|-----|------|---|
| No. | 39. | 1721 for 1720. |
| „ | 52. | M B for M E. |
| „ | 63. | 1748 for 1728. |
| „ | 85. | 1734 under monogram. |
| „ | 110. | CONGREGATION / of across centre. |
| „ | 135. | REV. M. M ^c G for REV. M. M G. |
| „ | 144. | SANQUHAR for SANQUMAR. |



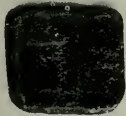
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11





LUKE 22.19
THIS DO IN
REMEMBRANCE
OF ME.

ASSO CON
DUMFRIES
REV. W.D.
1810

1810

1810

1810

1810

15

1810

1810

1810

1810

1810

1810

18

THIS DO IN
REMEMBRANCE
OF ME
BY THE
ANAL EXAMIN
HINSELF

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
DUMFRIES
1862

17

1862

1862

20

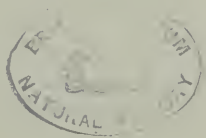
1862

1862

19

WESTEVAN CHURCH
DUMFRIES
1787

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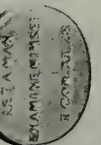
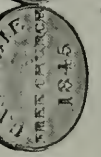
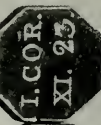
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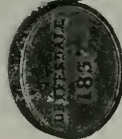
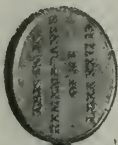
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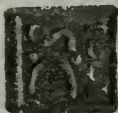
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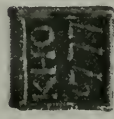
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93



92





M
C.M.
1747

114



115



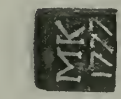
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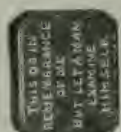
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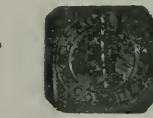
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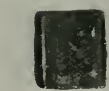
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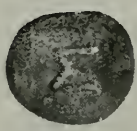
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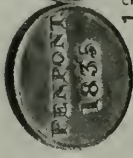
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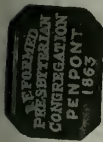


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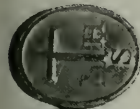
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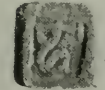
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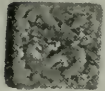
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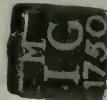
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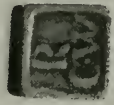
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167

V.—CATALOGUE OF DUMFRIESSHIRE TOKENS.

Abbreviations, &c.—E.C. = Established Church; A.C. = Secession (Associate) Church; R. = Relief Church; U.P. = United Presbyterian Church; R.P. = Reformed Presbyterian Church; F. = Free Church of Scotland; W. = Wesleyan Church; R.(r). = Round; S. = Square; Ov. = Oval; Obl. = Oblong; Oct. = Octagonal; C.C. = Cut Corners; Numbers = Sixteenths of an Inch; Measurement = Horizontal \times Vertical. The plate number of Token illustrated follows the denominational sign at the beginning of each description.

Annan.

71. E.C. AK in monogram. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 11.

The date of this token is said to be 1698, and it continued in use till about 1820, when a new one was struck. The Rev. Robert Colvill, A.M., was minister here 1696-1699. Illustrated in "Good Words," December, 1906. Vide supra, p. 75.

72. E.C. No. 22. ANNAN across planchet. *Reverse*, I. COR. 11^h / 28 & 29. Borders, obl. c.c. 11 \times 9.

73. A.C. No. 23. ASSO. CON. / ANNAN. *Reverse*, REV^d. W.G. / 1807. William Glen, first minister. Light borders, ov. 18 \times 12. Dick 93.

The Rev. William Glen, 1807-1816, resigned his charge in 1816 in order to become a Missionary to Astrakan in Persia. In 1845 he received the degree of D.D. from St. Andrews University. He died in Persia in 1849.

74. A.C. No. 24. ASSO. CON. / ANNAN *Reverse*, TOKEN / 1820. Light borders, ov. 18 \times 12. Dick 94.

This token was struck at the beginning of the second pastorate of the Annan Secession (Burgher) Church. The Rev. James Dobbie, M.A., 1820-1846, died from accidental poisoning. His son was the late Rev. Thomas Dobbie of Lansdowne Church, Glasgow.

75. R. No. 25. RELIEF / CHURCH / ANNAN. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Borders, obl. c.c. 17 \times 13. Dick 95.

Relief Congregation formed in 1833. United with the Secession Church in 1847 to form the Annan United Presbyterian Church.

Annan—continued.

76. U.P. No. 26. ANNAN / UNITED / PRESBYTERIAN / CHURCH. *Reverse*, "THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME." / 1. COR. xi., 24. Borders, obl. c.c. 18 × 12. Dick 96.
77. F. No. 27. ANNAN / FREE CHURCH / 1843 / —: — / "LET A MAN / EXAMINE HIMSELF, &c. / 1. COR. xi., 23. *Reverse*, FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND on either side of tower of Cathedral on rock among billows. Burning bush on rock to left. Cathedral with large minarets. Maker's name CRAWFORD, GLASGOW, across billows at the under edge. Borders, obl. c.c. 17 × 12.

Applegarth and Sibbaldbie.

78. E.C. No. 28. APPELGARTH round edge arching & / SIBBALDBIE / 1838. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. around edge. In centre, Communion table with two cups and bread. Borders, ov. 18 × 15.

No earlier token has come under the notice of the compiler. This was struck during the ministry of the Rev. William Dunbar, D.D., 1807-1861, son-in-law of the Rev. Dr Burnside, of Dumfries (1794-1806), and father of the Rev. William Burnside Dunbar, of Glencairn (1855-1864).

Brydekirk.

79. E.C. No. 30. BRYDEKIRK / 1836 round edge. Blank oval in centre. *Reverse*, SACRAMENTAL in lozenge around upper edge / TOKEN around under edge. Blank oval in centre. Borders, ov. 15½ × 12½.

The Rev. Hugh M'Bryde Broun, 1836-1843, became Free Church minister of Lochmaben at the Disruption.

80. E.C. No. 31. Blank field with border. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. / 1 COR., xi., 24. Border, obl. c.c., 16½ × 11½.

Burnhead.

81. R. No. 29. RELIEF CHURCH overarching 1801 / BURNHEAD. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl. c.c., 16 × 12. Dick 184.

The Rev. William Auld, 1801-1808, was the first minister.

Caerlaverock.

82. E.C. C L. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 9. Brook 144.
83. E.C. No. 32. CL in monogram. Without border. *Reverse*, plain. R. 12.
84. E.C. No. 33. CL in monogram. Distinct variety. Border. *Reverse*, plain. Date about 1702. R. 12. Brook 145.

Rev. John Somervell, A.M., 1697-1734, was son-in-law of the Rev. William Vetch, one of the Dumfries ministers (1694-1714).

85. E.C. No. 34. Do this / in remembrance / of me. The first and last divisions enveloped in ornamental scrolls. Light border. *Reverse*, plain, obl. c.c., 18 × 11.
86. E.C. No. 35. CAERLAVEROCK round edge of lined and beaded oval. TABLE / 1. in centre. The numerals 1 to 4 incuse in striated ornamental oval. *Reverse*, as Annan U.P., but without inverted commas. Borders, obl. c.c., 18 × 13.

Canonbie.

87. E.C. No. 36. CANONBY / KIRK round edge. *Reverse*, 1 COR. / xi., 23. Borders, oct. 14. Brook 160.

Another variety belonging to this parish is round and has CANONBIE 1816 incuse around edge.

88. F. No. 37. CANONBIE / FREE CHURCH / 1845. *Reverse*, LET A MAN / EXAMINE / HIMSELF / 1 COR., xi., 28. Borders, ov., 18 × 14.

Chapelknowe.

89. A.C. No. 38. UNITED / ASS^o / CON / CHAPEL-
KNOW. *Reverse*, REV. G. C. / 1832. George
Clark, first Minister. Light Borders, ov., 16 × 12.
Dick 206.

This congregation was formed in 1811 under Burgher
Secession auspices. Not for 21 years did it have a
minister of its own, until 1832, when the Rev. George
Clark was ordained first minister. Mr Clark died in
1852.

Closeburn.

90. E.C. No. 39. CK / 1721. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl.,
13 × 12. Brook 190. (See Plate correction, supra,
p. 76.)

The Rev. John Lawson, 1718-1757. According to
Scott's "Fasti," Mr Lawson got a church built
in 1741. In Ramage's "Drumlanrig and the
Douglases" we read: "In 1741 the heritors
improved the church by adding three galleries, but
it is again in a dilapidated state, and will require
such great alterations to fit it for containing the con-
gregation that it has been determined (1875) to build
a new church on a different site." This token recalls
the nine years' vacancy and the unsuccessful
attempts to transport Thomas Boston, of Ettrick, to
this parish in 1716.

91. E.C. A variety of the same. The 1727 type figured in
Brook never known in Closeburn. Brook 191.
92. F. Stock pattern. Type II. as Half-Morton F. but with
incuse table numeral on obverse. Ov., 19 × 13.
(Compare Ecclefechan F. and Half-Morton F.)

Cummertrees.

93. E.C. No. 40. CK. No border. *Reverse*, plain. R. 13.
Brook 146.
94. E.C. No. 41. CC in circle. Border. *Reverse*, plain.
R. 12.
95. E.C. No. 42. THIS DO / IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME
round edge of beaded oval. *Reverse*, incuse numeral

in shield in centre of plain field. Maker's name, KIRKWOOD, on upper border. Wide borders, ov., 19 x 14.

Dalton.

96. E.C. DK incuse. *Reverse*, plain. R. 12. Brook 277.
97. E.C. No. 43. DK. *Reverse*, large numeral. Wide borders, thick, r. 13. Brook 278.

Dornock.

98. E.C. No. 44. DC incuse, for Dornock congregation. Letters hand struck on thin sheet lead. No border. *Reverse*, Table numbers lightly tooled. S. 12. Brook 295 (error).

The DC not for the Greek words "Deipnōn Christou" (as Mr Shiells, page 139), nor yet for the Latin "Domini Coena," both signifying "Supper of the Lord;" but simply for "Dornock Church," or more probably "Dornock Congregation." On the "Migration of Tokens" see page 59 of this work. See also "The Story of the Token," page 61. The letters CD for Coena Domini occur on the reverse of the Ochiltree Parish Token (Ayrshire) dated 1806.

99. E.C. No. 45. DORNOCK / CHURCH round edge. Striated incuse numeral / TABLE within beaded oval. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME / Luke xxii., 19. Borders, ov. 18 x 14.

Dryfesdale.

100. E.C. No. 46. DRYFESDALE / 1837. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Borders, ov. 18 x 14.

No earlier token of Dryfesdale Parish has come under the notice of the compiler. The Rev. David Buchau Dowie, A.M., 1833-1843, became Free Church minister of Largs at the Disruption, and disappeared in 1863. (Scott's "Fasti.")

Dumfries.

101. E.C. No. 1. DFS / 1728 with line between. Thick

Dumfries—continued.

border. *Reverse*, plain. Rude oct. 14. Brook 317 (error).

Rev. Robert Patoun, A.M., 1715-1738, married the daughter of Bailie James Muirhead, of Dumfries. By his third wife he had a family of ten, of whom two were ministers and two became ministers' wives.

102. E.C. No. 2. DF / 1733 with line between. Thick border. *Reverse*, plain. Rude oct. 14.

In the Kirk-Session's account entered in the Records at date June 28, 1733, is to be found the following item:—

“To making new tokens 00 05 00.”

So far as we have been able to discover this is the solitary reference in the Dumfries Kirk-Session Records to the making of tokens or to their cost.

103. E.C. No. 3. DFS / 1743 with line between. Thick border. *Reverse*, plain. Rude oct. 14.

104. E.C. No. 4. Type I. DF / 1751 with line between. Rude letters, thin border. *Reverse*, plain. Almost s. 12.

105. E.C. No. 5. Type II. DF / 1751 with line between. Letters more ornate. Thin border. *Reverse*, plain. Almost s. 12.

106. E.C. No. 6. TYPE III. DF / 1751, with gate mark between letters, shaped like communion cup. Line between letters and date. Border. *Reverse*, plain. Almost s. 12.

Rev. Robert Wight, A.M., 1732-1764, was ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church at Brampton, Cumberland, in 1712. Inducted to Torthorwald Parish in 1724, he remained there one year, and was recalled to Brampton. From here he came to St. Michael's as colleague and successor to Mr Patoun. He was the son-in-law of the Rev. Alexander Robesone, of Tinwald, and his son was Dr William Wight, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University.

Dumfries—continued.

107. E.C. No. 7. DF / 1773. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. c.c., 13. Brook 320.
 Rev. Thomas Mutter, D.D., 1765-1793, according to John Mayne, "was a gentleman of distinguished talents, of great eloquence as a preacher, and very eminent as a theologian." He published a volume of sermons, London, 1791, 8 vo.
108. E.C. No. 8. DF / 1828. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. c.c., 13.
 The only specimen of this token known to the compiler may be seen in the Vestry of St. Michael's.
109. E.C. No. 9. ST. MICHAELS / CHURCH round edge of inner oval. 1829 within oval in centre. *Reverse*, SACRAMENTAL / TOKEN round edge of inner oval. Table numeral in central circle cutting smaller oval. Seven tables. Borders, ov., 17 × 13.
 Rev. Alexander Scot, D.D., 1806-1830, began his career as a stonemason. He worked at the building of Halleaths, Lochmaben. Became tutor in family of proprietor, Mr Gordon. Ordained by Presbytery of Lochmaben as collegiate minister of Scottish Church at Rotterdam. Presented and admitted to New Church, Dumfries, 1795, and translated to St. Michael's in 1806. (Of this issue tokens were struck for seven tables. The calme is preserved in St. Michael's Vestry.) The Rev. J. Montgomery Campbell, from Dundee, was inducted in 1905.
110. A.C. No. 12. Type I. AC / D^s. *Reverse*, M / WI / 1766. Large broad M. William Inglis, second minister (1765-1826). No borders, s., 12. Dick 278. The letters on the obverse stand for Associate Congregation, Dumfries. The M on the reverse is for Magister or Minister.
111. A.C. No. 13. Type II. AC / D^s. *Reverse*, M / WI / 1766. Smaller M and other variations. No borders, s., 12. Varieties in this type of token not noticed in Dick.
 Rev. William Inglis, 1765-1826. The poet Burns

Dumfries—continued.

gave as his reason for attending the ministrations of Mr Inglis, that he preached what he believed and practised what he preached. The two varieties common to all issues of this type, as e.g., Sanquhar A.C. 1750, Lockerbie A.C. 1747, Elsricle A.C. 1760, Urr A.C. 1752, Kinclaven A.C. 1749, etc., would seem to indicate either that there were two distinct issues separated by a lapse of time or that two separate moulds or calmes were used. The writer has a Lockerbie A.C. 1747 showing the obverse of Type I. and the reverse of Type II. The seventh minister, the Rev. D. R. W. Scott, from Darvel, was inducted in 1905.

112. R. No. 14. R D / 1790 for Relief Dumfries. Lombardic numerals. Serrated border. *Reverse*, plain with table number incuse. S. 9. Brook 321 (error—K D for R D). Dick 279.

Rev. John Lawson, 1790-1808. A licentiate of the Established Church of Scotland, Mr Lawson was ordained in 1781 as minister of the Protestant Dissenting congregation at Spittal. In 1784 minister and people were received into the Relief Church. Inducted to Dumfries in 1790, he resigned in 1808, and acted as preacher for six months at Riccarton, Kilmarnock. In 1811 he was settled at the New Inn Entry Relief Church, Dundee, and died at Temple in 1836, aged 83. The eleventh minister, the Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, was translated from Haltwhistle, Northumberland, in 1904.

113. A.C. No. 15. ASSO. CON. / DUMFRIES / REV. W. D. / 1810. *Reverse*, LUKE xxii., 19 / THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Walter Dunlop, First Minister. Light borders, obl. c.c., 19 × 12. Dick 277.

Rev. Walter Dunlop, 1810-1846. The "Watty Dunlop" of "Scottish Life and Character," a celebrity whose piety, it should be remembered, was no less deep than his humour was quaint, was ordained to the ministry of the Associate congregation of Liddesdale in 1804. In this year the name of the church was altered to Newcastleton. The third minister, the Rev. John Cairns, M.A., was ordained in 1884.

Dumfries—continued.

114. E.C. No. 10. N. CHURCH / DUMFRIES in border frames. 1830 in centre. *Reverse*, COMMUNION / TOKEN in border frames. Numeral in circle in centre. Borders, obl. c.c., 14 × 12.
- Rev. Thomas Tudor Duncan, M.D., 1806-1858. Son of the Rev. George Duncan, of Lochrutton (1766-1807), and brother of Dr Henry Duncan, of Ruthwell. Prior to 1830 no doubt the tokens used in the New Church, now Greyfriars, were the same as those used in St. Michael's. The present incumbent, the Rev. J. Bryce Jamieson, B.D., from Hurlford, was inducted this year (1911).
115. E.C. No. 11. S^t MARY'S / DUMFRIES round edge. Table numeral in circle in centre. *Reverse*, COMMUNION / TOKEN round edge. Numeral in circle as on obverse. Borders, obl. c.c., 14 × 12.
- Rev. Andrew Fyfe, 1835-1854. Ordained to the Biggar Relief Church in 1807, and inducted to the Relief Church, Dumfries, in 1808, he went over with the larger portion of his congregation to the Establishment, and was received in 1835. In 1840 a young minister was appointed as acting colleague, and Mr Fyfe retired to Strathkinnes, in Fifeshire, where he laboured as missionary in a Chapel of Ease until his death in 1854. The Rev. Peter Thomson died a few months after his appointment, and was succeeded by the Rev. John R. Mackenzie, A.M., 1841-1843. Coming out at the Disruption with other local non-intrusionists, he became first minister of the Dumfries Free, now St. George's U.F. Church. Quite a succession of short pastorates followed, so that in 1877 the Rev. Alex. Chapman, M.A., was ordained as tenth minister of St. Mary's.
116. F. No. 19. FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND printed between oval lines enclosing incuse numeral / DUMFRIES. Numerals 1843 one in each corner. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. / — / BUT LET A MAN / EXAMINE / HIMSELF. Light borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 13.
- The present church was erected during the ministry of the Rev. Charles M'Neil, M.A., now minister-

Dumfries—continued.

emeritus. His colleague and successor, the Rev. Duncan Ross, B.D., was translated from Carluke in 1909.

117. F. No. 20. FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND round upper edge of beaded oval border. SOUTH CHURCH overarching table numeral / DUMFRIES / 1861. *Reverse*, as previous. Border, ov., 20 × 16.

A mission church founded by the congregation of St. George's Free Church in the year of a great revival (1861). The church was built on the Southergate Brae, and is now the South U.F. Church. The first minister, the Rev. Robert Milligan, was translated to Dundee. The fifth minister, the Rev. J. Y. Wilson, M.A., was translated from Kirkcaldy in the spring of the year 1911.

118. W. No. 21. WESLEYAN CHAPEL / DUMFRIES / 1787 (foundation date). *Reverse*, plain. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 15.

When this token was struck, and whether or not it was ever used for sacramental purposes, the writer has been unable to determine. Possibly some years ago, forty or fifty at the most (the design will not permit an earlier date), this inveterate Presbyterian custom influenced the Wesleyans to attempt an adaptation to the case of Methodism, with discouraging success. Anyhow, the token was made, and it preserves to memory the date, it may be, of John Wesley's first preaching visit to Dumfries or of the foundation of the Wesleyan Methodist Society. One Baptist church, LOCHEE (Dundee), made a similar attempt to adapt this custom to the Sacramental usage of that Church, but like most non-Presbyterian efforts it did not survive many years. Interesting notes on Wesley's visit to and impressions of Dumfries will be found in the fourth volume of his Journal, between the years 1780 and 1790. Mr Dick mentions other three examples of Methodist tokens—INVERNESS, MONTROSE, and another.

119. R.P. *Vide* Quarrelwood.

The Martyrs Church entered on a new phase of its history with the retiral of the Rev. Robert

MacKenna, M.A., who was inducted in 1867 The Rev. Thomas Keir, M.A., minister-in-charge for three years, was appointed in 1909.

Dunscore.

120. E.C. No. 47. D:S with two dots placed vertically between the letters and one after. *Reverse*, plain, r. 9 Brook 353.

121. E.C. No. 48. D S / 1726. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 9 x 7.
Rev. Thomas M'Kinnel, 1723-1736. Thereafter minister of Urr Parish, 1736-1769.

122. E.C. No. 49. D:S with two dots placed vertically between the capitals. *Reverse*, plain. R. 12. Brook 354.

This token and the smaller (No. 120) may have been struck earlier, but certainly they must have been in use during the ministry of the Rev. James Gilchrist, who was translated from New Cumnock in 1701 and deposed 4th September, 1716, on account of his irregularities. In these he was associated with the Revs. John M'Millan of Balmaghie, John Taylor of Wamphray, and John Hepburn of Urr. For further information on this see "Humble Pleadings for the Good Old Way," 8vo., 1713, and "Protestors Vindicated," 4to., 1716.

123. E.C. No. 50. D: S / 1771. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 15. Brook 355.

Rev. Philip Morison, A.M., 1766-1777. Thereafter minister of Balmaghie, 1777-1812.

124. E.C. No. 51. DUNSCORE COM^T TOKEN / 1829 round edge. *Reverse*, large incuse numeral in circle. Borders, r. 16.

Rev. Robert Brydon, D.D., 1822-1843. Thereafter minister of Dunscore Free Church, 1843-1860. "His distinguishing excellencies were simplicity, candour, and forbearance."

Dunscore Renwick.

125. R. No. 52. M.B. / 1817. Light border. *Reverse*, plain. Matthew Beattie, first minister. R. 13. Dick 315. (See Plate correction, p. 52.)

Rev. Matthew Beattie, 1817-1858, of Dunscore-Renwick, was the first minister. The congregation was formed in 1814, the church built in 1816, and Mr Beattie from Kilmarnock (King Street) settled in 1817.

Dunscore Craig.

126. R.P. Stock pattern. Type I. Obverse as reverse of Annan U.P. without the inverted commas. *Reverse*, LET A MAN / EXAMINE / HIMSELF, &c. / 1 COR., xi., 28, 29. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 12.
127. R.P. Stock pattern. Type II. As previous but with inverted commas on obverse and reverse. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 12.

The Craig congregation was formed in 1864 and became a mission station of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Their first preacher was the Rev. James Cosh, A.M., who was ordained in 1865 as a missionary to the New Hebrides. The tokens used here are of the type indicated above.

Dunscore.

128. F. No. 53. DUNSCORE / FREE CHURCH / 1866 / "THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE OF ME." / 1 COR., xi., 24. Text in smaller type. *Reverse*, FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, arching Burning Bush over scroll inscribed, NEC TAMEN CONSUMEBATUR. Under scroll to left CRAWFORD, to right GLASGOW. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 12.

The Disruption minister, Rev. Robert Brydon, D.D., 1843-1860, was succeeded by the Rev. James Pollock, during whose ministry this token was struck. The reverse is a stock pattern and occurs, as in the case of Greenock Middle Free, sometimes with no maker's name at all, sometimes with Crawford, Glasgow, and again with Cunningham, Glasgow.

Durisdeer.

129. E.C. No. 54. DR / 1746. Light borders. *Reverse*, plain. S. 11. Brook 356.

Rev. William Cuninghame, A.M., 1744-1753, was translated from Mouswald (1737-1743). Later he was transferred to Sanquhar (1753-1768). "He was clever, and accomplished, and pleasing and elegant in his manners beyond most of his day, so that Catharine, Duchess of Queensberry, made him her daily companion, which led to his being termed the Duchess's walking-staff."

130. E.C. No. 55. DK / 1767. Latin capitals. *Reverse*, plain. Light borders. S. 11½. Brook, not illustrated.

The Rev. John Johnstone, 1758-1770, was licensed by the Presbytery of Lochmaben, ordained to the Presbyterian Congregation at Brampton (1742-1757) and admitted to Durisdeer in 1758.

Ecclefechan.

131. A.C. No. 56. EC (with irregular quatrefoil between) / 1772 in circle touching edges. No borders. *Reverse*, plain. Almost s., 13 × 12.

Rev. John Johnston, 1761-1812, was the minister of the Carlyle family in the Sage's early days. Of Mr Johnston Thomas Carlyle said he was "the priestliest man I ever under any ecclesiastical guise was privileged to look upon." The variations in the tokens indicated above suggest a re-issue at later periods from similar dies. The letters EC stand for Ecclefechan Congregation.

132. A.C. No. 57. EC / 1772 in circle on large square of sheet lead. *Reverse*, plain. S. 18½.

133. A.C. No. 58. EC / 1772 in circle touching edges. Tokens struck on sheet lead and cut with no regard to position of letters and date. *Reverse*, plain. S. 14. Dick 327.

134. F. Stock pattern. Type 1. Free Church. / OF SCOTLAND around edge. 1843 in centre. *Reverse*, LET

A MAN / EXAMINE HIMSELF / 1 Cor., xi., 28.
Dick 945.

N.B.—Two plain dots separate upper and under legends around edge on obverse. Letters larger and numerals smaller. On reverse no period after HIMSELF. Borders, ov., 19 × 13.

Eskdalemuir.

135. E.C. No. 59. ESKDALEMUIR around edge. K in centre. *Reverse*, 1 Cor. / xi., 23. Borders, r., 15. Brook 399.

A type of token recurring frequently in the South of Scotland, especially in the eastern corner of Dumfriesshire, vide Ewes, Gretna, Langholm, Moffat, and Westerkirk.

136. R.P. No. 60. R.P. incuse, for Reformed Presbyterian. No border. *Reverse*, plain. Metal, tin. S., c.c., 11. Dick 20.

The first minister ordained to the Eskdalemuir R.P. Church was Rev. James Morrison, 1847-1879.

Ewes.

137. E.C. No. 61. EWES / KIRK. *Reverse*, as Eskdalemuir. Borders, r., 15. Brook 403.

See note under Eskdalemuir E.C.

Glencairn.

138. E.C. No. 62. G K / 1721. Light borders. *Reverse*, plain. R. 12. Brook 482. Also p. 49 of this work.

Rev. Robert Jardine, 1719-1732. Ordained to be minister of Cummertrees (1713-1719), he latterly was minister at Lochmaben (1732-1749). Of him it is said, "though an orthodox and pious clergyman he had a great turn for fun and buffoonery."

139. E.C. No. 63. G K / 1748. Light border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 9. Brook 483. Also p. 49 of this work. (See Plate correction, p. 76.)

Rev. William Moodie, 1733-1772.

Glencairn—continued.

140. E.C. No. 64. GLENCAIRN around upper edge. 1838 around under. KIRK across centre. *Reverse*, table number in circle. Borders, r. 14.

Rev. Patrick Borrowman, 1837-1843. Became first Free Church minister of Glencairn at the Disruption.

141. F. Stock pattern. Type II. as Half-Morton F., but with incuse table numeral on obverse. Oval, 19 × 13.

The Free Church of Glencairn has this somewhat notable legend inscribed on an outside tablet in its walls: "The people of Glencairn, aided by the Central Fund, built this house for the worship of God, when for adhering to her old standards and the testimony of the martyrs on behalf of Christ as King of Zion, the Church of Scotland was severed from the State. MDCCCXLIII. Patrick Borrowman, minister."

Glencaple.

142. F. Same as Dumfries Free, 1843.

Greenknowe.

143. E.C. GREENKNOWE / CHURCH / ANNAN. *Reverse*, as Caerlaverock, No. 35. Obl. c.c., 18 × 13.

Gretna.

144. E.C. No. 65. GRAITNEY around upper edge. KIRK across field at bottom. Incuse Roman numeral between. *Reverse*, as Eskdalemuir. Borders, r. 14. Brook 497.

See note under Eskdalemuir E.C. Two earlier types of this parish are oblong with incuse capitals G K. Rubbings show them to be varieties of the same token.

Half-Morton.

145. E.C. No. 66. H M with radiated dot between. *Reverse*, TABLE around upper edge. Beneath, large incuse table number. Light borders, ov., 15 × 12.

146. F. Stock pattern. Type II. Legends as Ecclefechan F.

N.B.—*Obverse*, radiated dots, smaller letters, larger numerals. *Reverse*, period after HIM-

SELF. Ov., 19 × 13. This variety not noticed in Dick.

Hightae.

147. R.P. No. 67. L.S. / H. *Reverse*, TOKEN across centre. Light borders, r. 13. *Reverse* illustrated on page 48.

Probably unique. It was found by the writer in the collection of a neighbouring R.P. Church. The compiler has satisfactory reasons for attributing it to Hightae (see p. 48). The church here, which was started in the interests of the Relief, fell upon evil days, and in 1828 was sold for £70 to a few people connected with the Reformed Presbyterians. The first minister was the Rev. James M'Gill, 1829-1864.

148. R.P. No. 68. 1 Cor., xi., 28, 29 / LET A MAN / EXAMINE / HIMSELF, &c. With large floral ornament on four sides. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl. c.c., 17 × 13. Dick 31.

Hoddam.

149. E.C. No. 69. H K in monogram / A B in monogram. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 9 × 10. Brook 513.

Rev. Alexander Brown, 1768-1783; translated from Tongland (1748-1768), and latterly to Moffat (1783-1800).

150. E.C. No. 70. HODDAM CHURCH encircling large table numeral within sunk centre. *Reverse*, LET A MAN / EXAMINE / HIMSELF. Borders, s. c.c. 15.

Hollywood.

151. E.C. No. 71. H W in monogram. *Reverse*, K in centre. No borders, r. 11. Brook 515.

“The tokens are lettered H W cyphered together on one side and K on the other. There are of new ones of a smaller size 342 and of old ones a little larger 231, 573 the sum of both. The old ones being 231 are put loose into a leathern Bag & the new ones being 342 are wrapt in Gray paper & put into the same Bag.” (Kirk Sess. Rec., written on board at the end of volume, 1725-1734.) Rev. John Scott, 1725-1732,

Holywood—continued.

translated to Dumfries New Church (1732-1770), was "a learned and able divine, a faithful reprovcr of vice, and a bright pattern of the duties which he taught."

152. E.C. No. 73. H W / K. Border. *Reverse*, plain, r. 14.
Type I. Large thin W and large thick H—both touching border.
153. E.C. No. 72. As before. Type II. Thicker W, smaller H, and neither touching border. Also smaller K. R. 14. Brook 517.
154. E.C. No. 74. As before, but dot between H and W. Type III. Broader and larger H, broader K. W touching border to right. *Reverse*, plain, r. 14.
155. E.C. No. 75. K / H W. Border. *Reverse*, plain. Line under H W on which letters rest. R. 14. Brook 516.
Type I. Larger K, and smaller H W.
156. E.C. No. 76. As before. Type II. Smaller K, larger and ruder H W.

The order in which the second series of five tokens is arranged is, of course, quite arbitrary. An interesting minute in the Kirk Sess. Rec. of date March 3, 1737, is as follows: "The session considering yt the Sacrament tokens are small & may be easily lost they therefor apoint y Modr. & Edward Elton to get ym casten again & made larger & so many new as shall make up ye number of tokens belonging to ye parish at present." The entry at date Aug. 4th, 1737, runs: "The Modr. & Edward Elton report to ye session yt according to appointment they had caused James Simson, Glazier, cast twelve score & six tokens for ye use of ye parish and had given him ye little tokens which were formerly so many of them as weighted one pound & some ounces for which he allowed two pence to ye session & they had in ye session's name payd him for casting ye sd number of new tokens six shillings six pence sterling for wch ye Modr. showed a receipt to ye session and this ye session do allow as part payt. of three pounds six shillings & eight pence sterling money which

Holywood—continued.

remained in his hand after sending ten pounds sterling to ye laird of Dalwhat out of thirteen pounds six & eight pence sterling received from Mr Corrie of annual rent as marked in ye minute Sept. 14th, 1735." On July 20, 1750, an entry states that Edward Elton had got a hundred new tokens and had payed James Simson for them two shillings and sixpence, while at Nov. 16, 1752, a similar addition to the tokens takes place and this time it is "James Simpson, glastier in Dumfries," who gets the half-crown. Still another 100 are procured, according to minute 20th June, 1761. Here the Session "appoint James Crocket to get them and appoint the Treasurer to pay him." No doubt these extracts are sufficient to account for the variations in this type of the Holywood token. At Nov. 27, 1771, we learn that the number of tokens in the bag was 646. The Rev. Thomas Hamilton, A.M., was minister here, 1734-1772.

157. E.C. No. 77. TOKEN over table number in circle from under which arise floral scrolls. Beneath, in curved line, HOLYWOOD CHURCH. *Reverse*, THIS DO / IN REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 13.

On 2nd February, 1814, the sum of £2 5s 9d is paid for the making of new tokens.

158. E.C. No. 78. THE / CHURCH / AT / HOLYWOOD. HOLYWOOD around edge at bottom. *Reverse*, OUR / FELLOWSHIP / IS WITH THE / FATHER / AND WITH HIS / SON JESUS / CHRIST. Light borders. Brass. R. 14.

Hutton.

159. E.C. No. 79. H K in monogram. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 9 × 7. Brook 522.

Hutton and Corrie.

160. E.C. No. 80. HUTTON / AND / CORRIE / 1849. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME. within oval lines surrounding 1 Cor., xi., 24. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 13.

The small token (square 9) with the letter H, and the

larger (square 10) with H on obverse and 1750 on reverse belong, we think, to the parish of Hutton and Fishwick in Berwickshire.

Johnstone.

161. E.C. J K / 1778. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10
Brook 549.

Rev. John Nimmo, A.M., 1734-1784.

162. E.C. No. 81. JOHNSTONE / CHURCH around edge of floreated oval enclosing dotted oval and 1860. Floral ornament in corners. *Reverse*, as Annan U.P. but without inverted commas. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 12.

Rev. William Taylor Williamson, A.M., 1855-1861. An early token of this parish is reported as being square with the letters I K in slightly sunk circular field.

Keir.

163. E.C. No. 82. K K / 1747. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10.

164. E.C. No. 83. Similar but larger with serrated border, larger letters and rude 4. S. 12. Brook 552.

Rev. Alexander Bayne, 1720-1776. A third variety of this token has distinct letters and figures. It is of intermediate size (11). In 1900 a larger token was struck, square 14, with letters K · K / 1900 within square beaded frame.

Kirkbride.

165. E.C. No. 84. K B. *Reverse*, M P R / 1725—the M P R in monogram, for Mr Peter Rae, Minister there from 1703-1732. No borders. R. 10. Brook 651.

This parish was suppressed, and annexed to Sanquhar and Durisdeer by the Lords Commissioners of Tiends in 1727. The last minister of the parish was the Rev. Peter Rae, of whom see further in next note.

Kirkconnel.

166. E.C. Brook No. 657. Unknown to author and locality.

Kirkconnel—continued.

167. E.C. No. 85. K C. *Reverse*, M P R / 1734—The M P R in monogram for Mr Peter Rae, Minister there from 1732-1748. No borders. R. 10. Brook 659. (See Plate correction, p. 76.)

The Rev. Peter Rae was a remarkable man. Born in 1671, he married "Agnes, eldest daughter of John Corsane of Meiklenox, late bailie of Dumfries." He filled the offices of Secretary to the Hammermen of the town of Dumfries, Precentor to Dumfries Kirk, Clerk to Dumfries Kirk Session, and Clerk to the Dumfries Presbytery and Synod. In addition to this he had a private printing press in Kirkbride from which he issued publications as early as 1712. Nor is it improbable that he had more than a nominal interest in the printing venture in Dumfries that sent forth publications in the year 1715. "Like the celebrated Joannes de Sacro Bosco, he was distinguished as a philosopher and astronomer, as well as a divine. Nor was he less so as a mechanic, mathematician, and historian. An astronomical chime clock, in the Castle of Drumlanrig, made and constructed in all its parts with his own hand, not only proved his mechanical powers, but also the extent of his philosophical knowledge." Intending to write the history of all the parishes in the Presbytery, he succeeded in finishing those around Penpont, and there the enterprise stopped. That part of his work has not yet been published. It seems strange that a man of such ability should have been so much the victim of superstition as to believe that a witch was exercising some malign influence over him. Acting in accordance with popular credulity he struck the woman on the forehead with intent to draw blood. Thus, and thus only, it was held, could such malignant influence be made to cease. For his conduct in this matter he was dealt with by his Presbytery.

Kirkmahoe.

168. E.C. No. 86. K H O / 1723 with figure shaped like communion chalice above. Border. *Reverse*, plain. Rude polygonal, 12.

Rev. Patrick Cuming, A.M., 1720-1725; translated to Lochmaben (1725-1731); thereafter to Edinburgh Old Church.

Kirkmahoe—continued.

Rev. Edward Bunce, A.M., 1725-1748; formerly of Lochmaben (1723-1724), was "long distinguished for his liberal way of thinking, and for his manly and flowing eloquence both in the pulpit and judicatories of the Church."

Only two specimens of this token have come under the notice of the compiler. The one illustrated is in the Grierson Museum, Thornhill. The other is in the cabinet of Mrs Henderson of Logan House. Cumnock.

169. E.C. No. 87. K H O / 1777. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 13 × 12. Brook 670.

Rev. Archibald Lawson, 1750-1796, son of Rev. John Lawson of Closeburn.

170. E.C. No. 88. KIRKMAHOE / 1835 around upper and under edge. CHURCH across centre. *Reverse*, SACRAMENTAL / TOKEN. with open scrolls between. Borders, ov., 15 × 12.

171. E.C. No. 89. As before. *Reverse*, SACRAMENTAL / TOKEN around upper and under edge, table number in circle round centre. Ov., 16 × 12.

172. E.C. No. 90. As before, but with larger letters and figure on reverse. Ov. 16 × 12.

Rev. John Wightman, D.D., 1797-1847. "His accomplishments as a scholar were only outshone by his devotedness to ministerial duty, affectionate solicitude for his parishioners, and universal benevolence."

173. F. No. 91. KIRKMAHOE / incuse table number / FREE CHURCH / 1844. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 12. Rev. William Andson, 1844-1909, was the first minister.

Kirkmichael

174. E.C. No. 92. KIRKMICHAEL in curved line across centre. *Reverse*, TOKEN along upper edge. Table

Kirkmichael—continued.

number within circle in centre. Light borders, ov., 16 by 14.

175. F. No. 93. KIRKMICHAEL FREE CHURCH / 1859 around the four sides. TOKEN / OF ADMISSION / TO THE / LORD'S TABLE / incuse numeral—within beaded oblong having round corners. *Reverse*, HE GAVE HIMSELF / FOR US THAT / HE MIGHT REDEEM US / FROM ALL INIQUITY. / TITUS II., 14 / THE LORD IS AT HAND. / PHIL. IV. 5. Borders, obl. c.c., 18 × 14.

Kirkpatrick-Fleming.

176. E.C. No. 94. K K touching parallel horizontal lines. Old Latin capitals. Narrow border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 11 × 10. Brook 680.

Attention may be drawn to the variety that has larger capitals, while the token itself is perhaps a little smaller in measurement.

177. E.C. No. 95. K F. *Reverse*, as Half-Morton. Light borders, ov., 15 × 12. Brook 681.

178. E.C. No. 96. DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME around three sides. 1858 at foot. In centre KIRKPATRICK—overarching FLEMING / thin incuse numeral. *Reverse*, BUT LET A MAN EXAMINE around three sides. HIMSELF at foot. In centre and within dotted oblong with rounded corners I Cor. / xi., 28. Borders, obl., c.c., 18 × 14.

Rev. George Hastie, 1834-1843, joined the Free Secession at the Disruption. He was succeeded in 1843 by the Rev. Archibald Hunter, and in 1845 by the Rev. John Murdoch.

179. F. Stock pattern. Type II., as Half-Morton F. Ov., 19 × 13.

Kirkpatrick-Juxta.

180. E.C. No. 97. K, Grotesque capital. Border. *Reverse*, plain, S. 7. Brook 684.

Kirkpatrick-Juxta—continued.

181. E.C. No. 98. K K incuse capitals. No border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 8. Brook 685.
182. E.C. No. 99. K K / 1775, Old Latin capitals. No border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 11 × 10. Brook 686.
Rev. William Scott, 1736-1786, was succeeded by his son Rev. Gabriel Scott, A.M. (1786-1799).
183. E.C. No. 100. KIRKPATRICK JUXTA / 1837 around edge. JULY in curved scroll. *Reverse*, Do this / in remembrance of me. Narrow borders, ov., 16 × 12.
Rev. William Singer, D.D., 1799-1840: elected Moderator of General Assembly 20th May, 1830. Translated from Wamphray (1794-1799).

Kirtle.

184. E.C. No. 101. KIRTLE / CHURCH. *Reverse*, as Annan U.P. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12.
Constituted a quoad sacra parish in 1838. First minister, Rev. William Brown Nivison, 1838-1858, third son of Rev. Abraham Nivison, of Middlebie (1785-1809).

Langholm.

185. E.C. No. 102. LANGHOLM around edge of upper segment. K in centre. *Reverse*, same as Eskdalemuir E.C. Borders, R. 15. Brook, not illustrated.
See note under Eskdalemuir E.C.
186. E.C. No. 103. LANGHOLM in semi-circle over KIRK. *Reverse*, plain. Borders, oct., 15. Brook, not illustrated.
187. R. No. 104. R / C·L. for Relief Congregation or Church, Langholm. Light borders. *Reverse*, plain, S. 11.
See note under Wamphray-Gateside.
188. R. No. 105. LANGHOLM / RELIEF CHURCH /—— / REV. WM. WATSON / 1844. The date between ornaments. *Reverse*, as Caerlaverock E.C. Plate III., No. 35. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12. Dick 578.

Langholm—continued.

189. A.C. No. 106. A. C. L. / .J. .J. / 1789. *Reverse*, plain. Border, R. 16. (Rev. John Jardine, 1789-1820).
This token is possibly unique. It is carefully preserved by the Session of that Church, to whom we are indebted for its reproduction.
190. A.C. ASS / CON / LANGHOLM. *Reverse*, REV. J. D. for John Dobie, 2nd Minister. Light borders, ov., 16 × 12. Dick 576.
191. A.C. No. 107. UNITED / ASS^c. CON. / LANGHOLM. *Reverse*, REV. J. D. / 1821 / ORD. 30th AUG^r, the small th over the 0 of 30. Light borders, ov., 16 × 12. Dick, 577.
Rev. John Dobie, 1821-1845. Came out of Loreburn Street Congregation, Dumfries, and one of his sons was the Rev. Dr Dobie, late minister of Shamrock Street, Glasgow.
192. F. Stock pattern. Type I., as Ecclefechan F. Ov., 19 × 13.
193. F. Stock pattern. Type II., as Half-Morton F. Ov., 19 × 13.

Lochmaben.

194. E.C. No. 108. LOCHMABEN and ornament around edge, 1776 in centre. All markings incuse. No border. *Reverse*, plain. R. 14.
Rev. Richard Brown, 1765-1781. "He succeeded to a baronetcy on the death of his cousin, Sir Alexander Brown of Coalston, but did not take the title."
195. E.C. No. 109. LOCHMABEN / 1850 around upper and under edges. Date between floral ornaments. TABLE incuse around upper edge of inner dotted oval. *Reverse*, as Applegarth. Borders, ov., 18 × 15.
Rev. Thomas Liddell, D.D., became minister here in 1850.
196. A.C. No. 110. THE ASSOCIATE / CONGREGATION / of / LOCHMABEN. Scrolls above Con-

Lochmaben—continued.

gregation. *of* between scrolls. Light border. *Reverse*, plain, ov., 19 × 15. Dick 617. (See Plate correction, p. 76.)

The Lochmaben Secession Token dates from the first ministry there. The calme for this token was preserved in Dick Institute Museum, Kilmarnock, and was seen there by the writer a day or two before the disastrous fire that destroyed the superb collection of Ayrshire and other tokens gathered together by that veteran naturalist and antiquarian, the Rev. Dr Landsborough. The Rev. Andrew Young, 1813-1828, was first minister; thereafter at Lanark (1830-1841).

197. U.P. No. 112. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN / CHURCH / LOCHMABEN / 1880. *Reverse*, as Annan U.P. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 13. Dick 618.

The Rev. Alexander Macdonald ministered there from 1867 to 1903.

198. F. No. 111. FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND / 18: MAY 1843 around border. LOCHMABEN across centre of inner beaded oval. *Reverse*, LOVEST / THOU ME / ornament / THIS DO / IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Borders, ov., 19 × 14. (Rev. Hugh M'Bryde Broun, of Brydekirk parish, became Disruption Minister here in 1843.)

Lockerbie.

199. A.C. No. 113. A C / LOC. *Reverse*, M / G M / 1747. (George Murray, 1744-1757.) Borders, almost square, 10½ × 11. Dick 620.

200. A.C. No. 114. Variety of preceding. Almost square, 10½ × 11.

201. A.C. Variety of preceding. Almost square, 11 × 11½.

The date on these tokens is that of the Breach, when the Secession Church divided into Burgher and Anti-Burgher. Mr Murray followed the latter persuasion.

Lockerbie—continued.

202. F. No. 115. LOCKERBIE / 1813 / "THE LORD KNOWETH / THEM THAT ARE HIS." Maker's name Crawford, Glasgow, underneath inner frame. *Reverse*, variety of Annan F. Shorter Minarets. CRAWFORD F. GLASGOW across billows at under edge. Borders, obl. c.c., 17 × 12.

Middlebie.

203. E.C. No. 116. MIDDLEBIE / 1837 around upper and under edges. *Reverse*, incuse large numeral in centre, and TABLE around under edge. Light borders, ov., 15 × 11.

Rev. Richard Nivison, 1812-1858, son of Rev. Abraham Nivison, minister of this parish (1785-1809), the son of a farmer near Thornhill.

Moffat.

204. E.C. No. 117. MK incuse. No borders. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 9 × 7.
205. E.C. No. 118. MK / 1770. No border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10. Brook, 613.
206. E.C. No. 119. MK / 1777. No border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10. Brook, 614.

Rev. John Walker, M.D., D.D., 1762-1783. "He was appointed Regius Professor of Natural History and keeper of the Museum in the University of Edinburgh, 15th June, 1779." Translated to Colinton in 1783.

207. E.C. No. 120. MOFFAT in semi-circle at top, K in centre. Incuse numeral below. *Reverse*, as Eskdalemuir E.C. Borders, r. 15. Brook, not illustrated.

This token is known with different obverse lettering and having a beaded circle around edge on both sides.

208. U.P. No. 121. UNITED / PRESBYTERIAN / CHURCH / MOFFAT / 1847. *Reverse*, as Dumfries F. 1843. Plate II., 19. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 14 Dick 649.

Moffat—continued

209. U.P. No. 122. UNITED / PRESBYTERIAN / CHURCH / MOFFAT / 1847. *Reverse*, same texts as on preceding but within inverted commas. 1 Cor. xi., 23-29 underneath texts. Borders, obl., c.c., 18 × 13.

Rev. John Riddell, 1845-1868, was a preacher whose gifts brought him four calls during his Moffat ministry, and one before his call to Moffat.

210. F. Stock pattern. Type II. As Closeburn F, but silver-like metal. Oval, 19 × 13.
211. F. Variety of preceding with eight-rayed star-like cancellation above and incuse numeral beneath date. Oval, 19 × 13.
212. F. As Closeburn F. in type and metal. Oval, 19 × 13.

While the Free Church tokens are of the ordinary stock pattern, the metal in some varieties is quite unusual.

Moniaive.

213. A.C. No. 123. ASSOC. CON. MINNIHIVE between double circles. M^r J. P. / 1778 in centre. *Reverse*, plain. Light borders, s. c.c., 15. Dick 650 (error in date). Also p. 56 of this work.

Rev. James Pattison, 1778-1804. Thereafter he became first minister of the new congregation at Thornhill (1804-1816).

Morton.

214. E.C. No. 124. M, light border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 9 × 8.
215. E.C. No. 125. MK in monogram. No border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 11 × 9. *Vide* note under 238.
216. E.C. No. 126. M K / 1718. Light borders. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10. Brook 841.

Rev. John Howie, 1713-1734.

Morton—continued.

217. E.C. No. 127. MORTON CHURCH in semi-circle at top. Numeral in circle in centre. 1841 below. *Reverse*, as preceding. Borders, obl., c.c., 14 × 11.

Rev. John Murray began his ministry here in 1839.

218. E.C. No. 128. MORTON / CHURCH in upper and under border frames. Table numeral in circle in centre. *Reverse*, as Dumfries N. Church. Borders, obl., c.c., 14 × 11.

Mouswald.

219. E.C. M K. incuse. No border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 12 × 11.

220. E.C. No. 129. M rude letter. No border. *Reverse*, similar. R. 17.

221. E.C. Variety of the same. No border. R. 16.

222. MOUSWALD / CHURCH / 1835 with open scrolls between. *Reverse*, SACRAMENTAL / TOKEN, likewise; but bottom scroll with curved ends. Borders, ov., 16 × 12.

Rev. Andrew Beveridge Murray, 1825-1861.

Penpont.

223. E.C. No. 131. P K / 1755. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10. Brook 905.

Rev. John Cellow, 1736-1766.

224. E.C. No. 132. PENPONT / 1835. *Reverse*, 1 Cor. / xi., 23.29. Borders, ov., 19 × 16.

Rev. George Smith, A.M., translated from Kilmarnock 2nd charge, 1833-1844. Promoted to Edinburgh Tolbooth in 1844, had D.D. from Glasgow University in 1854, and died at Waltham Abbey, Essex, in 1866.

Penpont—Scaurbridge.

225. R.P. An Issue of Tokens struck from the Quarrelwood calme. *Vide* Quarrelwood. Dick 50

Pentpont—Scaurbridge—continued.

226. R.P. No. 133. REFOR^D PRESB^N CONGREGATION and ornament in oval line. PENPONT / 1846 in centre. *Reverse*, as Caerlaverock E.C. (No. 85). Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12. Dick 51.

Rev. Thomas Rowatt, 1796-1832, was the first minister ordained at Penpont. The token dated 1846 was struck during the ministry of the Rev. Peter Carmichael, ordained in 1835, and translated to Greenock, where he died in 1867. Mr Carmichael in 1863 identified himself with the remnant who became known as the "Auld Lights" of the R.P. Church.

Penpont (Auld Licht).

227. R.P. REFORMED / PRESBYTERIAN / CONGREGATION / PENPONT / 1863. *Reverse*, as Annan U.P. (No. 75). Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12. Dick 52.

This token is now in the possession of, and is still used by, the small remnant of Penpont Reformed Presbyterians who, under the influence of the Rev. Peter Carmichael, of Greenock, refused to acquiesce in that Church's acceptance in 1863 of the new view of the Oath of Allegiance as interpreted by the leading legal luminaries of the day.

Quarrelwood.

228. R.P. No. 16. G M / 1745. *Reverse*, L S. The letters stand for General Meeting and Lord's Supper. Narrow ornamentation below L S. Borders, S. 11. Dick 12.
229. R.P. No. 17. Variety, with broader ornamentation under L S and further difference at the 4. S. 11.
230. R.P. No. 18. R · P / 1780. *Reverse*, L.S / 1 Cor. / xi., 23. Light borders. R. 14. Dick 13.

For twenty-five years the Cameronians or Hill-men were without a regular ordained ministry. They were also named M'Millanites, but in their own official records are spoken of as "The United Societies of the Suffering Remnant of the True Presbyterian Church in Scotland." In 1706 they were joined by the Rev. John M'Millan, A.M., parish minister of Balmaghie (1701-1704). For thirty-

seven years he was their only ordained minister. In 1743 he was joined by the Rev. Thomas Nairn, who was parish minister of Abbotshall (1710-1736), and thereafter Secession minister (1737-1743). He and Mr M^cMillan, along with one or two elders, on 1st August, 1743, constituted the first Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterians at Braehead, in the parish of Dalsersf. The first Synod was held at Glasgow in the year 1811, and in 1876 that body was united with the Free Church, now the United Free Church of Scotland. In August, 1712, the Renovation of the Covenants took place at Auchinsaugh, in the parish of Crawfordjohn. On the following Sabbath the Lord's Supper was celebrated—the first time since the Cameronians had become a separate community. A second renewal of the Covenants took place at Crawfordjohn in 1745, and again the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was observed. The tokens used on this occasion were those with GM / 1745 on the obverse for General Meeting, and LS on reverse for Lord's Supper. These are of the two types indicated above. According to Dr Burns (p. 452) "the two halves of a stone mould for casting tokens of Quarrelwood Reformed Presbyterian Church (undated) are in the Museum at Thornhill." If this observation is correct then the mould is not for the token of Quarrelwood, which is dated 1745, but some other. On the other hand, if the mould is for the token described above, its being in the neighbourhood of Penpont would seem to bear out the writer's idea that at some period subsequent to 1796 the mould was loaned to the Penpont congregation for a fresh issue. Certainly the Scourbridge hoard are all of a newer type, that is to say not worn, as though they had been very little used. Those in possession of the Martyrs Church, Dumfries, which absorbed the Quarrelwood Cameronian remnant and inherited the old cups, flagons, and plates, inscribed, "Belonging to the old Covenanted Presbeterian Dissenters in Scotland," are much worn and defaced almost beyond deciphering. The Rev. John Courtass was ordained at Quarrelwood in 1755, and died in 1795.

Rigg.

231. A.C. No. 135. UNITED / ASSO CON. / OF RIGG.
Reverse, REV. M. M^cG. / ORD / 25 MAY 1832.
 Light borders, ov., 15 × 12. Dick 756. Rev.

Matthew M'Gill, 1832-1864, was the first minister. (See Plate correction, p. 52.)

Ruthwell.

232. E.C. No. 136. RUTHWELL / CHURCH in upper and under border frames. 1830 across centre. *Reverse*, SACRAMENTAL / TOKEN likewise, with pentacle in centre (signifying health). Borders, ov., 17 × 13.
233. F. Stock pattern. Type II., as Closeburn F. Oval, 19 × 13.

That there was an earlier token in Ruthwell is almost certain. Possibly it is the small square token shown in Mr Brook's list on page 153. Continuing Mr Brook's numbering, the piece referred to will be 1177—a small square with rude capital R.

Rev. Henry Duncan, 1799-1843, was the third son of the Rev. George Duncan, of Lochrutton. Had D.D. from University of St. Andrews in 1823, and was elected Moderator of the General Assembly, 1839. At the Disruption he joined the Free Church and was minister of the Ruthwell Free Church at Kedar Mount from 1843 till his death in 1846. In February, 1810, he formed first an Auxiliary Bible Society in Dumfries, and in the following May he established in his own parish the first parish or savings bank, with the founding of which his name and fame will best be known. Dr Duncan's token, dated 1830, is unique in the symbol it bears. What suggested the pentacle, pentagram, or pentalpha, is not known. As a member of the Speculative Society he may have culled the emblem from the ancients to signify "mystery," "perfection," or "the universe." As a churchman he may have borrowed it from ecclesiastical architecture, in which, at least on the Continent, it is to be found. Or perhaps he detected a worthy idea in the superstition of the Middle Ages which regarded the "wizard pentacle" as a powerful symbol for the warding off and expelling of evil spirits. More probably as a Mason he adopted the Masonic emblem as the most fitting ornament for his communion token. It may be allowed to stand as a religious symbol for the perfection and mystery of the saving health of the Gospel, as that is dispensed in the Sacrament of the Supper.

St. Mungo.

234. E.C. No. 137. SAINT / MUNGO / 1830. *Reverse*, Cross having base between I and H, with S underneath. Borders, ov., 18 × 14.

235. E.C. No. 138. S^T MUNGO / 1863 / PARISH CHURCH. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME and ornament around edge. Numeral over TABLE in centre. Borders, ov., 18 × 15.

Rev. Andrew Jameson, 1803-1861, was the son of a soap-boiler in Leith. A man of High Church proclivities, it is reported of him that he would frequently take into the pulpit emblematic spectacular devices, such as rude branches of trees in the form of a cross. The design of the above token, dated 1830, would lend some colour to this report. It is further stated that without the knowledge of either congregation or Kirk-Session he got the calme for this token made and issued the tokens for use at the Sacrament. This, we are informed, created such indignation that the Presbytery had to be called in to settle the dispute, with the result the token was prohibited from further use. The calme for this token was turned up in a field by a Dalton ploughman some fifteen or twenty years ago, and is now in the possession of a local antiquary. More than one story is heard in the locality which would make Mr Jameson out to be a man of no ordinary sort. For example, it is said he got into debt and was taken by his creditors before the Small Debt Court in Edinburgh. The first Sabbath after his return he preached on the text, "Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all." He was succeeded in 1861 by the Rev. John Mein Austin, minister of St. Mary's, Dumfries (1849-1852).

Sanquhar.

236. E.C. No. 139. Sq. Heavy border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 10. Not in Brook.

237. E.C. No. 140. S K in circle of dots. No border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 12. Brook 991.

A variety of this token is known to collectors.

Sanquhar—continued.

238. E.C. No. 141. S K with radiated dot between. Border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 14 × 11. Brook 993.

We are unfortunately unable to discover any approximate date for these tokens of Sanquhar parish. The first (236) seems to be quite unique, like the two first of Morton parish (Ill. 124, 125), and, like them, are in the collection of the Rev. J. Richmond Wood, to whom we are indebted for their reproduction.

Sanquhar—South.

239. A.C. No. 142. A C / SAN. *Reverse*, M / I G / 1750. (Rev. John Goodlet.) Borders. S. 12. Dick 773.

On the death of Rev. John Hepburn, of Urr (1689-1723), "The Morning Star of the Secession," as he has been called, the old Dissenters of Nithsdale found themselves as "sheep having no shepherd." Accordingly in 1730 they approached Thomas Boston of Ettrick, Messrs Wilson of Maxton, and Davidson of Galashiels, "to establish a correspondence with such as they considered the purer part of the corrupt church." Says Boston: "I found them to be men having a sense of religion on their own spirits, much affected with their circumstances as destitute of a minister, endowed with a good measure of Christian charity and love, and of a very different temper from that of Mr M'Millan's followers." Boston could not see his way towards separation, so, he adds, "we parted on the morrow after; but with great affection and much heaviness on both sides." It will be remembered that this was the second attempt on the part of Nithsdale Presbyterians to bring the famous Thomas Boston to their midst. (Vide Closeburn.) Sanquhar became the seat of the first Secession congregation in Dumfriesshire. The pastorate of the Rev. Thomas Ballantyne (1742-1744) was followed by a five years' vacancy. The Rev. John Goodlet (1749-1775) was the second minister.

240. A.C. No. 143. Variety of preceding.

Sanquhar—North.

241. A.C. No. 144. ASSO. CON / SANQUHAR / REV. R. S. / 1820. *Reverse*, as Dumfries A.C., 1810. Light

Sanquhar--North—continued.

borders, obl., c.c., 18 × 12. Dick 771. (See Plate correction, p. 76.)

Rev. Robert Simpson, D.D., 1820-1867, was the first minister of the Sanquhar Burgher Secession congregation. His "Tales and Traditions of the Covenanters" will keep his memory alive within and far beyond the bounds of Dumfriesshire and Galloway.

242. U.P. No. 145. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN / CHURCH / SANQUHAR / NORTH / REV. JAMES HAY SCOTT / 1868. *Reverse*, "THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME." / — / "BUT LET A MAN / EXAMINE HIMSELF." / 1 Cor., xi., 23-29. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12. Dick 772.

Dr Simpson was succeeded by the Rev. James Hay Scott, who was ordained in 1868, and who only recently retired from an active and honourable ministry. As a collector of coins and communion tokens Mr Scott's name has for many years now been well known in numismatic circles.

Sanquhar—West.

243. F. No. 146. FREE CHURCH / ornament / SANQUHAR. *Reverse*, plain. Border, obl., c.c., 20 × 16.

Thornhill.

244. A.C. No. 147. U. ASSOCI^E. CONG^N. / OF / THORNHILL / 1828. Border. *Reverse*, plain, ov., 17 × 12. (Rev. William Rogerson, 1817-1857.) Dick, 828. The Tokens used prior to this date were those of Moniaive. Dick 827, obviously an error. (See correction under Addenda 5.)

Tinwald.

245. E.C. T.N. *Reverse*, M A R in monogram. Light borders. R. 11.

The Rev. Alexander Robesone was minister of this parish from 1697 to 1761. It is said that at his ordination "he was so unwilling to submit that he endeavoured to escape, and was only brought back by the constraint and remonstrance of some of his senior brethren." One daughter married the Rev.

Robert Wight, of Torthorwald, a second married the Rev. William Carlyle, of Cummertrees, and a third married George Bell, Provost of Dumfries. His first publication, "The Oath of Abjuration No Ground of Separation," an 8vo., was printed at Kirkbride in 1713, and his second, "Mene Tekel," or Separation weighed in the balance of the Sanctuary and found wanting, a 4to., was printed in Dumfries, 1717.

Tinwald and Trailflat.

246. E.C. No. 148. T & T / 1787. No border. *Reverse*, plain. S., c.c., 11.
247. E.C. No. 149. T & T / 1787. Narrow border on obverse. *Reverse*, plain, with incuse numeral. S., c.c., 13.
248. E.C. No. 150. Another similar, with broader border. S., c.c., 14. Brook, 1081.

This token was first struck during the ministry of the Rev. James Lawrie, 1784-1799. There have been re-issues of the same token at different periods. (Vide Ill. 148-150.)

Torthorwald.

249. E.C. No. 151. T K in monogram. Solid segment underneath. Border. *Reverse*, plain. R. 11.
250. E.C. No. 152. T K in monogram. Line underneath. Border. *Reverse*, plain. R. 12. Brook 1092.

An oblong token (10 by 9) with border, bearing capitals T K, has been attributed to this parish. The fact that the present incumbent found at least one of this type among the tokens of his own parish would seem to lend weight to this attribution. But there were also found at least two strangers from Mouswald, and the Robestone specimen from Tinwald, and there may well have crept into the same company a stranger from some other neighbouring parish. The writer's suspicion about this token was aroused by a circumstance related to him by a collector of long standing, who more than twenty years ago came into possession of this piece associated with the name of Troqueer parish. Until further evi-

Torthorwald—continued.

dence is forthcoming the writer prefers to regard the above-named token as that of the Parish of Troqueer.

251. E.C. No. 153. TORTHORWALD / CHURCH / 1835 with open scrolls between. *Reverse*, as Kirkmahoe, 1835 (No. 170). Borders, ov., $15 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$.

Rev. John Yorstoun, 1808-1841, was translated from Morton (1790-1808). He was the youngest son of the Rev. Peter Yorstoun, of Closeburn (1763-1776: Kells, 1741-1763), and his brothers were the Rev. Andrew Yorstoun, who succeeded his father in Closeburn (1777-1814; Middlebie, 1774-1777); the Rev. James Yorstoun, of Hoddam (1784-1834: Middlebie, 1778-1784).

Tundergarth.

252. E.C. TH incuse, large capitals. No border. *Reverse*, plain. R. 15. Brook 953.

This token is so attributed in the collection at the Smith Institute, Stirling. The attribution we think extremely doubtful. That there was an earlier token than the second we are certain; but the token described above as bearing the initial and final letters of Tundergarth belongs to the Parish of Mordington, the initials being uniquely those of Thomas Hay, of Mordington, in whose gift the living was at least in the years 1721 and 1736.

253. E.C. No. 156. TUNDERGARTH / KIRK / incuse numeral. Two parallel circular open scrolls between two first lines. *Reverse*, 1 Cor. / xi., 26. Borders, ov., 15×12 . Brook, not illustrated.

At the Sacrament, June 21st, 1795, 6 Tables, 220 Tokens used. At Sacrt., June 16th, 1799, 7 full Tables, 283 Tokens used. (Kirk-Session Records.)

Tynron.

254. E.C. TK / 1748, the "4" retrograde. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 12. Brook 1167.

The bag containing these tokens is said to be lying in the bed of the river Shinnel, they having been

Tynron—continued.

thrown out amongst rubbish by a mason at a time when the Parish Church was undergoing repairs.

Rev. Thomas Wilson, 1743-1784, was succeeded by his nephew, Rev. James Wilson, 1780-1827. This token is placed by Mr Brook among the "Tokens of Disputed Attribution," on page 153 of his list. It is the last on the second line from the top, and might be numbered 1167. In the Transactions of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries for May, 1864, there is detailed a gift of tokens by the Rev. George Murray, of Balmaclellan. Amongst these many have been inaccurately ascribed; but we have some reason for believing his attribution correct in this instance.

255. E.C. No. 154. TK / 1771. Lombardic letters and figures. Serrated border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 9.

The Rev. Robert Wilson, 1828-1857, was a relative of his predecessor. This piece is all the way from Texas, U.S.A., where it lay in the collection of a Scotsman recently deceased. It came with his attribution, and is now in the valuable collection of Mrs Henderson, of Logan House, Cumnock, to whom the compiler is indebted for the loan of this and other tokens reproduced.

256. E.C. No. 155. TYNRON CHURCH in semi-circle over 1850. *Reverse*, as Dumfries F., 1843, illus. 19. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 14.

Virgin Hall.

257. F. No. 157. VIRGIN HALL / numeral incuse within oval / FREE CHURCH / 1847. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN/ REMEMBRANCE / OF ME / 1 Cor., xi., 24. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12.

The Free Church of Scotland at Penpont derives its name, Virgin Hall, from the fact that at the Disruption an old lady, Miss Janet Fraser by name, came to the relief of the distressed congregation of non-intrusionists who could not obtain a site on which to erect a church. Miss Fraser gave up her cabbage plot. Shortly thereafter the neighbouring Duke, unaware of the transaction, approached the lady with a view to purchase the plot, and was met with the reply

that he had come too late as she had already made it over to the Lord.

Wamphray.

258. E.C. WAM / FRAY / 16—, date partly obliterated.
Reverse, plain, obl., 15 × 12. Brook 1128.

Rev. John Brown, A.M., 1655-1662. Thereafter he went to Holland, where he died in September, 1679.

Rev. John Swintoun, A.M., 1665-1674.

Rev. William Wyseheart, A.M., 1680-1685.

259. E.C. No. 159. WK in monogram, rude capitals. No border. *Reverse*, plain, obl., 10 × 9. Brook 1130.

260. E.C. No. 160. W / 1797. *Reverse*, similar. No borders, obl. 11 × 13. Brook 1129.

In the Session Records, October 2nd, 1796, it is stated that "The Session of Wamphray duly constituted find that various articles are wanted for the service of the Communion of the Lord's Supper in this parish, viz., Communion cups and tokens, wine and bread servers and table linen; that none of these articles are remaining, and that this is a favourable time to have them furnished: resolves that application be made to the Heritors to furnish the above."

Rev. William Singer, 1794-1799, son of James Sinziur, in Murrial, Inch, Aberdeenshire. Translated to Kirkpatrick-Juxta (1799-1840).

Wamphray—Gateside.

261. R. No. 161. G / R·C, for Gateside Relief Church. Border. *Reverse*, plain. S. 13. Dick 47 (error).

The Relief Congregation was formed in 1776. Rev. Thomas Marshall, 1777-1780, was the first minister. This token is attributed by Mr Dick to Galloway Reformed Church (Newton-Stewart), and is regarded uncertain at the Smith Institute, Stirling. These notwithstanding, the correct attribution is Wamphray-Gateside, and it is one of a trio of similar type from the same neighbourhood, viz., Langholm, Waterbeck, and Wamphray.

262. R. No. 162. RG for Relief Gateside. *Reverse*, 1811. No borders. Obl. c.c., 15 × 10. Dick 836.

Rev. Henry Paterson, the fourth minister, succeeded the Rev. Decision Laing in 1805, and died in 1847.

Wamphray.

263. F. Stock pattern. Type I., as Ecclefechan F. Oval, 19 × 13.

Wanlockhead.

264. E.C. No. 158. WANLOCKHEAD / CHURCH between ornamental ovals, 1859 across centre. *Reverse*, as Caerlaverock E.C., illus., 35. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12.

A chapel was built at Wanlockhead for the benefit of the miners and was served by preachers or ministers as chaplains. Erected into a quoad sacra parish in 1861.

Rev. Thomas Hastings, 1835-1843. Thereafter Free Church minister of Wanlockhead.

Rev. James Laidlaw, 1848-1860, formerly at Bewcastle, was succeeded by the Rev. James Laidlaw in 1861.

265. F. No. 163. FREE / CHURCH / WANLOCKHEAD. *Reverse*, THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME. Light borders, ov., 18 × 15.

Waterbeck.

266. R. No. 164. R / C·W for Relief Church, Waterbeck. Border. *Reverse*, plain. Thin. S. 12. Dick 838, varieties not noticed.
267. R. No. 165. Another similar, but a little thicker. S. 12.
268. R. No. 166. Another similar, but very thick and obviously a later re-issue. S. 12.

The Waterbeck Relief congregation was formed in 1790. The first minister was Rev. James Geddes, 1794-1802. From specimens of token in the compiler's possession it is evident there have been issues of the same type at different periods of time. See note under Wamphray-Gateside.

269. U.P. No. 167. WATERBECK / U. P. / CHURCH. *Reverse*, as Caerlaverock E.C. No. 86. Borders, obl., c.c., 17 × 12. Dick 839.

The twelfth minister of this congregation in 117 years is the Rev. Hugh Watt, B.D., who was ordained in 1907.

Westerkirk.

270. E.C. No. 168. WESTERKIRK around edge, K in centre. *Reverse*, as Eskdalemuir E.C. Borders, r. 15. Brook 1136.

See note under Eskdalemuir.

VI.—EXTRACTS FROM ANCIENT RECORDS OF DUMFRIES ON THINGS PERTAINING TO THE SACRAMENT.

It is somewhat remarkable that not a single specimen of the pre-Reformation Communion Cup used in Scotland has survived. Two sepulchral chalices and patens of that early period are in the Edinburgh National Museum of Antiquities. The older chalice is made of wax, and was found in 1845 in the tomb of Bishop Thomas Tulloch when the Cathedral of St. Magnus, Kirkwall, was being repaired. Tulloch filled the See from 1418 to 1461. A pewter chalice of a similar antiquity was found in 1882 in the churchyard of Bervie, Kincardineshire. One common feature of both cups is that the diameter of bowl and foot is almost the same. They are supposed to preserve for us some likeness in shape to the Communion cups of the period to which they undoubtedly belong. An exhaustive examination of public records has not only brought to light complete inventories of rich possessions in pre-Reformation Communion plate and jewelled paraphernalia for celebrations of the highest order, but it has revealed the cause of their entire disappearance. Prior to the Reformation these treasures belonged to Town Councils, and when the great change came over the religious government of the country these valuable items were called in, converted into money and applied to any need, secular or otherwise, pressing heavily upon the community. Many a protest, no doubt, would be raised against the sacrilege of applying such holy utensils to secular purposes. Just such a vain protest is found in the *Dumfries Sheriff Court Book* at 19th November, 1567, where we have the following entry: "Compearit Schir Johne Bryce, vicar of Dumfries, and exponit to the Provost, Baillies, and Counsell of the said burgh thir wordis following: Forsamekill as our ancient antecessauris of Kirkmen and otheris weill gevin, of lang tyme of befoir, as Maister Roger Carrutheris, Thomas Car, Maister James Hend with the rest of personis owneris of the parsonage and vicarage of Dumfries gave things in

honour of God, and als in the Quier of Dumfries of divers silver chalices, vestamentis, and utheris ornamentis of tha things and right service ane greate Ewcryst of silver . . . 3 silver chalices, twa ungilt, and a great chalice doubilgilt of purpou valouss and of werk of gold quhilk wer put in plaice, etc." He protests that the silver shall be put to its "origin, purpose, and use," and asks "Instrumentis" accordingly. Needless to repeat, the labour was without effect and the plate disappeared like the plate of other places. On the subject of the Sacrament a century passes by in silence. Our next extracts are from the Dumfries Kirk-Session Records. On Thursday, 30th August, 1655, the following entry is made: "The Sessioun have resolved that some of their number be eased and laid by for a tyme and that some others may be brought in which is to be gone about after the work of the communioun is perfyted. The Sessioun doe appoynt these persones following to attend upon the work the nixt Sabbath, to witt Baillie Graham and Bailly Edgar to attend upon the Breid, John Taylyer and James Moffat for filling the stoups, Robert Richardsone and John Coupland for filling of the coups, Robert Glencross and John Burges are to attend the collection for the poore and gathering the tickits, Harbert Burges to attend the wyne, Robt. Crechtoun be joyned with him."

These appointments were duly carried out on Sabbath, 2nd September, 1655. On the Thursday thereafter another meeting of Session was held, of which the minute runs thus: "Thursday, Sept. 6, 1655. The elders being present these following are appoynted to attend the work of the Communion the nixt Saboth. Bailie Cunyngham and James Cunyngham are to attend the Breid, James Muireheid and John Corbet for the coups. John Taylyer and John Mulligane for the stoups, Robert Glencross and John Burges to collect for the poore and receive the tickitts, Harbert Burges and Robert Crechtoun to see the stoups filled and to attend upon the wyne. John Coupland and John Sharpe are to keep the passage end." The celebration of the Supper on two successive Sabbaths was, no doubt, a common occurrence in parishes where large numbers were wont to present themselves as communicants. It is interesting to note the references to the time-honoured custom of "seeing the stoups filled" and "attending upon the wine." Whether the custom survives or not in any of our town or country churches the writer does not know, but

certainly it is within recent memory that the bottles of wine were unsealed in the presence of the congregation, the wine openly tested and the stoups filled. This function sprang out of the controversy as to whether the Supper was celebrated in proper kind if the wine was unmixed with water. The Church of the Reformation maintained that pure wine was all that was necessary, and common table bread of the best quality. In passing we also notice that it is "tickitts" and not "tokens" that are referred to in these extracts. An interval of five years occurs between this celebration and the next. On June 1, 1660, we find that "The Session considering that this place hath beene for a long tyme without the Communion think fit that the samyn be gone about with all conveniencie and therfore they resolve if the Lord will to celebrate the Lord's Supper in this congregation and that the first Sabbath therof be upon the last Sabbath of June and the last day yreof upon the first Sabbath of July." On June 7th, 1660, a further meeting was held. The business is detailed in the following minute: "The Session think fit in order to the celebration of the Lord's Supper that a day or two in the begining of the nixt weik be set apairt that they may consider the whole, examein roll, and take ane list of those persones who are to be admitted, also that ane other list may be takin of such as are ignorant or scandallous to the effect that the elders as they goe thorow with the tickitts may be, the more able to convince them that are debarred. As also the Session appoynts that ane day be set apairt for publict humiliation for the sinns of the place to be observed June 21." On the 18th of June the appointments "for the severall peeces of service in this great work" were made for the first day's observance very much as on the previous occasion five years earlier. New names among the elders this time are: Robt. Bartan, John Shortrig, James Callend, John Williamsons, John Irving, and George M'Burnie. At a meeting of Session ten days later (28th June, 1660), "Repoirt maid that the fast was observed according as was apoynted as also that the first dayis work of the Lord's Supper was celebrate according to the laudible ordour of this Church." Appointments for the second day's observance were made, the new elders on this occasion being Eduard Edgar laith bailie, John Broun, and John Gilchrist. A subsequent entry, July 5th, 1660, closes the sacred festivity thus: "Reporit is maid that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrat this last Sabbath

(as before) according to the comely ordour prescribed by the Word of God and practique of the Kirk of Scotland in all.”

Here again tickets and not tokens are referred to. The minister at this time was the Rev. Hew Henrysone, A.M. (1648-1661). On the re-establishment of Episcopacy at the Restoration he and his colleague of the 2nd charge (the New Church, now Greyfriars'), the Rev. George Campbell, A.M., who was also his son-in-law, were deprived and imprisoned in Edinburgh for refusing in the year 1661 to celebrate the anniversary of the Restoration. Mr Campbell became minister of the first charge after the Toleration in 1687, was restored by Act of Parliament in April, 1690, was translated later in that year to the Old Church of Edinburgh, and on the 28th October was promoted to the Chair of Divinity in the Edinburgh University.

A blank occurs in the Dumfries Kirk-Session Records between June 27, 1661, and August 30, 1668. Not till April 18, 1700, do we find further mention of the Sacrament, when “the Session finding that yr will be severall comunion in May next in the neighbouring parishes, they delayed theirs till the penult Sabbath of June.” No further notice is taken of that Sacrament, but on 19th May of 1701 we have the following minute, which we reproduce in full:

“Severall of the members having prayed per vices, the Session conferred anent the Sacrament, and thereafter appointed and hereby appoints Thomas Lewars and Thomas Bridge to collect upon Thursday and Saturday, Bailie Corsbie and John Mitchelson on Sabbath from seven a clock to nine, and Drumcolteran, Thomas M'burnie and John Robson for the rest of that day, and Homer Gillison and John Robson on Monday. They likewise appointed Robert Johnston and Robert Gordon to provide the elements, Homer Gillison and David Houstine to keep ym in the Session-house, and Dean Johnston and Andrew Bell to bring ym to the Tables, and assist the servers. They likewise appointed Drumcolteran, Bailie Corsbie, Thomas M'burnie, John Mitchelson, John Gilchrist and Thomas Lewars to serve the Tables. And moreover the Session appointed William Caremont, Dean Smith, John Robsone, James Boyd, and John Smith, younger, to keep the entry at the Session-house door, That the people may enter in to the Tables without confusion: And Deacon Ffairbairn, John M'Creen, Richard Patersone, James M'Kinnell, Andrew

Davidson, and John M'Cartney to keep the entry at the M'Crair's (sic) Isle, That the communicants be not thronged in going out, and further the Session appointed those who are to keep the entries to wait on the Church Doors from six a clock in the morning, and Robert Gordon to wait on the Churchyard and Isle, to call out Minrs. to preach yr as yr is occasion. And finally they appointed Dean Johnston and yr Thesaurer to provide new Table cloaths and to see that the cups and Tables be all in good order. And so, Mr Patoun concluded the meeting with prayer." This may be taken as a fair sample of the minutes of the Dumfries Kirk-Session at that period, for then the clerk was a very remarkable man. He was none other than the Rev. Peter Rae, of whom more may be seen in the Dumfriesshire catalogue under Kirkconnel. Communion was celebrated again in June, 1702, but not thereafter till 1706. In 1703, June 17th, we read that "Mr Hutchesone, mnr. of Troqueer, desiring a loan of Communion cups and tables the Treasurer is appointed to lend them and to get the Deacon of the wrights to inspect the tables that they may be restored without any damage." What has become of these old cups we do not know. Whether they were returned, or kept, or melted down, or sold, we are not told. After this entry we lose sight of at least the second set of Communion plate belonging to the Old Church of St. Michael's. With the 7th November, 1706, begins the history of the plate at present in use, for "this day Mr William gave in two large silver cups which he dedicated to the Church of Drumfries to be used at the celebration of the lord supper." This cup stands $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches high. The diameter of bowl is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches: its depth is $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The diameter of foot is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The maker's initials are those of Thomas Kerr, goldsmith, admitted 1694 and deacon 1708-1710. It also bears the stamp of James Penman, assaymaster, 1697-1708, the hall-mark of Edinburgh, and the date-letter for 1704-1705. The inscription runs: "THE · GIFT · OF · MR WM VETCH · MINISTER OF DUMFRIES TO THAT CHURCH, 1705." Not till 24th April, 1711, do we have tokens referred to as "tokens," and every subsequent mention of them is by that designation. The order to be observed on that sacramental occasion is almost as last, but with one or two interesting variations: "To collect on Thursday and Saturday Deacon Ffairbairn and John Robson. On the Sabbath provost Crosbie and John Paterson, to relive

them, conveener Fferguson and James Pagane. On Munday Robert Gordon and Hugh Lauson. To see that none break the Kirkyard dyk John Robson and James Mackinnall. To wait on the magistrates for ye elements Thomas Bridg and the Theasurer; To serve at the tables provost Corbet, provost Crosbie, James Young, Bailie Gilchrist, John Paterson and Robert Gordon. To carry thê elements to the table when needfull Robert Crosbie, William Mundall and Hugh Lauson. To take up the tokens John Paterson and Robert Gordon. To keep the elements in the Session-house Dean Smith and Tho. Bridg. To keep the entry at the Session-house door Charle Kilpatrick, Conveener Fferguson and Richard Paterson. To keep the outgate from the tables Deacon M'nish with William Pickersgill." From this time on the Sacrament was held at least annually, and the distributing and lifting or gathering of tokens had a regular place in the appointments of the occasion. On 4th July, 1734, "William Linn, who lived formerly in Dumfries now in Bridgend [now the Burgh of Maxwelltown] appeared voluntarily, and gave satisfaction for a repeated lie he had been guilty of, in order to have a token for the Lord's Table in Fbr. last, which he got and made use of. The Session removing him, called him in again, finding him seemingly sensible of his sin, the Mod^{tr}. rebuked him severely and allowed him an extract." An order *re* the distribution of tokens will be found at October 17, 1735: "The Session continue the same order with respect to distributing the Tokens as formerly each quarter from their respective elders and appointed that communicants are to receive tokens upon friday next betwixt the hours of three and six in the afternoon, and intimation hereof to be made upon the fast day from the pulpits in both churches. Only the communicants from the Little Vennal to the Milnburn Bridge are to Recieve from Thomas Dickson, Deacon, in regard Mr Walls who us'd to Distribute tokens in that quarter is dead."

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21. PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES IN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

(a) The earliest newspaper articles known to the compiler are those by the Rev. David Landsborough (now Dr) which appeared in the "Kilmarnock Standard" in the year 1892. The

title of the series was "The Scottish Communion and Communion Tokens." Beginning on July 16th with an appreciation of Mr Shiell's work (No. 6 supra), the first seven articles deal more with the subject of the Communion. The eighth is entitled "The Communion Tokens of Ayrshire" (Sept. 3); the ninth (Sept. 24 and Oct. 1) deals with "Tokens with the Coats-of-Arms of Cities, etc." with 14 illustrations; the remaining articles, with one exception (Oct. 15, 29, Nov. 12, 19, Dec. 24), deal with "Communion Tokens with Emblems," with 9 illustrations. A re-issue of these articles with one or two corrections and modifications would be welcomed by all interested in old time Sacramental usages as well as by collectors of tokens.

(b) Articles in "Scottish Notes and Queries" on Tokens of Established Churches in Northern Synods. By James Anderson. Illustrated.

- (1) Aberdeen Established Churches and several Presbyteries in Aberdeenshire. Vol. IV., 2nd Series, 1902-1903.
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(c) Articles in the "Dundee People's Journal," by Mr W. T. Ramsay. Illustrated.

- (1) The Tokens of Forfarshire, Jan. 31 and Feb. 14, 1903.
- (2) The Tokens of Fife and Kinross, April 11 and 18.
- (3) The Tokens of Kincardineshire, May 16.
- (4) The Tokens of Perthshire, June 20 and 27.
- (5) The Tokens of Stirling and Clackmannanshires, Sept. 19.
- (6) The Tokens of Aberdeenshire, Oct. 31 and Nov. 21.
- (7) The Tokens of the Lothians and Border Counties. Jan. 16 and 23, 1904.

(d) Some Greenock Communion Tokens, 1706-1878, by Rev. W. C. Mitchell. 1903, Orr, Pollock & Co., Greenock.

(e) Article on "Old Church Communion Tokens" in "Good Words," December, 1906, with illustrations of 26 Tokens, by Mr W. T. Ramsay.

(f) Articles on Irish Tokens in "The Witness," Belfast, 1908.

(g) Lecture on Communion Tokens, in Dumfries "Courier and Herald," April 26, 1911, by Rev. H. A. Whitelaw.

(h) The subject has been further popularised by means of Lantern Lectures delivered by Rev. A. A. Milne, Cambuslang, and Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, Dumfries.

(i) Tokens, with special reference to those in the Museum of the Torquay Natural History Society. By S. Grose, M.D. (Journal of the Torquay Natural History Society. Vol. I., No. 3. 1911.)

(j) Newspaper articles descriptive of the Tokens collected by Sergeant Mitchell, of Coldstream, were re-issued in pamphlet form.

(k) Other contributions have been made by Mr M'Phee, Helensburgh, and J. H. Pratt, Esq., Rothesay. The latter is a MS. catalogue of the tokens presented by him to the Kelvin-grove Museum, Glasgow.

ADDENDA.

1. A token inscribed CANONBY-LANGHOLM, struck by those Canonbie parishioners who withdrew from the Establishment at the time of an unpopular settlement about the year 1798. At first they attended the Relief preachers at Waterbeck, but afterwards obtained supply at Canonby, and ultimately settled in Langholm, forming the congregation now known as the South U.F. Church.
2. A round token of Glencairn Parish with G incuse on the obverse, and K incuse on the reverse—both small capitals.
3. A thinner variety of Glencairn token dated 1838, No. 140 supra.
4. A variety of Hutton token, No. 159 supra.
5. Correction: The Thornhill token referred to, under 244 supra, as Dick 827. It bears on circular band—THORNHILL ASSOC. CON. In centre MR / J.P. / 1787, for James Pattison (1st minister). *Reverse*, plain. Square, 12.

6. Bibliography: A work entitled "Scottish Pewter-Ware and Pewterers," by L. Ingleby Wood, published by George A. Morton, 42 George Street, Edinburgh. Chapter XI. of this work is devoted to Tokens and has two plates illustrating.

18th November, 1910.

Chairman—H. S. GLADSTONE, M.A., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U.,
President.

A JOURNEY TO LONDON IN 1840. By THOMAS MURRAY, Author of *The Literary History of Galloway*. Edited from the Original MS. by Mr JOHN A. FAIRLEY, Davidson's Mains, Midlothian.

Under the heading "Reminiscences of a Journey" Mr Murray gives the following account of a trip he made to London in 1840, in his MS. volume already referred to. Apart from the undoubted interest of the narrative the unconscious revelation of the writer's individuality is altogether delightful. His self complacency and his sense of his own importance indicate a successful man of a somewhat bourgeoisie type of mind, while the references to his personal intimacies and his libations as certainly show that he was of social predilections and a man whose company was probably welcomed by his friends. His powers of observation were respectable, and as a rule his criticisms just.

J. A. F.

REMINISCENCES OF A JOURNEY.

Having never been in London and having resolved to pay a visit to that great city, I left Edinburgh for the purpose at six o'clock a.m. on Tuesday, the 19th of May, 1840. I went *via* Glasgow and Liverpool in order to travel by railroad from this latter town to the metropolis. The coach by which I went to Glasgow took the southern road by Calder, Whitburn, Kirk of Shotts, and West or Old Monkland. As the history of the different places through which I passed was known to me I recalled as I went along the various interesting circumstances connected with each of them.

When we came to Mid Calder we passed Calder House, the residence of Lord Torphichen, in which John Knox administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for the first time in Scotland, in the Protestant form, if he had not done so before in the Castle of St. Andrews. An excellent original painting of the reformer still adorns the room in Calder House in which the ceremony was performed. The recently published portraits of Knox were engraved from this picture. Of those who were present on the occasion several afterwards made a figure in the ecclesiastical and political history of their time. I refer in particular to James Stewart, illegitimate brother of Queen Mary, afterwards so celebrated under the title of the Regent Murray, the founder of the noble house of Moray. At this time John Spottiswood (1510-1585), father of the distinguished historian Archbishop Spottiswood, was minister of the parish of Calder; he was afterwards Superintendent of Lothian under the Presbyterians. The Archbishop was born in the parish in 1565. He survived the downfall of prelacy in 1638, dying in misery and dejection at London towards the end of the subsequent year (November 26). His son, who rose to the high office of President of the Court of Session, was beheaded by the maiden at the Market Cross of St. Andrews for having taken part with the Marquis of Montrose in support of the royal cause in Scotland. His execution, which was attended by circumstances disgraceful to the Presbyterians, took place in 1645.¹ The title assumed by this judge when he was raised to the bench (on 12th July, 1622), was Lord Newabbey, his father the Archbishop having purchased for him the barony of that name in Galloway.

When passing through Whitburn I called to mind the worth and simplicity of character of the late John Brown (1754-1832), minister of the Secession Church of that place, and eldest son of the famous John Brown of Haddington. This venerable person addressed to me several letters on the subject of my publications, particularly the *Life of Samuel Rutherford*, and he mentions my name very kindly in his *Distinctive Characters of Authors*. He was father of Dr John Brown (1784-1858), minister of Broughton Place Chapel, Edinburgh, by common consent allowed to be

1. Should be 1646. He was sentenced on January 16th. Sir Robert was the author of the well-known *Practicks of the Law of Scotland*, the manuscript of which is in the Advocate's Library.—J. A. F.

probably the most learned theologian in Scotland, and, perhaps, all in all, the most interesting and instructive preacher I ever heard.

The next parish is Shotts, the manse of which stands about 800 feet above the level of the sea, and is, I should think, about the coldest, as it looks the most uninteresting and bleak, dwelling in Scotland. Shotts is memorable in religious history on account of the so-called "Revival" which took place there in 1630 owing to a sermon preached by the Rev. John Livingstone (1603-1672), of Lanark, then unordained, when it is said 500 persons were converted. Of late this circumstance has been universally referred to in triumph in connection with fanatic attempts to create fresh "Revivals." I look on all such absurd movements with a very different eye from that with which, in juvenile and unthinking years, I was accustomed to do. I regard such projects as a disgusting modification of priestcraft on the part of those clergymen who abet and encourage them; and where successful for a moment, for their influence is necessarily momentary, merely so as the result of ignorance, superstition, and nervousness on the part of those who are the victims. We believe that recently they have promoted immorality instead of piety, and have done much ill and no good. Mere nervous excitement is not sanctity. Besides a person may have his organ of veneration highly excited, not for a time only but perhaps during his whole life, while the organs of conscientiousness, benevolence, and all the moral sentiments may lie dormant. Hence the monstrous and unnatural combination of a high profession of religion with immorality in all its most repulsive phases. If a man's heart and conduct are not pure and exemplary I would give nothing for his sighing and praying, and his ostentatious display of religion; or rather I disregard these with contempt. A man's religion is unsound, and he only deceives himself, unless he keeps the Commandments, or practices justice, loves mercy, and walks humbly with his God. Revivals have a direct tendency to deceive their unfortunate victims and to invest them with the most hateful and unscriptural of all things—religious pride and a contempt for others not deluded like themselves. Happily Shotts is remarkable for various things more important and honourable than these fanatic ebullitions of pseudo piety; it is the birthplace of several illustrious characters. Gavin Hamilton (1730-1797), the famous historical

painter, was born at Murdoston,² in the parish of which his father was proprietor. Few of Hamilton's pictures exist in this country, for though he often visited his native land his usual residence was in Rome. His Homeric pictures, or pictures representing the different scenes in the *Iliad*, are perhaps his masterpieces. He devoted much of the latter part of his life to searching for and bringing to light many of the buried treasures of Italy. Statues, busts, bas relievos, and other similar relics. The consequence is that his name and merits are, if possible, better known on the Continent than in his native country. A few of his works are to be seen in Hamilton Palace, the Duke and Duchess being numbered among his greatest patrons. It is said that when the artist was engaged in painting a picture of her Grace, the Duke got it from his hands and would not return it to be finished; the likeness being so striking that his Grace thought if retouched the resemblance might be diminished. Hamilton died at Rome in 1776.³ The late John Millar (1735-1801), Professor of Civil Law in the College of Glasgow, was born in the manse of Shotts, his father having been minister of the parish. He was a great ornament to the University and attracted a larger number of students to it than perhaps any other Professor ever did. A great many young men who afterwards rose to eminence came thither to enjoy the benefit of his enlightened prelections, and retained through life the impression made on their mind by his views. These included Jeffrey, Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, etc., etc. His lectures on the subject of government were sufficiently liberal and expansive, and his published work, *An Historical View of the English Government*, is one of the best books on the subject ever written. He was a Whig and "something more;" altogether a man of the largest and most philosophic views. He died, I think, in 1801. The Rev. Dr James Baillie, father of Dr Matthew Baillie (1761-1823), physician to George III., and of Joanna Baillie (1762-1851), the author of *Plays on the Passions*, was minister here for some years previous to 1762. He was after-

2. According to the *Diet. Nat. Biog.*, Hamilton was born in the town of Lanark, but was descended from the Hamiltons of Murdiston.

3. Should be 1797. On returning to Rome from Scotland in March, 1786, he escorted Emma Hart, the future Lady Hamilton, and her mother, who were then on their way to Naples.—J. A. F.

wards successively minister of Bothwell and Professor of Divinity in the College of Glasgow. The physician was born in Shotts, but Miss Baillie is a native, I think of Bothwell.⁴ But Shotts, though thus eminent in literary history, is eminent also in a department of a very different kind, though of immense importance from an economical point of view. Its mineral wealth, coal and ironstone, is great. The Shotts ironworks have been celebrated for nearly 40 years and are being extended annually. The Omoa Ironworks in the same parish are not so extensive though older.

On leaving Shotts we passed into the parish of Bothwell, a place connected with many interesting historical associations. The battle of Bothwell Brig in 1679 between the royal forces, commanded by the Duke of Monmouth, Graham of Claverhouse, and Dalziel of Binns, and the Covenanters, headed by Hackston of Rathillet and Hall of Haughhead, first occurs to painful remembrance. We have unfortunately abundance of bigotry and persecution at this moment in Scotland, but, thanks to the intelligence and liberality of the age, it now evaporates in words only and never comes, nor can come, to blows. The spirit is willing but afraid to strike. But not so in these comparatively dark and tyrannical times. The controversy was not then carried on constitutionally as beseems a free country and an enlightened people but by physical force. The Episcopal party in particular, or exclusively, thirsted for the blood of their imperturbable and conscientious opponents. The Covenanters on this occasion, though they had been a short time previously victorious over Claverhouse at Drumclog, were vanquished in their turn and cruelly insulted or murdered after they had fallen into the hands of the royalists. The bridge at that time was only 12 feet wide, and on the taking or keeping of it did victory depend. Scott in his novel of *Old Mortality* has slandered the character of the leading Covenanters engaged in this struggle. He had considerable room for his severity as their disputes, wrongheadedness, and obstinacy were violent and impracticable, but he has dipped his pen in gall when drawing their character and describing their procedure. They were on the whole men before their time and the age was not worthy of them. They perilled life and property

4. Joanna Baillie was born at the manse of Bothwell, 11th September, 1762.—J. A. F.

in a glorious cause, the cause of liberty of conscience and civil freedom. *Requiescat in pace!* Their memory is embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen and their name will ever adorn the page of impartial history.

Bothwell gave the title of Earl to James Hepburn (4th Earl), whose inglorious connection with Queen Mary is so well known. Being forfeited in his life and property, he was ultimately so far reduced as to practise piracy on the north seas in order to gain a livelihood for himself and his followers. He was eventually taken by the Danes, and though his officers and mariners were hanged, he was himself saved, but was thrown into prison, where he lived nearly ten years, and where he died in disgrace and wretchedness, atoning for his crimes by the subsequent misery of his life and by a base death. He is said when *in articulo mortis* to have confessed the murder of Darnley, and to have acquitted his royal paramour of being accessory thereto, but the latter is incredible. Mary would likely have made an amiable woman and a good queen if she had lived in better times or had not fallen into bad hands. Recollecting that a person is very much the creature of circumstances and that we all are fallible, we ought to regard her character with pity and indulgency rather than with unrelenting severity. Let such of us as are innocent, though not exposed to strong temptations, abstract a stone from her cairn. Alas! on such a condition how few would be found to insult her memory or not to commiserate her failings.

Bothwell Haugh, the property and place of residence of James Hamilton, who assassinated the Regent Murray as he was passing through Linlithgow, is in this parish about two miles on our left as we advanced. How different was that barbarous age in which such deeds were common from those happier times in which we live: times in which both person and property are secure, and the humblest may live under his vine and fig tree and there is none to make him afraid! William Aiton (1731-1793), the "Scottish Linnaeus," author of the *Hortus Kewensis*, was a native of Bothwell parish, and for 34 years keeper or founder of the Royal garden at Kew.

There is another remarkable circumstance connected with this parish. I refer to an abortive attempt made at a place called New Orbiston, in 1825, to carry into practical effect Mr Owen's

“Social System.” I know Mr Owen,⁵ and have had long conversations or controversies with him. I never, however, read any of his published works, but from what I know of the man I regard him as altogether Utopian, as in fact insane on his favourite subject. He has been termed a man of one idea, and so he is, but that one idea is absurd. He is totally ignorant of the mechanism of civil society, or of the nature of man and human life, and his system is founded on his ignorance. His plan is impracticable. It would do away with competition, which is the grand source of all exertion; which impels an individual or society forward. He would put the lazy and the industrious, the economical and the extravagant, the virtuous and the vicious on an equality. He would put an end to money, and exchange commodities for commodities. Indeed he is more ignorant of the science of money than any man whom it has ever been my fate to know. I do not speak of his negation of Christianity and of all religion. But I would say that his whole system is based on ignorance, both of man as an individual and of society, and never can be realised. He tried it at New Lanark with what result is well known. It was also tried at New Orbiston, where it totally failed in a few months; and of the great buildings, which originally cost £12,000, not one stone is left upon another. People give him credit for benevolence, but I never could trace this principle in his character. His general faculties besides are of a very inferior order. He has no ratiocination, no abstract principle to lean on, no reading, no haven of thought. His mind approaches a state of vacuity. But perhaps he was better in his mature years, though I can scarcely make myself believe so. He is now old and has the feebleness of intellect and thought which sometimes characterizes old age in the case of persons whose mind has not been vigorously exercised. His emotions, too, seem as dead as his intellectual faculties are torpid. His notions, however, of scholastic education are sound; and he has the honour of being the first in Scotland to introduce what is now called the intellectual system, and to illustrate the lessons at school by representations and specimens. Otherwise he is an inferior vain man. In truth, his self esteem is consummate.

After leaving the parish of Bothwell we entered that of Old

5. Robert Owen, the socialist, b. 1771, d. 1858.—J. A. F.

or West Monkland. This parish is so called because it belonged of old to the monastery of Newbattle. The parish of Monkland was divided into two in 1660, called Old and New, or East and West, Monkland. The district is eminently remarkable for its great mineral wealth. The whole district to the east and north-east for many miles indeed enjoys the same distinction, and yet it was till lately unknown or nearly so. Now, however, it is the greatest source of profitable employment, both in respect of labour and capital, in the West of Scotland, always excepting the cotton manufacture. The number of iron works in the parish, I believe, is seven, that of furnaces 34, but the latter number is yearly increasing. The total number of furnaces in Scotland is not above 90, indeed not so many are in blast. The two parishes of Monkland include nearly the whole of these furnaces, and the inhabitants are almost all employed in the work, including the coal mines, which abound collaterally with ironstone. There are coals but little or no ironstone wrought in Bothwell. In 1794 there were only 36,000 tons of pig iron produced in Old Monkland; in 1839 there were 176,000 tons. The great increase of the manufacture is mainly due to the introduction and application of heated air, or of the hot blast, by means of which the quantity of coal used is only about one-sixth of what formerly was required. This discovery is due to Mr Neilson, of Glasgow—1828. In 1821 the population of the parish was 6983, it is now (1840) said to be about 20,000!

The road through part of Bothwell and through most portions of Old Monkland it traverses, lies within a little distance of the Clyde, and is fringed with thriving timber. We had some interesting peeps of the river as it winded down the valley among the trees. The country here formed a striking contrast to the sterile and bare district—that of Shotts—through which we had previously passed. And as the landscape was more beautiful so the air was more mild and balmy. The crops seemed excellent, and altogether there were strong indications of prosperity, plenty, and happiness on every side.

Of the persons who were my travelling companions, a girl who sat beside me interested me not a little. She was evidently of a humble rank, though neatly and tidily dressed. She was possessed of good sense, and of very good sentiments and feelings. I learned from her that she was a native of Traquair, in

Kirkcudbrightshire, and that she had been for seven years in succession nursery maid in the house of a respectable physician in Edinburgh. She succeeded her sister, who had held the situation for three years. She had given up service and was going to reside with her relations now settled in Liverpool, but on her way she meant to spend a day or two in Paisley at the house of an uncle. She had attended the ministry of Dr John Brown during the whole time she remained in Edinburgh, and she felt nervously anxious about his health, which was so frail that he had recently been obliged to leave town for change of air. I took a great interest in her owing to her innate and unsophisticated goodness. I shewed her the place whence the Paisley coaches start as she was a perfect stranger in Glasgow. Would that all female servants were as innocent and respectable as she evidently was!

On leaving Old Monkland we entered the purlieu of Glasgow, the Manchester of Scotland, and the second town in point of population in Great Britain. Of this great emporium of trade and manufactures, of the enterprise and liberality of its inhabitants, of its literature, or of its rapid rise and history, I do not intend to say a word. As I had left Edinburgh early in order to sail for Liverpool by the steamer at 12 o'clock, I hastened on my arrival to the Broomielaw to secure a berth. In this I of course succeeded. I was not aware till afterwards that my friends, Mr Hunter and Mr Rodie, both merchants, knowing that I was to be in Glasgow by an early coach, had come to Argyle Street to wait for me, and that Mr Hunter had a nice hot breakfast prepared for me. I did not know this till told of it on my return. But such acts of remembrance and kindness are most endearing, and gild the wheels of life. The reciprocation of kind human feeling throws a charm over society, and more than counterbalances any little evils that may beset us. This life is unspeakably valuable and happy if we would but be true to ourselves and not place thorns where otherwise roses might grow. Nine-tenths of the infelicity in the world is of our own making—of human not of divine origin.

We lifted anchor and began to drop down the river at half-past twelve o'clock. The number of passengers was about fifty, exclusive of those in the steerage, who might be about thirty. Owing to very keen competition the fare was only seven shillings, including the steward's fees. When I formerly made the voyage

(1835) the fare was twenty-seven shillings. The boat *Royal Sovereign*, Captain M'Arthur commander, was constructed of iron, which species of vessel I understand is regarded as safe as any other and to be more steady in a storm. It was an excellent boat as all the steamers that ply between Glasgow and Liverpool are. There was less of that annoying tremulous motion than, I think, is usual in wooden steamers. The company on board was very miscellaneous, and included no one of importance. All seemed perfect strangers to each other. The greater number of men are of a social turn and dislike silence. To exchange thoughts with each other is gratifying to the great bulk of mankind. Our countenance beams more benignantly; our heart beats more cheerily; and time passes more delightfully in converse even with a stranger than when from any circumstances we are constrained to maintain a sullen taciturnity. But when strangers meet on board a steamer conversation for a time is unknown and can scarcely be supposed to take place. The novelty of everything on board, the bustle, the general excitement, prevent anything like conversation taking place. So it was with all on board the *Royal Sovereign*. Each person was narrowly examining his fellow passengers, and was besides deeply interested in the romantic and picturesque banks of the Clyde as they gradually opened up to view on our way down the river. We sat down to dinner at four o'clock, about half-an-hour after we had passed Greenock, but still scarce a word was spoken, all seemed equally stiff and unapproachable. Not a smile, no expression of frankness appeared on any countenance. At tea the conditions were similar, and the passengers retired one after another to bed without the usual courtesy of saying "Good-night."

The Clyde and all the splendid scenery which distinguished it were quite familiar to me, but however frequently seen they can never appear tame or uninteresting. As a commercial river it is inferior only to the Thames and the Mersey, and though at one time it was navigable to Glasgow only for light barges, vessels of 450 tons can now approach the Broomielaw. Such has been the enterprise of the citizens of Glasgow! But Greenock may in many respects be regarded as the port of Glasgow, more particularly from the present date, as the railroad between the two towns *via* Paisley is to be opened either this month (May) or the next. But whatever may be the result in

this respect the existence of the railroad in question will affect the monopoly for the transit of goods which the Clyde has hitherto enjoyed, and will reduce the rate of freight or at least prevent it from getting too high, thus securing the public advantage. To me the most interesting object connected with the river was the obelisk erected on Dumglass point in honour of Henry Bell, who had the distinction of being the first person in Europe who successfully applied the steam engine to navigation. This was in 1812. But Fulton had accomplished a similar achievement on the Hudson so early as 1807, and steamboats were common in the United States at the date when Henry Bell introduced steam navigation into this country. Poor Bell, who was nominally an engineer, but who chiefly supported himself as a bath-keeper in Helensburgh, was neglected during his life, yet a splendid monument has been erected to his memory. Such is often the fate of merit and of genius. His widow, who is still living, earns a humble livelihood like her ingenious husband as a keeper of baths. James Watt, to whom the term illustrious is more due than perhaps to any other man, inasmuch as his invention has exercised a greater and more beneficial influence on the history and state of the human race than any other circumstance ever did—this great man was born in Greenock. A bust of him by Chantrey has been placed in the public reading-room. It is of white marble and of colossal size; the pedestal on which the figure is placed is, if I remember well, of a darkish variegated marble from the Hebrides. As I sailed down the Clyde, while I was not unmindful of its rapidly increasing commercial greatness, traces of which were seen on every hand, at Duntocher, on the Leven above Dumbarton, at Greenock, etc., etc., I recalled to mind the names of several authors whose birthplace was in this neighbourhood: Dr Smollett, Professor John Anderson, the founder of the Andersonian University; George Buchanan, etc. Anderson's grandfather, who was successively minister at Dumbarton and Glasgow, was also an author, having written some polemical works against Episcopacy and in commendation of his own favourite Presbyterian polity. The Professor was born in the manse of Roseneath, of which parish his father, James Anderson (d. 1744), was minister. The real glory of a country, says Samuel Johnson, consists in its authors, and nothing to me is more intensely interesting than to visit spots hallowed as the

birthplace, the abode, the last resting spot of genius and learning. I would rather be a Homer than an Alexander, a Milton than a Cromwell, a Scott than a Wellington.

After having slept soundly I arose next morning at about seven o'clock, when I found that the vessel was halfway between the Isle of Man and Liverpool, in other words we were within a few hours of our destination. The morning was beautiful. Satisfaction seemed to beam on every countenance. Breakfast was at nine, but was soon discussed as every person was anxious to retain a distinct impression of what could be seen or what might take place. Now reserve was banished for the first time. Everybody talked with his neighbour, and acquaintanceship and familiarity were general. We all felt at home and all happy and unsuspecting. We learned, or rather inferred, that all had been willing to converse, but that none liked to begin, and there seemed to have been no citizen of the world on board who could break through the silence and lead the conversation. But the passengers had no sooner laid all restraint aside than they had to part. We got into the Clarence Dock at Liverpool at twelve o'clock noon exactly, having been $23\frac{1}{2}$ hours on the passage; or exclusive of a stoppage of an hour at Greenock taking goods on board $22\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The time from Greenock to Liverpool had occupied a little more than 20 hours. I believe the passage has been accomplished in three hours less. Three gentlemen and I joined and hired a cab, which took us, including our luggage, to the Wellington Hotel, Dale Street, for sixpence each. On arriving at this elegant hostelry we found that there was daily a table d'hote at half-past one, and though we had not breakfasted till nine we resolved to dine with mine host at that early hour. Meanwhile, after drinking a bottle of soda water, I sat down to address a letter to my sister-in-law, Mrs Andrew Murray, Jamaica, which was to accompany the miniature portraits of her two children, Jessie and William, who live under my roof in Edinburgh. I had not proceeded far with my epistle till dinner was announced. The room in which we dined was large and a table was spread which would have accommodated about thirty guests. My steamboat companions and I formed at first the whole company, but one after another dropped in till the party numbered eleven or twelve. They were all men in business, who, as is customary in the great commercial towns in England,

dine at the hour mentioned, having breakfasted perhaps as early as eight o'clock before commencing business in the morning. It is usual, I believe, in Manchester and some other towns to suspend business and shut the warehouses for an hour daily, say from one to two o'clock, during which the merchant dines. This refreshment is occasionally with some and always with others regarded as in the shape of lunch, and dinner takes place on arrival at home after the business of the day is over. Our dinner was plain but good; the price 2s 6d. What drink was required, table beer excepted, could be got either in the room, or in accordance with usual practice—in the Wellington at least—in the bar, which is a large circular room, at the end of which was the barmaid—in this instance a beautiful lady-like female, niece of the landlord, and called Miss Grace. The party with whom I was connected retired to the bar as being a little more interesting than sitting in the gaunt, comfortless, large dining-room. We had a single tumbler each.

I returned to my writing, and having finished my letter I took it along with the portraits to Mr Adams, South Castle Street, my brother's agent, in order to their being dispatched to Jamaica. This business accomplished, I hastened to visit some friends. Mr Moyes, partner of Mr Adams, the latter gentleman being at Leamington, invited me to dine with him, which invitation I declined as I wished to devote my time to my personal friends, besides I really had dined. I first went to the Mechanics' Institution, Mount Street, to call for Mr Hodgson, formerly lecturer on phrenology, Edinburgh, and now secretary to that splendid institution with a salary of £400. His duties and attendance at the seminary occupy thirteen hours per diem, no easy task. I missed him, but on going to his lodgings I accidentally met him as he was leaving to dine out, and he engaged me to sup with him at nine. I next called on Dr John Sutherland, a most promising young physician and a person of learning and varied accomplishments. In addition to other advantages, he had the privilege of having made what used to be called the Grand Tour, and this he did wholly at the expense of his father, who is a saddler in Edinburgh, but a superior man. Had the father, worthy person, received a liberal education, he would have risen to eminence in any walk of life he might have followed. Dr Sutherland, like all my friends throughout my tour, received

me kindly—introduced me to his young wife, a clever, lively, and interesting lady—and insisted on me drinking tea with them, which I willingly agreed to do. After parting with the Doctor I went to pay my respects to my old friend, John Thomson, son of the late and brother of the present minister of Rerrick, who, having been disappointed in getting a church in Scotland, follows the profession of teacher, and has been established in that capacity in Liverpool for 15 years. He has encountered many difficulties, but has managed to rear a large family, and he is now as comfortable in his circumstances as he ever was, if not more so. His eldest daughter Barbara and, I think, one or two of her sisters, are also employed in tuition, and as they all live together their aggregate income must be considerable. Mr Thomson has still at the age of 55 all the frivolity and animation of youth. I spent an hour or two most happily with him and his family, and we talked almost exclusively of former days and of old friends. I asked him to accompany me to Mr Hodgson's to supper, which he readily consented to do. On our way we called on Dr Alexander Hannay, physician, an old Galloway friend of mine, but did not find him at home. We had a pleasant crack at Hodgson's, but Thomson displayed his characteristic turn for Toryism and debate. The whole family of the Thomsons, most excellent people notwithstanding, are all of a combative and debating turn, splitting hairs and chopping logic on all subjects however trifling with exemplary gravity and formality. They were so distinguished at college and time seems to render the practice with them more inveterate. Mr Thomson saw me home to the hotel and drank at least another tumbler with me there.

Next morning I rose about seven, sauntered for a short time about the street, and on coming in wrote a letter to my wife, as long and minute as time would allow me to make it. After breakfast, which was splendid, and which I relished exceedingly, I paid my bill and left so as to start by the Grand Junction Railroad for Birmingham at 10.30 o'clock. I took my place in the first-class train, as it is called, and we started from the entrance to the tunnel at the Hay Market at the hour specified. The number of passengers was about 100, producing about £90, the fares being £1 1s for the first-class, and 17s for the second-class trains. We arrived at Birmingham, a distance of $97\frac{1}{4}$ miles, exactly at three o'clock, or in $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours; being as nearly as possible at the rate of

21½ miles an hour, and this was inclusive of stoppages at seven stations. I think the noise and tremulous motion was somewhat greater than I had formerly experienced on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, but I am not sure. At any rate there was nothing that was in the least degree disagreeable in the motion, but much that was admirable and striking in this new and almost miraculous mode of travelling. Man, a rational creature, whose position whether in savage or civilized life is made to depend exclusively on the use which he makes of his reason—man has existed in the world for about 6000 years, and yet it is only within a very few years that the powers of steam have been properly understood or have been converted to any useful purpose, notwithstanding that steam seems to be the greatest and most stupendous agent in neutralizing time and distance and in production of all commodities to which it can be applied. The materials and agents of which a locomotive steam-engine are composed existed since the beginning of the world. But these and all other substances in the physical world meant for the benefit of man are destined to lie dormant till by his mind, by the application and exercise of his intellectual faculties, he discovers their properties and ascertains their uses. God has bountifully spread the seeds of prosperity and happiness all around us, but it is only by the exercise of our own mental endowments, as well as our physical powers, that we can reap the fruit. A greater number of important discoveries and inventions have been made within the last eighty years, or since the year 1767, when Hargraves and Arkwright achieved their memorable inventions, than had been made during the whole previous period of the history of the world. Hence it is that society in this country has made greater progress within the comparatively short time specified than it had experienced from the date of the first peopling of the island. We have more than doubled our population while all classes of this exorbitant population are far superior in intelligence, in physical comforts, and in all the dignities of life, than our ancestors previously to the time of George III. ever knew or dreamt of. I believe improvements are still in their infancy and that we have an indefinite career of yearly increasing comfort, wealth, and glory to run. If England is true to herself no period can be assigned to her intellectual, manufacturing, and commercial greatness but that last period when time shall be no more.

Though we stopped at seven places or stations these were not all towns. The only towns we passed were Warrington, beautifully situated on a gentle eminence; Stafford, a small burgh chiefly remarkable as the capital of the county of the same name; Wolverhampton, celebrated for its manufacture of various kinds of hardware articles, particularly japanned ware and locks; Walsall, also distinguished for the same. The Potteries were not within sight, but the mind naturally recalled that celebrated district to our remembrance as also Wedgwood, who may be regarded as the father of British earthenware. Within two miles of Birmingham, itself in Warwickshire, is Soho in Staffordshire, the famous establishment of Boulton and Watt, perhaps the most celebrated and extensive manufacturers of steam-engines in the world. We also saw Aston, the residence of Mr Watt's son, a splendid spot with a magnificent avenue, the place being rendered more picturesque by having in its near vicinity a venerable country church with a lofty square spire. A beautiful lake overshadowed by tall elms adds poetry to the scene. Staffordshire ranks next to South Wales in importance for its iron manufactures. The Trent and Mersey Canal runs through the country which is traversed by many other such lines of communication.

On arriving at Birmingham, I resolved to stay a night in order to have time to survey a town which has attained to such a degree of Chartist notoriety of late, but which is most honourably distinguished as the chief seat of the hardware manufacture in this country. It is an elegant enough town for a manufacturing place—it was not inaptly called by Burke “the toy shop of Europe.” I visited the Bull Ring, as it is called, where the infatuated and arrogant Chartists used to hold their meetings. In 1791 a riot took place of a very different kind though also political. The populace rose in favour of Toryism and high Churchism, and committed enormous devastations, destroying the houses and libraries of Dr Priestly and Mr Hutton, the historian of the town. In 1839 the political opinions of the inhabitants of Birmingham have gone to the very opposite extreme, and are now in favour of that most absurd rhapsodical and ill-defined concern called “The People's Charter.” Horace speaks of the fickle Romans, *mobiliū turba quiritium*, but the fickleness of the “Brummagem” men, or rather their ignorance and recklessness, are beyond all compare and leave the venerable Romans unspeak-

ably behind them. In addition to the names of the two authors recently mentioned, that of Shenstone, the poet, whose place Leasowe is within a few miles of Birmingham, occurred to my mind. His *Pastoral Ballad* I can never forget, both for its own sake and because it was one of my earliest poetical favourites, I having read it in Barrie's *Collection* at school. Its sentiments awaken an echo in every breast.

When forced the fair nymph to forego
 What anguish I felt in my heart,
 Yet I thought but it might not be so,
 'Twas with pain that she saw me depart.

She gazed as I slowly withdrew ;
 My path I could hardly discern,
 So sweetly she bade me adieu
 I thought that she bade me return.

I liked also, as I like still, the following verse:—

For he ne'er could be true, she averred,
 Who could rob a poor bird of its young,
 And I loved her the more when I heard
 Such tenderness fall from her tongue.

The poet, however, never married. He was a scholar and a man of taste. He spent the latter years of his life in adorning and beautifying his patrimonial estate, which, says Dr S. Johnson, "he did with such judgment and such fancy as made his little domain the envy of the great and the admiration of the skilful; a place to be visited by travellers and copied by designers."

But Shenstone, who was fond of praise and admiration not merely for his poetry but for his pleasure grounds and garden, was sadly annoyed by the elegant improvements effected at Hayley in his neighbourhood by his friend, George the first Lord Lyttleton, the poet, historian, defender of Revelation (*Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul,*) and eke a distinguished statesman and parliamentary debater. Not only was Lyttleton an elegant and skilful improver, but Shenstone alleged that his lordship and his friends and visitors deprecated his taste and improvements. Thus, says Johnson, "where there is emulation there will be vanity, and where there is vanity there will be folly."

Having seen as much of the town of Birmingham as time permitted, I started next day, Friday, 22nd May, at half-past 8 a.m., per railway for London. The distance is $112\frac{1}{4}$ miles, which we

travelled in $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours, in other words we arrived at the great metropolis at fifteen minutes past one, being at the rate of about 24 miles per hour. So anxious was I to enjoy the best view possible of the country through which we were to pass that I obtained permission to sit on the top of one of the carriages beside the guard, a degree of liberty for which I felt exceedingly grateful. There were six stations between Birmingham and London, and, of course, we stopped at each of them. Our first station was Coventry, a place celebrated for its silk manufactures, particularly ribbons. Our next was Rugby, famous for its school, founded by Lawrence Sheriffe, grocer, London, about the middle of the sixteenth century. It is regarded as one of the great public schools in England. The education is gratuitous to the youth of the parish and neighbourhood, but the number of strangers who board with the headmaster or in some other boarding establishment is generally between 300 and 400. The other stations—Blisworth, Wolverton, Tring, and Watford—are of no importance except, perhaps, Wolverton, where the proprietors of the railroad are engaged in erecting a manufactory for making their own machines, coaches, etc., which promises to be an extensive concern. There are "stands" where a variety of refreshments can be got. When between Coventry and Rugby we crossed the Avon, the stream on whose banks at Stratford-on-Avon Shakespeare was born. When within eleven miles of London we passed near Harrow-on-the-Hill, so called from its being situated on a hill, indeed the highest hill in the county—Middlesex—to which it belongs, and, like Rugby, famous for its public school. Among other eminent persons who have been educated at Harrow was Lord Byron, who in the notes to *Childe Harold* pays one of the handsomest and neatest compliments to his preceptor, the headmaster, Dr Drury.

The country between Birmingham and London is richer, more picturesque, and more varied than that between Liverpool and the former place. The general levelness and uniformity that obtained along the whole line of the railroad from Liverpool to the capital is to a Scotsman most remarkable. The physical appearance of the two countries is as different and opposite as any two things of the same genus can well be. In England, with one or two exceptions, which did not come within the range of my vision, there are neither hills nor mountains, at least as these terms are

understood by a Scot. Nay, there is for miles in succession scarcely an undulation. The various rivulets which we crossed were quite indolent like the Arar of Cæsar, which flows, says he, *incredibili lenitate ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit*. They had not the picturesque and poetical character of our transparent, rapid, gurgling, pebbly streams in Scotland. But the grass was far more verdant than ours, the pasture more rich, the trees more umbrageous, at least their leaves seemed broader and had a healthier tint. The English besides are infinitely fonder of trees. I saw no dense plantations, with one or two slight exceptions, such as we have in the north, yet the whole country looked like a continuous forest. The hedgerows are decorated with trees nearly as close as they could healthily grow, at least their number could not easily be doubled. The fields are exceedingly small, sometimes not above one or two acres, and in Warwickshire their average size is only ten acres. Hence it is that the hedgerows being full of trees the whole country is continuously wooded and appears to the traveller as if he were passing through a grove. The English taste in managing their trees is different from ours. We allow them to grow as nature determines except in or near a gentleman's pleasure grounds. We think they cannot be too umbrageous or spread their branches too widely. So the English think in some cases, such as on a lawn or in an avenue. But the trees in the hedgerows and along the highways are all "pollards," that is they have been polled or lopped. The truth is they are deprived entirely of their branches and present nothing but a bald stem, except a tuft at the top which is allowed to flourish. These pollards, which are almost unknown in Scotland, prevail more or less through every part of England known to me. Whether this polling or lopping be the result of taste or whether it emanates from economy I cannot say. By economy I mean in this case the pleasure of having trees and yet by lopping off the branches still to retain abundance of sunlight and ventilation. But whatever be the cause the fact is certain. Not only are our southern friends excessively fond of trees, but the unusual system of pollards is peculiar to them. Though the hedgerows are beautified by trees in almost every case are they rude, inelegant, and inefficient as a fence. The English adopt this kind of fence because, generally speaking, they have no stone: wherever they have stone, as in various parts of Gloucestershire,

Westmoreland, and Cumberland, there they have stone fences or dykes as we have throughout Scotland. The hedgerows, I have said, are rude and inelegant, and so they are. They are planted, I suppose, with sufficient care, but they seem afterwards to be entirely neglected. They appear never to have been cleaned or weeded. They are generally strengthened by a ditch being planted alongside of them, and the people seem to trust more to the ditch than to the hedge. At least the hedge grows up amid neglect. The thorns of which it is composed are of all degrees of height and width, and gaps occupy no small proportion of the line. These vacuities are sometimes filled up with stakes, sometimes with weeds, and often with both. Such is the luxuriance of the weeds and such the general inattention that while the hedge seems choked with weeds the ditch is invisible. The hedgerows thus not only form a very ineffectual fence, but they occupy too much space, being often, including the ditch, from two to five feet wide. When we take into consideration the extent of hedgerows in England and the ground occupied by them, it is not too much to say that a twentieth part of the soil is absorbed by them, that is about one million acres. This matter is better arranged in Scotland, where, generally speaking, stone fences prevail and the ground is ploughed as near to them as possible. Indeed, I have known the spade used to do what the plough could not overtake.

England, while she possesses a genial climate and a comparatively fertile soil, pursues a system of agriculture quite unworthy of these advantages. She is half-a-century behind Scotland in this respect. During the 400 or 500 miles I travelled in the sister kingdom I never saw so few as two horses in a plough or harrow. The number varied from three to five, but I was told that six is not altogether unknown. Draining is not systematically practised. Even manuring seems not well understood. I judge partly from the circumstance that I saw almost no composts of any size during my wanderings—not more than half-a-dozen. In Scotland I would have seen twenty times that number in the same distance in agricultural areas.

The causes of this backward state of things are easily explained. (1) The English tenants have no leases except from year to year. They are tenants at will. They are always in the power of their landlords. Hence they never improve or their improvements are imperceptible. The system paralyses all enterprise or

attempts at improving. If a tenant improves under such circumstances he does not know, whether, as he is in the power of his landlord, the latter may be induced to raise his rent above the extent of the improvement. Hence it is he will not venture to risk his capital in any such way, and hence the backward and stationary state of agriculture in England. (2) Tithes till lately (namely), 1836, I think, when they were commuted, as they have long been in Scotland), formed a formidable obstruction to cultivation. The Church, which contributed not a farthing to agriculture, drew a tenth part not of the profit but of the gross proceeds. Thus the Church might in some cases draw more than all that would otherwise have been profit from the improvement. At anyrate if an improvement produced a tenth more than formerly that tenth went to an unproductive party who contributed not a farthing to the cultivation but who pocketed all the fresh proceeds. Hence the existence of tythes formed a formidable obstacle to cultivation, and when combined with the ignorant and slavish system of tenants at will, the wonder is not that agriculture in the sister kingdom is so far back, but that it is so far forward, low as its state is. (3) The system of small farms has contributed to the same unfavourable result. Everywhere throughout England, except in Norfolkshire, and perhaps in Northumberland and on the borders of Scotland, there is a vast proportion of small farms, even so small as from under 10 acres up to 100. I reckon 100 acres even a small farm. Small farmers are never men of capital and their land is always ill managed. The larger a farm is, speaking generally, the better it is managed, for the tenant is a man of capital and enterprise, and has more room and verge for rotation of crops, enclosing, etc., etc. In Norfolk, where agriculture is in a better state than in any other county, Northumberland perhaps excepted, farms are large and leases of 21 years prevail. This is a happy condition, and hence Norfolk is an example to the rest of England. Farms are also large and leases prevail in Northumberland. Leases are the exception in every other county in England. I may mention also that except in the case of leases there is no proper restriction as to rotation of crop, indeed matters are all in a rude state.

Small farms are objectionable from another point of view. The cultivators consume on the spot all, or nearly all, the produce they raise. If this were general no manufactures except domestic

or old ones could prevail, and such towns as Manchester and Glasgow could not exist. Corn, like cotton or anything else, should be raised with the fewest hands possible or at the cheapest rate, and the surplus exchanged for such other produce as we desire or require. If farms were all small, as in many parts of the Highlands of Scotland, or as in almost all Ireland, the British people would retrograde and become rude and ignorant like the peasantry of Ireland.

Again, if England enjoyed long leases as Scotland does and if her agriculture was as good as ours, or as it is in the counties of Northumberland and Norfolk, it would be possible to export many millions of quarters of corn, and thus render our Corn Bill a dead letter. The Corn Bill is about the greatest blot on the legislation of this country imaginable, but if we were true to ourselves, if the English landlord knew his real advantage, we could in twelve months from this date shake the nation free from the degrading and ruinous trammels of the bread tax. But it is difficult and requires a long time under ordinary circumstances to effect any very considerable change or reform in the habits and prejudices of a people.

Another circumstance that struck me in England was the comparative extent of pasture land. John Bull is evidently a great beef eater. Some of the finest lands in Warwickshire were devoted to pasture. But even these lands were neglected. They were not limed or properly manured, and rushes and other rank and noxious things were disfiguring fields, nay whole districts, which, under wise management, might have been as clean and beautiful as any royal lawn in England. Besides, they would have been more valuable and would have yielded better and more kindly pasture.

The crops generally were very thin though fresh and green in the blade to a degree of richness unknown in Scotland. They were in some instances so thin that they would not produce two seeds, certainly not more than three or four. They were earlier than the crops in Scotland, but not nearly so productive as the latter were around Edinburgh, and on the Clyde in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. In other words the crops in England were very considerably inferior (though earlier) to those in the best agricultural districts in Scotland.

In Scotland, as we pass through any district of it, we find at

short intervals farmhouses with their neat and substantial range of office buildings, and their barn yard in many instances still containing not a few stacks. The farmer in the best districts is a person of capital, of enterprise, intelligence, and of no inconsiderable rank. His house is large and substantial, suited for the residence of a man of from £300 to £600 of clear annual income. Altogether a good farmhouse gives us in Scotland an idea of comfort, prosperity, and independence. I saw no such sight in England. I saw nothing resembling our respectable farmhouses, and no stackyards. The truth is, the agricultural tenantry in England are evidently not men possessed of the same rank or advantages as the same class in Scotland. They inhabit inferior houses, have less capital, and altogether are not men of the independence and importance of Scottish farmers.

I have referred to the circumstance of so many horses being employed in tillage. This is a fertile source of loss. I believe that one-half of the horses might be dispensed with, but say a third. Now it is estimated by the best authorities that there are 1,200,000 horses so employed, exclusive of coach, mail, hack, and pleasure horses of all kinds. The third of these is 400,000, which large number might be spared if the Scotch mode of industry was introduced into England. This is a serious view of the case. Supposing each cost on an average £15, the total amount vested in superfluous horses is not less than £6,000,000. Not only is this sum insecurely invested inasmuch that a good many of the horses die yearly, but the interest of the money, which, at 3 per cent., would be £180,000 yearly, is entirely and for ever lost. But this, however bad, is not the worst. Not only is the large sum of £6,000,000 dormant or rather invested insecurely, and the interest which it might otherwise produce lost to the owners and the public, but the horses have to be kept. This is a still more fertile source of loss than any other mentioned. I shall state the expense in two different ways. (1) It is estimated that the extent of land necessary for the maintenance of a horse engaged in husbandry is 5 acres, including oats, hay, potatoes, etc. Now if 1 horse requires 5 acres, 400,000 horses will need 2,000,000 acres; the very idea of which is striking and ought to make the English farmer think. (2) Let the expense be estimated in money. The keep of a horse may be set down at say £10, which, however, I consider below the mark. Even at this low

rate the keep of 400,000 horses cannot be less than £4,000,000. But the probability is that the cost is a third more or £6,000,000. The profit and advantage that would immediately accrue to the English farmer if he should adopt a better system of husbandry, and to the nation remotely but not less certainly, are altogether astonishing and may be valued in the aggregate at £10,000,000 sterling. If the English farmer would introduce the two-horse plough of Scotland he would not merely save all that I have said but would save, in addition, the extra service required. The English, too, are behind in the matter of farming implements. Their plough is rude and ineffectual, quite different from an improved Scottish plough; their harrow is generally of wood, not of iron. The threshing machine is by no means universal, and as to its being driven by steam the idea has never entered the English mind. I forget if I ever saw the one-horse cart. The carts are generally constructed for two horses, often for three or four. This is all very well when a vehicle of the size is needed, but for one time that a two or four-horse cart would be required a one-horse vehicle would be twenty or fifty times in requisition. The horses are not driven abreast but in a line one after the other, the power or efficiency of each being thereby diminished according to its distance from the object drawn. Altogether the state of agriculture in England is honourable neither to the intelligence, enterprise, or public spirit of the tenant or landlord; is unfavourable alike to private and public interests, and altogether unworthy of so rich a country blessed with a first-rate climate and soil.

The English horses, however, both those employed in agriculture and for pleasure, are of a breed very superior to those in Scotland. Indeed there is no comparison between them. Those in the south are surely better fed, they are so large, sleek, spirited, and handsome. On a former visit to England I had been much struck with the superior breed of horses; on the present occasion the disparity appeared to me even greater. Nor are the horses ever over-wrought in England as I fear they too often are in Scotland. England, in short, seemed to me to be a paradise for horses, where they live a life of ease and are fed on the fat of the land.

But I must leave the subject of English agriculture and hasten on with my narrative. I arrived at London, as I before said, on Friday, 22nd May, at a quarter-past one o'clock p.m.

We stopped at Euston Station, which is near Euston Square and not far from the University College. I immediately got into a cab and drove to my friend Mr M'Culloch's at the Stationery Office, James Street, Westminster, about 200 yards from Buckingham Palace, where the Queen was then residing. I made the best use of my eyes possible, and could at this moment, after a month's interval, enumerate not a few of the streets and squares I travelled through. I was most grateful when the cab entered the Bird Cage Walk, as it is called, which is part of St. James's Park, at least, it is only separated from it by an iron railing. I admired the rich verdure of the park, its lofty and umbrageous lines of elms, and its romantic lake. The day was fine and the number of persons walking considerable. Altogether I felt much excited. I know that I possess the organ of locality, as it is called, to a very marked extent. I am not acquainted with anyone who feels more delighted in visiting new places or who remembers all about them with more accuracy and minuteness. My ecstasy accordingly on my entering London for the first time may be more easily imagined than described. It was extreme.

On arriving at the Stationery Office, I found Mr M'Culloch at home, and I was received by him with the most affectionate welcome. His excellent wife and family were equally kind, indeed I believe that of all their Scotch friends none ever paid them a visit whom they were more glad or as glad to see. We had been familiarly acquainted since the year 1817. When they lived in Edinburgh we were much together, and I believe that Mr M'Culloch opened his mind to me in a more confidential way and to a greater degree than to any other person. His mother, Mrs Dempster, who is still alive at the venerable age of 76, resides in Edinburgh, and it has been arranged between her and her son that on her death I am to represent him, conduct the funeral, and act as chief mourner.⁶ I mention this in order to

6. Mrs Dempster died on the 7th August, 1840, aged 76. She had been almost entirely bed-ridden for about three years. Water in the chest was her most serious complaint, but this was ultimately either wholly subdued or nearly so, and her death may be said to have resulted from no specific disease but old age. Mrs M'Culloch, understanding that the old lady was rapidly failing, was present at her death, having arrived about ten days before. Miss M'Culloch was also present. They sent frequently for me during the evening on which Mrs Dempster died, but, unfortunately, I was out at

shew the familiar and affectionate footing on which we are. Nor is this all. I contributed two very important articles on the Literary and Scholastic Institutions of Scotland and on her religious history and state for his *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, and I am at present engaged along with him both on his *Universal Gazetteer* and on the *Dictionary of Arts, Science, and Literature*, which is about to appear. Under all these circumstances it may at once be predicated that my meeting with Mr M'Culloch was of the most agreeable kind and that my welcome was most cordial.

While lunch was being prepared he showed me not only through his house but through all the rooms belonging to the Stationery Office, which is under the same roof. The house once belonged to a rich nobleman, and is about the size of four houses in George Street, Edinburgh, but of a totally different form, being longer and not so high. No more than three-fourths of it are required for the Stationery Office. The part of the building that is used for the dwelling-house is at the top, with the exception of the drawing-room, which is on the middle floor. Mr M'Culloch's study, a splendid apartment, is on the same floor. His own business room, as comptroller, is also on the middle floor, and it is used as the dining-room on great occasions. The family accommodation is excellent and ample, the only peculiarity being that the kitchen is on the highest or third floor, beside the other family apartments, but very inconveniently situated for answering

dinner and did not know of her being *in articulo mortis*, else I should have remained at hand. I communicated with Mrs M'Culloch early next morning, and went to make the proper arrangements immediately after breakfast. Everything devolved on me, with the assistance of the ladies. We delayed the funeral so long as to allow Mr M'Culloch time to come down if he so could. He came accordingly, and thus showed all becoming respect to the memory of his venerable parent. He and the ladies attended service with me on the subsequent Sunday in Buccleuch Church. Sermon bad—very bad. Mrs Dempster had made a will at Wigtown in September, 1829, leaving Mr M'Culloch, her eldest son, sole executor, but burdening her estate with the payment of £10 for mournings to her youngest son, Edward; also an annuity to him during his natural life of £30 sterling, a sum most beneficial to him but too large for her property, which altogether was not found to exceed £600 sterling.

the front door bell. The position is as good as any in London. The house looks into St. James's Park and is quite open in that direction. When sitting at breakfast or dinner nothing is seen but the stately beautiful trees in the Park. Altogether the place is one of the most eligible in London, and is as salubrious as it is otherwise agreeable.

After lunch we went out to survey the town. Along with Mr M'Culloch and myself were Mrs M'Culloch and her two daughters, Miss Christina and Miss Sarah, also the Misses Black, two daughters of Mr Adam Black, bookseller, Edinburgh, nice, amiable young ladies. They had recently come on a visit to Mr and Mrs M'Culloch. We went through St. James's Park by the Horse Guards, Charing Cross, Covent Garden Market, Burlington Arcade, Regent Street, Oxford Street, St. James's Street, and returned by the Mall. The dinner hour is six o'clock except on occasions of company when it is changed to seven.

We sat down to dinner about six o'clock. Mr Joseph Cauvin had been sent for to join us, but the message had not reached him owing to his being out. He came, however, about an hour later. We had a joyful evening, and Mr M'Culloch seemed in his glory. I felt supremely happy, and Cauvin appeared as much in the same mood as either of us. His wife was in Gottingen, of which she was a native, her father being one of the professors of that town. She was so absent owing to the very severe illnesses of her father and of her only brother. Mr M'Culloch, in his happy sarcastic way, told Cauvin that if his father and brother-in-law should cut (die), he must submit with Christian meekness and resignation, particularly if they should cut up well, say to the tune of £20,000. He added that in such a case Cauvin would be a potentate; he would belong to the salt of the earth, and would very probably cut literature for ever. This subject afforded a great deal of merriment, but the evening was beguiled with varied discourse.

The only spare bedroom in the house was tenanted by the Misses Black, but Mr M'Culloch had engaged Mr Cauvin to secure a dormitory in his near neighbourhood. A most excellent one was got at No. 30 Queen's Row, opposite the entrance to the Queen's Mews, and less than a quarter of a mile from the Stationery Office. We sallied forth about ten o'clock to deposit my trunk there and to take possession but returned to supper.

Of Joseph Cauvin I shall give a brief account. He was the

son of the late Joseph Cauvin, W.S. in Edinburgh, himself the son of a Frenchman who had settled there as a teacher of his native tongue. He, the W.S., was a brother of the late Gavin Cauvin, long also a teacher of French, and who founded the hospital at Dudlington which bears his name. Young Cauvin early lost his father and was left almost penniless. He attended the High School and made such proficiency that he gained the gold medal in the rector's class, the highest honour which the school confers. He was bred to no profession, but having gone to Germany, as a tutor I think, he was boarded for upwards of three years in the house of Professor Bauer, of Gottingen. He thus made himself master of the German language and otherwise added to his literary acquirements. He returned to Scotland in 1838, or the previous year, and lived with his mother at Portobello, having no fixed employment but being nervously anxious about his future course of life. The only kind of work he engaged in was the translation of several articles from the German into English for Professor Jameson's *Scientific Journal*. From vicinage or juxtaposition he became intimately acquainted with Captain Robert Mackerlie, Keeper of Ordnance in Edinburgh Castle. I believe they had been previously known to each other as Cauvin and several of the Captain's family were at school together. This worthy man felt a deep interest in the fate of the young and amiable scholar. He had him often at his house, which indeed Cauvin regarded almost as a home. He enjoyed the most confidential and endearing friendship of the Captain's whole family. But he soon found that Portobello and all the friends that made it dear must be left, and that he must gird up his loins and adopt some mode of life whereby to keep himself from want and to elevate his condition. The field of literature was the only one to which he could attach himself. But this field, at best not very productive, however interesting, is so hemmed in and enclosed that admittance to it is very difficult even in the case of one who has the highest claims. Among other plans that passed through Cauvin's mind was one that he might try his fortune in Vienna. He knew both German and English and the literary stories which both languages contained, and he flattered himself that as a teacher of English, or by translations from that language into German, he might get on in the world. Vienna accordingly was all but decided upon. Mackerlie was distressed to see such a

talented and agreeable young man bent on expatriating himself possibly for ever. The Captain and I had long been acquainted but our casual intercourse was more formal than intimate. However, he did me the honour to call on me in order to take my advice and bespeak my favour in support of his young friend. Mr Cauvin's name was known to me as one who had been dux of the High School. I frankly told the Captain that I was a very obscure man who certainly could not be of any use in promoting the literary views of any person however high his claims. I then bethought myself that M'Culloch was himself ignorant of German, a circumstance which he had often regretted. I recollected also that he had frequently occasion to apply to some slender clerk from Germany for assistance in the way of translating. I felt convinced that if I applied to my old friend in favour of Cauvin or of any other deserving person he would at once reject or grant the suit as circumstance might determine. I accordingly put this view before Captain Mackerlie, not hopefully, but suggesting that it might be tried. In the meantime, I said, Cauvin should get testimonials from the Rector of the High School, from Professor Jameson, and from such other eminent men as he could command. I proposed at the same time that he should write an essay on some subject or other, or a searching review of some important work, to be sent to London as a specimen of his learning and ability. With this, however, the young man did not think proper to comply. Indeed, the agitation of mind occasioned by his getting up certificates and by the vague idea of perhaps going to and settling in London was such that he could not easily have devoted his mind to any fixed work, or to a task the performance of which well required more than usual attention. His testimonials, however, were soon in my hands, and were sent to London with letters to Mr M'Culloch and to Messrs Longman & Co. The answer I received from the latter was not encouraging, but Mr M'Culloch wrote me to the effect that if Mr Cauvin was the sort of person represented, and was eke a *recherché* geographer, he had no doubt at all of his doing well in London. He said he would promise nothing, but if Cauvin was "the thing," he would do all he could for him. The letter was as favourable as could be expected, in fact no more favourable answer could well be given. Of this epistle I at once sent an extract to Captain Mackerlie and begged him to consult with Mr Cauvin as to whether he would

risk London on the strength of Mr M'Culloch's communication. The Captain called on me. I said if I were Cauvin I would have no hesitation, but would, on the contrary, start for the great city instanter. This was ultimately the opinion of all concerned. Meanwhile I had not seen Mr Cauvin, but he now came to Hope Park, where I then lived, with an introductory letter from Captain Mackerlie. I was glad to see him, but was sorry to find him so very much the foreigner both as to his countenance and his dress. His hair was long, flowing down over his shoulders; he was barbed (sic) from ear to ear, and I am not sure but he wore a moustache. He besides smelled horribly of tobacco. His figure was excessively thin and meagre, as if he could scarcely walk, and his dress, the cut of his coat, and the whole tournure of his habiliments was that of a recently imported native of Germany. His countenance being like that of a foreigner was nothing, neither for nor against him, but I was rather vexed to find his outer man so thoroughly continental. I found him, however, to be as mild as a woman, as interesting, modest, and amiable as it was possible for any human being to be. In order to strengthen our claim on M'Culloch, I advised Cauvin to get a private letter from Thomas Thomson, advocate, to him, which he did. I saw Cauvin only once again, which was when he called for letters immediately prior to his departure for London.

To London accordingly he went, and on his arrival waited upon Mr M'Culloch. The subsequent part of the story which was told to me a year afterwards by Mr M'Culloch himself, when in Edinburgh (September, 1839), is as follows:—When Mr M'Culloch first saw the stranger, his foreign appearance and his thin, dyspeptic figure rather prejudiced the former against him. The *Dictionary of Arts, Science, and Literature*, of which Cauvin is now the virtual editor, had then been started, and the printing had proceeded as far as B. After conversing for some time with the scholar-adventurer, Mr M'Culloch said, "I shall prescribe two articles for you to write for the *Dictionary*; bring them to me in a week, and then I shall see if you are likely to make yourself useful." The two articles in question were the next required for the *Dictionary*, and were, of course, quite accidental, namely, ballet (an ancient dramatic dance) and ballot. Cauvin acquiesced in the proposal and withdrew. "Hang it, Murray," said M'Culloch to me, "I never expected to see the

fellow's phiz again. He was smelling like a brock. I thought there was nothing in him." On the day appointed, with steps feeble and slow, Cauvin appeared with his MSS. Says M'Culloch, "Return to-morrow and I shall give you my opinion." M'Culloch read the two compositions, and was struck with the learning, good taste, and ability with which they were written. Indeed, he was quite delighted, and saw at once that his new and interesting acquaintance was worthy even of higher testimonials than had been given to him in Edinburgh. Poor Cauvin's fate may be said to have been in the balance, and, of course, we may easily imagine how anxious he must have been till he heard M'Culloch's opinion. He returned next day as requested, trembling, we may believe, like an aspen leaf, and how great must have been his joy when M'Culloch received him with studied kindness and loaded him with praises. He gave him a letter of introduction to the Messrs Longman. These enterprising gentlemen, on Mr M'Culloch's suggestion, settled on him a fixed salary and constituted him the virtual, not the nominal, editor of the *Dictionary* in question. But M'Culloch is a plain, blunt man and knows propriety well, so, before he allowed Cauvin to go to Paternoster Row, he told him to go first to a hairdresser and have his head (sic) put in order, and to a tailor to get a suit of new and fashionable clothes. "You are," said he, "*barbare* with these habiliments and that Gorgon head of hair. Don't appear here again until you have undergone a thorough transmutation." Cauvin was too sensible not to do as directed, and he has ever since dressed in the most becoming manner. I need merely further mention that he has every day since his introduction risen in the favour and esteem of Mr M'Culloch and of the Longmans; and that, if health be given him, he is sure of rising to great literary eminence. The whole family of the M'Cullochs are much attached to him; indeed, it was supposed at one time that he was attached to one of the young ladies. This supposition was soon shown to be unfounded, for in less than a year after his arrival in London he set out for Gottingen and brought over with him as his wife a young lady to whom he had been pledged for two or three years. A daughter is the fruit of that marriage.

I have already mentioned that his health is frail and that his body is thin. His lungs are quite sound, but he lacks stamina. Besides, owing to his great simplicity of character, he is always

meeting with some accident or other. On the day after my arrival his foot having slipped on the street he fell and injured himself. On another occasion, having dined at the Row (Messrs Longman's shop), he was knocked down, he said, on his way home, robbed of his hat and of a breast pin which had cost him three guineas. Whether it was from this accident or not he was next morning seized with lumbago, and never was well afterwards while I was in London. On one occasion he went to the Row and dined there, and though he had wisely taken a cab going, he thoughtlessly walked returning, a distance of three good miles; an act of imprudence for which he was punished by being seized with feverishness during the night, which continued more or less for days. He was not able to be out, but I visited him almost daily. Conversation was quite a fillip to him, and I always left him better than I found him. These visits I enjoyed much, and every time I saw him he rose higher in my esteem. Mrs McCulloch or another of the family visited him nearly as often as myself. He had no definite complaint except debility, the result of a naturally feeble constitution.

Of my friend Mr McCulloch I shall now give a comparatively brief account, *i.e.*, comparatively to his very great merits. He is the eldest surviving child of the late William McCulloch, yr. of Auchengool, and of Sarah Laing, eldest child of the Rev. Dr James Laing, minister of Glasserton, and of Sarah, eldest daughter of Andrew Ramsay, Lord Provost of Glasgow. He was born at Isle of Whithorn, 1st March, 1789. His father having died in 1794, and his paternal grandfather in the subsequent year, his mother and her two sons, of whom my friend was the elder, went to reside in Glasserton Manse. But they were not comfortable or happy there. Dr Laing was a man devoid of almost the least trace of paternal affection. Philoprogenitiveness was an organ almost unknown to his composition. He had never been kind to his daughter. She had married without his consent: indeed, William McCulloch and she made a species of elopement, at least she had clandestinely to escape from her father's house in order to get the marriage ceremony performed. Neither father nor mother recognised her for years afterwards, and I am not sure if they ever had any intercourse whatever with their son-in-law, William McCulloch. The truth is Dr Laing was a self-willed, selfish, despotical, unprincipled man; perhaps the most unami-

able man in the parish of which he was the clergyman.⁷ He seems to have hated his daughter with a perfect hatred. The wonder is that he submitted to take her under his roof when she became a widow. He did so, however, from whatever motive, but as before said her residence with him was anything but comfortable. He even inflicted corporal punishment on her, at least so far as rugging her hair and enclosing her in a lockfast room go. The remembrance of the unnatural treatment she received at his hands makes her even at this moment hate his memory. She says, "If there be a deeper place in hell than another he is in that place." His grandson entertains similar horror as to his name and memory, and altogether old Laing seems to have been one of the least amiable men from every point of view that ever belonged to the clerical profession. Had he been a layman, and thus without restraint, he would have been a monster. Mrs M'Culloch necessarily felt miserable under his roof, and was glad of any opportunity of getting free from him. She had a cousin, Mr David Dempster, surgeon, who had, I think, been abroad in his professional capacity, but who never, so far as I know, practised medicine in this country. He offered her marriage. The offer was accepted, and Mrs M'Culloch, now Mrs Dempster, was henceforth to be far removed from her unnatural father, for her husband had a small property in the neighbourhood of Kinross, where she now went to reside. The two boys, however, still continued to live with their grandfather, who was not kind or dutiful to them, but yet wished to retain them at the manse. Their education was very irregularly conducted. They were occasionally sent to the burgh school of Whithorn, a place two miles distant

7. James Laing, A.M., a native of Abernethy, got his degree from the University of St Andrews in 1753, was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 5th December, 1759, and was recommended to the parish of Glasserton by Principal Robertson on application of the heritors. He was ordained 16th July, 1761. He had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him, and died 27th January, 1814, in his 82nd year and the 53rd of his ministry. He married (1) 17th June, 1763, Sarah, daughter of Andrew Ramsay, Provost of Glasgow. She died 30th December, 1803, aged 81, leaving a daughter, Sarah, who married W. M'Culloch, yr. of Auchengool, father of John Ramsay M'Culloch, the Economist. Dr Laing married (2) April, 1805, Elizabeth Gairden, who died 19th May, 1813; (3) 2nd August, 1813, Helen Conning, who died 1867.—Scott's *Fasti*.

from Glasserton manse. But so far as I can learn they owe the chief part of their early education to a common day labourer, Daniel (ordinarily called Dan) Hawkins, who was employed as a farm servant, or on occasional jobs by their grandfather. This Dan Hawkins, whom I knew well and who, so far as I know, is still alive, was a native of the north of Ireland, and being concerned in the rebellion of 1798 had fled and taken refuge in that part of Scotland to which I refer. He never spoke, at least to me, of his early history, but it was universally said that he had been meant for a priest, and that his education was therefore liberal. Certainly his education had been very liberal, for even when I first knew him, which was twenty years after he had come to Scotland, he could recite whole pages in succession of Homer, Horace, and other classical poets, but chiefly Homer. He could read Greek roughly, *ad aperturam libri*, and was much given to etymology. He delighted to have a spar with a classical scholar, and I never knew him come off second best. Yet though an excellent classical scholar and a great, indeed a lively, intelligent talker, he was not assuming; on the contrary, he was a man of great propriety. He was rather given to reading, and after the labours of the day he not infrequently indulged himself in reading Greek. I have myself lent him several Greek volumes, and he perused every page of them before they were returned. There was something exceedingly interesting in this: a day labourer and a scholar combined in one person; a man whose station was exceedingly humble and whose physical comforts were very low, yet whose scholarship would have done honour to an episcopal or professional head. He had but one moral failing, so far as I know, he was fond of a dram, but poor fellow, such an indulgence he could seldom command. I do not mean to insinuate that he was a drunkard. He was not so. But he was not scrupulous in taking an overdose when such a thing came in his way. When I knew him he was what is called a jobber, and was much employed in digging pump wells.

To this lively, clever, and learned man was M'Culloch indebted for the greater share of his early education. Dan worked for the grandfather during the day and taught the grandsons in the evening. At one period for about three months he devoted his time exclusively to the education of the boys. Thus was educated a person who stands at this moment in the first list of the

successful authors of this country. As his education was capriciously conducted, so his training otherwise was not either strict or judicious. He was not brought up like a genteel boy, like one who was born to a fair competency, for on the death of his grandfather, Edward M'Culloch of Auchengool, in 1795, he had succeeded to that property. Nor did he like his grandfather. He mentioned to me when in London that he was early disgusted with the vulgar selfishness of his relation, who could never pay any account however small without insisting on having a drawback. M'Culloch has seen him higgling with a poor body about even a penny as discount, and his generous nature was horrified at seeing an old man who should have been venerable, both from his character and profession, thus taking advantage of the poor tradesmen whom he employed. He hated him on other grounds, and as soon as he was of an age to nominate his own curators he took advantage of that privilege and withdrew his grandfather's name from the number. This only made matters worse. The grandfather soon after claimed board for his own daughter and her two sons from the moment they had come to his house. This claim was not successful, but other causes of quarrel arose both with his daughter and his grandsons, to which it is not necessary further to refer. Only he had all along tried to deprive his daughter, and consequently her children, of everything to which they might be entitled either through him or his wife. Nay, so far did he afterwards carry his hostility that within a few months of his death, when he was about bed-ridden, he married a third time in order, as he said, to deprive his only daughter of the sum (a bare £250) to which she would have been entitled from the Ministers' Widows' Fund if he had died a widower, that is, without leaving a widow a burden on the Fund. But he took very good care to leave a widow, a young widow under twenty years of age, to punish both his own daughter and the Fund, to which he had paid for fifty-five years.

Mr M'Culloch soon threw aside his connection with this self-willed and unnatural relation, and went to reside with his mother at Kinross. Here and from henceforth he felt the benefit and the blessing of parental affection. Not merely was his mother kind, but her husband, who was also her cousin-german and his stepfather, was no less kind. For about a year he attended the school at Kinross taught by a Mr Taylor. He was then sent to the Col-

lege of Edinburgh I think in 1807, but it may have been earlier).⁸ What classes he attended I know not. I am aware that he attended Professor Leslie's class very early and attracted the notice of that distinguished man by his application and proficiency. I may also mention that he told me that when he came to College, owing chiefly to Dan Hawkins, he could recite like his eccentric teacher almost all the *Iliad*. He also said he could read Latin strongly, meaning not very critically, but that he caught the full sense and could translate freely.

At the end of the session of College he returned to his step-father's house at Kinross. His mother had not any children by Dr Dempster, her second husband, so their interest and affection were combined and centred in him alone.⁹ Such being the case, they very judiciously resolved that instead of sending him to College alone and unprotected, they would remove from Kinross and reside in Edinburgh, at least until his education should be completed or till his apprenticeship to a lawyer was accomplished, the legal profession being his choice. Dr Dempster accordingly bought the flat No. 15 College Street, third floor, on the left hand, and removed thither, I think, in 1808. This date I shall afterwards learn correctly. The house still belongs to Mrs Dempster, who in her will has, I understand, left it at her death to her eldest grand-daughter, Margaret M'Culloch.¹⁰

Mr M'Culloch, under these favourable circumstances, came to Edinburgh and entered on his second year at College. His

8. It was in 1805, as Mr M'Culloch himself informed me in August, 1840, when he was in Edinburgh on the occasion of the death of his mother. He lodged in Hill Street, old town. Edward M'Culloch, his brother, told me in December, 1840, that the brothers left Glasserton in December, 1805, travelled per carrier to Glasgow, coached to Stirling, and thence walked to Kinross; also that his brother entered College in 1806. The classes he attended were mathematics (Professor Leslie) and natural philosophy (Professor Playfair).

9. The younger brother Edward M'Culloch, had meanwhile, entered the army and the less that is said of him the better. He is still living, having been dismissed from the army, and he is supported by a small weekly allowance given him by his elder brother.

10. Dr Dempster did not buy a house on his first removal to Edinburgh in 1806, but rented one in S. Richmond Street. It was either during the subsequent year or in the beginning of 1808 that he purchased the flat in No. 15 College Street.

reading was unusually great; his memory prodigious. He inherited no library, perhaps not a single volume, but his desire to purchase books was unbounded, and he was in circumstances that enabled him to gratify his wishes to a considerable extent. In addition to the necessary class books, he was pretty frequently buying a work on history or statistics, departments to which he devoted his private reading. He went about this time into the office of James Greig, W.S., now, if not then, of Eccles, in Berwickshire, a respectable person, who is still in business under the firm name of Greig & Morton. How long he was in Mr Greig's office I cannot at present say, but it was not long. The truth is, he did not like the law, nor was he very strong. Besides, he was born to property, including houses in Isle of Whithorn, the yearly value of which at that period was about £400. Having a strong and unconquerable love of letters, and being so independent in his fortune, he was not likely to be a keen student of law or of any department in which his mind and heart were not centred. It is Sir Matthew Hale, I think, who says that he never knew any individual born to £500 a year who ever became a great lawyer or made a figure at the bar. There is much truth in this remark. When the great stimulus of necessity is removed, when one has got a competency prepared for him, however small it may be, his energies are apt to be paralysed, and he is ready to sit down and make himself as comfortable as he can on this limited or miserable income. This is more likely to be the case if his desire for literary study is very great and engrossing. Mr M'Culloch's condition seems to have been of this description. He did not prosecute law to almost any extent, but gave himself wholly up to study. Meanwhile he became of age, namely, on 1st March, 1810, at which period he had full command of his property. The law suits in which he was involved with his grandfather, and to which I have before referred, cost him both much money and anxiety, but still he had a competency remaining for a man of simple wants, who preferred a life of literature to one of wealth. Accordingly, without any regular business by which he might eke out his income or advance himself in the world, he chose literature as his profession and resolved, as he has ever since done, to devote to it his time and all the energy of his mind.

But while he was thus quietly prosecuting study and making himself acquainted with books not generally known to or read by

young men of his years, he did not deny himself the social comforts of life, or rather he indulged in these to an extent more like a former generation than the one in which he lived. He always was, as he still is, given to sobriety, and he was at all times possessed of perfect self-command even when in the most liberal company, but he was fond of boisterous mirth and all that fun and frolic which prevail amid deep drinking. He did not exactly like to send his guests from his house tipsy, but they could not sit too late for him, or prolong to too great an extent the uproarious enjoyment in which he so evidently delighted. He, or rather perhaps his mother and step-father, had a large party at dinner on the occasion of his reaching his majority. I had not the privilege of being of the number, because at that time I had not been introduced to him, nor had I heard of his name. But this I know upon his own authority that the occasion was a "glorious" one, and that some of those present sat till four o'clock next morning, that is, for twelve hours.

He went into Wigtownshire, or rather to Whithorn, for that was his headquarters, in August, 1811, the year after he had attained his majority. He had not been there since he first left the district, so that his return was rather interesting both to himself and others. He saw all his old friends and schoolfellows, and I know on the best authority he was most liberal in treating them in the way they possibly liked best. While in the country at this time he paid his addresses to Miss Isabella Stewart, daughter of a most excellent and respectable widow, Mrs Stewart, whose husband had been a shopkeeper in Whithorn, but who at the time to which I refer kept an inn. If I mistake not, Mr M'Culloch lived under her roof at first as a customer and not as a private friend. Before he left the neighbourhood, namely, on the 11th November, he was united in marriage to Miss Stewart, a union, though it was hastily formed, as productive of happiness to both parties as perhaps any conjugal relation ever was. Amid all the circumstances of his fate he ever regarded and treated her with mildness, deference, and affection, while her extreme good sense, good principles, and tact have enabled her to act her part nobly and properly under circumstances, if not trying, at least very different from those to which she had previously been accustomed.

Immediately after the marriage he brought his wife with him

to Edinburgh, not to a house of her own, but to live with him under the roof of his mother and father-in-law. This was rather a trying position in which to place a young wife. A mother and a daughter-in-law, it is said, if living constantly under the same roof seldom agree. The former is apt to assume a good deal, while the latter, jealous of her privileges and sensible of her great inferiority as to experience, is liable to take offence where none is meant and to expect a degree of deference which she is not willing to pay. But Mrs M'Culloch and her mother-in-law lived for years together in love and harmony. A jarring note was never heard under their roof, and when in 1820 Mr M'Culloch, having bought the flat of a house, No. 10 Buccleuch Place, went thither to reside, his wife and mother parted as they met, affectionately and with mutual esteem.

Meanwhile Mr M'Culloch continued resolutely and successfully to prosecute his studies. His reading was confined chiefly to history, statistics, and political economy. In these departments he was almost without an equal. The extent of his knowledge of political economy, and of the existing commercial circumstances in which the different leading nations of Europe stood, was proved by two essays published in 1816, the one being a more ample illustration of the subject of which they both treated than the other. The title was *An Essay for the Reduction of the Interest of the National Debt, &c.*, in which the principle of the Corn Laws and various other collateral subjects were dealt with. The two works published in 1816, when the author was only 27 years of age, shew extensive reading and a perfect acquaintance with all the leading principles of economical science, as well as great powers of illustration. These essays held out high promise of future eminence. I have omitted to state that about this time, I think in the same year, he published a small separate treatise on the Corn Laws: this is the only thing he ever printed that I have not seen.

The *Scotsman* newspaper was started in January, 1817, its projectors and proprietors being William Ritchie, Charles Maclaren, and others; Ritchie being, I think, the chief. Of this print Mr M'Culloch was the editor for three years, namely, till the 1st of January, 1820, when he was succeeded by Mr Maclaren. I have never heard him say that he had been used ill in this matter, but his mother says very unequivocally that he was. He

received an official letter, either from Ritchie or from the proprietors as a body, telling him that in a fortnight thereafter, namely, on the 1st of January ensuing (1820), his services would no longer be required. Though he may be said to have made the *Scotsman*, or to have put it on the firm foundation on which it stood when he left it, yet he was superseded in a way that could not have been agreeable to his feelings and was not creditable to the proprietors. However, it is but fair to say that though the public opinion has ever been the same as that of Mrs Dempster, Mr M'Culloch never complained to me of ill usage or of broken faith. Mrs Dempster states that to the honour of his patience and placability he had no open rupture with the parties in question. There is no doubt but they had the right to do what they did, and that they violated no positive engagement. The question is whether they shewed to Mr M'Culloch that degree of deference and consideration to which he was so richly entitled, and whether they appreciated as they ought the great value of his editorial services and the eminent rank to which his talents had raised the paper.

Meanwhile Mr M'Culloch's attainments in economical science had been exhibited in the most unqualified manner in an able and searching article in the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1818, I think, on Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy*, an article which placed him high in the list of living economists, and which besides pointed him out to Mr Jeffrey, then editor of the *Review*, as the fittest person to furnish him with papers in that department, which had previously been assigned to Francis Horner, M.P., then recently dead. Mr M'Culloch accordingly has ever since been a regular contributor to that journal, at least till of late, when his time is, if possible, more importantly employed. His articles were eminently distinguished by the greatest or rather the most detailed knowledge on the subject on which they were written and of the principles involved.

I must not be too minute, but bring this narrative, however interesting, to a termination. Mr M'Culloch had been for some time preparing lectures on his favourite science and in January, 1823, he made his first appearance as a public lecturer. His course consisted of thirty lectures, of which he delivered three weekly till it was completed. The place was Clyde Street Hall. The attendance, even including a few private friends whom he

provided with tickets, was not large, averaging each day about thirty persons. The price of the ticket was £2 2s. He gave another course, beginning in November of the same year, which was much better attended, the number being about double. In 1825-26 he gave a third course, which, I think, was the last delivered by him in Scotland, the attendance not being greater than in the former year. On the whole, though these lectures were so honourable to his character, I question if they yielded him any net profit. Perhaps indeed they scarcely repaid the expense incurred in advertising, class-room rent, janitor's fees, and other outlays. Had the audience all been paying hearers matters might have been different. A lecturer, speaking generally, may be said to follow a poor though an eminent profession: the race of lecturers is anything but wealthy.

An attempt had meanwhile been made by Mr Jeffrey and other leading Whigs in Edinburgh to get a Chair of Political Economy founded in the University with the view of giving the appointment to Mr M'Culloch. But an unforeseen obstacle stood in the way. The Professor of Moral Philosophy had in former years occasionally given a course of lectures—a very brief course—on political economy. The existing Professor had never profected on the subject even once, and besides it was known that he was profoundly ignorant of even its elementary doctrines. But now he immediately interposed and pleaded that political economy belonged exclusively to his chair, and said that he intended forthwith to give a course of instruction on the subject. The opposition was successful. The Professor has since given a brief course as promised, but of its merits I can say nothing. The truth is, the Professor hated M'Culloch, because the latter had most keenly exposed his character and opposed his views when a candidate for the Chair of Moral Philosophy. M'Culloch was not then editor, but it was well known that the controversy in the *Scotsman* was carried on by him. Hence the reiterated and vulgar attacks in *Blackwood's Magazine* on the subject of those few remarks. I believe I may say that I was partly the means of putting a stop to these attacks by a letter in exposure of the falsehood and low motives of Wilson, published in the *Mercury* and in the *Courant* of 5th April, 1831. At least I am not aware that they were continued after that date.

Wilson's reply to me shewed that he had no case except what ribaldry and vindictiveness could produce.

It is difficult to predicate what is for one's best interests. Had Mr M'Culloch obtained the preferment in question it is likely that he would have been settled in Edinburgh for life, and have been quite happy and independent, but the *Commercial Dictionary* and other very large and expensive works on which he has already engaged could not, it is almost certain, have had an existence. The truth is that an incomparably more brilliant career has awaited him than if he had been thirled to the northern capital by a professorship. On Mr Ricardo's invitation he paid a visit to London in 1822. This distinguished writer and most worthy man had carried on a friendly epistolary correspondence with Mr M'Culloch since the appearance of the article in the *Edinburgh Review* already referred to. Under the auspices of this excellent person Mr M'Culloch was induced, in the year stated, to deliver simultaneously two courses of lectures in London, one in the city the other in Westminster. They were exceedingly successful both as to the estimate formed of the abilities of the lecturer and as to the number of pupils. The number was, if I remember well, about 200 at each course: ticket £2 2s. Mr M'Culloch was quite delighted with the success of his first visit to the great metropolis. He was not only well received as a public instructor, and by Mr Ricardo personally, but he was introduced to some of the most eminent men of the day—to Mr Mill, Mr Poullet Thomson, etc., and met with Mr Malthus and others whom he had seen before in Edinburgh. I think it was at this time also that he was introduced to Mr Brougham. Mr John Smith, M.P., the banker, was, next to Mr Ricardo, his warmest supporter.

But the valuable life of Mr Ricardo was doomed to be cut short though he was only in his prime. He died in September, 1824, at the early age of fifty-one. Some of his friends, at the head of whom was Mr Smith, with the object of doing honour to his memory, and of associating his name with the progress of the science of which he had been a great master, resolved to institute a lectureship of political economy in London, to be called the "Ricardo Lectures on Political Economy." This institution was founded accordingly, and Mr M'Culloch was appointed lecturer without his knowledge or application. His first lecture in his

new capacity was delivered on the 5th of April, 1824. The course extended to twenty-one lectures. He continued annually to prelect in this institution till he was elected Professor in the University of London, into which seminary the Ricardo lectureship was allowed to merge, at any rate it was discontinued, the promoters of both splendid objects being the same persons. So great an interest did Mr M'Culloch's prelections excite that abstracts of them were regularly printed in some of the leading public journals.

Having received a requisition from certain gentlemen in Liverpool to deliver a course of lectures in that town he complied with the application, and on his way from London gave a series there in the winter of 1825-26. His introductory lecture both in Edinburgh and in the Ricardo Institution he extended and published in 1824, under the title of *A Discourse on the Rise, Progress, Peculiar Objects, and Importance of Political Economy*, containing an outline of a course of lectures on the Principal Doctrines of that Science. This work, which is full of valuable information, was reprinted a year or so afterwards, was translated into French, and re-published in New York.

In 1825 he published *A Discourse delivered at the opening of the City of London Literary and Scientific Institution, 30th May, 1825*, and dedicated it to John Smith, Esq., M.P. In the same year he printed for private circulation and at the expense of the family of Mr Ricardo *Memoirs of the Life and Writings* of that excellent man, a composition extending to 32 pages, octavo, most judiciously and carefully written; perhaps the best specimen of his style that exists.

The London University was opened for public instruction in October, 1828, and in the spring of that year Mr M'Culloch was without application elected to the Chair of Political Economy. I have seen the simple letter from Mr Brougham intimating the circumstance. Mr M'Culloch with his family removed to London in September of the year mentioned. As he took his whole household furniture with him and had besides a very large family, he preferred as a matter of economy one of the sailing smacks from Leith to a steamer, the expense of the latter being so great. After his house was half dismantled and within a day or two of his departure he gave a dinner to a very few of his best and most intimate private friends, of whom I had the honour to be one.

The others, so far as I recollect, were Alexander Henderson, once of the Post Office and author of a brief but gasconading life of Dr Adam, a great friend of Mr M'Culloch's; Adam Paterson, who had long been the butt of our friend and who submitted for years to be an object of ridicule in order to enjoy the fun himself, and also that he might partake of the good entertainment, including plenty of drink, which he received at 10 Buccleuch Place; Robert McMillan, W.S., an excellent man, now dead; Thomas Oliver, Lochend, an eminent farmer and land valuator, of whom M'Culloch was always fond and who co-operated with him well in playing upon poor Paterson; John Marshall, advocate, a Gallovidian, and an old friend who holds a respectable rank as a barrister. These were all, so far as I now remember, six in number; if there was another it was Mr Robert Murray, now a Presbyterian clergyman in Upper Canada. The occasion was a splendid one distinguished by the feast of reason and flow of soul, and by the best sentiments and principles. At such a time the valedictory entertainment of a learned and much admired friend, moderation in our cups, though so commendable, was not to be expected. Nor was it displayed. I believe not one of the whole company could be said to be at all tipsy, though we did not move from the table till sunrise.

Mr Henderson and I were the only friends of the family who attended them on their leaving Leith. We, the gentlemen, went to the Royal Exchange and drank a single bottle of wine amongst us in honour of our friend and his family. When we bade them farewell on board, Mrs M'Culloch and some of the children shed tears, but Mr M'Culloch was as firm as a rock. Henderson and I returned to the Royal Exchange, and again devoted a cup to the welfare and happiness of the dear friends with whom we had parted.

Mr M'Culloch had previously been to London and had purchased a house for his future residence at No. 4 Southampton Street, Fitzroy Square, so that on his arrival with his family he had a home prepared for them.

What number of pupils he had at the University I know not. The attendance was never great and I believe it ultimately became so low that he refused to go on. He said he would not lecture to less than thirty students. The truth is he never liked his connection with the London University, and he was not pre-

pared either to make any particular effort to render himself agreeable to certain persons who were disposed to dictate rather haughtily to himself and his brother professors. When these learned teachers, who were making little or nothing by their professorial labours, saw an unlearned man like Leonard Horner, erstwhile a linen manufacturer in Edinburgh, which station he left to become warden of the London University, receive an income of £1200 yearly they could not but grumble. They grumbled the more when this person rode on the very top of his commission and exhibited the most inquisitorial interference with the discipline of the professors. The patience of the professors was further tried when Mr Brougham, instead of encouraging them amid their difficulties or upholding their dignity, threw all his weight into the scale with Mr Horner and against them. The result was an open rupture, in which Mr M'Culloch was concerned, and a brief paper war. Some of the Professors, if I recollect aright, resigned at the time, but Mr M'Culloch did not. I think, withdraw till afterwards, though at present I know not the date. The truth is, as he often told myself, he was glad to accept the Chair of Political Economy as a step to something better, and was resolved to cut it the moment a superior or even an equivalent situation was in his power. He quitted it, however, without having got any berth in its place. Besides he never had a high opinion of Brougham. He always thought him an "arch quack," the very pink of humbug. Whether he carried his dislike of him too far it is not for me at present to say. I only state facts. On the fall of the Melbourne ministry in November, 1834, the *Courier* newspaper was, perhaps, the most virulent, personal, and untiring in its attacks on this statesman, and all these articles were written by M'Culloch and in his own peculiar and uncompromising style. I remember I thought at the time that these attacks were not only inexpedient but unfounded. Brougham, however, by his unprincipled and capricious conduct since, has convinced not only me but many others, indeed the whole nation, that M'Culloch was essentially right.

Though he had quitted his Professorship and lost the friendship of several of his most trusted friends, John Smith, I believe, included, he had still his pen to depend on, a surer source of dependence than any yet known to him.

I had almost forgotten to mention that previous to his leaving Edinburgh, Mr M'Culloch had published *Principles of Political Economy*, a second edition of which much enlarged and improved appeared in 1830. For this work Mr William Tait paid him £500. He also, while in Edinburgh, superintended an edition of the *Wealth of Nations*, to which he contributed a life of the author, an introductory discourse, notes, and supplemental dissertations. For this he got from Mr Adam Black a similar sum of £500. A new impression of this work, compressed into one volume, yet with many improvements and additions, appeared in 1828. Mr M'Culloch mentioned to me that he thought he had made this work perfect, and on this account and as it was stereotyped he never intended to alter a single word of it.

Before he had retired from his Professorship he had commenced that great work, *A Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, which is, perhaps, the most wonderful work of the kind ever produced by one man. He says in the preface to the first edition, 1833, "The author has been almost incessantly engaged on it for upwards of nine years, and he may be said to have spent the previous part of his life in preparing for the undertaking." In a note to the preface printed in the third edition of 1837 he says, "The preparation of this new edition has cost nearly two years of additional labour." For this work he got one thousand guineas, and as he published annually a supplement in order to keep the book up to the existing time, and as he often substitutes new articles for old ones in the body of the work, he derives from it no inconsiderable sum annually—about £250, I believe, judging from a hint given me by himself.

His *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, in two volumes, appeared in 1837, and was published by Charles Knight & Co. What sum he got for the copyright of this work I have never been told, but I should think about as much as for the *Dictionary*. The book has been since reprinted.

He is now engaged in the publication of a *Universal Gazetteer*, assisted by various contributors, a work of which four numbers have already appeared. It will have no parallel in the department to which it belongs. It embraces every merit, being minute, ample, accurate, learned, and contains information never given in any other similar publication. It is altogether

invaluable. I think he gets £2000 as editor and as author of a certain proportion of the contents, the publishers, Messrs Longman & Co., paying the contributors of the remaining portions of the work.

Mr McCulloch says he feels himself getting old, though I see no change in him, either as to appearance, health, or animal spirits, except for the better. He thinks if he is spared to finish his *Political Dictionary*, a work he has long contemplated, he will not have done amiss, but that the words *clarum et venerabile* may, perhaps, be applied to his name. This was said in jest, but there is no doubt that he hoped and believed such would be the case.

He may be said to have lived and to have supported a large family solely by his pen along with the produce of his patrimonial property. The latter, however, had since the peace of 1815 greatly decreased in value. Including both Auchengool, which once brought £400, but ultimately only £180 (I question if it yields as much as the latter sum at the present moment), and his house property in Isle of Whithorn, I should think his annual revenue from these sources is rather under than above £200. I believe too that when he bought the flat at No. 10 Buccleuch Place, in which he himself resided, and the house No. 4 Southampton Street, Fitzroy Square, London, he burdened his patrimonial property to that extent. But if he did not save money, I believe he never exceeded his income, however generous his hospitality and apparently boundless his resources, judging from the magnificence of his table and his general liberality of expenditure. He must, I think, be possessed of that organ called by phrenologists *Alimentiveness*, for his taste as to meats and drinks is quite exquisite and is allowed by all to be supreme and unerring. He can make himself happy with a friend whatever be the character of the fare. He is intensely social and fond of merriment and bizarrerie under any circumstances, and I have seen him as happy under whisky punch as with the best claret. But he does appreciate *recherché* dishes and wines highly, more highly than any person whom it was ever my fortune to know. And this high and exquisite standard of living he has maintained from his earliest years upwards. When his means were slender he accommodated his wants and tastes accordingly, yet even then he gave entertainments of a more

superb kind than perhaps any man ever did under the same conditions. But his taste as to the table seemed to become more dainty as his means of gratifying it increased. His taste as to wines is regarded as particularly delicate, altogether his authority in all these matters is as high and unquestioned as his hospitality, learning, and generosity are.

As he himself always expected that some snug Government appointment would ultimately be his lot, so his friends and the public thought that no man was so deserving of ministerial patronage and regretted that he had lived so long under apparent neglect. But the excellence of the post which he has at last got, January, 1838, makes ample amends for the late time at which it was conferred on him. He was at the date just mentioned appointed Comptroller of the Queen's Stationery Office, a berth which lasts *ad vitam aut culpam* without regard to change of Ministers. The income is £600 exclusive of an official residence, coal, and candle, and an allowance for attendance. The situation of the house is as good as any in London, and it is believed that he will ere long get an addition to his salary. His predecessor, Mr Church, had frequently applied for an addition to his own income and to that of all the officials under him, but the Treasury had as often refused the application. But Mr M'Culloch employed greater tact. He memorialised the Treasury for an increase to the salaries of his inferiors but preferred no petition as to his own income. The Treasury granted the prayer of the memorial and authorised a very considerable addition to the salaries of the functionaries in question, a circumstance for which these persons felt so grateful to the Comptroller that they presented him with two elegant silver claret decanters as a mark of their thankfulness and esteem. Now it can hardly be that after the salary of all the others has been advanced no increase should take place in that of the head of the office—the Comptroller himself. It is almost certain that the same liberality will be extended to him and that ere very long. But he is happy, exceedingly happy in his situation. He is responsible to the Treasury but to no one else, and all the persons in the office, forty or thereabouts in number, are under him. Besides the labour is light, not, perhaps, averaging an hour or at most two hours a day, often not five minutes. He is also well pleased with all the persons who are officially connected with him, and so he may, for

the highest of them whom I have seen are superior, well educated, and excellent men. Altogether no person could be more satisfied with his position in life than the Comptroller of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

I must now stop. His excellent worthy wife is as happy as himself. They have had a dozen children, of whom ten are still alive—the eldest, Miss M'Culloch, was born in 1812, the youngest in 1838. The oldest son, William, is in India as a cadet, an exceedingly promising young man. With regard to other branches of the family I need only say that nicer, more affectionate, and interesting children could not be found. I dare not single out one in preference to another else I would mention Miss M'Culloch as about the cleverest and most judicious young lady I know, with all the good sense and not a small share of the sarcastic humour and other characteristic traits of her father. The family so far as they have come are excellently educated. The second surviving son, John, has recently been appointed a clerk in the Post Office, London.

I may mention that Mr M'Culloch, as in Edinburgh, so in London, moves in the very best society. In the former place he was more connected with lawyers, the best and leading lawyers, Jeffrey, Cockburn, Thomas Thomson, John Archibald Murray, and such persons than with any other class. Macvey Napier, now editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, and Professor Leslie were his most intimate friends. In London again he associates with the wealthy merchants, as well as occasionally with others of a higher grade. Sir Henry Parnell has long been his familiar friend, Mr Poulet Thomson, now Governor-General of the Canadas, was once a private pupil of his, in other words, took private lessons from him; and he sometimes dines at Lansdowne House. He does not cultivate the society of men who have merely literature to recommend them. He says they are generally so poor, so ignorant of life, and so peculiar that there is no pleasure in their company. He prefers men who can give good dinners. On one occasion when Dr Black, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and he were talking on the subject of poor authors, they both agreed in opinion as to that interesting class of men. Dr Black said he had ever made it a rule to steer clear of such persons. "Hang it," says M'Culloch, directing his discourse to me, "these fellows cannot give dinners!" I record

these things not as praising them or as agreeing with them but as traits of character.

M'Culloch died at H.M. Stationery Office, 11th November, 1864, having been appointed Comptroller in 1838. He was elected in 1843 a foreign Associate of the Institute of France. In 1846 he received a Government pension of £200 a year. He contributed seventy-six articles to the *Edinburgh Review* between 1818 and 1837. His wife was buried by his side in Brompton Cemetery in July, 1867. His valuable library of over ten thousand volumes passed to Lord Overstone, and his portrait, painted by Sir Daniel Macnee, is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. M'Culloch was a man of immense physical strength and sturdy and strongly marked individuality, and, despite his long residence in London, he retained to the end his broad Scottish accent, and his attachment to Whig principles, his native Whithorn, and his native whisky. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He was also a valued friend and correspondent of Archibald Constable, the publisher.—J. A. F.

ADDITION TO BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(See Transactions N.S., xxii., pp. 187-191.)

1837.

Summary / Of / Lectures / On / Political Economy. / Delivered By / Thomas Murray, LL.D. / rule / Winter 1836-7. / rule / As Published In / The Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle.

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The lectures printed are twenty in number.

Compiler's Copy.

2nd December, 1910.

Chairman—Mr S. ARNOTT, V.P.

NOTES ON BULLER'S EXPERIMENTS ON THE EJECTION OF THE SPORES OF HYMENOMYCETES. By Mr R. B. JOHNSTONE, Hon. Secretary, Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Glasgow.

A series of experiments and observations were described in some detail, the conclusion arrived at being that, when mature the spore does not simply fall off the sterigma, but is violently shot out into the space between the gills, tubes, etc., and then describing a short curve falls vertically till it is free from the body, when it is carried away by the wind or air currents. It was shewn that the structure and position of the sporophore, its rigid stem, and firm cap, always when mature, being so placed that the gills, tubes, etc., are at right angles to the ground, are adaptations to ensure free egress to the spores from the interlamellar spaces.

Photographs, drawings, and lantern slides were used to illustrate the various points.

16th December, 1910.

Chairman—Police-Judge JAMES S. THOMSON.

KENMURE CASTLE. By Mr JAMES AFFLECK, Castle-Douglas.

The history of Kenmure Castle takes us away back to the dark and troublous times of the ancient Lords of Galloway. Some of our authorities assert that the castle was first built by the illustrious Dervoguil, or her son John Baliol. I differ with them in this respect. From an exhaustive research, and close study of the history of these ancient lords, I am led to believe that it was built by Roland, Lord of Galloway, somewhere about the years 1185-86. The reason for such a belief is that after Roland had wrested Galloway from his brother Gilbert, and established himself as supreme Lord of Galloway, history records that "he at once took the necessary steps to secure himself in

such a position by building several castles to guard the passes." This castle not only guards the entrance to the Glenkens on both sides of Loch Ken, but also commands a wide and picturesque view of the surrounding country. Again, the site and walls are a further proof of its Norman origin. It is situated on a mound, partly natural, and partly artificial. It was at one time surrounded by water, and had its moat and drawbridge. The foundation walls show that they were not only thick and vaulted, but of Norman construction. In the plate shown in Grose's "Antiquities," and the "Edinburgh Magazine" for 1792, a roofless tower called "Baliol's," or sometimes "Queen Mary's" tower, existed at that period. It was situated on the east, and a high embattled wall, containing a Norman doorway, which was surmounted by a coat of arms and adorned with the antlers of a stag, covered in the northern aspect of the building. These were all removed about the beginning of the last century. From a careful and intelligent study of history, there seems little doubt that it passed from Roland to his son Alan, and from Alan to his daughter Christian. From Christian it passed to Dervorguil, because we learn that she inherited all Christian's lands, and from Dervorguil it passed to John Baliol, because he inherited all his mother's lands. It is proved that it belonged to John Baliol in 1334, because, when he made the ignominious surrender, as King of Scotland, of all the southern counties of Scotland, including Galloway, he inadvertently signed away his own lands and castles. When the mistake was discovered, the King, with the assent of the Scottish Parliament, issued a declaration that the lands of Botel, Kirk Andrewes, and Kenmure, were Baliol's private property, and therefore not included in the resignation.

THE GORDONS IN GALLOWAY.

The principal question, however, with which we have to deal is, when did the Gordons come into possession of their lands in Galloway, and where did they come from? On this point I differ materially from M'Kerlie, and other accepted authorities. During the course of my researches into Galloway history I have often found myself at variance with M'Kerlie, but notwithstanding those differences I have the most profound respect and admiration for the great labour of love which he expended in trying to unravel the personal history of Galloway in his "Lands and their

Owners." M'Kerlie holds that the Gordons did not come into possession of any lands in Galloway till about the year 1380, but in this he is clearly in error. They were in possession of certain lands, viz.—the Barony of Gordownston during the reign of Malcolm III. and Edward I. (the Usurper). (First), I find in the original inventory of the titles to Kenmure estate that there was a charter granted somewhere about the latter part of the 13th century by John de Maxwell, son and heir of Sir Robert de Maxwell, to Sir Adam de Gurdon of the half of the lands of Glenkenn, viz.—Bannaheid, Aikednenothu, Knockneman, Stronkawane, et Holerduscan. Now, this charter did not include Kenmure Castle or lands, and although it is undated, it was undoubtedly in existence when the old inventory was made up. In confirmation of this I find (1) that there was a Sir Adam de Gurdon in Galloway during the reign of Malcolm III., that he was a supporter of the Baliols, that he served under Sir William Wallace, and is said to have been present at the siege and capture of Cruggleton Castle, and was appointed custodian; (2) that along with the other leading Gallovidians he had to surrender and do homage to Edward I., because I find that he signed the "Ragman's Roll" in 1296; (3) that in the first Commission of Peace instituted in the reign of Edward I. he was not only appointed the first Justice of the Peace but was actually designated as "Adam de Gurdon, en Gaway" in the "Ordinatio facta per Dominium Regem super stabilitate terrae Scotiae." Further, I find that he was contemporary with Richard Seyward, who was the first Justice of the Peace for Dumfries. Again in 1308 I find him fighting against Robert the Bruce. He narrowly escaped capture along with Thomas Randolph at the Water of Lyne in 1308. In 1309 he received from Edward I. the manor of Stitchell, in Berwickshire. Thus, we see that the Gordons obtained a settlement in Galloway one hundred years prior to the date given by M'Kerlie, even before they got the lands of Stitchell. Further, so far as my researches go there seems not to be a shadow of a doubt that they were of Norman extraction. Sir Adam de Gordon died in 1333, and left two sons, Sir Alexander, who fell at Durham, and William, who was the ancestor of the Kenmure Gordons, Earlston, etc.

THE UNFORTUNATE BALIOLS.

During the wars of the Bruce Kenmure Castle and lands still belonged to the Baliols, and not to the Gordons. Edward Bruce, fighting on behalf of his brother Robert, invaded Galloway, and laid siege to all the castles belonging to Baliol. A desperate battle was fought at Craignell, and another near the Bridge of Dee, where a "Standing Stone" still commemorates the site. During this raid he took thirteen castles of inferior strengths in Galloway. Kenmure was one of them, because on the 25th July, 1307, a letter was written from Eymar de Valence, commander of the Scottish forces to Sir John Ablee, or his lieutenant, at Dumfries, commanding him to give with all haste to Sir Umfraville and Alexander Baliol a tonel of the King's wine that they may do the King's business on the enemy. This letter is dated from the Glenkens. When Bruce became King he bestowed the lands by charter on Robert Boyd. David II. again granted lands to Gilbert Ker, or Carrick, as he was sometimes called. After the fall of the Brucian power the castle and lands reverted back to Baliol, for I find it recorded in "Bain's Calendars" that Baliol granted a charter to Sir William de Alburgh, his valet, "of all the lands in the Glenkens, called the Barony of Kelles, with the granter's castle in 'insula arxe,' and likewise the reversion of his Barony of Cressemoghelle (Crossmichael) and Kisdale (Kirkdale), in Gallway, for the yearly redendo of a rose in the season of roses." This was signed and sealed at his castle of Botille 29th November, 21st of his reign (1352). In 1352 the whole of these lands were erected into a free barony with pit, gallows, and "sac" by letters patent from the castle of Botille. Again in the old inventory of the titles to Kenmure I find that on 8th April, 1358, another charter was granted by Robert, Steward of Scotland, and Earl of Stratherne, to William de Gordon, Lord of Sticheil, of the New Forrest of Glenkenne, within the Sheriffdom of Dumfries. This shews that the Gordons had not yet obtained Kenmure Castle, but only certain lands in the Barony of Gardownstone, etc. Probably this is where M'Kerlie has become mixed.

THE FIGHTING GORDONS.

This William Gordon was the ancestor of the Galloway

Gordons. He had a son, Alexander, who succeeded to the Strathbogie estate (Aberdeenshire), and was the progenitor of the Gordons in the north, and a daughter, Mary, who married Walter Fitzgilbert, and thus became the ancestors of the Hamilton family.

In 1367 I find again that David II. granted a charter of the New Forest of Glenkens to Walter de Lessly. This charter is extremely interesting, because it contains the only record of bondmen or slaves existing in Galloway.

In 1402 I find an Adam de Gordon present at the battle of Homildon Hill. Sir Herbert Maxwell says in his "County History" that Sir John Swinton, seeing his men falling fast without a blow struck, cried out for volunteers, saying "Better die in open mellav than be shot down like deer." "Near him stood one with whom he had ever been at mortal feud, Adam Gordon, who fell on his knees before him, craved pardon, claimed and received knighthood on the spot, and rode at his side down the hill. Only a hundred or so followed them; it was magnificent, but it was not war; the whole party perished under the eyes of their comrades." This Adam Gordon, however, was not a Galloway Gordon, but belonged to the Strathbogie Gordons.

AN INCIDENT OF THE CHASE.

With reference to the name and knighthood of the first Adam de Gurdon there is an old tradition mentioned by Maclellan in his description of Galloway for Timothy Pont's map, and enlarged upon by Barbour to the effect that the first Adam de Gurdon received his lands and knighthood as follows:—In the reign of Alexander the Third a wild boar infested the environs of Lochinvar. Alexander offered knighthood and a portion of land to the person who should bring him the boar's head. The Laird of Lochinvar gave chase, and killed the boar, but being so fatigued with the chase, he lay down beside the carcass, and fell fast asleep. He had the foresight, however, to cut out the tongue of the animal, and put it in his leathern bag. While he slept a Maxwell, who was also in pursuit, came on the scene, and seeing the dead boar, and Lochinvar fast asleep, he cut off the head of the animal, and hastened with it to the King, and claimed the award. On awakening, Lochinvar noticed the headless animal, and scenting treachery, rode post haste to the King.

He arrived just as the King was about to confer the honour on Maxwell. "Stop, my Sovereign," cried Lochinvar, "the reward is mine." "How so?" replied Maxwell, "for I killed the boar; see, here is the head." Turning to Lochinvar, the King said, "How happens it that you have not the head if you killed the boar?" "Because," said Lochinvar, "while I lay asleep from fatigue, this man came and cut off the animal's head." "But how am I to decide," said the Monarch, "when the head is in the other claimant's possession?" "Let this decide," said Gordon, and he threw down the tongue of the boar. The head was examined, and the tongue found wanting. "How did you kill him?" asked Alexander. "I gored him down." "Then, rise up, Sir Adam Gardown," said Alexander, "be thy surname for the future 'Gardown.'" Gordon therefore got the knighthood and the lands of Maxwell. Thus the boar's head became part of the armorial bearings of Lochinvar. History, however, does not bear out this tradition. The name was in existence and was also spelled the same, viz., "Gurdon," one hundred years after the supposed incident, and, further, the charters of the lands do not confirm the tradition; therefore I am afraid it is only another of the many pleasant traditions which we all cherish, but are only founded on romance.

GORDON CHARTERS.

The first record I can find of the Gordons being infefted in Kenmure estate proper is a precept granted to Thomas Kirk, Stewart depute of Kirkcudbright, to infeft Alexander de Gordon in the lands of Kenmore in Glenkennes. This precept was granted by Archibald Earl of Douglas at Threave Castle on the 3rd day of February, 1403. Various other precepts, charters, etc., were granted at Threave between the years 1403 and 1455.

After the downfall of the Douglasses I find that on the 23rd March, 1487, a charter under the Great Seal was granted in favour of Alexander Gordon, son and apparent heir to Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, of "all and sundry the lands of Kenmore, with the Mill thereof, lands of Laggan and Balmaclellan, called the Park, with the pertinents thereof, lying in the Lordship of Kirkcudbright." This charter is important, because it erected those lands into a Barony to be called the Barony of Kenmore in all time coming.

Immediately the Gordons became securely infested in the lands they seem to have repaired the castle and made it their home. From this time onward they acquired lands after lands till they possessed all the district from Lochinvar to Torkatrine, near Dalbeattie, and thus became the most opulent family in Galloway.

Rodger succeeded Alexander, and in turn was succeeded by William. M'Kerlie says that he was the first of the family to settle in Galloway, but I think I have clearly shown this to be a mistake. He had three sons and one daughter, viz., John, who succeeded; Alexander, who obtained the lands of Auchentreoch, parish of Urr, from whom the Gordons of Airds are descended; George, who obtained the lands of Troquhain, in Balmaclellan; Rodger, who married Geylles (Grizel) M'Nacht, heiress of Crogo, parish of Balmaclellan; and Margaret, who married Sir Thomas Maclellan of Bombay. His son succeeded, and to give an idea of the turbulence of the times and the laxity of justice I may say that murders, reiving of cattle, and blood feuds were quite common, and law and justice so indifferent that nearly all these crimes not only went unpunished, but were pardoned by remissions from the King. In 1477 George Gordon obtained a remission for the slaughter of Gilbert Rorrison; in 1507 John Gordon of Lochinvar was before the King's "Justice Aire" for horse-stealing, but was pardoned. In 1508 he had also to obtain a remission for art and part of the oppression done to William Levinox of Cally for detention of the land of Plunton and Trunzeartoune waste. In the same year he was also arraigned for oppression done to — M'Adam, and was bound in surety. John was armour-bearer to the King.

BLOOD FEUD.

John was succeeded by his son Alexander. Alexander was a great favourite with King James III., and it was during his reign that the lands of Kenmure, and Laggan, and Balmaclellan were erected into a Barony. Alexander had a very serious blood feud with the Dunbars of Wigtownshire. Sir John Dunbar was slain and Alexander had to abscond, but owing to powerful influence he obtained the following respite:—"September 25th, a respitt to Alexander to cum to the Sovereign's presence, or quhare he plesis, and to pass and repass with 50 or 60 men in

household for the space of six months to come." He was twice married—first to Janet, daughter of Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, and second to Elizabeth, sister to James, Earl of Moray.

The great national call to arms, however, which preceded the dark and bloody field of Flodden not only bridged over all these differences, but friends and foes alike were found marching shoulder to shoulder in defence of their King and country. In this disastrous battle Sir Alexander Gordon was killed.

His only child, Jean, was infeft in the estates, but she had to renounce her right in favour of her uncle, Robert Gordon, alias Accarson, of Glen (Skyreburn). The instrument of sasine conveying the property to Jean Gordon is interesting, because it mentions the castle. The heading is as follows:—"Instrument of Sasine in the 19 merk land of Kenmure and Laggan, with the Miln, Tower, and Fortalice of Kenmure, with the pertinents thereof, etc." On 10th May, 1517, she renounced her right, and granted a charter in favour of her uncle. In 1520 she married Lachlan Macintosh of Macintosh. She, however, got from her uncle a charter of Shirmers, and several other lands in Kells and Balmaclellan. It would be about this time that Shirmers house, or fortalice, was built.

Robert Gordon, or Accarson, married Marion, daughter of John Accarson of Glenskreburn, afterwards called Rusko. He received from Queen Mary a grant of the Clerkship of the Sheriffdom of Wigtown and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

TRAGEDY AND A HAPPY ENDING.

A very good story is told of the Laird and his son, James Gordon. It seems that he and his son James, along with Andrew Agnew, Sheriff of Wigtown; Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig; William Cairns, younger of Orchardton; Gordon of Craighlaw; John Gordon of Whithorn; M'Culloch of Torhouse, and others were parading up and down the High Street of Edinburgh, and when opposite St. Giles' Church they met Sir Thomas Maclellan of Bomby with a band of his followers. At this time a blood-feud existed between the Gordons and the Maclellans. The result was that when they met neither of the parties would stand aside to let the other pass. Each seemed to be determined not only to maintain their dignity, but also the "croon o' the cause-

way." A desperate encounter ensued, during which Maclellan was slain at the door of St. Giles' Church by James Gordon. After much litigation and delay, the Laird of Lochinvar and his son were put to the horn and declared rebels.

Robert died, and was succeeded by his son James. Eleven years afterwards a remission was granted to all the parties, dated the 13th January, 1538. The real secret, however, which hastened this settlement was that in the meantime young Maclellan had fallen desperately in love with Helen, the fair daughter of his father's murderer. James Gordon, the Laird of Lochinvar, wisely agreed to the suit, so that the tragedy not only ended in a happy marriage, but the bridegroom brought the ring in one pocket and "letters of slains," pardoning his goodfather, in the other. James Gordon was one of those who accompanied the King to France, when he went there in search of a wife.

SOLWAY MOSS.

In 1542 he was also one of the nobility who allowed themselves to be taken prisoners at the inglorious rout of Solway Moss. In the official report of Lord Wharton to the King, containing the names of the prisoners and the pledges, I find the following:—"The Larde of Loughinware a man of two hundred markes lands, and in goods better than a thousand pounds, his pledges, his cousins, two of them with my Lord Scrope, and one with my Lord Conyers, for four score and fifteen." After the Laird of Lochinvar had regained his liberty he became so enraged at the excesses of Lord Wharton, who ravaged Galloway and the borders, that he resolved to summon his Galloway men for the purpose of revenge. He took Lochmaben Castle, and then laid siege to Caerlaverock. He invested it so closely that Wharton was unable to succour it, either by sea or land. The fortress, however, proved so strong that Lochinvar's troopers failed to storm it. But they so persistently invested it that the defenders were at last starved out. This was in 1546.

Along with Lord Maxwell, James Gordon of Lochinvar entered heartily into a scheme of revenge by raiding the Border Marches, and driving out the English. The details of these skirmishes are too long to be given here. While they were thus engaged the balefires blazed forth from Criffel to the Knock of Glenluce, summoning all the warriors to arms to defend Edin-

burgh from the threatened invasion by Somerset. The contending armies met near Inveresk (Pinkie Cleuch), and an eye-witness thus writes of the stricken field:—"The dead bodies lay as thick as a man may notte cattell grazing in a full plenished pasture." The Sheriff of Galloway was slain, and near him lay his uncle, the Knight of Lochinvar, the Lairds of Garthland and French, the Laird of Bennane and his son, Vaux of Barnbarroch, and George Master of Angus.

AN OLD TIME CURSE.

Referring to these Border raids, I think the following "Curse," issued in a pastoral by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and directed to be read by all the priests of the Border parishes is interesting:—

I curse thair heid and all the hairs of their heid; I curse thair face, thair ene, thair mouth, thair neise, thair tounge, thair teith, thair crag, thair schulderis, thair breist, thair hert, thair stomok, thair bak, thair wame, thair armes, thair leggis, thair handis, thair feit, and everie ilk part of thair body, fra the top of thair heid to the soill of their feit, befoure and behind, within and without. I curse thaim gangand, and I curse thaim rydand; I curse thaim standand and I curse thaim sittand; I curse thaim etand, I curse thaim drinkand, I curse thaim walkand, I curse thaim slepand; I curse thaim rysand, I curse thaim lyand; I curse thaim at hame, I curse thaim fra hame, I curse thaim within the house, I curse thaim without the house; I curse thair wiffis, thair barnis, and thair servandis, participand with thaim in thair deides.

Not satisfied with such a detailed and effectual cursing, he finishes up with the following condemnation:—

And finally I condemn thaim perpetuale to the deip pit of hell, to remain with Lucifer and all his fallowis, and thair bodeis to the gallowis of the Burrow Mure, first to be hangit, syne revin and ruggit with doggis, swyne, and utheris wyld beists, abominable to all the world. And thir candillis gangis fra your sicht as mot thair saulis gang fra the visage of God, and thar gude fame fra the world quhill thair forbeir thair opin synmys, foirbaidis, and ryse fra this terribill cursing, and mak satisfaction and pennance.

Such were the methods of the church in those days to strike terror into the hearts of the people.

A FRIEND OF QUEEN MARY.

James was succeeded by his son John. John was a great favourite with Queen Mary. She appointed him Justiciar of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 9th February, 1555, which was renewed by King James VI. on the 1st March, 1587. On 25th September, 1556, he was also appointed Vice-Admiral in the bounds of Galloway. In connection with this appointment I find two discharges dated 17th January, 1629—(1) A discharge by the Lord High Admiral to John Gordon of the tenth part of the prize made by the "Gordonian Phonix," belonging to him, and (2) for the twentieth part of the prizes made by the said ship.

At this time the Gordons had a charter of feu-farm of Glenluce Abbey, because I find the following Notarial Instrument on the removal of John Gordon of Lochinvar and his men from the Abbey and yards of Glenluce, and delivery of the same with the keys thereof, and all the goods therein, to Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, bailie thereof, in terms of decret arbitral by James, Commendator of the Priors of St. Andrews and Pittenweem, reserving to the said John Gordon all old bye-run duties of the Abbacy. Done at place of Glenluce at one o'clock afternoon on 17 Nov., 1561.

William, son of Sir John Gordon, was Abbot in 1581. The many marks of favour given him by the unfortunate Queen Mary made him much inclined towards her cause. Strange to say, however, he sat on the jury which tried Bothwell, and also on the jury-assize which tried the perpetrators of the raid of Ruthven. After Queen Mary escaped from Loch Leven he, along with other notable Gallovidians, entered into a bond to support the Queen. He fought at the battle of Langside, and, after defeat, fled with her and Lord Herries to the south. She is supposed to have come down through Galloway, and rested at Kenmure Castle, hence Queen Mary's tower, but this has been found to be extremely doubtful. All historical evidence goes to favour the Dumfriesshire route. The Regent Moray was so incensed at the assistance given by Gordon to the unfortunate Queen that he came down next year to chastise Gordon. He reached Dalry on the 15th June, 1568, and demanded the instant surrender of

Kenmure Castle. As there was no response, he marched to Kenmure Castle the next day, and burned it along with another fortalice, supposed to have been Shirmers, on the other side of the water.

A HEAVY INDICTMENT.

John died in August, 1604, and was succeeded by his son Robert. He married Isabel, daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie. She obtained a divorce in 1607. He was a great favourite at Court, and was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber to James VI. He also obtained a great amount of land in the Stewartry, so much so, that about this time, the Gordons owned about half of the Stewartry. Robert was a veritable fire-brand. During the wars of Lord Scrope, the men of Annandale had plundered Galloway, but Kenmure not only drove them back, but wrecked vengeance by burning the houses of Wamphry, Lockerby, Reidhall, and Lanriggs. For these deeds he had to obtain remissions. I give the remission as it appears in the old Inventory. 13 Dec., 1613.—Remission under the Great Seal in favour of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, for the slaughter of Richt. Irving and for burning the houses of Gratnayhill, Wamphry, Lockerby, Reidhall, and Lanriggs, consigning contrary to law, sundry gentlemen, murder of James Gordon, his servant, adultery with Janet M'Adam, deforcing the King's Messenger, who summoned him for these crimes, and obliging him to eat and swallow his own warrant.

John Gordon also obtained one of those fictitious titles to land in Nova Scotia. His patent as knight-baronet of Nova Scotia was dated 1st May, 1626. He died in 1627.

RELIGIOUS STRIFE.

He was succeeded by his son John, who was a Royalist, and a great favourite with Charles I. One of the first things he did after his succession, says M'Kerlie, "was to sell the Barony of Stichel in Roxburgh, to the Pringles, on the 30th July, 1628, and put the price realised in a purse, which he gave to the Duke of Buckingham, the night before he was stabbed by Felton, to favour his solicitations for the Earldom of Gowrie, in right of his mother. He lost all. This shows that even Peerages could be bought and sold in the old days as well as at present. However,

he obtained a Peerage by letters patent on the 8th day of May, 1633. He was created Viscount Kenmure, Lord Lochinvar. He married Jean Campbell, third daughter of Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyll.

As a further mark of the King's favour, he obtained a charter dated the 15th January, 1629, erecting a part of his lands, with the buildings thereon, into a Royal Burgh. This is thought to have been the Clachan of Dalry, because he also obtained another charter under the Great Seal, dated the 19th November, 1630, for changing the site, and fixing the "lands of Roddings" as a more convenient site. This charter was ratified by Act of Parliament in June, 1633. The old sundial which is still to be seen in the garden at Kenmure was set up in 1631.

When Charles I. resolved to model the church according to the ideas of Episcopacy, Viscount Kenmure, at first, found it difficult to refrain from supporting one who had raised him to such high honours, and who had been so kind to him. He attended Parliament, but rather than vote against his conscience, he feigned indisposition, and returned home. He died a year afterwards, and it is said that on his death-bed he felt the most poignant remorse for not staying and voting against the King. He was a great friend of Samuel Rutherford. This eminent divine attended him till his death, which took place on 12th September, 1634. Rutherford lamented the death of his patron in an elegiac poem, written in Latin, and in 1649 he published the "Last and Heavenly Speeches and Glorious Departure of John Viscount Kenmure."

BESIEGED BY CROMWELL.

He was succeeded by his son John, the second Viscount, who died a minor. John, the third Viscount, was his cousin germane, and a son of James Gordon of Barncrosh. He died, unmarried, in October, 1643, and was succeeded by his brother Robert as fourth Viscount. Robert, the fourth Viscount, was also a strong Loyalist, and suffered severely for his attachment to King Charles I. Lord Kenmure was particularly active in enlisting, and to attract recruits he carried a large cask of brandy at the head of his regiment, which was known by the merry appellation of Kenmure's drum.

As all the petitions and remonstrances had failed to mollify

the obdurate Charles and his advisers, the Covenanters resolved to vindicate their rights by force of arms. The sequel was the establishment of a war committee in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in 1640. The whole proceedings are to be found in the "Minute Book of the War Committee." Gordon of Earlston was their leader. The Royalist armies, raised in the Stewartry, were commanded by Lord Kirkcudbright and Lord Kenmure. According to the Parliamentary Journals, orders were given to Viscount Kenmure to march to Montrose. Kenmure was so energetic that he became classed among the "malignants," or "cavaliers," as they were called, and was thus placed outwith the pale of Cromwell's leniency. In 1650 his castle of Kenmure was besieged and taken by the Cromwellian army. The articles of surrender are as follows:—

December 22nd, 1650, Articles concluded and agreed upon, this day and yeere aforesaid, betwixt the Lord Kenmure, Governor of his castle of Kenmure on the one part and Captain Crackenthorpe and Captain Nary on the other part for the Parliament of England—

Impremis.—It is concluded and agreed upon that the said Lord Kenmure shall forthwith deliver to the said Captain D. and Captain C. and Captain N. his Castle of Kenmore, withall the armes and ammunition for the use of his Excellency, the Lord Cromwell.

2nd.—It is concluded and agreed upon that the said Lord Kenmore shall have all his household stuffs, of what sort soever within tha said castle secured to his proper use, either within such rooms of his said castle as he shall chosse, or by conveying them away to some other place, provided it be within 14 daies.

3rd.—That the Lord Kenmore, with such as are now in arms with him in said castle, whose names are underwritten, shall have liberty to repair to their own homes without any disturbance to their persons or estates, acting nothing prejudiciall to the army of England, or shall have seven daies (the morrow the 23d of this instant being the first) to dispose of themselves, their horses and arms, without let or hindrance, molestation, by any belonging to his Excellency's army.

These articles are signed by Kenmure and the Captains.

There is also a proviso attached that the rest of the common soldiers are likewise to have the benefit of the aforesaid articles. These articles therefore completely destroy the old familiar tradition of the Viscount sitting in his chair in the Lowran Glen and watching his bonnie house of Kenmure in flames. Before surrender the castle may have undergone a preliminary bombardment, but very little damage was done. This is proved by the fact that it was all right, and still inhabited a few years afterwards. Grose says twenty or thirty cannon balls were found in the precincts, and one was found lately. It is now shown in the garden as a memento of Cromwell's bombardment.

In 1654 the Viscount was captured and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, but he escaped out of a window. His estates were forfeited, and a reward offered for his capture, dead or alive. Tradition says that he wandered about the country disguised as a hawker, and was the author of the old song "Clout the Caldron." He survived the restoration, and married a lady of the bed chamber, whom he deserted. He went to Greenlaw old fortalice, and died there in 1663.

DIVERGENT AUTHORITIES.

I notice in Mr M'Math's excellent article on Kenmure, in the "Scots Peerage," vol. v. page 121, that he attributes the hero of the old song "O, Kenmure's on and awa', Willie," to this Viscount. We all esteem Mr M'Math as one of our most enthusiastic and well informed Galloway Bibliophiles, yet I cannot agree with him in the promulgation of such a theory. My opinion is that it was made on William, the 6th Viscount, who espoused the Jacobite cause in the rebellion of 1715. Such an opinion is not only founded on historical evidence, but is also supported by all our Gallovidian writers and historians. If you contrast the two men, and the historical causes which they each espoused, you will see clearly that all the evidence points to the 6th Viscount as the hero. (1) The 4th Viscount was a Royalist, and he espoused the cause of Episcopacy. This was not only unpopular in Galloway, but the people actually rose in arms against it, and formed a "War Committee" for the purpose of defending their religious liberties. (2) The soldiers under the command of this Viscount were composed, we are told, of "vagabonds and broken men" recruited by means of Kenmure's Drum,

i.e., the cask of brandy which he carried at the head of his troops. Not only that, but they marched about the country robbing and making prisoners in the King's name. Under these circumstances it is hardly likely anyone would ever dream of eulogising such a man, employed in such an unpopular cause. The historical aspect of the rebellion of 1715 is entirely different. The cause was popular, and Kenmure was unwilling to take the command until the enthusiasm of his wife and the influence of his brother-in-law, Lord Carnwath, overcame his scruples. When the news flashed forth that Kenmure had at last agreed to place himself at the head of the forces, the joy of the Gallovidians knew no bounds. It was this enthusiasm which prompted the words of the old song. The literary style of the song itself bears this out. Further, Burns himself recognised this when he rewrote the old song, because he was in sympathy with the cause.

THE KILLING TIMES.

Robert was succeeded by Alexander, the 5th Viscount. He was also a Royalist. It was during his regime that the rising at Dalry took place in 1666. In 1668 I find him, along with Lord Galloway, making representations to the Government as to the extortions practised in the Stewartry by the military. The result was that he, Lord Nithsdale, and the laird of Craigdarroch were appointed a Commission to enquire into the conduct of Sir James Turner and Sir William Ballantyne. Turner was dismissed, Ballantyne fined, and the troops withdrawn from Galloway for a time. Kenmure commanded a regiment at Killiecrankie in 1689. His sympathies with the Covenanters during the "killing time" drew upon himself the suspicion of the Royalists. On the 21st October, 1662, he received a letter from Graham of Claverhouse ordering him to remove from Kenmure Castle in order to allow the troops to be garrisoned there. This was probably owing to the fact that he declined to subscribe the oath under the "Test Act." From a letter by Claverhouse, dated Newton of Galloway, 16th February, 1682, I take the following extract:—"I was last night to wait on my Lady Kenmure, my Lord Kenmure being from home. I told her what pains your Lordship had been to keep her house from being a garrison, and she seemed very sensible of it. I am sorry I must acquaint you, but I shall do it to nobody else, that I am certainly informed that Lord Kenmure has conversed frequently with rebels, particularly with Barscobe. In

another letter, written by Claverhouse, from Newton of Galloway, dated 1st March, 1682, he says—"I wish the Gordons here were transplanted to the north and exchanged with any other branch of that family who are so very loyal there and disaffected here." Galloway was now in the throes of the "killing time." Shortly after the brutal murder of Bell of Whiteside, Kenmure met Lag and Claverhouse on the street at Kirkcudbright. Kenmure bitterly reproached Lag for such barbarity to his kinsman, especially in not even giving Bell a decent burial, after being so ruthlessly shot down. "Oh take him," replied Lag, "and salt him in your beer barrel." Kenmure's sword at once flashed from its scabbard, and he would have killed Lag there and then had Claverhouse not spurred his horse in between the combatants.

THE UNHAPPY '15.

This Viscount was present at the famous Convention of Estates held in Edinburgh on the 16th March, 1689. He was also one of the landlords in Galloway who petitioned the Privy Council in June, 1697, to make and mark a road for driving cattle from New-Galloway to Dumfries. He died in 1698, and was succeeded by his son William as 6th Viscount. William was a Jacobite, and at this time it had been seriously proposed to send a French expedition to Kirkcudbright in aid of the Pretender. This port was chosen for several reasons, because it was the least guarded, and because it was the stronghold of the Pretender's warmest partisans, such as the Gordons, the Maxwells, and Fergusons, and many more. At first Kenmure was unwilling to take the lead, but owing to the enthusiasm of his wife (Mary Dalziel, sister of Lord Carnwath), and the prospect of higher honours, he agreed. Tradition says that on the morning of his departure his horse, which was generally tractable and gentle, resisted violently, and refused to allow him to mount. This was looked upon as a bad omen, but his wife unfurled the standard of blue silk which she had wrought with her own hands, and handed it to him, saying, "Go on, my Lord go on; you are in a good cause; a faint heart never won a fair lady." This banner bore the words "No Union," and underneath a representation of the Thistle and St. Andrew. He rode off at the head of a goodly company of enthusiastic supporters, with black cockades in their bonnets, accompanied by a large number of minstrels. This accounts for the song, "O, Kenmure's on and awa', Willie."

He proceeded to Lochmaben and Moffat. Leaving Moffat, they intended to take Dumfries. The citizens of Dumfries, however, had been warned, and the town was armed to the teeth. Kenmure did not know this, but on the way a half-witted rustic named James Robson entered the camp with the curious intimation that he had come to make a present of his broad blue bonnet to Lord Kenmure. Kenmure was puzzled, but after examining the bonnet he found within the lining a letter from Lord Nithsdale urging him to be off, as Dumfries was armed to the teeth. Kenmure, therefore, resolved to retire to Lochmaben. When he arrived there he caused the Pretender to be proclaimed at the Market Cross. They then went to Ecclefechan, Langholm, Hawick, Jedburgh, and Kelso. A council of war was held, and it was resolved to take the towns of Dumfries, Ayr, and Glasgow. These councils, however, fell through. From thence they crossed the Border to Preston. Here they met the Royalist army under General Wilks. The enthusiasm seems to have evaporated, for the army melted away. Kenmure was taken prisoner, impeached at the bar of the House of Commons, was sentenced to death, and executed on the 24th of February, 1716. His title was forfeited, but the estates were so encumbered that the Government allowed his widow to make of them what she could. Lady Kenmure survived her Lord 61 years, and managed the estates so well that when her son Robert attained his majority she delivered them over to him free of debt. He, however, lived extravagantly, with the result that a fresh debt of over £30,000 was contracted. He died on the 30th August, 1743, and was succeeded by his brother, John Gordon. John at once set about repairing and renovating the castle. Profiting by the disastrous experience of his former ancestor, John declined to take part in the 1745 rebellion. He died on 16th June, 1769, and was buried in Dalry Churchyard.

William, his eldest son, succeeded. He was a captain in the 1st Regiment of the Royal Scots. He died in Minorca on the 7th February, 1772.

John Gordon, his brother, succeeded. He served first in the Navy, and then commanded a troop of the 14th Light Dragoons. He obtained a seat in Parliament, having won the Stewartry by a majority of 20 votes. Subsequently he was protested against, and vacated the seat two years afterwards. The estate was advertised for sale in 1785, but found no purchaser.

A FRIEND OF BURNS.

In 1824 the family titles were restored to John Gordon. He was a great friend of Robert Burns. Burns visited the Castle on 27th July, 1793, and was hospitably entertained. He left next morning for Gatehouse, and on the wild, bleak moorland road was overtaken by a severe thunderstorm. Syme says that it was in the midst of these wild and weird surroundings that he composed the first rude draft of our national war song, "Scots wha hae." This song he finished by the banks of the Nith. John Gordon died in 1840, and was succeeded by his nephew Adam.

Adam was the 8th Viscount. He entered the Navy, and rose to the rank of lieutenant. He was in Sir Richard Calder's action with the French Fleet at Cape Finisterre in 1805, and at Trafalgar soon after. He was in the "Seahorse" at the capture of a Turkish frigate in 1808. He took part in Sir Robert Cornwallis' pursuit of the French into Brest, was at Trafalgar, and taken prisoner in October, 1809, off Jardinia, and carried first to Geneva, and even to the prison of Cardona, and detained there on parole until the peace of 1814. In 1815 he was made a full lieutenant, and invalided home in August, 1818, on half-pay. He died in 1847, and the title became extinct.

So far as our antiquarian interest is concerned this ends the history of Kenmure Castle and its owners. The Castle underwent extensive repairs and improvements in the beginning of last century, also in 1870, and a year or so ago. These improvements were no doubt necessary to adapt the building to modern requirements. Great care has been taken to keep the modern additions uniform with the antique parts, but still from an archaeological point of view the Castle has not the same value or importance.

13th January, 1911.

Chairman—Mr S. ARNOTT, V.P.

THE DUMFRIES POST OFFICE, PART I., 1642-1848. By Mr JOHN M. CORRIE, Dumfries.

This paper, with Part II., will be found in N.S., Vol. XXIV.

20th January, 1911.

Chairman—H. S. GLADSTONE, M.A., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U.,
President.

The Council agreed to thank Mr John M. Corrie for his services as Curator of the Antiquities, which office he had now resigned on his removal to Newtown St. Boswells.

The Council agreed to the appointment of Mr Robert Service and Mr S. Arnott as honorary members.

LOCAL PLANT NAMES. By Mr S. ARNOTT, F.R.H.S.

In a former paper, read by me at a meeting of this Society on February 17, 1905, I spoke of a number of plant names in popular use, especially in this locality, and contrasted these with some current elsewhere. This paper was published in the Society's "Transactions," Vol. XVII., Part 5, pp. 404-410, to which I would refer those interested for the names of plants not now dealt with.

Among the names which have puzzled me considerably is that of Saugh, as applied to the Willow. This I have been unable to find in any, save one, of the books devoted to plant lore and popular names, and I should like to know how far its use extends and also its origin. Is it Celtic or Scandinavian? So far as I have observed it is applied indiscriminately to all the tall species of Salix, or Willow, but I have an impression that it ought to be confined to one or two, just as the English Sallow is limited to a few species. The Willow appears to have few names among the English-speaking races, but in the United States the name has frequently some distinctive prefix, the one most interesting being that of "Pussy" Willow, used for *Salix discolor* in the United States. The name of Bour-tree, applied almost universally in Scotland to the Elder, suggests an interesting discussion regarding its origin. It is said to be due to the bore or hole left in a branch of the bush or tree when the pith is extracted, but I am not sure that this is the origin of it. May it not have been Bower-tree? It was much employed in olden days to plant round and about gardens and beside houses to ward off witches, and I have an impression that it may have derived the name as being a plant which, arbour-like, gave protection to those who sit under

it. But this is merely a speculation, unsupported by anything I have seen mentioned, save the superstition referred to. Ellan-tree is another name for the Elder in some parts of England. It seems almost unnecessary to cite the Aik as the name of the Oak, as it is widely known, and is probably the old name, as is confirmed by the nut being called the acorn.

The little plant we call Robin-run-the-Hedge, and which is so familiar to us in this locality, where it is very common clambering up hedges and bushes, has a rival claimant for its name in several parts of England, where this term is applied to the Bindweed. This latter name, again, is applied with us to several plants, such as to one of the Polygonums or Knotweeds, and also to the Convolvulus of the hedgerows.

Sea Pink is the familiar name of the *Armeria maritima*, which is so plentiful on our coasts, but which in many places has only the name of Thrift. Our own one of Sea Pink is used in Devon, as well as those of Pink and French Pink, but it has other local names in different parts of the kingdom. In Somerset it is Cushions, pronounced, as Friend says, Cushins or Cooshings; in Sussex it is Swift, said to be a corruption of Thrift, and in another part of England it is called the Sea Gilliflower.

This name of Gilliflower leads us to consider what flowers are called by that name in this locality. So far as I can discover the title has largely become obsolete, but it has been generally applied to the Rocket, Hesperis, and but little to the other plants, such as the Wallflower, Stock, and others which shared in other places the term Gilliflower. The Carnation was a Gilliflower as well, but I have never heard it so called with us.

Snow-in-summer is applied, here as elsewhere, to more than one plant. We occasionally hear it given to the Arabis, or Rock Cress, so plentiful in gardens in spring, this name being used in Sussex as well. Others given to the Arabis are Alyssum, Anise, Sweet Alice, Snow-on-the-mountain, and Milk-and-water. A name at one time supplied to this Arabis was Douglas Seer or Sieur. I have not heard this for many years. It appeared to have been founded on a legend attached to the flower similar to that associated with the Myosotis, or Forget-me-not, which related the death of a knight in securing a floating spray of the plant for his sweetheart. I may add that Snow-in-summer is more frequently the popular name for the Cerastium, which comes more nearly in

its time of flowering to supply the appearance of "snow in summer" than the Arabis, or Rock Cress.

Lamb's Lug, or Lamb's Ear is the common name for a familiar, old-fashioned garden plant, belonging to the Lipworts. The name is derived from the soft, woolly structure of the leaf. I have some recollection of hearing Lamb's tongue, also used in Devon, applied to it also, but I have not heard the latter one given to any of the plants bearing it in some parts of England, one of these being the Wild Plantain, *Plantago media*.

Cranesbill is with us, as with many others, the popular name of the hardy *Geranium* of our woods and coasts, although I do not recollect of hearing it applied to the pretty little Herb Robert, *Geranium robertianum*, which seems to have with us, as with many more people, no other appellation than Herb Robert, although in some parts it is called Bird's Eye. Some conjecture has arisen as to why it is called Herb Robert. One old writer tells us that it is so called because it is "Roberta, a rubro colour, an herbe of a red colour," but another says that it was derived from the name of a celebrated curator of the Oxford Botanic Garden. It was also said to cure a disease in Germany known as Robert's Plague. St. Robert is also said to have cured the disease with this flower. A final conjecture, which appeals to authorities, is that it was named in honour of Robin Hood, and in proof of this it is said to be named Robin Hood and Poor Robin in the West of England, that home of plant names. But it is also called in Cumberland "Death-come-quickly," from one of the usual superstitions relating to taking flowers into the house; while Kiss-me-quick" is one of quite different associations. In Sussex it is the Little Bachelors' Button.

I wonder if any one here has heard the name of Witches' Bells applied to the round-leaved Bellflower, *Campanula latifolia*, which is to be found in some hedgerows and woods of the district. So far, I have not heard it, but, as it is used for it in some parts of Scotland at least, I think it may be employed with us also. A little time ago I mentioned that the *Armeria* was called Cushions in England, and this reminds me that I must refer to the name given to one of the Saxifrages, *Saxifraga muscoides*, which I have frequently heard as Lady's Cushion. Now, this is also applied to one of the yellow Fumitories, as well as to the Lady's Fingers, *Lotus corniculatus*, or Anthyllis,

another plant receiving the same name. So we have these plants, distinct from each other, bearing the same name.

Our wild Roses seem to have no special local name, but the fruit, which is called "chupes" supplies us with a word which I cannot recollect having seen elsewhere. The usual term, of course, is hips, but leading authorities are silent with respect to this name of chupe, about which I should like to know more. What is its origin? The little Burnet Rose, *Rosa spinosissima*, is known in some parts of Galloway as the Galloway Rose, but I do not recollect having heard the name of Cat-whin, current in Northumberland, applied to it. Then the little whin, named *Genista angelica*, which is rarely found in Dumfriesshire, and, so far as I know, not at all in Galloway, although I speak subject to correction, is also called the Petty Whin, quite an appropriate word to apply to it. The Lady's Bedstraw is the name used for *Galium verum* in this part of the country, but it seems practically universal. Its real name is Our Lady's Bedstraw, derived from the fact that it was reputed to be the plant strown in the stall where Christ was born. One of the purposes for which this plant was utilised in the Hebrides was that of supplying a reddish brown dye.

The *Pæonia* is a familiar garden flower, but in our local tongue it has been converted into "Peeny Rose," a clear corruption of *Pæony*, with the addition of Rose, not an uncommon affix to plant names.

The Rest Harrow is sometimes called Wild Liquorice, from the supposed likeness of the taste of the plant to Liquorice. Its botanical name is *Ononis arvensis*, the popular one of Rest Harrow being given on account of the resistance offered by the stringy stems and roots to the harrow when passing over the soil. I cannot find this name elsewhere.

In Thunder and Lightning we have an endeavour to convey the brilliant appearance of the flowers of the Red Valerian, *Centranthus ruber*, although I am inclined to think that it may have been associated with it owing to its growing well on old walls and even on roofs. As some are aware, plants which grew in such positions were assumed to have the power of repelling lightning, which was looked upon with even greater dread than now-a-days, when we are so familiar with electricity and its powers. The Houseleek and Stonecrop are examples of other plants to which similar properties were attributed.

A curious example of the transposition of the true names is afforded in our locality by the transfer from the Lilac to the Philadelphus, or Mock Orange, of the name of Syringa. The Mock Orange is almost universally called Syringa here. On the other hand, the common name of the Lilac in this district is the Lily Oak, a flagrant instance of a corruption of the ordinary name of Lilac. Laylock is an English corruption. This brings one to a similar corruption, very common in this quarter, although not so prevalent as at one time. This is to call the Rhododendron, the Rhodandrum, and a variation which I have met with is Rhoderydandrum, which is still further from the original.

Lily is the common name for all the Daffodils, or the Narcissi, as well as for other plants, such as the true Lilies and the Day Lilies, and it is frequently very confusing to hear so many kinds of plants spoken of as Lilies without some prefix to indicate what kind of flower is meant. The Narcissus has no affinity, or at least a very remote one to the Liliium, or Lily, and is, botanically speaking, a member of another genus.

Almost every one knows the Woodruffe, as it is called with us in this locality. Woodroffe is the common name, but it would appear, I think, from the old appellation of "Woodrove" that it was named because of its spreading tendency in woods, although I have long been inclined to consider that the one of Wood "ruffe" fitted the appearance of the little fragrant flower.

Everybody in this, and in many other districts, is well acquainted with the Bluidy Finger, as referring to the Digitalis, or Fox Glove, and the origin of this term is evident to all who in early days have delighted to pluck the individual flowers and to place them on their fingers. The general word, Foxglove, has had several interpretations, and some ascribe it to the fairies or little folks, making the original Folks' glove; others again inclining to the derivation of Fox's glove. A French name for this plant appears in a literal translation as "Fingers of the Virgin." It is also called in France Our Lady's Glove; while a pretty Irish term is the Fairy Cap. An ingenious argument is that it is derived from a Norwegian name which signifies Fox's Bells, signifying that it supplies with its bells the music of Reynard and his family. It is not unlikely that there is a good deal of foundation for this theory, of the origin of the term, but our own Bluidy Fingers is abundantly clear.

I have already referred to the Petty Whin, but I should like to say that the words Furze and Gorse are hardly ever heard in our locality, Whin being practically universal. In other parts we may hear Furze or Gorse frequently used, and these have some interesting variations. Thus Gorse becomes Gorst in Shropshire, Goss in Kent, and Goose in the North of England. Furze becomes Vuzz in Devon, while a curious name for the shrub in Sussex is Hawth.

I wonder if any member has heard any name but the Periwinkle associated with the Vinca which we see in many gardens and in some woods and hedgerows, although not common in a wild state. In some places it is called Cockles, and in others Blue Bells and Blue Buttons.

A common word for the fruit of the Mallow, and one which I have heard used for the plant as well, is "Cheeses," derived from the form of the flat, circular seeds, which many children pull and eat with that disregard for the higher pleasures of the palate natural to youth, which will eat the sourest gooseberry with the keenest of pleasure.

I find that the name of the Jacob's Ladder is not much used for the Polemonium, but I have heard that of Valerian, which is an abbreviation really of Greek Valerian, used for this Polemonium, which is probably an escape from gardens and which I have plucked at some roadsides.

The Mimulus is the Frog's Mouth, and the Honesty, or Lunaria, is best known as the former, although a usual word for it in some parts of Scotland is "Money-in-both Pockets," derived from the seeds being enclosed in the seed vessel with a membrane between the two halves. This is also a Devonshire popular name, and two others are Money Plant and Silks and Satins, the latter being highly suggestive of the silvery membrane of the seed vessels, when stripped of its outer integument.

Our local name for the Blackberry or Bramble, which is a corruption of the latter, and called "Brummels," being pronounced as I have written it, is in universal use here, but a curious name for the fruits in one part of England is Bumblekites.

Grozets, for Gooseberries, is far from being out-of-date yet, although fast falling into oblivion, but a more curious name still is that of Deberries, applied in an old Devonshire poem; while a Sussex one for the same fruits is Goosgogs.

Such is a further brief contribution to a study of local and other popular plant names, many of which are rapidly being forgotten. I may at some future time revert to it and give other examples which time does not now admit of supplying.

THE MARKET CROSS OF DUMFRIES. By MR G. W. SHIRLEY.

During many centuries the market cross of a Scottish burgh was the centre of the communal life. Here came the King's messengers to announce the deaths and ascensions of their royal masters, to proclaim the imposition of taxes, and to put rebels to "his majesty's horn" and to announce the Orders of the Court of Chancery. In earlier days it was here that the bailies were chosen. Here the provost and bailies distrained properties, roused the goods of defaulters, made public their regulations regarding the sale and prices of goods, the hours and position of markets, and issued their commands for watching and warding. Here the common hangman tore up and burned the burgh tickets—in these days more asset than honour—of those who had "tynd their freedom" by some dishonourable deed. Sometimes punishments and executions were carried out here and public scourgings, exceedingly common in the 17th century, ended at the Cross. The douce burgesses gathered at the Cross at times of crisis and danger and on all public occasions. To our own Market Cross on at least three occasions they flocked to burn "popish vestments and idolatrous books," and, at a later date, the Articles of Union. It will be seen then that the Market Cross was a place of supreme importance, the gathering point and pivot of the civic life of such of our ancestors as were burgesses of burghs royal and barony.

In the 16th century the ground which, evidence seems to show, is that now partially occupied by the Midsteeple, was known as the "girss" or grass hill. Minor punishments were carried out on this high ground with the branks and gorgets, burning irons and the stocks, while not far off was the trone or weighing machine to whose wooden beam were nailed the lugs of "vacabund men with nother stob nor staik" in the town.¹

1. Burgh Court Books, 31, vii., 1576.

An exceptionally ferocious punishment took place at the Market Cross in January, 1565-6. The Master of Maxwell, then Warden of the Western Marches, took "a man of the Laird of Johnston's (a notable thief) and burnt him at the Cross in Dumfries." Johnstone thereupon for this and other causes challenged the Master of Maxwell to personal combat, and Maxwell wrote the Queen for license to take up the challenge, either in his own person against the said Laird and one of his sons or any other of the Johnstone family, or else with 40, 50, or 100 Maxwells against as many Johnstons.² The quarrel, however, seems to have been settled by less bloody means.

On the 29th of August, 1577, a curious expiation for libel took place and was recorded by the "Scribe of court" in the following words: "In presence of Harbert Ranying ane of the balleis of Drumfreis beand vpon the girss hill besyd the mercat corce compeirit Robert Mwrdocht tailzor and thair of his awin proper grant and confessioun grantit that he had spokyn Injurius words to James M'Caule, sayand the said James had tretrousle desawit and sauld Edinburght and that he was ane weray theiflownt wt money [and] otheris Injurius words for the qlk he being laid in the stoikis and puneschit therfoir he grantit his offence and vpon his bair keneis crying god mercie and forgewness as als wa the Judgeis of the town and the said James and grantand his fault thairof and said he did it in his Dronkynnes and thairfoir beand in the place appoyntit for him to maik his amendis said In thir words I Rob Mwrdocht tailzor grantis my fault done be me to the said James and I leid falshlie In everie word thairof and grantis my self worthe of punesment as lesing [lying] agains the said James ane man of gud fame and estimatioun And oblesses myself of my awin fre will newer to comit the lyk offence nor sklender agains the said James nor vther person wtin this burght nor landward and geif I do wtout ony farder fauers I am contentit to be banesit the town thairfoir. Tryell of being tane qrpone the said James requyrit act qlk the Juge decernit."

It is not clear what offence was committed in Rob Mwrdocht's estimation by M'Caule having "tretrously desawit and sauld Edinburght." The measures of Edinburgh were smaller than those of Dumfries, and the libel may only have been an

2. Cal. State Papers (Foreign), 1566-8.

accusation of selling short measure. This explanation, however, is given with considerable diffidence, as it hardly seems an offence likely to have been committed by a Notary Public as we know James M'Caule to have been.

THE MARKETS.

At the time of which we write the markets were all held around the Cross. "It is statuit and ordaint that all the creimis [booths] be set fra the mercat corce vii futts and that na pynnes nor holis be maid neir the said mercat corce under the parrell of vii sh[illings] during this zear."³ Only freemen of the burgh were allowed to set up proper booths. "Na vnfreman," says an act, "be lycent to sett vpe ony creimis vpone the cawsa or mercat sted bot onie wt burd stule or benk nor that they be fund selland na stabillit geir conforme to the actis of parliament."⁴ The sale of staple products was one of the privileges of royal burghs.

Some idea of the variety and positions of the markets at this time can be gathered from the following: "The qlk day the said provest and balleis and counsell vnderstanding that it is wery necessarie and ane greit commone weill for this burght and the Inhabitants of this burght that the mercat vnderwryttin be transportit and keptit as followis That is to say the schone [shoe] mercat and ledder [leather] mercat be on the waist [west] syd of the cawsaw foranent vmqle Adame Kent's tenement and John Rigin'. [These were on the south of the New Wark which stood in what is now Queensberry Square.] Item the salt mercat syt thence downe anent the provest's [Archibald M'Brair] and Dauid Raa's tenements the lyme mercat to be fra Dauid Raa doune to Jhone Carruthers elder the hucsters to be plasit betuix the gutter of calsay and Arche Welcheis forge vpone the vtermost sydes of the Kingis streit and the body of the hail streit to be fre for passage of the Kingis legeis and the herring mercat and fysche mercat to be at the fysche corce. And that nane of the saids mercats cum vpone the Kingis commone streit bot betuix the frontell therof and the housses Reservand the Kingis streit to be fre. And thir mercat steds to be keypit be all manner of personis fre and vnfre vnder the paine of viii sh[illings] for the first

3. Burgh Court Books, 17, v., 1575.

4. Op. cit., 3, x., 1576.

fault, xvi sh. for the second falt, and escheting of the guides apprehendit furth of the said mercat steds for the thrid fault."⁵

The Fish Cross was at the end of Lochmabengate or English Street, the "Bakraw" of the 16th century, now Queensberry Street, being described as "extending to the fische croce."⁶ In the Act of July, 1693, ordaining its removal it is described as "lying very inconveniently upon the mouth of Lochmabengate Streit."⁷ It appears then to have been placed further west above St. Michael Street, where it stood until a new cross was built below the Midsteeple. Other markets were the "stragyrs and meill mercat," for which a building was erected in 1662 to the south of the New Wark on the site, apparently, of the open market, for "the Burgh and Shirreffdome of Drumfreis have been greatly damnified throw the opennes of the meill-market being vncovered to the great disadvantage of buyer and seller and spoiling of the meill in wet and raine weather."⁸

There was also the "flesch mercat, which was in that place called the land mercat at the back of the New Wark,"⁹ "the back" here meaning the north-east.¹⁰ The flesh market was "to be keipit fra setturday in the mornying quhill mononday at evin Sondag except and geif that ony persone or persones bees fund sleane ony flesche on the Sondag In that caiss the Dene sall tak viii sh for the first falt, xvi sh the nist falt, and swa furth dowbland."¹¹ "As," says another Act, "the commonwell of this burght and haill cuntrie about thereto adjacent is verray ser hurt be regrators for falt of ane common man to keip the marcat,"¹² James Rig was appointed to that office on the 17th May, 1575.

THE MARKET CROSS.

No explanation has yet been given as to how the Market Cross of Dumfries should have entirely disappeared and its place

5. *Op. cit.*, 18, i., 1575.

6. *Op. cit.*, 19, i., 1535; 26, ii., 1578.

7. *Town Council Minutes*, vii., 1693.

8. *Extract Act of Parliament*, 7, viii., 1662. *Burgh Charter Room*.

9. *Town Council Minutes*, 2, vi., 1687.

10. *Burgh Court Books*, 8, ii., 1578.

11. *Op. cit.*, 3, x., 1576.

12. *Op. cit.*, 17, v., 1575.

be taken by the low oblong buildings with shops "laigh and heigh" on the north of the Midsteeple, commonly known at the present day as the "Midsteeple Buildings." The explanation is to be found in the financial condition of the burgh during the years 1567 to 1576 or thereabout. During that period the burgh was in debt. The cause of the debt is obscure, as no records seem to exist for the period at which it was incurred, but the results of the debt were considerable. The Council was forced to put in wadset first, in 1567, two of the booths under the Tolbooth, each redeemable on payment of £30 Scots,¹³ and in May, 1569, "the hail Tolbuyth" to Thomas Newall, who granted a letter of reversion abrogating his rights whenever the burgh should pay him "seven score and ten pounds Scots,¹⁴ and these appear to have been all redeemed in 1575 and 1576.¹⁵ To remove the debt and redeem the Tolbooth was the reason given for the disposal of the Greyfriars' Convent,¹⁶ and we may reasonably conclude that the same state of affairs caused the Council to feu out the site of the Market Cross, which, with the markets so close to it, would be an admirable position for shops. It is probable that the feuing of the site was not so much for the sake of the ready money as for the additional advantage of having the Cross rebuilt without expense to the burgh.

We may reasonably conjecture that, prior to 1575 the Cross was similar in design to other market crosses in Scotland, a pillar upon a raised platform reached by a few steps. The extent of the ground upon which it stood was 13.35 feet north and south and 11.98 feet east and west; that is, almost square. In 1575 the pillar had fallen, nothing but the stump remaining.

On 13th January, 1575, "the counsell fyndand the mercat corce of this burght falling and decayit ordains the samyn to be ropit and sett in fewe to him that will bid maist therfore provyding that the fewar quhasomever obtenand the Rycht yrof and byggand the samyn to his awn vtilitie and profett be buthis ane or ma sall big the said corce In alls sufficient forme as the samyn was befoir the falling and fewing thairof and sall vphald the samyn thair

13. To John Gillespie, Sheriff Court Books, 3, ix., 1567; to Thomas M'Mynnes, 3, ix., 1567.

14. Inventory of Charters, Etc. Burgh Charter Room.

15. Burgh Court Books, 18, xii., 1575; 3, iv., 1576; 6, v., 1576.

16. *Op. cit.*, 1, xi., 1571.

efter for ever and for amplicatioun of the bounds therof foure fut Round about excepe the vest quarter to be sett and eikit to the auld ground of the said corce.

The qlk day Archibald M'Brair provest this day as the first proclamation for Roping of the said corce hes bydden x merks of entres and half ane merk of fewemale And the Jugeis and counsell assignis tysday nixt to cum for the secund proclamation to ony man that will geif mair."

On "Tysday" accordingly proclamation was again made and the same offer was made by Provost Archibald M'Brair, who seems to have been ever ready to turn an honest penny at the expense of the burgh. The council, however, "respecting the samyn to be oure lytill," fixes on the next day for the final proclamation. On it being again put up the council "ffyndis that William Edzar merchand hes byddin fourtie sevin merkis money of entries" "and zeirlic xl sh of annell Rent to the comone purs" "at Witsonday and mertingmes in vinter be equale portionis The qlk offer the saids Jugeis and counsell hes thocht resonable." The Cross was to be built between that date and Whitsunday or at latest Lammas, "wt the entries opt to the said corce vpon the vest quarter and the same to be na hear abone nor the stomp of the auld corce and that thair be ane sufficient stane corce be advyce of the provest balleis and counsell sett thervpone. And the samyn to be vphalden be the said William his ayris assignais sufficientlie for ewer."

The next entry is on March 20th, 1575, when the council grants "William Edzer and his pertinens of the corce iv futtis north, iv futts sowtht and ii futts eist to the first Rowme grantit to thame thay payand therefore x li [£] in hand." On the 3rd April William Edzar, Sande M'Gown, and Robert Mychelsone pay "x pounds for their entries of the first rouping of the market cross." On the 11th of the same month "Archibald M'Brair provest Rot M'Kinnell and harbert Ranying balleis of the burgh of Drumfreis be advyce of the counsell ordaine viii or x of the counsall wt the tua balleis" to "mesor the bounds sett" to them and "to prope the samyn swa that the saids perteners may knawe ther bounds to big." It may be noted that it was the practice of the lynors of the burgh when marches were in dispute to examine them and have them "propit and noggit" with nogs of wood.

The next day the whole ground feued is measured by "Robert M'Kynnell harbert ranying balleis of Drumfreis James Rig Thomas Jonstoun William gledstanes mychell baty peter claudisone Daid rauling harbert skailis Amer Maxwell elder thomas baty Adam Wallace Jhone Irving William patersone beand of the secreit counsell of the said burgh" and the "Rowme therof and breid of the said eist and vest is fyve ells and ane half ell and in length north and south nyne ellis and ane half ell." "And the said corce to be on hycht platforme laven wt the vnder part of the lyntall of the boicht dur nairest wille Thomeson and Johne thomsone ther In Schr Daid Wallace fairhouse on the vest syde of the said corce."

Sir David Wallace was the last Vicar of the Pre-Reformation Church of Torthorwald. He was served heir to his brother Johne Wallace on the 23rd May, 1575.¹⁷ His property is described as "at the Corce," and appears to have stood more or less exactly in the line of the present west side of the High Street. It was in this tenement that the Thomson's shop was, and there was also another occupied by Peter Davidson.

The measurements given above work out at 29.35 feet north and south and 17.98 east and west, and the size of the base of the original cross is obtained by deducting the added feet from the total.

On the 31st July, 1575, the counsel answers to the bill and desire of the feuars for license "to big the said Rowme wt ane ruf," that the cross not having been finished by "Lammas" according to agreement the feu was consequently "forfeit," but "having respect to thair powers and orsicht of the completing of the said work they Dispense with the said fewars and assigned thame to big the samyn betuix the daite heirop and mychalmes nixt to cum wt Intimation to thame and they failze thair fewis therof salle expyre fra thyne furth. . . . and the ground to cum In the towns hands agane as properte."

On January 18th, 1576, we find the building in process and the partners appeal "for libertie of twa futis hycher befor the outsetting of the sole of the corce nor is grantit to thame of befor." The Council "grantis to thame the libertie of the Saids tua futis hycher in the mydis of the said work Round as ane peir

and that the Remanent of the said work be na hycher nor the first grant And they sall big and construct four stepis fra the sole of the corce down and sall vnder the four steppis battell the said corce Round about vpon reasonabill hycht . . . and sall vppone the vaist quarter narrest jhone thomesones zett Rais ane entres of steppis of the ground to the said corce and big ane stane dwr of hewn work wt lyntell and cover in the battelling of the said corce and sall prewit ane sufficient tre dwr wt crwkis bands lok and key vppone the samyn and this work to be compleitit betuix the dait heiroy and pasche nixt to cum."

These arrangements, if not already quite clear, were to the effect that low booths were to be built, probably with their floors sunk a foot or two under the street level, and with flat roofs except in the centre where an arch was to give a little more height to the middle shop. On the top of the arch were to be four steps leading up to and providing a substantial base for a central pillar. Round the roof was to be built a stone parapet of convenient height, in the west side of which was to be built a door rising above the parapet, to which steps were to give access from the street. The height of the building on the west might be about six feet—a fair estimate of the height of the Thomson's booth door—while on the east it would be a foot or even two feet higher, the whole considerably higher on the south than on the north. We have no means of knowing the shape or decoration of the pillar. It might be round, square, hexagonal, or octagonal. All shapes are represented among our Scottish Crosses. It might be crowned by a ball, or, more impressively, by the unicorn sejant, a terminal common to many of our market crosses. A sundial, another adjunct frequently met with, was, as we shall see, added later.

Without doubt this made a commanding and handsome cross. No Midsteeple then interposed betwixt it and the large market space below. It was this Cross that Dr George Archibald, in his "Account of the Curiosities of Drumfriess," referred to as "our Stately Cross."

In later years, on a crowded market day, such incidents as the following would provide excellent sport for the multitude: "The Counsall ordains that Johne Scauler servitor to Steillstoun be set vppone the mercat croce the morrow being the mercat day fra ellevin hours to tua efternoone with a papper upon his heid

and thereafter to be broght to the theivis hole and ly ther 48 hours ffor being most scandalously drunk and abusing the mag[ist]rats and John Craik and George Baptie by scandalous speiches and thereafter to be conveyed out of the toun by the off[ice]r with certificatioune if ever he come to the toun again and be found guiltie of the lyk transgression to be whiped."¹⁸ We seem nowadays to have forgotten entirely the ancient method of punishment by public shame and obloquy which for many centuries filled a prominent place in our civil and ecclesiastical codes. In the form of which we have given two instances it was mental rather than physical; it cost the civic body nothing, and wife and children did not grow any thinner by having to pay the wrong-doer's fine or by his absence in jail. No doubt it often had a salutary effect, but its end probably came from the increasing difficulty of keeping public order. It would also be much more effective in a stable community, intensely familiar and keenly reminiscent, than in the town of to-day, when easy means of travel slacken familiarity and render obliteration of the past no difficult matter.

The Cross appears to have remained practically unaltered for over a century. On February 19, 1677, "the Council appoynts and ordeans the thesr to pay to Alexr. Thom the Sowme of Twentie eight libs Scots qlk wt the sowme of Thre-score twelve libs formerly peyit to him makes vp in hail the sowme of Ane hundred libs Scots for his repairing of the Standard of the cross and putting of ane sundayell theron."

We now come to the last considerable change in the structure of the Market Cross. This portion has already been treated fully,¹⁹ and I shall only recount the matter briefly. On August 22nd, 1690, Thomas M'Gown, merchant, and afterwards Provost of Irvine, a son of the Rev. Alexander M'Gown, minister of Mouswald, and a descendant of the original feuer of the Cross, supplicated the Council for permission to throw down the north and south walls of the Cross, "not onlie for the enlargement of the tuo shops under the same iff they wold allow him tuo foot of ground more on either syde thair of for that effect But also that he may have ane Shop above either of the said tuo laigh shops." He proposed to put a battlement on the walls and cover the roof

18. Town Council Minutes, 26, vii., 1670.

19. Transaction D. & G. N. H. & A. Society, 1900-1, pp. 85-90.

with lead, "which will much more tend to the decorment of the place then to the petitioner's advantage." The Council and heritors allow him the two feet on either side, north and south, providing he maintains the battlement (the style of which, it may be noted, was adopted by the Council for the battlement of the Midsteeple) and roof against wind and water, and pays an extra feu duty, and that "thir presents be noe homologatione to Mr M'Gouns nor thair predecessors and authors rights to the said shope." The last sentence shows that some claim had been made to the property, which the Council disputed. A charter giving effect to the above arrangement was granted on the 26th September.

No mention is made here of the pillar of the Cross. As this immemorial object was at last to disappear, it was perhaps as well not to remind one of its existence. No mention also is made of a middle shop on the top of the Cross, with an entrance from the back or west side, described by Robert Edgar in his MS. "Introduction to the History of Drumfreis," written circa 1746. "The Cross was," he says, "before 1690 or 1691 an house about Thirty feet in length having to the front [i.e., the east side] three shops the floors a foot or two sunk under the Street and above the middle shop an arch of stone, and then on the back part a shop which entered in upon this stone floor and the roof to the extent of eight or ten feet. Above, this back shop had appended on both sides spars of timber and slated to nigh four feet of the Casaway or street." This description is quite clear, and as far as it goes is in accordance with the details we have gathered from the Burgh Court Books. It therefore seems likely that sometime before 1690 such a shop was built. Thomas M'Gown, after the Council had conceded to his request, built up the two sides to the height of another storey, and thereby six shops instead of four were obtained. Edgar tells us that Thomas M'Gown had, in the old building, the south shop, and his brothers Alexander and John the north and mid and back shops respectively. Thomas was tutor of his niece Margaret, and Mr John's man of business. Alexander sold his north shop to Wm. Copland, of Colliston, afterwards Provost, who, says Edgar, "strenuously opposed" the proposal of the Council to make the Cross the site of the Midsteeple. Edgar further says that "for several years the lead-covered roof did not repell

damage by rain or snow, and thus these persons [? the Council's] rights are homologate and confirmed."

It is interesting to note that Mr John M'Gown's son was Alexander M'Gown, writer in Edinburgh, sometime called "of Meikleknock," whose daughter Agnes married Robert Corsane of Meikleknock, son of the Rev. Peter Rae and Agnes Corsane, and is thus an ancestor of Lord Loreburn.

The Market Cross had now assumed more or less exactly the form in which we now know it. There remains to be mentioned the connecting of it with the Midsteeple. This took place in 1788. In August the Minutes state that "it is observed by some members of the council that the most convenient place for keeping the water engine is betwixt the cross and the steeple," and "a little house" was erected there for that purpose. The closing of the passage was protested against by nineteen of the inhabitants, among whom we notice Robert Threshie, another ancestor of Lord Loreburn. The main plea put forward by these petitioners was "the Inconvenience to the Inhabitants of the back of the Steeple on Fair or other public day, they can neither get round to the Market to buy provision by the Cross on account of the merchant stalls, nor by the Courthouse stair on account of the gardeners and blacksmiths. In short, they must travel as far up as Mr Wilson, the ironmonger's shop, and as far down as the Coffee House, and how difficult this must be in the midst of such a crowd as generally attend on these occasions your honours can easily imagine." The petition is endorsed "refused."²⁰ I have now only to note that about the beginning of the nineteenth century the two north shops were made into one, when Mr Robert Dickson was the owner, and that in 1846 the south shop was used as the Police Office, being conveniently adjacent to the "saut box" in the Midsteeple.

The measurements of the Market Cross buildings are now 18 feet 11 inches broad by 37 feet 3 inches, plus 7 feet 6 inches (the latter being the passage) long. That is one foot broader and four feet longer than in 1575.

In its history the Market Cross of Dumfries probably occupies a unique position, though that is due more to the business acumen of the civic fathers of the burgh than to their sense of

local patriotism. The Market Crosses in Scotland which had large and handsome understructures were, from the expense their construction entailed, practically to be found only in large burghs. Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, Dunfermline, Glasgow, Banff, Preston (Haddingtonshire), and probably Peebles²¹ all had Crosses of this type. None of them, however, seem to have had private shops in the building, neither do any of them appear to have been erected by private persons as was the Dumfries Cross. Also Dumfries alone seems to have feued the site upon which stood its central civic sign and honour. The only other example of a similar but unauthentic sale we have found is in a curious story told of the Market Cross of Banff. It is said that the then Earl of Fife for a joke offered a barrel of sovereigns for the Cross. The offer was accepted, but when the barrel came it was so small as not to be able to hold many sovereigns. The Earl, however, took possession of the Cross and re-erected it about a mile out of the town. Dumfries was more shrewd than Banff in its transaction and roused once and again, when Provost M'Brair offered less than a fourth of what was ultimately obtained for the site.

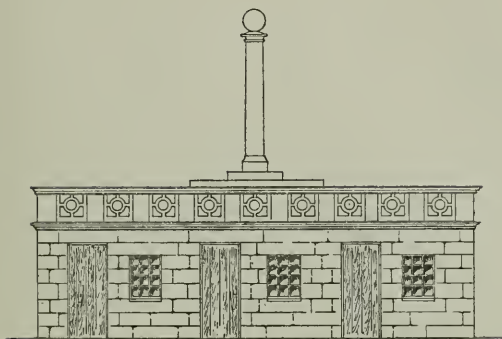
The Perth Cross appears to have had an understructure prior to 1578. The Crosses of the other Burghs named above "were probably originally all erected about the same time, namely, in the early part of the seventeenth century,"²² perhaps between 1617 and 1620. The Dumfries Cross would thus be one of the earliest to boast an elevated platform. The understructures of these crosses were in shape hexagonal or octagonal. In Dumfries, we have seen, the understructure was an oblong. The stair which gave access to the platform on the top was usually internal, whereas in Dumfries it was on the outside.

These comparative points add considerably to the interest of this relic that has disappeared. Is it too much to hope that some day a son of Dumfries who has borne the burden of empire not unprofitably may erect a Market Cross of Dumfries upon its ancient site to his lasting honour and the Burgh's pride?

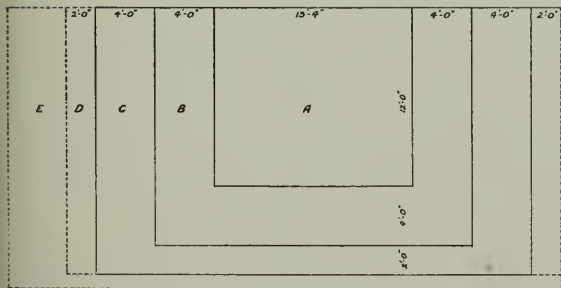
21. "The Scottish Market Crosses," by John W. Small, Stirling, 1900.

22. *Op. cit.*; Preface by Alexander Hutcheson, F.S.A.Scot.

MARKET CROSS OF DUMFRIES.



Conjectural E Elevation of Cross 1576 to 1680.



GROUND PLAN SHOWING VARIOUS ADDITIONS AND PRESENT SIZE

- A ORIGINAL SITE OF THE CROSS
- B ADDITION WHEN SITE WAS FIXED 1575
- C ADDITION MADE BEFORE BUILDING WAS EXPECTED 1575
- D ADDITION GRANTED TO ALEXANDER MCGOWAN 1620
- E. PRESENT SIZE INCLUDING 7'-0" FOR PASSAGE



THE PLAN.

With regard to the accompanying plan and conjectural elevation of the east front (for which I am indebted to Mr W. A. Mackinnell, architect) the former shows, roughly, the various additions which were made from time to time to the extent of the buildings in comparison with the present extent ; (a) is the

ground occupied by the original cross, a portion of which, however, may have been merely cobbled or flagged; (b) the ground as originally feued in 1575; (c) the further addition granted to the feuars before building in 1575; (d) the addition granted to Alexander M'Gown in 1690, when an additional storey was added; and (e) the present size of the buildings less 7 feet 6 inches for a passage between them and the Midsteeple.

The conjectural elevation is offered, with all due diffidence, to assist the casual reader to realise what the appearance of the Cross may have been between the years 1575 and 1680. In detail it is necessarily conjectural. It is probable that the shops had arched roofs, the central one being a little higher inside than the others. It is not likely that the line of the parapet would be broken by the extra height of the central arch, and would therefore rest upon a front wall which would conceal the arches. It has been assumed that the roof was flagged, except in the centre, where four steps were placed upon the central arch, and led up to a broad base, or sole, for the pillar of the Cross. The position and height of the entrance on the west side are not sufficiently defined. It probably opened on to the flagged portion of the roof at the north end, and may not have been visible from the ground on the east side. There are no details available for the appearance of the shaft. The design of the battlement that is shown is within the bounds of possibility. The battlement on the Midsteeple was copied from the battlement of the Cross then existent (M'Gown's erection of 1690), and it may be that the latter had been taken from the earlier battlement, which was then removed.

NOTE ON AN ANCIENT ASH TREE NEAR DALSWINTON HOUSE,
KNOWN AS "CUMMIN'S ASH." By THE PRESIDENT.

I have to thank Mr W. J. H. Maxwell of Munches for his permission to publish the following letter, which was found among the correspondence of Sir William Jardine, the celebrated naturalist, and which is now in Mr Maxwell's possession. The letter concerns a famous Ash Tree near Dalswinton House, which was traditionally known as "Cummin's Ash." The Comyn family were apparently at their zenith of notoriety in the thirteenth century, so that if any value is to be attached to the tradition, the age

of the tree would appear to be considerably more than that given. The letter is written to Dr T. B. Grierson, Thornhill, and is as follows :—

Dalswinton,
Sept., 1863.

“ My dear Doctor,—

I have no doubt but you will think me prosy in filling up the schedule you gave me, but Mr Leny being from home I waited his arrival to see if he could render any assistance, but without effect, *only* that he had laid dung all round the roots to assist in retaining life, but all to no purpose.

I hope the few answers given may be of use.

I am, my dear Doctor,

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) ADAM RINTOUL.

Arboricultural Committee of the Royal Horticultural Society.

Date, September, 1863.

Tree reported on, *Fraxinus excelsior*, Linn.

Cummin's Ash.

Name and address of reporter.

Adam Rintoul.

Locality, climate, exposure, aspect, elevation above the sea, character of district, form of surface, etc.

Climate good, southern exposure, elevation 71 feet above the sea. The district is pretty and level, and also for about 100 yards round the tree.

Soil, sub-soil, their depth, drainage, and geological formation.

Soil, good loam with gravel sub-soil, depths variable, formation like an amphitheatre.

Supposed age of tree, and the reasons on which the supposition is founded.

Supposed age from three to four hundred years old. I can give no reason for the supposed age but what is traditional in the locality.

How growing? Solitary, in masses, mixed with other trees or shrubs; if so, what kinds?

Growing solitary. It had a brother which fell some forty or fifty years ago.

Dimensions—Height, circumference of trunk at four feet above the ground, spread of branches, etc.

Height of trunk from the ground to spread of branches rather more than 12 feet. Circumference at 4 feet from the ground 20 feet. The branches were like a triangle with smaller diverging, but are all gone save one.

Its degree of hardiness and power of resisting wind and extreme temperatures.

It may resist wind for a long time as there are no branches to make resistance or cause obstruction.

Quality of timber.

Bad.

Condition of tree, thriving or otherwise; seedling, grafted, or from cutting.

In a state of decay. An effort was made some 10 years ago to preserve it by digging and dunging but without effect.

Period when young buds and leaves appear usually and fall. Has it flowered or fruited, or both?

No buds.

State any particulars as to pruning, planting, transplanting, or thinning; and effects of drainage, whether beneficial or otherwise.

No particulars.

Whether it suffers from rabbits, squirrels, insects, or other animals, and state the kinds.

Suffers from neither.

If not thriving, state the supposed cause, and when the unhealthy symptoms began.

Age is the supposed cause of unhealthiness."

Mr Gladstone added:—I wrote to Major Leny, the present proprietor of Dalswinton, and he informs me that he believes that the tree stood at the foot of the Byre Hill.

He has in his possession a block of wood labelled—"A piece of old ash in front of garden, blown down October, 1883. Measures 27 feet in circumference at 5 feet from ground.—Dalswinton, 1893." Major Leny states that this tree stood at the garden gate and that it is not the tree alluded to by Adam Rintoul. If this be so, we have interesting records of two fine old ash trees.

3rd February, 1911.

Chairman—Mr JAMES REID.

THE ENGLISH RAIDS ON DUMFRIES IN 1570. By Mr G. W. SHIRLEY.

The year 1570 began with an ill-omen for the peace of Scotland. The Regent Moray was murdered at Linlithgow on the 23rd of January. The revolt of the Catholics in the North of England had recently failed in effecting the rescue of Mary from the charge of Elizabeth, and the Chief conspirators, dispersing their forces at Hexham on December 16th, had fled across the Scottish Border. Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, who, in 1572, was to suffer the extreme penalty for this revolt, was captured by the Regent with the aid of a conveniently treacherous Armstrong. This was one of the last acts of Moray and his defiance of the unwritten law of Border hospitality excited widespread resentment. Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland, more fortunate, was safe in the Kers' Castle of Ferniehirst, and safe also was Leonard Dacre, 2nd son of William Lord Dacre of Gilsland, who had fortified and held Naworth Castle until February 20th, and then, foolhardily having followed a retiring force under Lord Hunsdon, was attacked and defeated by the latter after a stiff fight, and, according to his victor, "was the first man that flew, like a tall gentleman, and, as I thinke, never looked behind him tyll he was in Lyddesdale."

From Ferniehirst, on the night after Moray's death, Westmorland, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst, and a force of 2000 horse dashed over the Border and wrought vengeance on those who had remained loyal to the English Crown. The Government in Scotland was unable to deal with the offenders, and Elizabeth decided to take action and reduce them to obedience. This was the immediate cause of the first raid into Dumfriesshire that year. In addition to revenge, however, Elizabeth had another and a greater purpose to fulfil. She desired to reduce the power of the Marian lords in Scotland. The Marian party was largely Catholic; it was desirous of restoring Mary to the throne and was bitterly opposed to the late Regent Moray and to the prospective Regent, Lennox. The

distressed country was for five months without a recognised head, the two parties failing to agree. Elizabeth, whose interests were best served by a divided nation, had sedulously fomented the dissension.

The party supporting Mary consisted of the great majority of the noblemen and ancient Catholic families; its chief leaders were Maitland of Lethington and John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, virtual head of the Clan Hamilton, one of whose members was the instrument of Moray's murder. The party adhering to the infant King was not so distinguished. It was composed of the Protestant clergy, several of the lesser barons, and of the larger burghs, the bulk, in fact, of the Commons. Its most able leader was the Earl of Morton, whose firm support of Protestantism covered a multitude of sins. From the composition of the two parties it is clear that had Elizabeth not intervened as she did in 1570 the Marian party would have gained the ascendancy for a more or less lengthy period.

In the South-West of Scotland all the principal noble and landed families supported Mary. Chief among them was Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, 4th Lord Herries, known for a time as the Master of Maxwell, who, although a Protestant, was one of the staunchest supporters of Queen Mary. He had commanded the horse at Langside, and, with him, Mary had fled into England. Knox wrote of him as "a man stout and wittie, of great judgment and experience." The King's party feared his ability, and were picturesque in invective, as exemplified by Bannatyne and Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, the latter saying he was "The counynge horsleache and wysest of the wholle faction, but as the quene of Scotland sayeth of hym, there ys no bodie can be sure of hym."⁰ Another important adherent was John Maxwell, 7th or 8th Lord Maxwell, and afterwards for a time Earl of Morton. He was at this date a lad of seventeen. Lord Herries was his guardian, and his influence over the youthful Lord is apparent. In this district also Sir John Johnstone, of Annandale, Michael 4th Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald, the Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Murrays of Cockpool, Carruthers of Holmains, Griersons of Lag, Charteris of Amisfield, and the Maxwells of Tinwald and Cowhill were adherents of the Queen.

⁰ Illus. to the Reign of Q. Mary, Maitland Club, 1837.

The only notable exception, indeed, among the nobility was Sir James Douglas, 7th Lord Drumlanrig, who at Langside had led Moray's horse against Lord Herries, and who was a dependable supporter of the King. The country people naturally followed their superiors, and the Burgh of Dumfries, as far as can be estimated, was also influenced, in the earlier stages, at least, by them. At anyrate, whatever opinions might be held by the more humble inhabitants, the masterful Provost, Archibald M'Brair, may be deemed to be of the Maxwell party. His mother was a Margaret Maxwell, and although we cannot settle her descent yet that she was one of the ennobled family is clear. By his will, John M'Brair, Provost of Dumfries, who died in 1560, created the Master of Maxwell, or his daughter, tutor of his son Archibald,¹ and, among others, Robert Maxwell of Cowhill, Archibald Heres, John Maxwell of Hills, and Edward Maxwell in Drumcoltran acted for the boy in his minority.² At our period Archibald was a young man of 22, having been born at "Zoule," 1547. He had married, in 1567, Agnes Grierson, sister of Roger Grierson of Lag. He was Provost of Dumfries from 1568 until about 1583, occupying, by almost hereditary right, the office that had been filled by at least five of his progenitors in succession, and to which his son Robert attained after him. The family had held important magisterial and priestly positions in the Burgh since, at the latest, 1384.³ It feued the Mill of Dumfries, which stood in the Mill-hole, and held the patronage of the Altar of Saint Nicholas in St. Michael's Church. It held extensive properties within the burgh, and the estates of Castledykes, Netherwood, and Langholm, as well as their ancient properties of Almagill and Halydayhill in Dalton parish. With Archibald the family probably rose to the height of its wealth and influence, for he appears to have profited by the Reformation. Yet withal he came to a violent end, for, having "maist creuellie and unmercifully murthourit" the unarmed Archibald Newall, burgess of Dumfries, in April, 1587, he was executed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh in January, 1587-8.

Such were some of the adherents of the Queen in the South-

1. Burgh Court Book, 15, x., 1561.

2. Op. cit., 15, x., 1561.

3. Exchequer Rolls. Andrew M'Brair, bailie.

West. No love had been lost between them and the late Regent. The latter had attempted, unsuccessfully it appears, the year after Langside, to crush them, with other supporters of Queen Mary, because of their refusal to acknowledge his government. On "the sixth day [of June, 1568] they [the Regent's party] remained in Dumfries and the castle thereof was offered them, which apperteyneth to my Lord Maxwell. . . My Lord Maxwell, the Lorde of Johnstone, Cowhill, Lowinvar, with them the number of a thousand men, was in Dumfreis tuo dayes before and spent all the meate and drink that was readye, as also consulted against the Regentis commynge."⁴ The Queen's party, in fact, endeavoured to make a lengthy visit impossible. It was on this occasion that the Regent ordered Terregles House to be dismantled, but on being informed by the Laird of Drumlanrig that Lord Herries intended rebuilding it "The Regent swore, he scorned to be a barrowman to his old walls and so it was safe."⁵ In March Cecil prepared a memorial for Elizabeth, recommending, as Mary's faction was rapidly increasing, that the army be instructed to enter Scotland and "chastise her Majesty's rebels."⁶

On the 10th of April a convention of the Catholic party met at Linlithgow and "they began to treat of that which they did whisper in secreit, to witt, to raise warre against the English that the murther of the King and the Regent might be ather forgottin or men's mindes being bussied with the warres, might languish in the pursute therof."⁷ On the same date Elizabeth published a printed declaration of her intention to invade Scotland, and made her reasons clear. She assured "in the word of a prince, all manner of persons that her intencion and certane meaning is, to use and treat all the subjects of Scotland als lovinglie and peaceable as her owne, excepting onlie suche notorious outlawes, theeves, enemies, and peace-breakers, as have lately with her rebels invaded and spoiled her realm and such others of that

4. Progress of the Regent Moray, 1568. Hume Brown's "Scotland before 1700," p. 201.

5. Lord Herries, Historical Memoirs, 1836.

6. Hatfield Calendar, 465.

7. Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland. Wodrow Soc., 1843. II., 553-4.

natioun as have and sall support her rebels.”⁸ This declaration greatly disconcerted the Catholic party, and they hastily made representations to Elizabeth and to Sussex. These, however, were disregarded, and the Lords whose districts were threatened made for home. Sussex reported to Cecil on the 10th of April that “Herries had made proclamation for all his men to be ready with fourteen days victual upon an hours warning.”⁹ After that Herries had departed to the Convention, but returned to meet the invaders.

On the 17th of April Sussex, having divided his forces of 1000 horsemen and 3000 foot into three parts, to attack respectively the East, Middle, and West Marches, entered Teviotdale, and Scrope, who was given 100 horsemen and 500 foot and the retention of 100 horsemen “of such as were trusty in these parts,”¹⁰ followed suit the next day.

During the succeeding week Sussex’s forces “burnt, herrijt and destroyit sa meikill of the merse and Teviotdail as they mycht be maisteris of . . . assegit the castell of Pharnihirst, and demolished the same, and thairefter past to Hawick and to Branxholme and brunt and herijt the same and thairefter returnit agane to Jedburgh and Kelso quhair thaj remanit be the space of ane day, and past agane to Berwick.”¹¹ Branxholm had been burned by Buccleuch “as cruelly as they could have done it themselves so they blew one half from the other.” At Hawick they “found the thatch on fire and the people wholly fled.” Hunsdon “burned on both hands for at least two miles leaving neither castle town or tower unburnt till they came to Jedburgh.” Sussex, summing up, said he thought “there were few persons in Tevydale who have received her [Elizabeth’s] rebels or invaded England who at this hour have either castle standing for themselves or house for any of their people and therewith no person hurt who has not deserved”¹²—a statement we are not likely to accept, but rather interpret it as an expression of regret or to stifle conscience.

The smaller force under Scrope does not appear to have

8. Calderwood II., 555-7.

9. Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., ix., 216.

10. Op. cit., p. 222.

11. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 171.

12. Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., ix., p. 228, 229.

been so successful. Its progress is somewhat confusedly detailed by the Warden of the Western Marches himself in his report to Sussex:—

April 21st.—“According to your Lordships direction I entered Scotland on Tuesday at night last the xviii of this April and on Wednesday at night incamped at Hacklefegham [Ecclefechan] within Hoddon distant from Carlisle xviii myles and within Scotland xii myles and on Thursday in the morning I sent forth Symon Musgrave, appointed by me as general of the horsemen, accompanied with the gentlemen named in the schedule here inclosed, to burne and spoile the countrey, and to mete me at a place called Cumber trees, and the said Symon with the gentlemen aforesaid brent the townes of Hoddom and the Maynes, Trailtrowe, Revell [Ruthwell], and Cockpole, the towne of Blackshawe, Sherington, the Bankend thre myles of Drumfrise, Lougher and Lougherwodd and Heckleghan which townes were of the landes of the Lords HERRIS and Maxwell, the Laird of Cockpole and the Laird of Holme ende. And the said Symon and his company camme to olde Cockpole, there was the Lord Maxwell with his forces and the inhabitantes of Drumfrise assembled and skirmished with the skuriers and compelled them to retorne unto the said Symon, and then Symon marched into the town of Blackshawe with his company where the Lord Maxwell was in order and his forces. And then Symon and Fergus Grame with the number of cth [100] horsemen did give the chardge upon the said Lord Maxwell and made him flee and his company also. In which thir fight ther were taken of the numbers of cth prisoners” of which the principal were the Alderman of Drumfrise [Archibald M'Brair] and 16 of the burgesses thereof. The rest were footmen. The chase was followed within a mile of Drumfrise.

After which conflict the said Simon retired to Blackshawe and burned it, and seized a great number of cattle and delivered the same to Wm. Musgrave, Richard Sackeld, John Dalston, and Thomas Carleton and others to convey to me.

The said Simon with 100 horsemen rode to burn Bankend, Lougher and Lougher Wood. “As the said gentlemen with ther company camme to a strait place nere unto old Cockpole, the said Lord Maxwell, the Lord Carlile, the Lord Johnson, the Laird of Cockpole, the Lairds of Holmend, Closburne, Lagge, Hems-

feld [Amisfield], Cowhill and Tenoll [Tinwald] with the number of iiiic horsemen and viic footmen charged them very sore and forced them to light and drawe ther company into a strong place to abide the charge of ther enemyes and so they remayned untill the said Symon came unto them and lighted and put his company in order and sett his horses betwene his company and the sea, and so stode in order to receive the enemy and contynewed in this sort chardging and receiving ther chardges the space of thre howres, I being at Cumber trees aforesaid, a place before appointed betwene me and the said Simon for his relefe, being distant from him thre mvles. And having understanding of somme distresse, I sent my band of horsemen with my brother Edward Scrope and chte shott with Mr Audelly and Mr Harbert to ther relefe and the said Symon upon the comming of the said horsemen and shott gave the ennemyes the chardge with all his forces. Wherapon they fledd, in which flight ther was taken cth prisoners whereof somme was of the pety Lerdes of the countrye." Lords Maxwell, Carlisle, and Johnston and the rest before-named escaped by the strength of the Laird of Cockpole's house and a great wood and a 'marris' there adjoining. And so the said Simon repaired to me with his company and so we returned home."

Postscript.—Drumlanrigs servants and tenants, whom I had given charge that they should not be dealt with, for that he favoured the Kings faction and the Queen's Majesty were as cruel against us as any other."¹³

To a letter addressed to Cecil, which is almost a duplicate of the above, Scrope appended a threat. "Sir, I have written to my Lord Lieutenant for 500 men, but for fourteen days; and with them I will undertake to march to Drumfries, and lie in that town and burn and spoil it, if the Queen's Majesty think it good; for the open receipt of Her Majesty's Rebels is there manifest."¹⁴

It is evident that Scrope was not satisfied with his raid. He was in fact compelled to abandon his project as we learn from Lord Herries, who, however, may also exaggerate. "Upon the west, the Lord Scroop, with an armie, came into Annandaile,

13. Cal. of State Papers, Scotland, Vol. III., p. 129.

14. Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra. 3rd ed. London, 1691. p. 164.

and pearced up the cuntrie even to Dumfries—but to little purpose—for the Laird of Johnstone in Annandaill and the Lord Herreis in Galloway and Nithsdail, were upon the fields with all the hors they could rase, and the cuntrie people were commanded to dryve all there goods to the moors and themselves to goe out of the way. So, fearing distres in his armie, he retreated to Carleile, with loss of many of his armie."¹⁵

It is curious to note that although Lord Maxwell took the leading part in repelling Scrope's forces, yet his lands were not destroyed. Morton, it seems, had advised Randolph that Scrope should make an inroad on Maxwell's country and on that of Lord Herries to prevent them going to Edinburgh with the Catholic Lords then gathered at Linlithgow.¹⁶ This led to a remonstrance by Kirkcaldy of Grange, who in a letter to Randolph asserted that Maxwell had not left the King's obedience or had to do with the English rebels.¹⁷ Randolph replied that he had not only maintained the rebels, but despoiled her [Elizabeth's] subjects.¹⁸ Yet Scrope reports that he had spared the lands of Lord Maxwell at Morton's request, but destroyed those of Lord Herries and the Laird of Johnstone and his friemen,¹⁹

That Scrope's raid had not the desired effect is clear from the report which he himself made to Sussex within a week (25th April) of his retiral in which he states that "yesterday Lord Herries openly in Dumfries proclaimed himself Warden in the Queen's name and had before him all the Lairds and gentlemen of that part who promised themselves to be of that Queen's faction."²⁰

The action of Lord Herries and the Lairds, instinct with indifference to the English efforts was not shared by the douce burgesses of Dumfries. On the approach of the English, and thinking only of immediate defence the Burgh had dispatched hagbutters and pikemen to the Blackshaw as the following primitive account shows:—

15. Herries, *Hist. Memoirs* 1836, p. 127.

16. *Cal. State Papers, For Ser.*, 1569-71, 25 April, entry 849.

17. *Op. cit.*, entry 854.

18. *Op. cit.*, May 1, entry 875.

19. *Cal. State Papers, Scotl.*, p. 245, May 9.

20. *Cal. State Papers, For. Ser.*, ix., p. 230.

Apd Drumfres xxij die mensis Aprilis lxxio
lennaris of money the xv of April ado lxxjo.

Wm cunnyngham Jons sone	xx sh	
Thomas memynneis	xx sh	this sowm gavin to
herbert skalis	xx sh	the vageors that
thomas bate	xx sh	heid to the blaik-
Jon Irvyng	xx sh	shaw for four dayis
Thomas Trustrie	xx sh	to tua hagbutters
William paterson	xx sh	item to viii pikmen
herbert ranyng	xx sh	and bowmen
thomas newall	xx sh	vi libs
Wm paterson	xx sh	viiij sh
Jon Kirkpatrick balle	xx sh	

Item resaiuit the v of merch be Jon Kirkpatrick balle fra Symon jonson xx sh, fra Jon merheid elder xx sh, frae Wm Gledstanis xx sh, fra dauid raa xx sh, fra mycoll bate xx sh, fra peter dauidson, fra Jon reid xx sh, fra Jon gilleson xx sh, fra roger Kirkpatrik xx sh, . . .²¹

But, after the immediate trouble was over, hearing, perhaps, a rumour of Scrope's threat, the Burgh looked to the future with dread and on the 10th of May hurried the Provost, Bailie Rig, and William Cunningham, a burgh officer, to "or souerane to saif the toun fra fyre."

The burrow cort callit the Vitsonday cort . . . haldin in the tolbuyt of Drumfres . . . the tent day of Maij Jmve lx ten zeris.

Commonvele.

The qlk day convenit in the tolbuyt of Drumfres Ard M'brair provest, James rig and patrik newall balleis, hew cunnyngham, Jon M'cleir, Jon gledstanis, Wm Paterson, mychell bate, amer maxwell, elder, Jon Kirkpatrik Ard velsche, adam Walkcar, peter dauidson, thomas bate, nicholl newall, Jon merchell younger, Jon richartson, rot m'cKynnell, Wm cunnyngham, dauid rawlyng, thos memynneis, Jon newall, Jon maxwell thomas sone, thomas newall, Wm maxwell Wm Irving, James anderson Jon wells, wt diuerss vtheris of the communitie, and efter lang ressonable common veyng in the causs movit and exponit tuixande

vasting of Ingland for the pert of or soverane lord James the sext eschewing of greit rowyn to follow thereafter And they anserand thot it expedient neidfull that the provest James rig and Wm cunyngham ryed furt and haif ressounable expens on the tounes coist for horse and man for to lawbor for or souerane to saif the toun fra fyre this congeir²² and tyme and thai to haif commission for to lawbor for the hailtoun to that effect To treitt and sett furth the caus for the commonvell and qr ony of thaim wantt horsse to be furneist on the tones expenss quhit cost hurt dampnaige or Skayt happyynes to horsse or men to be upsett of the rediest of the common geris and guds and that na sowmes to be debursit qll thair costis dampnaige sustenit be thaim be ralevit; and thai to be ferm and stable coniuentlie and seuerale in thir premisses; thervpon the saids persones ordaint act to stand as decreitt. Ita est Herbertus Cunyngham, Notarius et scriba, manu propria.²³

The "lawborers" appear to have been away on their mission during the rest of May. What success they achieved is not recorded, but it is not likely to have been great, for the leading lords were taken up with more urgent matters. The strained relations of the two parties had now developed into actual civil war. After a period of indecision the Catholic lords began a siege of Glasgow castle. Elizabeth perceived that it was necessary to attack the Hamilton party, and on May 14th Sir William Drury, Marshall of Berwick, marched from the Borders to Edinburgh with 1000 foot and 300 horse. With him came the Earl of Lennox. Mustering a native army of 4000 under Morton, Glencairn and Semple they set out from Edinburgh on the 16th. They made for Hamilton and burnt the Castle, Palace, Town, and district "in sic sort and manner as the lyk in this realme hes nocht bene hard befoir."²⁴ On their return they went to Linlithgow and "herrit all the Monkland, the Lord Fleming's bounds, my Lord Livingstonis boundis togidder with all thair pure tennentis and freindis, in sic maner that na hart can think thairon bot the same most be dolorous."²⁵ Drury returned to Berwick on the 3rd of June.

22. Intimidation.—Counger, Counjer, Cunjer: To overawe, intimidate, or subdue. Here used as a noun.

23. Burgh Court Book.

24 and 25. Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 176-178.

In July we have a curious reminiscence of the April raid. The Town Council of Dumfries granted a small pension from the rents of the property of the Grey Friars, of which it had received Crown Charter in 1569, to a burghess of the burgh who had sustained a mutilation of the nose.

herp.

The qlk day the provest balleis and counsale present In Jugement all in ane voce his decernit and ordaint be the tenor heirof decernis and ordainis thomas herp to haif in stipend zeirly six merks vsual money of Scotland of the rents of the friers lands becauss he hes susteinut mutillation in his neiss at the raid and birnyng of blakshawe the xxvi of aprille last by past and that the collectors thereof anser hym zerly at vitsonday and mertynmes in vinter be equale portionis and this act beand sene sall be discharge to the debursar therof be this present.'²⁶

It seems a very small injury to compensate in that manner, but perhaps the real reason lies buried with its recipient.

In mid-July, with the consent of Elizabeth, Lennox was appointed Regent, the King's party being definitely in the ascendant.

The Marian lords decided to hold a Convention at Linlithgow on August 7th, and the Regent actively set himself to checkmate the assembly. He issued orders to various towns to send levies to Linlithgow by the second of August. The order, addressed to the Provost, reached Dumfries on the 22nd, and was placed before the Council, but from some unexplained cause, possibly the influence of the neighbouring lords, decision as to what action should be taken was adjourned until the 25th. The following is a transcript of the order in the Burgh Court Books:—

bailies therof

The qlk daye James rig balle and patrik newall producit in Jugement the copy of or soueranes lettres rasis at edinburt the xvii day of Julij and of or soueranes regne the thre zeir berand in effect that his grace will is and straitlie commands and cherge that incontinent his maties lettres sene that Jon Andersone messinger suld pass to the mercat croce of Drumfreis with vtheris

26. Burgh Court Books, 8 vii., 1570.

burrowis mentionit in the said lettres and vtheris placeis nedfull and be oppin proclamation his countenance and authoritie commands and charge all and sundrie his maties legeis betnix sixtie and sixtene zeris and vtheris fensseble men personis alswele to burt wtin realte as regalite that thai and ilk ane of thaim veill bodin in feir of weir in the maist substantial manner alss vele on fuyt as on horss with xx dayis vittall and prouision wt palzeons to ly on feild addres thaim to conuene and meitt his derest gudschir mathow erle lenox lord darnle tutor and regent to his realm and leigis and vtheris lewtenentes and counsalors at linythgwo vpon the secound day of august nixt to cum And swa to attend and pass forwart as thai salle command for resisting of the tressonable attemptats as to etc. vnder the pane of tinfall of lyif lands and guds as the said messinger vald anser ther-vpon as in the said lettres of the dait fairsaid mair fullyly is conteint of the production of the saids lettres dewle execut and Indorsit be the said messinger the said balleis registrat noitt and chargeit the personis of burt to obbey the samin efter the tenor therof vuder perell fairsaid. Ita est Herbertus cunyngham notarius et scriba dicti burgi.'²⁷

The Council decided to furnish twenty-four men to the Regent, paying them five shillings for each day's service.

Anseris of the persouns of burt to Seruice at linythquo

The qlk day comperit in Jugement Amer maxwell herbert ranyng Wm patrikson Jon richertson, Jon thomson, Jon schortrik mychell batie Jon schortrik James Wallace dauid rawlyng Alexr merheid Jon merheid Jon makJoir, William cunyngham dauid raa robert makKynnell Jon merdocht.

The fairsaids personis wtout discrepance decernis and ordainis xxiiij able fenssible persones to be chosin and pass to the effect fairsaid and to haife vs ilk day that he is furt during the tyme of the lettres sa lang as the order requires.'²⁸

The accounts were paid in the following November:—

James Wallace, last lyftar and collector of the ix^{xx} [nine score] libs taxt and maillis; compt of xxxix libs ix sh ii penneis gevin to the gunnaris that heid to lylithquhoo in July ado etc.

27. Burgh Court Books, 25 vii., 1570.

28. Burgh Court Books, 25 vii., 1570.

lxx^o and thom M'brair quhen he gaed to lothlinquho and to cherle oor v sh to pass wt Jon maxwell to newbye Summa abone vrittin of him resaut. pater forthr, andro edzar, peter dauidson, mungo hamilton, andro cunyngham andro morison wt vtheris diuerss. Ita est Herbertus cunyngham manu propria.²⁹

The Gordons in the North and the Herries' power in the South-West had not yet suffered from the growing power of the King's party supported by the resources of England. Morton now attacked the northern strength, taking the town of Brechin and shocking Sussex by hanging thirty-one of the garrison. The Castle of Doune on the Teith also fell before the King's party, and immediately thereafter the attack on the South-West took place.

Some intelligent anticipation of the approaching storm there must have been in Dumfries, for the Council at the end of July, not content with having sent a body of men to Linlithgow endeavoured to make its position clearer and safer. On the last day of July the Council prepared a "band" of allegiance to the King and the Regent, required the inhabitants to sign it, repudiated its responsibility for those who refused, and brought officials to witness to its action.

"Apud Drumfreis vltimo July ado etc. lxx^o

The qlk day comperit in the tolbuyt of Drumfreis ar^d makbrair provest James rig and patrik newall balleis wt diuerss vtheris personis of counsale and cummunitie therof and productit in presens of thaim ane band subscrivit be thaim maid to or sourane lord James be the grace of god King of Scotts and to his derrest gudschir mathow erle lenox lord dernlie, etc. And to the effect callit Jon hendry officar and helis mcilrewe his college to preve and ratifie the varning gevand at command of the provest and balleis on the communitie of the said Burt to heir and se the band affirmyt be thaim to or sourane lord, his derrest gudschir, etc, be thair hande writt; of the qlks communitie to the novmber of four scoir of persones or therby comperit and subscriuit as the band beris. And tuixand the rist the provest balleis riply awisit decernit noitt and act to be maid anents the rist of the comunitie qlkis had no affirmyt be ther hands as the band beris protestand

29. Op. cit., 10 xi., 1570.

that thai var not vnder thair cherge in tyme to cum therypon registrat noitt and act. Ita est Herberties Cunnygham notarius.'³⁰

The "band" itself has been preserved:—

"The Band of Drumfreis

We, the Provest, Bailleis, Counsall, and Communitie of the burche of Drumfreis sall in all tyme cuming, lyk as we do presentlie, reverence, acknowlege, and recognosce the maist excellent and mychtie Prince, James the Sext, be the grace of God, King of Scottis, as our onlie Soverane Lord. His Hienes his autoritie, and his darrest guidschir Mathow, Erle of Levinox, Lord Darnelie, his Majesteis lawchfull Tutour and Regent to his Hienes his realme and leigis, we sall serve and obey as becummis debtfull subjectis, our landis and lyffis in the defence and advancement of his said autoritie, and in persewing of the just revenge and puneishment of the murthereris of umquhill King Henry, his darrest father, and of James, Erle of Murray, etc., his Hienes uncle and Regent, we sall bestow and wair; the skaythe or harme of the persounes of his Majestie and of his said guidschir and Regent, nor the subversioune of his stait and royall auctoritie, we sall niver know nor procure be ony meanes direct or indirect, bot sall reveill and resist the same to the uttermost of our power. All former bandis, richtis, and subscriptionis gevin be us for obedience of ony uther auctoritie we renunce and dischaarge for evir, assuring and sweiring solempnitlie upoune our faithes and honouris to reserve and keip this our declaratioune and plaine professionne and everie point thair of be God him selff, and as we will answeir at his generall judgement; quhairn gif we failzie we ar content to be countit faythles, perjurit, and defamit for evir, besyd the ordinarie paine of the lawis to be execut upoune us without favoure, as a perpetuale memorie of our unnaturall defec-tioune and inexcusabill untrewthe. In witnes of the quhilk thing, to this our band and faythfull obleissing subscriyvit with our handis the commoune seill of our said Burche is affixit at the same burche the last day of Julij the yeir of God jmvc threscoir ten yeiris. *Sic Subscribitur*: Archibald M[b]rair, provest of Drumfreis; Andro Conynghame; James Rig, baillie, with my hand; Patrik Nowle, baillie; Williame Conynghame; James Wallace

with my hand; Johne Halyday with my hand; Jhonne Richert-soune; Jhonne Gledstanis with my hand; Nichol Nowale; Jhonne Macaleir; Paull Thomesoune; Jhonne Schortrek; Covnell Maxwell; Elleis Makilrow; Jhone Kirkpatrik; Jhonne Conynghame; Jhonne Maxwell; Harbert Maxwell with my hand on the pen. *Ita est*: Harbertus Conynghame, notarius, manu propria, Jhonne Dicksoun; Jhonne Steidman with my hand at the pen; Arthoure Tod, David Cunynghame; Jhonne Corsby; Hucheon Ewat lykwayes with his hand at the pen; Jhonne Rowall; Andrew Pudzane; Alexander Abbot; Harbert Mertene; Jhonne Patersoune; Jhonne Sawrycht; Jhonne Coslingo; Jhonne Rogersoune; James Welsche; Jhonne Halyday; Pait Kaa; Jhonne Blakstok, Halbert Hairstanis; Patrik Alzin; Cuthbert Frud; William Herver; Jhonne M'Keterocht; Allane Ranald; Jhonne Carrutheris elder; Jhone Gledstanis; Andro Neilsoune; Symon Corbatt; Jhonne Spens; M'Ell; Batye Muchowray; Thomas Braltoune; Jhonne Currou; William Thomesoune; Thomas Halyday; James Halyday his father; Thomas Patersoune; Jhonne Brane; Robert Reid. Thir per-sones abone writtin, imput be me, srib of Court underwritten hes obleist thame to this present, and at command of thame hes sub-scryvit this writhing as efter followis: *Ita est* Harbertus Cuning-ham, notarius, manu propria. This is Williame Patersones merk and his hand at the pen led be Harbert Cuninghame, notar; Harbertus Cuningham, notarius, manu propria. Robert Mak-kynneill, Thomas Jhonestoune, Thomas Baby Williame Sawrycht, Jhonne Amilgane, Harbert Skailing, Jhonne Kirk-patrik, David Rawling, Stephin Palmer, Andro Batie Jhone Thomesoune; Andro Moresoune David Ra, Thomas Newall, Harbert Ranyng, William Baillie, Stephin Cairnis, Williame Edzar, Jhonne Hering, Andro Edzar, Adame Bretoun, Alexander M'Gowane, Jhonne Nicholsoune, James M'Bell, Jhonne More-soune, Jhone Blak, with our hand on the pen led be the notare underwrittin becaus we could nocht writt our selffis. *Ita est* Harbertus Cuninghame, Scriba dicti Burgi, ac notarius publicus, manu propria—Rowy Colkett, Jhonne M'listoune, Williame Donaldsoune, Jhonne Arneligere, William Richartsoun, Helene Kowie, Jhonne Murehead, Jhonne Fleming, Robert Huik, Jhonne M'Loir.³¹

Although the repudiation of all former bands is a conventional phrase, yet there is some reason for supposing that the town had entered into some bond with Lord Herries, but, from the want of the principal document, to what purpose is not clear. On three different occasions money was sent to the laird of Newby by the burgh "efter vertew of the tones band for relief of Jon lord heries."³² The transaction, whatever it may have been, was not cleared up until January, 1575.

"The delyverance vpon the lord hereis complant

The qlk day the provest and counsell abone wryttin ordains fourtie pundis money of the first and rediest of the nixt witsunday maleis and failzeand thairof of vyther commone guds or stent of the said town to be payit and gewin at his Lordship's command to sic persone as he will appoynt the Samyn to be gewin and that in compleit payment of the Sowme of ane hundreth pundis promeist be his Lordship the tyme of the ost of Ingland brunt the valter of meilk and dryvesdale the qlk sowme thay appoynt to be payit at witsunday nextocum provydand the said lord geif ane discharge to the town of the said Sowme of ane hundreth pundis and of all farder promesses of farder Sowms for that caus and heir vpon the provest and counsell decernit act."³³

Sussex was determined to reduce the South-west. He would not have let it alone so long had not some extraordinary impediments prevented him from taking the field. Short of money, he was forced to pledge his credit to raise funds, an outbreak of plague at Newcastle had compelled him temporarily to disperse his forces, and finally foul weather and flooding delayed him.

On the 15th of August he wrote from Warkworth to Lord Herries that he "is sorry that he has given him just cause to alter his good opinion of him, for that he has kept and maintained within his rule Leonard Dacres, Egremont Radclif,³⁴ and others, notorious rebels and manifest conspirators against the Queen of

32. Burgh Court Book, I, viii., 1570; 14 ii., 1571; vide also Account, pp. 228-9.

33. Burgh Court Books, 22, i., 1574/5.

34. Egremont Radcliffe was the Earl of Sussex's brother. He had taken a prominent part in the rebellion in the North of England.

England and also had both secretly and openly conference with them. He requires him to deliver him up presently to Lord Scrope, which if he refuses to do he must take him as an evil willer to the Queen, and an enemy to the good quiet of both realms."³⁵ The following day he wrote to Lennox, Livingstone, and Lethington that Leonard Dacres, Edward Dacres, and Richard Dacres being still maintained by Herries and the Maxwells, "he cannot, with honour, permit these injurious contempts to pass without revenge."³⁶ On the 18th, from Carlisle, he wrote to the Laird of Drumlanrig, who "favoured the King's faction,"³⁷ "that he does not mean to disturb him or any other good subjects of Scotland, and therefore requires him to separate himself from all the company of all such as have contemptuously behaved, lest some displeasure might happen to any of those who have not deserved ill. Desired him to give knowledge hereof to all good subjects of these parts."³⁸ On the 20th he informs Cecil that he "has been forced by the rain and greatness of the waters to stay his journey. By this accident the Scots have time to fly their goods, man their strengths, and assemble their forces." Following the strategic methods he had adopted in April to prevent concentrated attack, he "has given orders to Lord Hunsdon and Sir John Forster to make shows as though they would enter Scotland, by which means he thinks every Borderer will stand upon his own guard and so their general assembly may be avoided. Leonard Dacres," he adds, "was yesternight at Dumfries, in Lord Maxwell's house."³⁹ Sussex's strategy was successful, for he appears to have met with no organised resistance throughout.

With a force of 30 halbardiers, 300 lances, 573 light horsemen, and 1900 footmen, with officers,⁴⁰ Sussex advanced on the 22nd, and details the results of the raid in a report to Elizabeth on his return.

35. Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., Aug. 15, 1570.

36. Op. cit., Aug. 16.

37. Op. cit., April 21.

38. Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., 18th August.

39. Op. cit., 20th August.

40. Op. cit., 31st August, entry 1196. "The total debt and charge for the army up to 31st August amounted to £21,140 16s." (Entry 1224.)

After stating that he had used "persuasion and all other good and gentle means" in vain, for the Dacres had been of late as openly maintained as they were at any time before he "thought he could not, with the discharge of my duty, permit your highness to be irritated, your State of England contemned and myself to be scorned having sufficient force and ability to correct these offences by due revenge, when by other means I could procure no redress. . . . I entered Scotland on the 22nd instant and returned hither on the 28th, in which time I threw down the castles of Annand and Hodoun belonging to Lord Herries, the castles of Dromefrese and Carlaverock belonging to Lord Maxwell, the castles of Tynhill [Tinwald] and Cohill [Cowhill] belonging to the Lairds of Tynhill and Cohill, the castles of Arthur Greame and Riches George Greame, ill neighbours to England and of English, now sworn Scots, and some other piles where the rebels have been maintained. And although the town of Domfresse had continually received your rebels, and was wholly fled at my going thither, with all their goods, yet because it seemed good to me, by the report of the Laird of Donlanorick, that their offences grew rather by the enforcement of Lords Maxwell and Herris than of their own ill meaning, I forbore to burn the town, and sent the Laird of Donlamorick's bastard son to them to will them to be better neighbours hereafter, or else I would deal hardly with them.

In this journey the Laird of Donlamorick and all the gentlemen of these parts who had not committed offence in maintaining the rebels, repaired to me for assurance, which I willingly granted, and so they continued with me the whole journey, in which time I forbade the burning of any towns or corn, or the taking of any cattle except in the lands of the Lairds of Tynhill and Coohill who were not only continual receivers of all your rebels and made their towns daily hostries for them, but also procured Lord Maxwell to do that he did, and are in all his actions his principal advisers. So that, besides the overthrowing of the castles, there has been little hurt done this journey, as will be testified by the good subjects of Scotland who were present; which I did for three respects; first, that I hoped by this little smart some better regard would be used hereafter; the second, because I had some scruple of conscience to destroy the simple and poor for the offences of the greater—and third, because, if this chastisement

worked no amendment, the greater may always follow hereafter, and be the better used when warning works no good effect. Thus your majesty sees what I have done, in what sort I have done it, and how I have been forced thereto in respect of your majesty's honour, the credit of your realm, and my own poor honesty in this charge."⁴¹

To Cecil Sussex reported more briefly that he "has avoided the burning of houses and corn and the taking of cattle and goods to make the revenge appear to be for honour only, and yet has not left a stone house to an ill neighbour within twenty miles of this town [Carlisle] that is guardable in any ordinary raid."⁴²

So far as the district is concerned it does not seem possible to add much to Sussex report. The narrator of "King James the Sext" says he "brynt the toun of Annan and demoleist the castle thairof, then he set fyre in the toun of Dumfries, he spulzeit the houssis and the bellis of the Kirk; he tuik many preasons."⁴³

Some basis there may be for believing that the Kirk bells were "spulzeit," for on the 14th of December the Council borrowed the "great bell callit Marie and Jon" from Sweetheart Abbey and did not return it to the great dissatisfaction of Abbot Gilbert Brown.⁴⁴ The "Diurnal of Occurrents" in addition to the other burnt houses specifies "Hoddum, Cloisburne and Boyneschaw" as being "cast down" and that he "brint certane houssis in the toun of Drumfreis and ran the forray 14 myles from Drumfreis."⁴⁵ Lyndsay of Pitscottie adds to these "the castell of Lochmabane,"⁴⁶ but, doubtless, he was mistaken. Lord Herries states that "he blew up with powder the Castle of Hoddum."⁴⁷ Bannatyne, displaying his hatred of Herries, adds a curious incident. "The grit dampnage and skaith fell vpon my lord Maxwell and his friendis . . . the Lord Herreis Mitchell Wyleis [Machiavelli's] lauchful successour did craftelie convoy the young lord in the myre, so that by England he and his boundis myght

41. Cal. State Papers, Scotland, v. 3, p. 326-8.

42. Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., Aug. 29, 1570.

43. King James the Sext. Bannatyne Club, p. 60.

44. Burgh Court Books, 19, xii., 1570; 10, iv., 1571.

45. Diurnal of Occurrents, Maitland Club, p. 184.

46. Chron. of Scotland, Scot. Text Soc., v. 2, p. 237.

47. Historical Memoirs, Abbotsford Club, p. 127.

be destroyed, bot the old vylie fox made a way for himself. Bot hell abydis, a just punishment for all sic practiseris."⁴⁸

It appears also that the Burgh of Dumfries took such measures as it was able to secure immunity from the vengeance of England. Its "band" and its aid to the Regent at Linlithgow would stand it in good stead and it now sent a messenger to the Regent for letters of assurance. It would without doubt receive these, which would weigh heavily with Sussex's natural inclination to mercy. The messenger was awarded in the familiar manner with a "burgess," a practice which may require a word of explanation. Outsiders were admitted to the privileges of the burgh on payment of a fee, so much to the town, so much to the "spice and wine," so much to the "Kirkmaister" or the official who had charge of the upkeep of the church fabric, varied sometimes with something to the "brigmaister" who had charge of the "brig-wark" or the old bridge over the Nith. When no money was in hand and a payment had to be made the council ordained the new burgess to pay his fee or "composition" direct to the creditor.

The qlk day William haliday chepman nythisdail now in cloisburn is maid fre burgess and suorn therto gevin to andro cunyngham for the rist of his mony promisit to hym for his raid and trawell to the castell of done for the regentts letters of sourance the sowm vi libs payment xl d spice and vyne sourte andro cunyngham thervpon judge ordaint act.⁴⁹

The Council of Dumfries, which in ordinary times met almost every day to perform its numerous functions, did not convene during the English occupation. It met again on the 4th of September, but did little business that month. In the beginning of October a new council, almost identical in composition with the old one, was formed and became active. Its first act was to appoint a renewal of its allegiance to the King by ordering prayers to be said for him in St. Michael's Church.

"The qlk day the counsale foirmentionit decernis statuts and ordains that all the Inhabitants of this burt mak dew and devoitt prayers to god euer potent to preserve or Souerane lord

48. Journal of our Transactions in Scotland, Edin., 1806. p. 36.

49. Burgh Court Books, 13, iii., 1571.

the Kings matie and len of his speceale grace tyme to hym and his trew counsale to gyed and gouering this his realm in pece justice and police that his legeis may be gouernyt vnder gud ordor and obedience at gods plesor In tyme to cum so beit."⁵⁰

As to the effect of the raid on the burgh itself a good deal of information can be gathered from the Council records, which are, happily, complete for this period. While, too frequently, these detail at length insignificant quarrels, actions for debt and transactions with property, yet occasionally we are brought intimately into touch with the manners and character of the people. In the extracts which follow are little touches that light up the situation while the cases have an interest of their own in showing how the Burgh fathers administered justice in the sixteenth century.

We have seen that more than one writer states that certain houses were burned in the town. This receives confirmation from the records. There was, of course, no reason for burning the town down, for the Magistrates, although surrounded by "potent lords" of the Catholic faith, had made the best of their difficult position and clearly demonstrated their loyalty. This suited the humane temper of Lord Sussex, and he, fortifying himself before Elizabeth with admirable reasons, spared the burgh. It might have been different had the vengeful Scrope been present, but it seems clear that he was stationed at Carlisle or elsewhere attending to the commissariat and the protection of the Borders.⁵¹

In the following instance, the burgh gave Herbert Cunningham, the Town Clerk, "a burgess" because his property was destroyed by "chance of army."

Burgess

William lanerik, merchant in Galloway, present in Jugement is maid fre burgess and suorn therto frely gevin to harbort cunyngham in price of ayd and help to him in consideration of his hevy hurt of bwrning of his lugeng barnes and crop in an dom lxx^o be chance of army vsit be lord Sussocks."⁵²

50. Burgh Court Books, 5, x., 1570.

51. State Papers, For. Ser., Sussex to Elizabeth, 29, viii., 1570; Morton to Sussex, 9, iv., 1572.

52. Burgh Court Books, 31, vii., 1571.

The position of Cunningham's crop and barn is clearly defined in the following sasine.

"All and hail the zearde and barne lyand in the Tounheid of Drumfreis, betwixt the zearde and barne pertenyng to vmlqe Homer Maxwell of Speddoches on the north and the lands of umquhile Robert Cunninghame, noter, on the South, the Lordburn on the eist and the passage callit the zeardeheidis on the west pairtis and siklyke of all and hail sax rudis of land pertenyng to the said umquhile Harbert, lyand at the mote of Drumfreis."⁵³

The "passage called the Zeardeheidis" is now Loreburn Street. The north gate or "Tounheid port" was across Academy Street near Loreburn Street. This was the nearest gate to the Maxwell's Castle, the main defence of the town and principal objective of the English. As we shall see shortly, the English army approached the town via Tinwald, there being no easy road over the Lochar Moss. Thus the north gate would be the attacking point on the town, and, even though no defence was offered, the crops and buildings near at hand would be most likely to suffer.

Incidental mention of another house in the Townhead, which was partly burned, occurs in an agreement by the owner with Robert Welsh, the occupier, for its rebuilding, "the said Robert havand ane part of the bakland qr he duells brint wt fyre the tyme of the ourr of England be erle of Sussykis."⁵⁴

On the representation of one of the Maxwells, the Council issued a general order that the tenants were to pay rent up to the 25th of August, on which day the properties were, in all probability, destroyed.

Maxwell.

The qlk day the provest balleis present in jugement decernis and ordeanis that all tennents qlks occupyit lofts chalmers boythis and vtheris houssis birnt with the fyre and army in august ado lxx^o sall pay male [rent] therof fra vitsonday to xxv of agist forsaid."⁵⁵

The only tenement owned by a Maxwell which we have trace

53. Dumfries Register of Sasines, 21, ix., 1631, to Adam Cunningham. See also Burgh Court Books, 10, xi., 1569.

54. Burgh Court Books, 8, v., 1571.

55. Op. cit., 25, x., 1570.

of as being burned was in Newton, or Friars' Vennel, on the west side of the port. It had been feued by James Maxwell to John M'Kedderoch in 1568,⁵⁶ and in 1574 an action was raised against the latter for ground rent of "ane yaird and tenement in Newton qlks was James Maxwell's pertinand to him [the pursuer] be alienation," and M'Kedderoch protested "that na thing was vsit or practesit to hym nor vpon him at the instance of James Maxwell twichand the annells of his brunt tenement forsaid bot efter the vse and order of Edgr [Edinburgh] be the burning of the army of England."⁵⁷

There may have been, probably were, more houses than the above destroyed, but the fire was no wholesale affair deliberately entered upon by the English with intent to destroy the whole town.

The Tolbooth, the New Wark, and the School, important buildings, do not appear to have been injured, and it was the 31st of October, 1571, before the "slaitt, tymer, stains, and thawk" of the historic Greyfriars' Convent were rouped by the Council without a sentimental groan.⁵⁸

One case of theft is recorded, and it may occasion surprise that the thief was neither hanged nor imprisoned, but simply ordered to restore the stolen chest and coulter.

Abbot.

The qlk day John meik present in jugement grantit the away taking of ane kist and ane couter furth of Alexr abbots chalmer the tyme of the fyre and decernit to restoir the samyn agane or ells shaw ane reasonable causs quhy he aucht not be the law. Thairvpon the said Alexr requireit act qlk the Juge decernit.⁵⁹

The other cases that came before the court, excepting in one instance in which three-quarters of an ox were said to have been taken by the English,⁶⁰ all deal with cloth and malt.

It appears that if the person sued could prove that the goods had been "spulziet" the pursuer, generally the owner, had no claim upon him. In some of the cases following the proof is

56. Herbert Cunningham's Protocol Book, 1, iii., 1568.

57. Burgh Court Books, 19, v., 1574.

58. Burgh Court Books, penult. Oct., 1571.

59. Burgh Court Books, 22, xi., 1570.

60. Burgh Court Books, 15, i., 1570-1.

clearly in favour of the defender, while in others the pursuer wins his case.

Dumfries had long been famous for the production of woollen cloth. Hector Boece (1527) wrote:—"In Nidisdail is the toun of Dunfreis quhair mony small and deligat quhites [white woollen cloth] ar maid holdin in gret dainte to merchandis of uncouth realmes," and Bishop Leslie (1578), a more reliable witness, confirms the statement:—"Heir is a toune nathir base nor of simple digrie, to name Dunfrese, famous in fyne claith," while James Brome, in his "Travels," a century later (1669) says "it is notable no less for its ancient castle and manufacture of cloth, then for the murther of John Cummins." According to Defoe, the Union with England "in great measure suppressed" this industry, "the English supplying them [woollen goods] better and cheaper."⁶¹

It was not to be expected that the English soldiers would depart without some samples of this esteemed commodity. They seem to have taken the webs on the day of their departure. So many cases came before the court that the Council made the matter patent "to the counsale of Edinburt and ther assessors."⁶² We content ourselves with giving two cases.

In the following William Irving, in Hoddom, sued Andrew Heslop and Christian Reid for sixteen ells of cloth. The latter stated that Andrew Neilson had eleven ells, for sale apparently, and that the rest had been taken by the English. She had been paid a "cupful" or crock of butter and three shillings. Neilson admitted receiving the cloth, and was able to produce witnesses proving that three great boards of cloth were taken from his booth, and that his wife "nikit" and tried to get them back, but the soldiers took all that was in the house.

Irvyng.

The quhilk day William Irvyng in hoddom persewit Andro heslop & cristian reid for the vranguss wt haldin fra hym of xvi ells of gray and quhit clayth deliuerit be hym to tham in symmer last bypast qlk clayth the said cristiane confessit in jugement and allegeit that Ando Neilson resaut ix ells of quhit and that at

61. Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, 1724.

62. Burgh Court Books, 15, x., 1570.

command of the said William and the army of England reft and had away w^t them the vthir pert.

iiis and i cop fuill of butter resauit for this verk grantit resauit be cristiene read.

The qlk day andro neilson present in Jugement confessit ix ells quhit foirsaid resauit behym fra cristiane reid and therof andro heslope and cristiane read is exonerit therof for the causse foirsaid.⁶³

the depositions of previs led be
Andro neilson

The qlk day Jon rogerson merchiand admyttit and suorn deponis that he by was herd and saw on friday in August last bypast quhen the army was passand away he saw thre grett bordings of all sorts of clayth, gray, quhitt, tane and had away fra andro neilson's buyth and that the wyif nekit and tryit followand on tham; Jone dene deponis that thai pakit tham and beyr tham away that samin day; W^m merheid deponis that he saw thaim spulzie the houss and tak all away that vas in the houss.⁶⁴

In the next case Sir James Maxwell, Vicar of Lochmaben, sued Arthur Tod for seven ells of cloth. Tod said they had been taken by the English, but Maxwell's witnesses stated that Tod should have taken the cloth to the mill, and had not done according to promise. Judgment was given for the Vicar.

Maxwell.

The qlk day arthur toad valkar present in Jugement at the challance of Schr James Maxwell tuixand vii ells browin and blew cator clayth resauit be hym afoir the army cumming the said arthur personally comperand confessit the resauit of that clayth and denyit the premisses alleget the clayth tane away be the army qrvpon the juge ordainit act.⁶⁵

Depositions of the persones led be James
Maxwell agains toad

The qlk day James breiche admytit and suorn deponis that he brot the browin blew clayth persewit be James Maxwell vpon

63. Burgh Court Books, 25, x., 1570.

64. Burgh Court Books, 13, xii., 1570.

65. Burgh Court Books, 25, x., 1570.

Art toad on monenday afor the army and he promisit to tak that same to the myle on tuesday nixt thereafter.

The qlk day Amer fergusson admyttit and suorne deponis that he by vas herd and saw quhen James breiche brot the clayth foirsaid on monenday and arthor toid promist to tak it to his myle on the nixt tuesday thereafter.⁶⁵

Maxvell vicar.

The qlk day the provest ballie present in Jugement hes decernit and decreit arbitrale to be gevin to Schir James Maxvell agains art toad.⁶⁶

The next two cases are concerned with the non-delivery of malt. In the first Sir John Sinclair, for sometime Chaplain, and then life-renter, of the Chapel of St. Ninian in St. Michael's Church,⁶⁷ sued Bessie Cunningham, wife of John Bell, for nine firlotts of malt; but she brought witnesses to prove that she had asked Sir John to take away the malt which subsequently was destroyed by the English.

Sinclar.

The qlk day besse cunnyngham spous to Jhon bell present in Jugement confessit sche resauit fra Schir Jon Sinclar ix furlotts of malt for payment ef xxiijs ilk furlott and thervpon the said Schir Jon requirit noitt and act and protestet for costs and skayth sustenit and to be sustenit be hym.⁶⁸

Cunnyngham.

The qlk day elizabetht cunnyngham forsaid allegeit ane greit pert of the ix furlotts malt tane away and distroyit be the army of Inglang in august last bypast and that sche afoir the cummyng of the army foirsaid requirit the said Jon to seycht and away tak that samin qlk sche offerit hir to preff at the nixt cort and corts qlks the Jugeis hes assigneit the xx of this Instant . . .⁶⁸

Depositions of vitnes led betuix elizabeth cunnyngham and Schir Jon Sinclar.

The qlk day Jon paterson admyttit and suorn deponit that

66. Burgh Court Books, 15, xi., 1570.

67. He was afterwards "Reader" in St. Michael's.

68. Burgh Court Books, 13, xii., 1570.

he by vas, herd and saw in thom bell's cloiss on Sunday afor the cumming of the army qlk vas the xxi day of august ado lxxo quhen elizabeth cunyngham offerit Schir Jon Sinclar his malt not specifcand the quantite and he refusit sayand it vas ground and not as he deliuerit.

The qlk day Jon batie in rig admytit and suorn deponis in the caiss foirsaid with Jon paterson in all things vord be vord and that he vas present for the tyme day and place afor rehersit.

The qlk day Jon skrymgeor admytit and suorn deponis that he vas present the nyt that the inglismen vas in this tone and he saw tham tak the houss as thai plesit and tak vork and all other things in the houss as thai plesit.⁶⁹

The last case is perhaps the most interesting of all. James Maxwell in Barnhill sued John Ferguson, nicknamed "Laird," for a boll of malt. Ferguson admitted receiving it, but said he could prove it was taken by the English army. His witnesses stated that the "Laird" had cast his horse load of malt over the brae at Tinwald Kirk on the approach of Sussex, and that it was spilt on the ground. It was clear to the judges that the Laird had failed to prove the malt was taken as he stated, yet "for conscience sake" they found that he had not got the value of it nor any profit from it, so they ordered him to pay not the whole £4 8s for the boll but the price of ten pecks only.

Maxvell.

The qlk daye Jhone fergusson laird present in Jugement of his awin grant is actit in the soume of iiij lib viii sh mony of this realme for ane boll of malt price be ressonne he grantit the intromissiounne thair with qll faylzand to preif sufficientlie that the army of England tuik the same away in August last bypast thair vpon the Juge ordaint act.⁷⁰

Depositions of the personis led be Jon fergusson
againis James Maxvell.

The qlk day will the man admytit and suorne deponis that he knew veill quhen that the army vas at tynnal Kirk Jon fer-

69. Burgh Court Books, 17, i., 1570-1.

70. Burgh Court Books, 29, xi., 1570.

gusson kest ane laid of malt or the bray and lay ther quhen he past away.

The qlk day William herp menstrale admytit and suorne deponis that he saw Jon fergusson cast ane laid of malt or the bray abone will the mans kill he kenis not quhat auchit and eftervart saw it skailit on the grund.

The qlk day patrik read admytit and suorn deponis that he led on horss ane half bole malt and it was custin or the bray abone will the mans kyll and left ther he kenis not quha touk it.⁷¹

Maxwell in barnshell

The qlk day in the causs of ane bole malt vale therof fourty viii sh persewit be James Maxwell vpon Jon fergusson als laird It is fundin be the provest and balleis that in safar as the said Jon grantit the Intromission therof afoir the cumming of the army in august a do lxx^o and that he offerit hym to preff it vas tane away be the army foirsaid And failzeit therintill als thai fynd for conscience seik that Jon fergusson & his gat not the vale nor profett therof Nevirtheles havand respect to the ordor tane befor tham thai decerns the Said Jon fergusson to content and pay to the said James the price of ten peces of malt efter four libs viii sh the boll w^{tin} xxxi dayes nixtocum vnder perell of law and thervpon decernit act to stand as decret poundyng to follow thervpon in form of law as offeris.⁷²

Such was the history of these eventful months in Dumfries. The first raid was a wretched and ineffectual affair of small townships destroyed and stroke met with counterstroke ending in retiral; the second was an example of swift and summary revenge on the wealthy abettors of the rebels. It illustrates strikingly the advance in the methods of attack and the inadequacy of the old strongholds as defences. It was eminently successful in its results, for immediately after Sussex' retiral he reported to Cecil that "Lord Herries has sent lamenting that he should be compelled to forsake the queen or be in danger of destruction" to which Sussex had replied, doubtless with his tongue in his cheek, that "the Queen of England had no intention to force him or any other person in Scotland to do in

71. Op. cit., 17 i., 1570-1.

72. Burgh Court Books, 16, v., 1571.

these cases against their conscience," and he further states that "Herries has offered to be at Her Majesty's devotion if she would receive him."⁷³ Herries indeed seems, as Lang says, "to have lost heart."

After this "all things went ill with the Queen's faction; neither saw they a way to subsist but by labouring an abstinence which the Secretary [Lethington] earnestly went about."⁷⁴ This was secured on the 3rd of September, bringing an all too transient peace.

The Burgh of Dumfries does not seem to have reverted from its allegiance, for, as we have seen, it raised money in April, 1571,⁷⁵ to pay hagbutters at the siege of Edinburgh, and later, in October, it borrowed further sums and the Provost himself with six men went to assist the Regent Mar in his effort to reduce Edinburgh Castle.⁷⁶

Perhaps throughout the whole difficult period the town was indebted to the care and wisdom of its senior bailie, James Rig.⁷⁷ and it indicated its gratitude after the manner of its kind and time:

"The qlk day James Henderson is maid fre burgess and suorn therto, frelie gevin to James Rig balle, in his greit traist and busynes done and visit to the gudton of zeris bygane, payand spice and wine, sourtie James Rig, etc."⁷⁸

THE FORMATION AND AGE OF THE QUEENSBERRYS, ILLUSTRATED BY GRAPTOLITES. By Mr ROBERT WALLACE.

As we stand on the banks of the winding Æ and look northward, our attention is arrested by the hills of Queensberry before us. The sight of this great pile rising majestically from the vale and shrouding its head in the clouds commands our attention and more. While the eye is revelling in the wondrous play of light

73. Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., 29 August, 1570.

74. Spottiswood. History of the Church of Scotland, 1655, p. 243.

75. See p. 225.

76. Burgh Court Books, 28 viii., 1571; 3 x., 1571.

77. James Rig had served as Provost, 1567-8, and as such had, in 1567, subscribed a "band" for the support of the young King.

78. Burgh Court Book, 13 iii., 1571.

and shade moving swiftly across the grey hillside as in a mighty panorama, the imagination is traversing the deep ravines and silent corries of these ancient uplands, and vainly striving after the secrets of such endless variety and lavish detail.

While the physical features of this district are distinctive enough to give them a form and scenery peculiarly their own, yet, on the other hand, they have much in common with the neighbouring heights. From St. Abb's Head on the east coast to Portpatrick on the west there is a continuous range of elevated ground. The Lammermoors, Moorfoots, Lowthers, and Queensberry, east of the Nith valley; the Kells, the Merrick, and the Rhins of Galloway, on the west, are parts of one connected whole.

They are the remnants of an ancient, elevated tract or tableland, which has been powerfully denuded by atmospheric agencies. Deep valleys are scooped out which radiate in all directions from the highest points; yet on the hill-tops the original character of the plateau is still evident.

Amid this vast series of hills the position of the Queensberrys is unique. They occupy the most southern point of this elevated tract, with the other mountain chains arranged behind them and spread out divergently towards the north like the sides of a great V—the Queensberrys forming the apex. One arm extends in a north-eastern direction towards Peebles, and the other towards the north-west, into Ayrshire. The Queensberry barrier thus situated forms a natural watershed deflecting the streams north and south. We find here the real source of the river Clyde. The Crook Burn, a little stream trickling down the northern slope, within the boundaries of Dumfriesshire, flows into Lanarkshire, and there joins the Daer Water. Further down the valley this larger and longer stream loses its name, which is here usurped by the small Clyde Burn. On the east the Lochan Burn joins the Kinnel, and on the south the Pishnack, the Bran, the Capel, and the Æ flow into the Annan. Wee Queensberry is only 1679 feet above sea level, but a little further north a higher point reaches 2285 feet.

In dealing with the geological structure of these hills, we find that the relation of their strata to those of the surrounding country is very similar to the relationship which also exists in the physical features of the Queensberrys and their environments. This region comprises an essential part of a large and varied

geological formation. From the east coast to the west there stretches across the south of Scotland a broad transverse belt of rocks, known as the Silurian Belt. It is bounded on the north by the great fault which runs from Ballantrae to Dunbar, and separates it from the Central Lowlands of Forth and Clyde, and on the south by the Cheviots and Solway. The ranges of hills, already described as Southern Uplands, traverse the centre of this belt, and may therefore be termed Silurian Uplands. They are composed of hard, massive rocks of great age. Greywacke (grey-rock), which is better known locally as whinstone, is the principal ingredient. It varies from a fine-grained deposit with scales of mica to a coarse grit, containing small quartz pebbles, and sometimes into a conglomerate or pudding stone (haggis rock). Associated with the prevailing greywacke are thin bands of grey and black shales charged with fossil remains. All these different strata—shales, greywacke, grit, and conglomerate—represent sand, mud, and other sediments that were deposited along the floor of an ancient ocean. They are the waste of the land surface of that period, which was carried into the ocean and there reassorted into various deposits. The pebbles were dropped near to the shore, the sand was carried further out into the bay, while the fine mud was swept out to the verge of sedimentation before it sank. Beyond this limit of earthy deposit, where clear water conditions prevailed, the sea was crowded with minute Foraminifera and Radiolaria. Showers of these dead bodies fell to the sea bottom and formed a fine radiolarian ooze, resembling the deep sea deposits of to-day in the Atlantic. This vast ocean continued without interruption during the course of several ages, which are grouped into one large epoch (Silurian). The ocean of Siluria, with its massive deposits of 22,000 feet of rock, existed in the earlier stages of the world's history. The "dawn of life" is attributed to the epoch of the older Cambrian rocks, which are found in Wales to underlie the Silurian group.

The present position of the Queensberry strata gives little indication of the previous horizontal character of these deposits as they were originally spread out on the vast sea floor. The strata are tilted at every conceivable angle. Near the top of Wee Queensberry they stand on end in a vertical position. In other exposures they are found to be twisted into great curves or arches termed anticlines. Sometimes the puckering has been rapid,

giving rise to a series of minor folds. In other instances the strain was so great that the material snapped, producing a dislocation or fault. On every hand the greatest confusion prevails. Such a lack of uniformity among the various groups or bands has given rise in the past to endless conjectures regarding a proper sequence or definite order of deposition. This difficulty was increased by the apparent absence of fossils throughout the region.

A brief glance at the history of progress made by scientific research in this realm will not only focus our attention on the recent discoveries, but will also reveal the industry and genius of the pioneers of geology in their endeavour to find a true solution. As early as 1788 the great James Hutton advanced the opinion that these rocks were all of sedimentary origin. Four years later Sir James Hall discovered the first fossils on his way to Moffat. Following this Hutton published his famous work, "Theory of the Earth," in which he maintained the aqueous formation of the greywacke and its subsequent elevation. In 1805 R. Jamieson published his "Mineralogy of Dumfries," and described these hills as transition rocks. Professor Nichol proved in 1844 that the southern uplands belonged to that series of strata named by Sir Robert Murchison as Silurian. Professor Harkness, a native of Dumfriesshire, devoted a life-long study to the structure of the hills in Dumfries and Galloway. In 1855 he read a paper on this subject to the Geological Society of London, dealing principally with the section in the Glenkiln burn, accounting for the various black shales there by a series of faults. In the following year, as a result of further study, he explained the frequent occurrence of shales by folds instead of faults. Professor Sedgwick, Carrick Moore, J. Dairon, of Glasgow, and many others carried on the quest. Sir Archibald Geikie embodied the labours of these pioneers in a paper read to the Geological Society of Glasgow. Following this the Geological Survey in 1869 mapped and described the district according to the conclusions generally accepted at that day. While this official work was being carried out Charles Lapworth, a young man residing in Galashiels, was quietly studying this great problem in that neighbourhood. His first paper, read in Edinburgh in 1870, was regarded as unorthodox. He continued throughout the next eight years to make a rapid advance regarding this complicated structure. The penetration and untiring industry of his great mind found at last an

accurate solution of the perplexities of the strata, and also furnished a means of co-relating these deposits to their equivalents elsewhere. In 1878 his famous paper on "The Moffat Series" appeared. It was at once admitted to be "the greatest contribution to the study of these highly convoluted rocks." Since then the survey officers have re-examined the ground and confirmed and extended the discoveries of Professor Lapworth. The result of their work is now published in the monograph, "Silurian Rocks of Scotland." So far as the Queensberrys are concerned, these conclusions may be stated briefly. Near the bottom of a great mass of greywacke there is a group of black shales about 300 feet thick. They consist of three parallel bands, representing three distinct ages. The bands are sub-divided into different zones, each of which is characterised by a different type of fossil. The principal fossils are of the Graptolite family peculiar to the deep seas of that period. During the earliest ages the various species were of the simplest character, consisting of few organs. From that primitive type to the final disappearance of the race there was a continual evolution in their structure and habits. A comprehensive study of the successive developments evolved in the Graptolites gave Lapworth the key to unravel the complications of stratigraphy, and to establish a definite and continuous order of rock formation throughout the ages of the Silurian epoch. In order to realise the difficulties of field work, and also grasp its real significance, we must examine the rocks themselves. Two sections will be sufficient—the Glenkiln Burn, exhibiting the lower formations, and the Pishnack Burn, completing the record with younger strata.

In the Glenkiln Burn, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above its confluence with the \mathcal{A} , a great mass of black shale is laid bare by the stream. At the point where the Glenkiln is joined by the small tributary (Lambfoot Burn) a deep, narrow gorge has been cut through the softer shales, exposing one of the finest rock sections in the south of Scotland. At the tributary's mouth, on the right bank, there is a fine display of hard shattery shales. A hundred yards further up stream on the opposite bank they form a prominent escarpment of black rock. They are technically known as the Glenkiln Shales, and are associated with bands of radiolarian chert and volcanic lava. Although these shales are richly charged with graptolites, yet good specimens are difficult to obtain owing to

their splintery character under the hammer. On examination the fossils of these shales are found to contain many genera and a large number of species. Yet all these varieties of forms are characterised by a simplicity of organism and by a restricted development of their powers of locomotion and nutrition. For instance, the genus *Didymograptus* would have a difficulty in procuring food on account of the thecæ or mouths being turned downwards. In order to remedy this, *Dicellograptus* endeavoured to bend its branches upwards. Yet both forms are exceedingly primitive when compared with their successors. *Cœnograptus gracilis* is found in the Glenkiln shales only, and for this reason is regarded as the type fossil of that particular zone. Twenty yards further down from these cherty shales there is another outcrop of shales of an entirely different kind. The strata are of a flaggy nature, and contain grey shales and white bands intercalated with the black—forming one distinct mass of Hartfell shales. The bed of the stream has here a most peculiar and fascinating appearance. By some enormous pressure in a lateral direction the shales have been twisted into a large downward fold resembling a great trough thrown across the stream. In the very centre of the trough, on the left bank, the wrinkles are so delicate that they may be measured by inches. The great difference between these shales and the Glenkiln group further up stream is not confined to the nature of their material alone but extends also to the fossil contents. While some of the genera of the Hartfell zones are found also in the Glenkiln rocks, yet the great bulk of them are new. The fossils show a higher type of development in various directions, yet all making for the efficiency of the race and the freedom of the individual. This evolution is marked even in the zones showing that the death of one species is replaced by more effective life in the next foot of rock immediately above it. The limbs of the fold contain the beautiful form of *Climacograptus Wilsoni*, which is peculiar to that band alone, and therefore regarded as the type fossil. The overlying strata in the centre of the trough are recognised by a different zonal form—*Pleurograptus linearis*—evidently a degenerated survivor of the Glenkiln life. It was the fact of this continued progression of life from the Glenkiln forms to those of the Hartfell period that led Professor Lapworth to regard the latter as a younger deposit in spite of their apparently lower horizon. The structural relations of the groups are

accounted for by the whole Silurian formation being thrown into an extensive series of curves caused by the shrinking of the earth's crust. The particular curvature exhibited at Glenkiln is known as an anticlinorium, and is accounted for by the strata being thrust up into a series of ridges. The central ridge occupying the core of the arch is vertical, but the smaller flexures on either side dip towards the centre, and are therefore more or less inclined towards the core. The crests of the folds have been eventually denuded, thus destroying altogether the proper sequence of the formation. The Glenkiln shales and cherts form the centre of this composite fold with the Hartfell shales occupying one of the troughs or synclines. The dip of the trough is towards the centre of the disturbance, thus giving the whole group an inverted appearance. Finally, great masses of rock were removed, laying bare the central core of cherts and volcanic lava.

The Pishnack Burn further north affords another interesting section. This burn, along with the Bran Burn, flows from the Wee Queensberry into the *Æ*. About 300 yards above their junction the Pishnack flows past a prominent cliff on its left bank. Further up stream there is an outcrop of black shales, which from the character of the rock and the nature of the fossils are undoubtedly the same group of Hartfell shales previously described. On this occasion, however, they occupy the centre of the arch, thus leaving the strata on either side to fill up the minor folds. Immediately overlying the Hartfell shales is a large mass of greywacke, known as the Barren mudstones. As its name implies, it is devoid of fossils, with the exception of a thin band of shale at the foot of the mudstones and another near the top. The graptolites in these indicate different life zones, and are known as the Upper Hartfell group.

Descending the stream, another outcrop of shales is encountered, known as the Birkhill group. In appearance they are quite distinct from the other groups already described. The shales are more fissile, and contain white seams and bands of clay. The great difference, however, is found in the fossils. They declare an absolute change. All the previous forms of life are found to be extinct except three genera. The abundance of a new genus, *Monograptus*, marks the dawn of a new era, described as Upper Silurian. The various species of *Monograptus* show the highest possible development of the whole

family before its final extinction. The maximum thickness of the Birkhill shales is 90 feet. They contain six distinct zones, each characterised by its peculiar group of fossils. The highest band, forming the last of the series, is known as the *Rastrites maximus* zone, and is immediately followed by the hard Queensberry grits. Ascending the stream from the central anticline of Hartfell shales, we find the same order of succession, terminating in the overlying grits and greywacke. They form the largest part of the Queensberry structure. The few fossils that they contain are of a dwarfed character, proving that these muddy seas were unfavourable to graptolitic life. The zonal form, *Monograptus exiguus*, confirms this.

We are now in a position to enter into the successive stages of mountain building revealed to us by the history of a few small animals in the fight for life throughout a chequered career, finished in an unknown obscurity hundreds of millions of years ago.

The area now occupied by Queensberry was covered in the Silurian epoch by a great ocean reaching from Ireland across Scotland into Norway, including England and part of Southern Europe. The foundation structure of the hills consists of a thick platform of volcanic lava, representing the Arenig Age. During that period this area was far removed from land; the water over it was free from earthy sediments or shore deposits. These deep-sea and clear-water conditions are shown by the cherts. Great submarine volcanic eruptions flowed along the ocean floor from the north-west, possibly proceeding from the volcanic vent at Bail Hill, Sanquhar. During the intervals of volcanic activity the sea bed was being covered by a deposit of ooze, formed by the skeleton remains of minute radiolaria. The deposits in the Girvan district during this age are 1500 feet, chiefly volcanic; towards Sanquhar they have decreased to 500 feet; while Queensberry has only 100 feet in the same period. These cherts are succeeded gradually by the Glenkiln shales. From the nature of their graptolites, they are found to be contemporary with a similar group in Wales, and are therefore ascribed to the Llandeilo Age. During this age a slight elevation of the sea bottom allowed the muddy material to be carried further out, and therefore the Glenkiln shales are found just within the verge of sedimentation. The various shore deposits of Llandeilo Age total 1000 feet at Girvan

and 1200 at Abington; their equivalent of deep-sea deposit at Glenkiln is only 20 feet. The next age, termed Caradoc, is made up of the Hartfell black shales and the Barren mudstones above. The strata contain occasional flows of lava, which mark the close of volcanic activity during the Silurian epoch. The Lower shales show no change of ocean depth, but the Upper mudstones point to a slight oscillation in the sea floor. The whole Caradoc Age gives us a total thickness in Queensberry area of 100 feet; Leadhills and Elvanfoot show 1800 feet; while Girvan strata in same age amount to 2800 feet. Coniston Old Man, in the Lake District, and Snowdon, in North Wales, belong to the same age.

These three ages already dealt with were previously termed Lower Silurian—reserving the term Upper Silurian for those to follow; but the comprehensive change, as evidenced by the fossils, between the two periods has demanded a greater distinction of terms: Lower Silurian—Ordovician; Upper Silurian now means Silurian.

The Birkhill shales usher in this new Silurian period with an age of their own—Llandoverly. The deep-sea conditions are still very similar, giving 98 feet of Birkhill shales against 1000 feet coarser strata at Girvan; but the absence of volcanic matter and the vast change in the life of the ocean fix the lowest zones of these shales as marking the boundary line between the Ordovician and the Silurian. Towards the top of this group there is evidence of a marked change in the ocean floor. The shales are gradually replaced by coarser sediments, known as the Queensberry grits, and assigned to the Tarannon Age. An oscillation in the earth's crust has brought the shore considerably nearer, giving us in this age 4000 feet of strata against 2000 feet in the Girvan area. These grits of Tarannon Age are the highest strata now visible in the Queensberry structure, but the period of sedimentation did not cease at this point, but continued during three more ages till the close of the Silurian epoch. As a result of the three last ages of continued ocean, fresh sediments were accumulated above the Tarannon grits. It is impossible to say what the original thickness may have been, but there still remain isolated fragments proving at least a thickness of 5000 feet. Finally these masses of Ordovician and Silurian strata, representing the accumulations of eight ages, were elevated, forming one vast tableland. Probably the same power that caused their elevation would also account for

the great contortion of strata. As the young land was slowly raised from the sea, it was immediately subject to the operations of a new force. All the powers of atmospheric denudation—wind, sun, and rain—were brought to bear upon it. The 5000 feet deposits of the three closing ages were removed as silently and as persistently, and perhaps as slowly, as they were originally deposited.

For those who prefer to think in years rather than in ages, and who are willing to take all risks, we may state the ages thus: According to Dr Croall, denudation to-day is at the rate of one foot over the whole earth in 6000 years. If this be overdrawn, let us half it. We have, therefore, a deposit of 17,000 feet multiplied by 3000, equal to 51,000,000 years for the laying down of the rocks. To this we must add 15,000,000 years for the removal of the top strata, giving us a total of 66 millions of years.

This was practically all accomplished before the Upper Old Red Sandstone Age, which closed about 500 millions of years ago.

8th February, 1911.

Chairman—Mr S. ARNOTT.

THE RHINNS OF GALLOWAY. By ANDREW DONALDSON,
Ardwall, Wigtownshire.

[In an interesting manner Mr Donaldson reviewed the antiquities of the parishes of Kirkmaiden, Stoneykirk, Portpatrick, Leswalt, Kirkcolm, Stranraer, Inch, Old Luce, and New Luce, which comprise the Rhinns, told some of the legends of the district, and sketched the histories of some of the families. The matter was gathered from various sources.

Of the Castle of Auchness in Kirkmaiden, still used as a farmhouse, he wrote: "Auchness, though having all the appearance of an old Scots baronial castle, is only an imitation one, having been built in the baronial style early in the nineteenth century. So good an imitation is it that it misled Mr M'Ilwraith, a keenly observant writer, who published a guide to Wigtown-

shire, and Mr Harper in his 'Rambles in Galloway' falls into the same mistake."

Of a minister of Kirkmaiden Church he recounted the following legend "of the period when wrecking or reaping a benefit off the misfortunes of others was not thought to be anything reprehensible. The rule was that whoever saw a wreck first and was first on the scene claimed anything that could be salvaged. On one very stormy Sunday the minister was in the pulpit, and from his elevated position saw a vessel dangerously near the shore. He spun out his sermon as long as possible and seeing the vessel was hopelessly embayed, he said, 'And this I say, my brethren,' repeating the phrase two or three times, and to the surprise of the congregation left the pulpit, came down the stair and walked out of the church. When at the door he turned and said, 'This I say, my brethren, the first one that is at her gets her.' The congregation, of course, followed immediately, but were only in time to see the minister's gown tail disappearing over the cliff in the direction of Portankill."']

17th February, 1911.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW, Hon. Treasurer

WEATHER OF 1910 IN RELATION TO HEALTH. By Dr J.
MAXWELL ROSS, Hon. V.P.

For some years prior to the death of the Rev. Mr Andson, whose loss to the study of meteorology in the district is still much felt among us, I was in the habit of supplementing his annual paper to the Society by a few remarks on the influence of the weather and seasons on the health of the county in so far as this was indicated by the mortality and infectious disease returns. Our Honorary Secretary has asked me to resume the practice, and as I am one of those men who find it difficult to say "No" even when that might be the best answer to give to some requests, I have compiled a few notes which I hope may be of interest.

There are now four meteorological stations within the county which send reports either to the Meteorological Office or

to the Scottish Meteorological Society. These are the Crichton Royal Institution, the Eskdalemuir Observatory, Drumlanrig Gardens, and Comlongon. My notes are compiled from these reports; but I cannot enter here into any elaborate discussion of the data they supply. It will be more convenient to detail shortly the outstanding features of each month and give at the same time the arithmetical means or averages of the more important figures.

January.—During this month the weather was generally of a disturbed character, there being frequent barometric depressions with high winds or gales. The temperature of the first three weeks was moderate to mild, but towards the close deep depressions from west and north-west produced rough and bitterly cold weather with some heavy falls of snow. The rainfall in Dumfries and the west of Scotland was comparatively low, but slightly in excess throughout the rest of Scotland. The mean barometric pressure reduced to 32 degs. F., but not to sea-level, was 29.370 inches; the mean temperature 35.8 degs. F., the mean daily range of temperature 11.1 degs. F., the humidity 92 per cent., and the rainfall 3.83 inches. The average number of rainy days at the four stations was 20, and there was a slight excess of winds from the south-west. The deaths in the county landward and burghs of Annan, Sanquhar, Lochmaben, Lockerbie, Moffat, and Langholm were 85, giving a rate of 18.101 per 1000. The chief causes of death were the circulatory diseases, pneumonia and other respiratory diseases, and pulmonary phthisis, the death-rate from the latter being 1.5 per 1000. The average death-rate of this month during the ten previous years was 18.625, from which it can be calculated that the number of "expected" deaths was 87, or two more than the actual. The cases of infectious disease were very few, there being only eight of diphtheria and four of scarlet fever.

February was characterised by persistently unsettled atmospheric conditions with frequent storms and floods, low barometric pressure, average mean temperature and high rainfall, the number of wet days being much in excess. The mean barometric pressure reduced to 32 degs. F. was 29.115 inches, the mean temperature 37.9 degs. F., the mean daily range 10.6 degs. F., the humidity 92 per cent., the rainfall 6.48 inches, and the average number of wet days 27. There was an excess

of winds from south and south-west. The total deaths were 78, giving a rate of 18.388 per 1000. There was a fall in the death-rate from circulatory diseases as compared with January, an increase in the respiratory, a slight fall in the rate from pneumonia, and the rate from phthisis was 3 per 10,000 less. The rates from malignant and nervous diseases were high. The average death-rate of this month has been 20.732, so that the "expected" deaths were 88, or ten more than the actual number. There was an increase in the number of scarlet fever cases, but a decrease in diphtheria, the total number of cases being 19.

March exhibited unusually quiet weather of the anti-cyclonic type, fair and dry, with high barometric pressure, high mean temperature and low rainfall, though a heavy rainstorm on the 1st gave a fall of 1.7 inches at Eskdalemuir. The mean barometric pressure was 29.940 inches, the mean temperature 41.6 degs. F., the mean daily range 19.2 degs. F., the humidity 85 per cent., the rainfall 3.67 inches. There was an average of 13 wet days and a small excess of winds from between S.E. and S.W. The total deaths were 64, the rate per 1000 being 13.628. There was a slight drop in the rate from circulatory diseases, a considerable drop in the respiratory, less so in regard to pneumonia, and a very considerable fall in the phthisical death-rate. The rate from digestive diseases was high, being at its maximum for the year. The average total death-rate for the month during the previous ten years was 16.904. The "expected" deaths were 79, or 15 more than the actual number. Twelve cases of scarlet fever and diphtheria were reported.

April was extremely changeable with a predominance of showery or dull days. The barometric pressure was somewhat low, so was the temperature, and the rainfall was high. The average values were:—For the barometer, 29.450 inches; mean temperature, 42.3 degs. F.; mean daily range, 14.2 degs. F.; humidity, 84 per cent.; rainfall, 3.93 inches. The average number of rainy days was 20, and there was an excess of winds from between south-west and north-west. The total deaths were 82, giving a rate of 18.046. The circulatory death-rate was high, at its maximum for the year; the phthisical death-rate was also at its maximum (2.2 per 1000). So was pneumonia (2.0). Nevertheless the total death-rate was slightly below the average,

18.250, and the "expected" deaths were 83, or one more than the actual number. Nine cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever came under observation.

May opened mildly, but immediately became dull and cold for about eight days, when a period of fine, genial weather succeeded. The last week was cold, dull, and rainy. The mean barometric pressure was 29.562 inches, the mean temperature 50.5 degs. F. (a little above the average), the mean daily range 17.7 degs. F., the humidity 80 per cent, the rainfall 2.64 inches. The average number of rainy days was 12, and there was an excess of winds from between north-west and north-east. The deaths were 77 in number, and the death-rate 16.397. Circulatory diseases were again the principal contributors to this rate, the number of fatalities being exactly the same as in January. The rates from malignant diseases and phthisis were very high, as were also those from other tubercular diseases and from pneumonia. The average total death-rate of the month during the previous decade was 16.244, and the "expected" deaths were 76, or one less than the actual number. There were only five cases of scarlet fever and diphtheria.

June was variable, and there were several rapid alternations from heat to cold and cold to heat, along with a few thunderstorms, but low rainfall. The mean barometric pressure was 29.566 inches, the mean temperature 56.2 degs. F., the mean daily range 18 degs. F., the humidity 78 per cent., and average rainfall 1.87 inches. The number of rainy days was 11, and there was an excess of winds from between north and east. The deaths were 73, and the rate per 1000, 16.065. The circulatory disease death-rate was again high. So were the rates from malignant disease, phthisis, and other tubercular diseases, but those from pneumonia and respiratory causes were low. The average total death-rate of the month was 14.057, and the "expected" deaths were 64, or nine less than the actual number. Among the infectious diseases scarlet fever began to increase, but there was an absence of diphtheria.

July was a month of unsettled and unseasonable weather, with fluctuating barometer, low mean temperature, and high rainfall. The mean barometric pressure was 29.526 inches, the mean temperature 55.6 degs. F., the mean daily range 16.6 degs. F., the humidity 81 per cent., and the average rainfall

5.33 inches. The number of rainy days was 15, and there was an excess of winds from northerly and easterly points. The deaths were 65 and the rate 13.842. The circulatory death-rate dropped to the same point as in March. The malignant disease death-rate was high; pneumonia was also fairly high, but the phthisical and other tubercular rates were low, as was also the respiratory. The average total death-rate of the month having been 14.751, the "expected" deaths were 69, or four more than the actual number. Among the infectious diseases scarlet fever continued to increase, and diphtheria reappeared on the list.

August.—The weather was much on the same lines as in July, but rather worse, there being an almost entire absence of seasonable warmth, a low barometer, and a high rainfall, especially towards the end, when 2.10 inches fell at Dumfries on the 28th, and great flooding occurred in various parts of Scotland. The mean barometric pressure was 29.470 inches, the mean temperature 56.7 degs. F., the mean daily range 14.0 degs. F., the humidity 85 per cent., and the rainfall 8.24 inches. The average number of wet days was 22, and there was an excess of winds from easterly points. The deaths being 46, the rate was 9.796, the lowest rate of all the months of the year. There was a very considerable reduction in the mortality from circulatory diseases, fatalities from these being at their minimum, but the rates from nervous and digestive diseases were somewhat high. Phthisis and other tubercular diseases, pneumonia and other respiratory were all low. The average total death-rate for the month was 13.564, and the "expected" deaths were 64, or eighteen more than the actual number. Scarlet fever became rather prevalent and more virulent than usual, the death-rate from it being 1.06 per 1000. Cases of diphtheria again occurred, but in very small numbers.

September.—The barometric pressure being high throughout this month, weather of the quietest character prevailed almost without a break. There was, however, a lack of sunshine and a prevalence of winds from northerly directions, so that the mean temperature was low. The rainfall was also low, the month being one of the driest Septembers on record. The mean barometric pressure was 29.916 inches; the mean temperature, 52.4 deg. F.; the mean daily range, 16.3 deg. F.; the humidity, 86 per cent.; the rainfall, 0.99 inches. The rainy days were 8 in number, and

there was an excess of winds from between north and east. The deaths were 51, and the rate per 1000, 11.224. Circulatory disease mortality was somewhat high, but the rates from other causes comparatively low, the highest after circulatory being pneumonia, with .88 per 1000. The average total death-rate of the month being 11.729, the "expected" deaths were 53, or two more than the actual number. Diphtheria became rather prevalent, and the prevalence was no doubt influenced by the period of drought following the excessive rains of August and increasing the activity of the causal bacilli.

October was a month of comparatively quiet and mild weather. The barometer was fairly high until the end, when it fell rapidly. The mean temperature was high and the rainfall low. The mean barometric pressure was 29.731 inches; the mean temperature, 48.9 deg. F.; the mean daily range, 12.0 deg. F.; the humidity, 86 per cent.; the average rainfall, 3.14 inches. The rainy days were 10, and there was an excess of winds from easterly points. The total deaths were 54, and the rate per 1000, 11.499. There was a drop in the circulatory mortality from September, but the mortalities from pneumonia, malignant diseases, and phthisis were relatively high. The average total death-rate during the previous decade being 13.407, the "expected" deaths were 63, or nine more than the actual number. Diphtheria and scarlet fever were both fairly prevalent, but less so than in September.

November showed very disturbed atmospheric conditions, was cold, wet, and stormy, with a low mean temperature and winds chiefly from northerly and westerly points. The mean barometric pressure was 29.271 inches; the mean temperature, 35.0 deg. F.; the mean daily range, 12.8 deg. F.; the humidity, 88 per cent.; and the rainfall, 4.32 inches. The number of rainy days was 15. The total deaths were 57, and the rate 12.544. The mortality from circulatory diseases rose considerably above that for October. Malignant disease mortality was also high. The rates from pneumonia and other respiratory diseases were low. That from phthisis was the lowest for the year, but from other tubercular diseases it was fairly high. The average total death-rate being 15.108, the "expected" deaths were 69, or twelve more than the actual number. Scarlet fever was again prevalent.

December was also a month of disturbed atmospheric states, but winds being chiefly from south-east and south-west, was also as abnormally mild as November was abnormally cold. The barometer was low, the temperature high, and the rainfall somewhat in excess, there being a large number of rainy days. The mean barometric pressure was 29.269 inches; the mean temperature, 41.6 deg. F. (6.6 deg. F. higher than the November mean); the mean daily range, 8.5 deg. F.; the humidity, 89 per cent.; the average rainfall, 5.15 inches; and the rainy days, 26. The total number of deaths was 69, the rate per 1000, 14.693. The circulatory mortality again rose, the malignant disease mortality was high, but not so high as in November. The phthisis death-rate rose to nearly the average of this rate for the year, but that from other tubercular diseases dropped to its minimum, as did also that from pneumonia. Respiratory disease mortality was a very little above the average. The total average death-rate was 16.598, and the "expected" deaths 80, or eleven more than the actual number. Scarlet fever became very prevalent during this month, but this was largely due to local causes.

The principal features of the weather of 1910 were the very disturbed conditions at the beginning of the year, the mildness of March, the unseasonable character of July and August, the bitter cold of November, and the contrast presented by the mildness of December.

The arithmetical means of the monthly values show that the mean barometric pressure for the year, reduced to 32 deg. F., was 29.524 inches; the mean temperature, 46.2 deg. F.; the mean daily range, 14.0 deg. F.; and the humidity, 86 per cent. The absolutely highest temperature of the year was 82 deg. F., which was recorded at Drumlanrig Gardens on 13th July, and the lowest was 3 deg. F., which was recorded at Eskdalemuir on 27th January. The average number of rainy days at the four stations was 199, and the rainfall 49.59 inches. The total rainfall at Eskdalemuir was 60.38 inches; at Drumlanrig Gardens, 52.97; at Dumfries, 43.82; and at Comlongon, 41.07. The averages at Drumlanrig Gardens and Dumfries are available, and show that at both stations the precipitation of 1910 was much in excess, 8.32 inches at the former and 5.53 at the latter. The rainfalls of two other stations at Lochmaben and Ewes have been kindly sent me by the observers, Provost Halliday and Mr Lyall.

At the former the fall was 43.91 inches, or 3.2 in excess of 18 years' average (1893-1910 inclusive), while at the latter it was 54.30. The six stations give an average of 49.35 inches. The total average rainfall at 73 stations in Scotland was 41.36 inches, or 2.17 in excess of the average. The year must, therefore, be regarded as a rainy one. All the stations show that August was the wettest month and September the driest.

The influence of the weather upon health has at anyrate not been unfavourable. The total deaths were 801, the "expected" 875, so that 74 of the lives within the portion of Dumfriesshire under review that might have been expected to come to an end have been carried over into another year. The total death-rate was 14.487 per 1000. This figure was exceeded in the months of January, February, April, May, June, and December, but in four of these the rate was under the average, and in two alone (May and June) was it in excess, and then only to a small extent. The monthly distribution of some of the mortalities was peculiar. Digestive diseases were most fatal in March and August, and least so in June, September, and October. Deaths from diarrhoea occurred in six months of the year, January, June, July, October, November, and December. Their absence from the mortality list during August and September is noteworthy. There were deaths from enteric fever in August and October. Only three notifications of this disease were received during the year, but two of the cases proved fatal. Scarlet fever appears in the list in eight out of twelve months, and the mortality was at its maximum in August. By far the largest number of cases occurred during December, but the mortality in that month was *nil*. The mortality from pneumonia was highest in the first five months, when influenza was prevalent, and at its lowest in June and December. For some reason it was high in October. Other respiratory diseases were at their maximum in January and February, and at their minimum in June, July, August, September, and November. Deaths from circulatory diseases were most numerous in April, least so in August. The mortality from pulmonary phthisis was highest in April and May, lowest in July and November. A gratifying feature in the returns is the drop that has occurred in the fatalities from this disease. The rate has been slowly falling during the decade ended with the year. The fall has on the whole been a steady one, till a very sudden drop

from 1.5 per 1000 in 1907 to 0.9 occurred in 1908. In 1909 the mortality rose again to 1.3, and in 1910 it is back to 1.1. There is some hope, therefore, that with increased efforts at prevention and cure the white man's plague may eventually disappear entirely from our mortality lists, or at least appear so rarely as to become an almost negligible quantity.

WEATHER AND NATURAL HISTORY NOTES, 1910. By Mr J.
RUTHERFORD, Jardington.

January.—The weather for the first 10 days of the new year was warm, mild, and cloudy, with frequent rain, but not heavy, with the temperature above the average. On 3 days the temperature in the screen, 4 feet above the ground, was 53 deg. The following 10 days were of a more wintry character, with sudden changes from frost and thaw to rain and snow. The last 10 days of the month were very wintry, as regards storm and cold, quite a contrast to the first 10 days, which were like spring. The wind for the first fortnight was principally from the W. and S.W., and for the remainder N. or N.E. There is an old proverb, "As the days lengthen the cold strengthens." The truth of this proverb is confirmed by observation and experience. I believe the coldest period of the year, in this country, occurs about the third week of January on an average. This may seem a little strange as we would naturally expect that after the sun had passed its lowest altitude and the days began to lengthen that the temperature would rise. The reverse takes place, and the reason for this delay in the rise of temperature is that for some time after the year begins the earth continues to lose more heat by radiation during the night, than it gains from the sun during the day, therefore the temperature falls and does not begin to rise until the heat received exceeds the heat radiated. Snow fell on several days, but not in any quantity. The hardest frost and coldest nights of the year were on the 26th and 27th, when the thermometer registered 2 and 5 deg. respectively on the grass, and 8 and 10 deg. in the screen. The highest maximum temperature was 53 deg. on 3 days; lowest, 32 deg. Highest minimum, 48 deg.; lowest, 8 deg., on the 25th; lowest on the grass, 2 deg., on the 25th. Frost on the grass on 21 days. In the screen on 16 days. The range of the barometer was from 29 to 30.5 inches.

The Water Ouzel, *Cinclus aquaticus*, was pouring forth its brilliant and cheery song on the 10th. First saw Comet, 1910 (alias The Daylight Comet, or The African Comet) on the 24th. Whilst myself and every other observer with small telescopes were spending an hour or so on each suitable evening with the instrument directed to a certain spot in the constellation Pisces, looking for the first glimpse of Halley's Comet, this magnificent object, complete in its majestic splendour, came suddenly into view, a little behind the sun—a perfect model of what a comet should be, with head, neck, and tail, of a beautiful pale gold colour, quite easily seen in twilight with the naked eye. I measured the length of the tail on the 24th. It was from 8 to 10 degrees.

February.—The first 10 days were mild and cloudy, very little sunshine, and a little rain each day. After the 11th squally stormy weather set in. There were several heavy gales with wind from the W. and S.W. There were no periods of intense cold. There was frost at intervals, but not severe. There was a little snow on the 15th, and distant thunder on the 21st and 25th. The last week was mild with an E., N., and N.E. wind. Although rain fell on every day except the 8th there were no heavy floods. On several mornings near the end of the month the birds were singing all round. The white head of the snowdrop (*G. nivalis*) was hanging over on the 7th. The Hazel (*Corylus avellana*) came into bloom on the 24th. First heard the Mavis (*Turdus musicus*) on the 20th. Highest maximum temperature, 52 deg., on the 19th; lowest, 39 deg., on the 24th; highest minimum, 43 deg., on the 6th; lowest, 22 deg., on the 9th; lowest on the grass, 17 deg., on the 8th. Frost on the grass on 19 days; in the screen on 12 days. The barometer ranged from 28.3 in. It quickly fell to this point from 29 in. on the 19th, at 6.30 p.m., when there was a high wind. The highest record of the barometer was 30.3, on the 8th.

March.—The morning of the 1st was fine, the sun shining, birds singing, and a white hoar on the ground, which was followed by a stormy, wet night. On the 2nd we had the heaviest flood on the Cluden which had been for 35 years. It was up to the floor of the wooden footbridge at Jardington Ford. There was thunder on the 9th, and wet, stormy night. With these two exceptions, March was a month of spring, with temperature above the ave-

rage and a lot of sunshine. There was no East wind, and little rain after the 10th. There was a large percentage of March dust, which is invaluable to the farmer. Sowing corn began on the 24th, with the ground in fine condition. Sunday, the 20th, was a beautiful spring day, with the birds singing and the crows busy at the Newton Rookery. Coltsfoot (*Tussilago Farfara*) came in bloom on the 29th. Highest maximum temperature, 62 deg., on the 30th; lowest maximum, 45 deg., on the 1st. Highest minimum, 44 deg., on the 3rd; lowest minimum, 28 deg., on the 27th; lowest on the grass, 22 deg., on several nights. Frost on the grass on 18 days. A little frost in the screen on 9 days. The range of the barometer was between 29.55 and 30.6 inches.

April.—The weather of this month was rather disappointing. The second week was fairly genial and mild, and the fields began to put on their verdant hue, with a S. and S.W. wind. The first week and the last fortnight were very barren. There was not the same amount of bright warm sunshine that we had in March, and the winds were colder. Although there was a good deal of rain, there were no heavy floods. Plants came into bloom a few days earlier than in 1909. Wood Anemone (*Anemone memorosa*) on the 2nd, Flowering Currant on the 9th, Jargonelle Pear on the 10th, Primrose (*Primula vulgaris*) on the 17th, Blenheim Orange Apple on the 27th, Wild Strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*) on the 28th. First Swallows seen on the 16th. Our own Swallows came and took up their old quarters on the 20th. Sand Martin (*Cotile riparia*) first seen on the 28th. The Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*) first heard on the 29th. Small White Butterfly (*Pieris, Rapæ*) first seen on 25th. Highest maximum temperature, 59 deg., on the 14th and 15th; lowest maximum, 46 deg., on 3rd and 16th. Highest minimum, 44 deg., on 18th and 20th; lowest minimum, 24 deg., on 1st; lowest on grass, 18 deg., on 1st. Temperature on grass at or below 32 deg. on 17 days.

May.—The first 10 days were cold and barren, with the hills covered with snow and wind from the N. and N.-W. On the 11th the weather changed to bright and warm sunshine, typical May weather, which continued till the 27th. The last 3 days were rather cold. Though the beginning of the month and the last 3 days were cold and barren it was, on the whole, a much finer month than the majority of months of May in recent years. There was thunder on the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 13th. The Sloe

(*Prunus communis*) came into bloom on the 2nd, Garden Strawberry on the 16th; Lilac (*Syriga vulgaris*), 18th; Chestnut (*Castanea*), 18th; Hawthorn (*Crataegus oxyacantha*), 23rd. Saw first Wasp on the 11th. Heard the Corncrake (*Crex pratensis*) on the 21st. Saw Halley's Comet for first time on 24th. Highest maximum temperature, 81 deg., on 22nd; lowest maximum temperature, 48 deg., on 6th. Highest minimum, 57 deg., on 22nd; lowest minimum, 29 deg., on 8th; lowest on grass, 22 deg., on 8th. At or below 32 deg. on grass on 8 days. Barometer ranged between 29.4 and 30.45 inches.

June.—This was an ideal month, a real month of summer. The first 3 weeks were very warm. The rainfall was small yet sufficient. There were a number of days on which there was thunder. The wild rose (*R. canina*) came into bloom on 3rd; Ox-eye daisy (*C. Leucanthemum*) on the 4th. Saw first cleg 19th. Highest maximum temperature, 82 deg., on the 10th; lowest maximum temperature, 59 deg., on 2nd. Highest minimum temperature, 55 deg., on several days; lowest minimum temperature, 39 deg., on 14th; lowest on grass, 35 deg., on 14th. At or below 32 deg. on the grass none. Range of barometer from 29.5 to 30.4.

July.—The weather during the first week was cool and cloudy, with thunder and showers. On the 7th a change for the better set in, and a fortnight of excellent summer weather followed. There was an abundance of sunshine, with high temperature, though the heat was never oppressive. There was no rain from the 6th till the 20th, when an unfavourable change set in, wet, showery weather continuing till the end of the month. During the fine weather in the middle of the month the most of the ryegrass hay and some meadow was secured in fine condition. Cut meadow hay got badly bleached in the last week. Meadow Brown Butterfly (*H. Janira*) first seen on the 4th; Hair-bell (*Campanula rotundifolia*) came into bloom on the 9th; Black Knapweed (*Centaurea nigra*) on the 19th. Highest maximum temperature, 87 deg. (this was the highest temperature during the year), on the 12th; lowest maximum temperature, 61 deg., on 6th and 20th. Highest minimum temperature, 58 deg., on 20th; lowest minimum temperature, 38 deg., on 17th; lowest on grass, 34 deg., on 17th. At or below 30 deg. none. Range of barometer between 29.5 and 30.3 inches.

August.—This was a month of rain, with the exception of five days from the 5th till the 10th, rain fell every day. It was the highest rainfall of any month during the year, and the highest rainfall for August during the last 17 years. There was a heavy flood on the Nith and Cluden on the 28th, and heavy floods all over the country, doing much damage to crops. On early farms in this locality the corn that was cut was considerably wasted, and uncut ripe corn was damaged by being broken down with the heavy rains. Harvesting began in this locality on the 15th. Thunder was heard on 8 days. Highest maximum temperature, 80 deg., on 10th; lowest maximum temperature, 56 deg., on 28th. Highest minimum temperature, 58 deg., on 14th; lowest minimum temperature, 40 deg., on 24th; lowest temperature on grass, 38 deg., on 24th. At 32 deg. or under none. Range of barometer from 29 to 30.2 inches.

September.—No more thorough contrast could be imagined than was presented by the weather of two consecutive months. While August was the wettest month of the year, and the wettest August for many years, September was the driest month of the year, and, leaving out the rain that fell on the 26th and 28th, it was the driest month of September for many years. It was almost perfect as a harvest month, the atmosphere was dry, there was abundance of sunshine, and there was scarcely a single shower to interrupt the work in the fields. In May notes, 17th, I find "wasps plentiful." On 9th September, "no wasps," even on the plumbs and apples broken by the birds there was not one to be found. Last swallow seen on the 22d. Highest maximum temperature, 72 deg., on 21st; lowest maximum temperature, 59 deg., on several days. Highest minimum temperature, 55 deg., on 28th; lowest minimum temperature, 34 deg., on 2 days; lowest temperature on grass, 30 deg., on 2 days. Temperature at 32 deg. or under on grass on 2 days. Barometer ranged from 29.95 to 30.6 inches. This was the only day during the month that the barometer was below 30 inches.

October.—The weather during the whole of this month was a continuance of the exceptional fine weather of September. The sunshine and heat of the first week were quite phenomenal, more like that of June or July. The temperature was above the average on nearly every day. On the 2nd there was a very heavy thunder rain, 1.58 in. fell in 8 hours. The harvest in late dis-

tricts was secured in good condition. The variety and beauty of the colour on the woods of the Nith Valley near the end of the month was really charming. Highest maximum temperature, 69 deg., on 1st; lowest maximum temperature, 51 deg., on 2 days. Highest minimum temperature, 53 deg., on 3rd and 4th; lowest minimum temperature, 33 deg. on 8th; lowest on grass, 28 deg., on 19th. At or below 32 deg. on grass on 6 days. Barometer ranged between 29.8 and 30.7 inches. Over 30 inches on every day except 5.

November.—Although the fine weather of October was continued into November for the first few days, we could not help feeling that we were into the grip of winter. Taken as a whole, it was a mild, open month, with fully an average rainfall. A little snow fell on 3 days. There was a sharp frost for several days. Curling stones could be heard running on the third week. Oak leaves were long in falling off, and the frost at the end of the month took away the green of the fields. Saw the total eclipse of the moon on the night of the 16th. There was nothing remarkable to note. The detail on the moon's surface was plainly defined through the umbra of the shadow. Highest maximum temperature, 52 deg., on 3rd; lowest maximum temperature, 38 deg., on 10th. Highest minimum temperature, 42 deg., on 13th; lowest minimum temperature, 16 deg., on 19th; lowest on grass, 11 deg., on 19th. At or below 32 deg. on 27 days. Range of barometer between 28.6 and 30.2 inches.

December.—The weather of this month was very mild and open, with variable wind. The temperature was higher than that of November, and about the average for December. There was very little frost, and a number of fine, mild days were mixed up with dirty, squally, and wet ones. No snow. Highest maximum temperature, 54 deg., on 23rd; lowest maximum temperature, 38 deg., on 27th. Highest minimum temperature, 47 deg., on 23rd; lowest minimum temperature, 25 deg., on 27th. Temperature at or below 32 deg. on the grass on 15 days. Range of barometer from 29 to 30.4 inches.

The weather of the year may be summed up in two words, "Exceptionally mild."

RAINFALL RECORD AT JARDINGTON DURING 1910.

Rain Gauge:—Diameter of Funnel, 5 in. Height of top—
Above ground, 1 foot; above sea level, 70 ft.

Month.	Total Depth.	Greatest Fall in 24 hours.		Number of days with 0·1 or more recorded.
		Inches.	Date.	
January ...	2·30	·47	15	17
February ...	5·78	·54	17	27
March ...	3·23	1·02	1	12
April	2·92	·81	12	16
May	2·36	·44	15	17
June	1·84	·53	20	12
July	4·46	1·24	5	15
August ...	7·03	1·62	28	24
September ...	1·12	·47	28	9
October ...	3·49	1·58	2	10
November ...	4·16	1·01	12	14
December ...	5·25	·92	9	24
Total,	43·94			287

This being 4.79 inches above the average of the last 17 years.

RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES FOR THE YEAR 1910. Compiled by Mr ANDREW WATT, Secretary to the Scottish Meteorological Society.

	Height Ft.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year.
DUMFRIES														
Langholm, Barnfoot ..	541	4 83	6 60	3 81	3 95	2 98	1 76	6 29	7 22	.82	2 87	4 02	5 57	51 27
" Ewes School ..	445	4 69	7 29	3 93	3 76	2 60	1 68	6 58	8 15	.88	3 36	5 12	6 35	54 30
" Drove Road ..	270	5 17	7 13	3 86	3 58	2 43	2 05	6 75	8 69	.93	3 29	5 94	6 14	55 96
Canonbie, Byreburnfoot ..	..	4 25	5 38	2 25	2 62	2 00	1 50	5 50	7 50	.63	2 00	4 50	5 12	43 25
" Irvine House ..	200	4 61	5 49	2 87	2 76	2 51	1 98	6 10	8 73	.86	2 29	4 66	5 09	47 95
" Observatory ..	778	5 59	8 11	4 99	5 72	3 44	2 50	6 16	8 58	.99	2 84	4 12	6 34	60 38
Moffat, Ericstane ..	600	4 81	7 45	5 16	5 17	2 15	2 01	5 19	7 13	1 34	3 93	3 17	5 62	53 13
" Hope Lodge ..	450	4 22	6 09	3 79	4 25	2 13	2 95	4 26	7 61	1 09	3 49	3 26	4 29	47 43
" Auchan Castle ..	500	5 96	8 24	4 85	4 89	2 43	2 50	5 95	8 44	1 24	3 92	3 75	5 74	57 41
" Craigielands ..	360	6 34	7 20	5 41	4 59	2 22	3 58	6 20	6 32	1 32	3 78	3 33	5 66	55 95
Beattock, Kinnelhead ..	820	5 96	7 74	5 98	5 13	3 20	2 49	6 44	9 56	1 46	3 93	3 53	6 89	62 31
Lockerbie, Castle Milk ..	199	3 64	4 71	3 10	2 29	1 90	1 24	5 53	8 33	.64	3 20	4 56	4 30	43 44
Lochmaben, Esthwaite ..	166	2 35	5 24	2 84	3 42	2 48	1 57	5 40	7 92	.94	3 44	4 98	4 53	40 15
Dalton, Kirkwood ..	245	2 77	5 12	3 25	3 42	2 97	1 25	5 80	7 68	.72	2 35	4 43	3 81	41 34
Hoddam Castle ..	150	3 27	4 70	2 84	2 79	2 35	.91	5 53	7 64	.74	2 43	4 82	3 72	41 07
Comlongon Castle ..	74	2 92	4 85	2 48	3 10	2 68	1 31	4 90	7 12	..	2 43	4 82	3 72	41 07
Dumfries, Ivy Bank ..	70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" Crichton Inst., ..	155	2 11	5 30	3 00	2 39	2 39	1 88	5 21	7 72	.91	2 76	4 67	4 83	43 82
Drumlanrig Castle ..	187	4 09	7 66	4 21	3 93	2 05	1 80	5 04	9 54	1 32	3 38	3 67	5 68	52 97
Moniaive, Glencrosh ..	350	4 71	8 39	4 27	3 99	2 76	1 65	6 11	8 25	1 34	3 57	4 47	7 60	57 11
" Maxwellton House ..	400	4 48	7 71	4 19	3 63	2 26	2 10	6 02	9 28	1 45	2 90	4 45	7 12	55 04
" Jarbruck ..	350	4 92	8 97	4 73	3 96	2 42	2 24	6 45	10 64	1 61	3 26	4 86	8 24	62 27

	Height Ft.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year.
KIRKCUDBRIGHT.														
Jardington	70	2.30	5.78	3.23	2.92	2.36	1.84	4.46	7.03	1.12	3.49	4.16	5.25	43.94
Lincluden House	60	2.25	5.98	3.40	3.06	2.31	1.90	4.63	7.15	1.20	3.60	4.32	5.29	45.69
Cargen	80	3.49	7.39	4.58	4.01	2.92	2.90	5.09	9.11	1.06	2.53	6.18	6.95	56.21
Lochnorton	273	2.96	6.70	3.67	2.96	2.65	1.71	4.70	9.72	1.15	3.51	4.58	6.77	51.08
Arbigland	50	2.14	4.63	2.94	2.95	2.43	1.52	4.61	6.66	.93	1.59	5.94	4.61	40.95
Auchencairn, Torr House	50	3.81	6.39	2.85	2.80	2.63	1.15	4.13	8.66	1.10	4.10	7.01	7.22	51.75
Glendar	2.50	4.60	7.81	3.88	3.48	2.74	1.93	5.15	9.86	1.44	2.93	4.63	8.33	50.84
Dalbeattie, Little Richorn	54	3.60	6.10	3.19	2.57	2.37	1.65	4.65	9.73	.95	2.93	6.30	5.86	50.90
" Kirkenman	30	4.00	6.02	3.38	2.69	2.51	1.46	4.98	9.35	1.1	4.25	5.55	6.32	51.52
" Monybuie	150	1.77	4.44	1.68	3.16	2.36	1.57	2.46	7.31	1.62	3.25	4.61	7.79	..
Kirkcudbright, Balmae	120	2.98	4.29	1.99	3.88	2.78	2.47	3.88	8.17	.95	2.68	5.40	5.55	39.33
Galehouse, Cally	50	3.14	6.27	2.81	2.15	2.29	2.10	3.36	6.86	1.37	3.74	6.24	7.81	49.60
Palnure, Bargaaly	..	3.84	7.50	2.60	3.09	2.74	2.93	5.01	8.06	1.33	3.70	6.07	6.83	46.91
Dairy, Glendarroch	192	4.82	9.88	4.52	3.50	2.36	2.14	5.47	9.81	1.81	3.46	5.39	7.80	54.33
" Glenerie	850	4.49	8.11	4.75	3.95	2.71	2.29	4.31	10.24	1.77	3.52	5.62	8.51	61.92
" The Old Garrioch	448	6.02	11.38	5.35	4.26	3.13	2.11	5.25	10.67	2.12	3.95	5.81	9.48	62.21
Carsphairn, Shiel	850	6.93	10.03	5.93	7.30	4.44	2.36	6.41	12.70	2.65	3.99	5.82	10.36	70.49
Glenhead of Trool	641	4.99	9.05	4.48	4.31	2.65	2.27	5.42	11.22	2.28	3.84	4.79	8.50	80.26
" Knockgray	320	5.55	10.00	6.50	5.00	3.50	3.70	5.70	11.00	2.25	4.36	6.20	10.70	74.40
WIGTOWN.														
Loch Ryan Lighthouse	46	1.90	9.80	3.25	3.05	1.90	2.00	3.85	3.30	2.00	3.20	6.61	6.26	47.12
Corsewall	112	1.32	6.94	3.05	2.35	2.68	1.75	3.50	5.52	.98	2.78	5.69	4.62	41.78
Killanrangan	162	2.85	8.05	2.70	3.15	2.35	.90	4.30	7.50	2.63	4.35	11.05	9.85	59.70
Mull of Galloway Lighthouse	337	1.56	3.33	1.41	1.97	1.83	1.66	2.33	4.99	1.24	1.46	6.11	4.44	32.33
Galloway House	20	2.85	5.28	2.09	3.17	2.21	2.04	3.07	6.50	1.11	3.19	5.60	6.33	43.44
Whithorn	207	3.51	5.41	2.49	2.28	2.22	2.34	3.41	7.59	1.31	3.45	7.40	6.19	47.40
Port William (Blairbuie)	150	2.50	4.10	1.98	2.17	2.08	2.08	2.84	6.49	1.25	2.91	6.40	4.88	40.59
Logan House	80	2.15	3.32	1.81	3.03	2.10	1.93	2.61	7.35	1.65	3.24	5.79	4.88	46.75
Ardwell House	107	1.77	4.32	1.77	3.29	2.25	1.36	2.74	5.90	1.19	2.61	7.34	5.65	39.43
Lochnaw	..	2.70	6.47	2.35	2.69	2.91	1.50	4.41	6.09	1.91	2.90	7.00	5.88	46.81

CHARTERS RELATING TO NEWABBEY. Extracted from the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, and Translated by Dr E. J. CHINNOCK, LL.B.

24th of Mary. At Edinburgh, 18 Dec., 1565.

The King and Queen have confirmed a charter made by John, abbot of the Monastery of Dulce Cor and the convent of the same [by which they granted at feufarm to Master William Turnour his heirs and assigns $4\frac{1}{2}$ marcats of the lands of Ardwell and Ernfas of ancient extent in their barony of Lochkindeloch, Stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht; to be paid to the said monastery 9 marks in rental specified and 3 marks of augmentation; and his grain to be ground at the mill of Dulce Cor, and the multures to be paid for the said lands; and appearance to be made at the three chief courts at the said monastery; also the feufarm to be doubled on the entry of heirs and assigns; tenths and multures being reserved to the said monastery. At the said monastery, 3 Nov., 1559.].

18th of James VI. At Holyrudhous, 22 March, 1585.

The King has confirmed a Charter made by John, Abbot of Sweetheart and the convent of the same [by which they had granted to John Makcartnay, younger, in Laithis, son and heir apparent of John Makcartnay of Laithis, elder, $2\frac{1}{2}$ mercats of the lands of Laithis of ancient extent, in the barony of Butill, stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which John Edyare in Blakschaw, son of the late Clement Edyare in Lanne has personally resigned. To be held by the said John Makcartnay younger, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; failing whom, by the said John Makcartnay, elder, and his heirs, of the said monastery in feefarm. To be paid yearly 5 marks 5 shillings, and 5 shillings of augmentation; and the feufarm double on the entry of heirs; and if they are in default of payment for 3 terms and 40 days, they lose the inheritance. At the said monastery. 6 June, 1561.].

20th of James VI. At Falkland, 2 Jul., 1587.

The King has confirmed the charter of Sir John Parkar, pensionary vicar of Buthill [by which, with the consent of Master Gilbert Broun, Abbot of Sweithart, rector of the said church,

and of his convent, for the fulfilment of the contract between the persons subscribed on the one part, and James Cairnis, son and heir of the late Robert Cairnis, formerly in Colignaw, feuar of the lands subscribed on the other part, registered in the book of the commissariate of Kirkcudbright of date at Glenschinnoch 29 Mar., 1577—has granted in feu farm to Robert Lowrie and Agnes M'Morand his wife, half, that is, 10 solidats of church lands of his vicary of ancient extent, reserving to the rector of the said rectory a small piece of the land and meadow according to the tenor of the same deed, possessed by them in the parish of Butill, stewartry of Kirkcudbright; to be held by the said Robert and Agnes, and either of them surviving the other, in joint infeudation and by the heirs lawfully begotten between them; failing whom, by the heirs and assigns of the said Robert whomsoever, of the said vicar; to be paid yearly 20 shillings and 16 pence of augmentation, with precept of sasine, directed to Robert Makmorane in Glenschinnoch. Witnesses, Wil. M'Cleron of Utbride, Robert M'Morane of Kirkennan, Wil. Ramsay of Sypland, Gilbert Broun. At the said monastery and at Butill. 8 Mar., 1577].

22nd of James VI. At Holierudehous, 25 Jan, 1589.

The King has let at feufarm to Cuthbert Archibaldsoun, burgess of Drumfreis, his heirs and assigns, the croft of lands of Vanefurde, occupied by the late John Archibaldsoun, in the barony of Lochkyndeloch, stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, which before the act of annexation was a part of the patrimony of the monastery of Sweithart or Newabay; to be paid 4 shillings of ancient farm and 8 pence of augmentation; also the feufarm to be doubled on the entry of heirs, and the tenths and multures customary to be paid.

24th of James VI. At Halierudehous, 26 Dec., 1590.

The King has let at feufarm to William Maxwell of Aird, his heirs and assigns the gate and croft of land containing 6 acres or thereabout, lying on the south side of the monastery of Sweithart, between the pond and the external wall of the same, with the large barn and large garden of the barn, lying upon the Mathowis croft, with free entrance to the road and broad gate of the said monastery, called the lower gate, with the tithes of

the said acres included, which had never been wont to be separated from the trunk, and bakehouse and meal house, on the north side of the Clauchane; with 4 ells of land, and buildings lying round the same, occupied by Master Gilbert Broun, formerly Abbot of the said monastery, and 20 solidats of the lands of Aird, which formerly were held of the said monastery. To be paid for the said 6 acres with the pertinencies 20 shillings; for the bakehouse, etc., 40 pence; for Aird, 20 shillings; in all 43 shillings of ancient duty, and 40 pence in augmentation.

26th of James VI. At Halieruidhous, 3 Aug., 1592.

The King has let a feufarm to Robert Redick, lawful son of the late William Redik of Dalbety, and to his heirs and assigns, the house and bedroom, called the "Auld-gudmannischalmer," the garden and dovecote and the garden of Sir Antony, lying within the walls of the monastery of Sweithart, the garden of Sir Patrick Cuill, amounting to 4 acres or thereabout, between the door to the palace gate on the south, the church and cemetery on the east, the croft, the "Malthous croft," amounting to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres between the "Gallonstank" on the south, the road before the palace to the "southeast" gate on the north, the garden of the late Sir John Kirkpatrick on the west, with the tithes of all included, which never had been separated, in the parish of Lochkindelow, stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, which formerly belonged to the said monastery. To be paid 30 shillings and 12 pence of augmentation; also the feufarm to be doubled on the entry of heirs and assigns.

26th of James VI. At Halyrudehous, 4 Aug., 1592.

The King has let a feufarm to Thomas Broun, natural son of Master Gilbert Broun, formerly director of the monastery of Sweithart, a small piece of land, called the "Heid-yairdis" of Newabay, within the exterior wall of the said monastery, between the "northeast" pond and the "Gallowaystank," another piece of land, called the "Gairden," the "outsett" of house on the northside of the same, within the said exterior wall, near the garden and orchard occupied by Thomas Broun of Glen, the garden on the east side of the place of the said abbey, within the said walls, called the "Auld-Priouris-yaird," between the afore-

said garden, the church, the cemetery, and the long croft, with whatsoever tithes of all included, which had never been separated from the fundus, also the fishing of salmon, the "reid-fischeing," upon the water of Neth in the lordship of Newabay, stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, which formerly were part of the patrimony of the said monastery; to be held by the said Thomas and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, failing whom, by his brother, Richard Broun, and his heirs, etc., failing whom, by their sister, Catherine Broun, and her heirs, etc., failing whom, by the said Gilbert, his heirs and assigns whomsoever. To be paid yearly for the lands and gardens 40 shillings, for the tithes 10 shillings, for the fishing 3 shillings and 4 pence; in all 4 marks; also feufarm to be doubled on the entry of heirs and assigns.

26th of James VI. At Halyrudhous, 28 May, 1593.

The King has let at feufarm to Edward Maxwell of Hillis, his heirs and assigns, 30 solidats of the lands of Lochbank, 20 solidats of Kissoch, 10 solidats of Wodehows, a mercat of Dronganes, a mercat of Termonklach, of ancient extent in the barony Lochindelloch, stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, which formerly belonged to the monastery of Sweitheart, half of 20 solidats of M'Collantoun, half a mercat of the "Larg," half a mercat of called Stellingrie, 3 mercats of Barquhrygane, 20 solidats of Ferdingrusche, a mercat of Mairtyntoun, $\frac{1}{2}$ a mercat of Brigend of ancient extent in the barony and parish of Hollywod, county of Drumfreis, which formerly belonged to the monastery of Holywood; all of which the King has incorporated into the free tenancy of Lochbank, that one sasine to be taken at the manor and dwelling of Lochbank may stand for all. To be paid yearly for Lochbank, etc., as far as Termonklach 16 marks, and 13 shillings and 4 pence of augmentation; for Makcolloustoune £5 3s 4d and 26 shillings and 8 pence of augmentation; in all £17 16s 8d; also the said feufarm to be doubled on the entry of heirs and assigns.

29th of James VI. At Haliruidhous, 19 Dec., 1595.

The King has granted in feufarm to Gilbert Broun, lawful son of John Broun of Land, and his male heirs whomsoever, the holding, the "arber," with its house and garden, the "Gallowstank-yaird," between the water-course of the oat-mill of the

monastery of Sweithart, flowing through the house of John Makkene and the other bounds specified, reserving free entry to the holding of Fouledurris both in the rear and in front; also the barn constructed upon the lands called the Grene, with free entry to each gate of the same, amounting to 17 ells in length and 6 ells in width; the house, the "Byre," and "Peithous, formerly occupied by Beatrice Maxwell, with free entry to each of its gates, amounting to 10 ells and 5 ells in width; the holding and garden, the "Greiris-outsett," containing two houses, of which one was possessed by John Wilsoun, amounting to 10 ells and 4 ells in width, the other was occupied by Thomas Broun, amounting to 10½ ells and 4 ells in width; the house and the "kailyaird," occupied by Jonet Broun; the house and the "kailyaird" occupied by Robert M'Kain, between the garden and the "outset" of James Broun, and the other bounds specified, the gate at the side of the "Grene" of the said monastery in sight of the said Arber; the outsett and garden occupied by Mariot Broun, with the garden between the stream at the end of the kiln of Walter Newall and the other bounds specified, in the parish of Kirkinar, stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which were formerly a part of the patrimony of Newabbay. To be paid for the Arber, etc., as far as Greiris outsett 10 shillings, also 40 pence of augmentation; for the said two houses, etc., 2 shillings and 3 pence of augmentation; for the gate, etc., 30 pence and 2 pence of augmentation; and the feufarm to be doubled on entry of heirs.

30th of James VI. At Edinburgh, 30 June, 1597.

The King has granted to John Stewart in New Abbay, to his heirs and assigns, 20 solidats of the lands of Clauchanland, 5 solidats of Carsgown, called the Allanis, 10 denariats of half a mercat of Littill Barbeth of ancient extent, in the parish of Newabbay, stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht; to be paid 56 shillings and 8 pence and 16 pence of augmentation; in all 58 shillings; and the feufarm to be doubled on entry of heirs and assigns.

35th of James VI. At Falkland, 19 June, 1602.

The King has granted in feufarm and given again to Hugh Moffett of Gorpuill, native possessor of the below written, to his heirs and assigns, the half of the church lands of Buttill, the

manse and glebe of the same, formerly occupied by William Smyth, amounting to 10 solidats of ancient extent, with the manse and tithes of the same included, both the garbal and the small, both of the rectory and of the vicary which were never wont to be separated from the trunk, in the parish of Buttill, stewartry of Kirkcudbrycht, which formerly belonged to the abbots of Dulce Cor, the Sweithart, and were let in feufarm to the late Arthur Moriesoun in Culloch and the late Mariot Maxwell, his wife, which infeofment had never been legally confirmed. To be paid £3 10s 0d and 12 pence of new augmentation; also feufarm to be doubled on the entry of heirs and assigns; reserving 2 acres for the minister serving at the church of Buttell.

57th of James, VI. At the Court of Quhitehall, 10 Feb., 1624.

The King has granted to Sir Robert Spottiswode of Newabay, knight, one of the Senators of the Supreme Senate of Scotland, to his male heirs and assigns whomsoever, the lands, church, etc., of old, belonging to the monastery of Newabbay, with the houses, mills, etc., within the precinct of the same, the lands and barony of Lochkindeloch or Newabbay, with the mill; the lands and barony of Kirkpatrik Durhame with the mill; ten mercats of the lands of the Leathis, with the places of the manors, towers, mills, fishings, tenants, etc., county of Wigtoun, with the garbal tithes and the other tithes great and small, rectorial and vicarial of the churches of Newabbay or Lochkindeloch, Kirkpatrik Durhame, Buithill and Crocemichaell with manses, glebes, church lands and dues whatsoever, with the other lands, fishing of salmon and other fishes both in fresh and salt water, churches, feufarms, the "obiitsilvir," tenants, etc., both spiritual and temporal, of the said monastery within Scotland; with patronage of the rectories and vicaries of the said churches and of the other benefices formerly belonging to the said monastery; also the garbal tithes and other tithes great and small, rectorial and vicarial, of the churches of Baro, St. Katharinis of the Hoipis, Montloathane, Kirkcormo, Kirkcudbright, Balmaghie, St. Martinis or Melgynch, with the manses, etc. (as above), which of old belonged to the monastery of Holyrudhous, and were omitted in the charter of erection granted by the King to the late John, Lord Holyrudhous, and afterwards

granted to Sir John Spottiswode of Dairsie, knight, one of the gentlemen of the King's inner bed-chamber, which possessions of Newabbay the said Sir Robert the rest, the said Sir John have resigned at Edinburgh; moreover the King, for service rendered to him by the said Robert in private and public affairs, has suppressed the said monastery of Newabbay, and dissolved the churches of Barro, etc., from the monastery of Holyrudehous and has again given the above written to the said Robert with the patronage of Barro, etc., and he has decreed that the vassals of the said lands hold them of the said Robert, and he has released them from the Act of Annexation; which release he promised that he would ratify in the next Parliament, and he has incorporated again all the above written into the free barony of Newabbay, ordering that the place of the manor of Newabbay shall be the principal messuage. To be paid £20 of white farm, and stipends to the ministers of the said churches modified or to be modified by the Lords Commissioners.

3rd March, 1911.

Chairman—Mr W. DICKIE, V.P.

THE GALLOWAY HIGHLANDS. Lantern Lecture. By the Rev. C. H. DICK, B.D., Moffat.

The subject of Mr Dick's lecture was "The Galloway Highlands." Beginning with St. John's, Dalry, as one of the best centres from which to visit the country, the lecturer gave some notes on the village and on the beautiful and varied scenery of the Ken Valley. After pointing out some features of interest in Balmaclellan and New-Galloway, including memorials of "Old Mortality" and the Covenanters, the lecturer conducted the audience along four routes to the Dungeon of Buchan (1) from Dalry by the Polharrow Glen, (2) by Glentrool and Loch Enoch, (3) by the head of Loch Doon and the Gala Lane, and (4) by the Upper Bridge of Dee and Craigencallie. He gave the historical traditions of the country in their topographical setting, especial attention being given to the early adventures of Bruce. The lecture concluded with an account of a journey from Barhill to

Bargrennan and Newton-Stewart through the snowstorm of December, 1908. The slides illustrating the lecture shewed details of the mountain scenery, of interest to the geologist, and included a series exhibiting grilse in the act of ascending Earlston Linn on the river Ken.

17th March, 1911.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW, Hon. Treasurer.

STONEYKIRK.—HINTS AS TO ITS HISTORY FROM PLACE-NAMES.

By the Rev. G. PHILIP ROBERTSON, Stoneykirk.

The place-names here are of Welsh, Norse, Gaelic, Saxon, and modern origin. More than 50 per cent. of the farm names in general use are Gaelic, still more predominantly Gaelic are names of the various fields.

The earliest language of which there are remains is Brythonic. No doubt those intelligent inhabitants of the pit dwellings discovered about ten years ago used words in their intercourse, but it is only guesswork that refers present-day names to such an origin. Lachrymatories found here point to the presence of the Romans at one time in the district, but the absence of Roman derived names points to a short stay with little influence. Not so with the Cymric, Norse, or Gaelic people. In the north-west is the Brythonic Pinminnoch—moor-head, an appropriate designation for the locality then, and equally suitable is Gaelic Kenmuir for a similar place five miles south. Here as elsewhere Scottish Gaels eclipsed Brythons, but not to their total expulsion. Southwards is Dumbredan, the Galloway form of Dumbarton; Strathclyde Walenses seem to have dwelt in this south part of the parish; Ardwell goes from sea to sea, and Cairnweil is not very far from Ardwell, and has the mark of a chieftain's burial place.

Norse influence is as widely recorded as Cymric. Between Pinminnoch and Kenmuir on the west coast is Kirklauchlin—K silent in Kl, from (Cathair) Caer Lochlinn, the Norsemen's fort. A little south are the Fell and the Float (N. Flot). Beyond Kenmuir is Lochinbyre, the Norseman's dwelling, and

further south still is Port Gill, the ravine harbour, or Gill's harbour. This Norse chieftain or another seems to have had his fort two or three miles inland east from Kirklauchin, at a place now called Kirk ma gill. The farm across a gully is Dalvaddie, said to be from the Norse for ford in the glen. A height a mile off is Eldrick—Eldshrygg=ridge of fire. One of the highest farms in the middle of the parish in the north is Eldrick, a likely place for a warning beacon—looking up the Firth of Clyde—when the Norse held sway on the west. North from Kirkmagill and Dalvaddie are farms Threemark and Twomark—the names indicating the rental paid the superior, a method of naming land said to have come from Norse customs. These and similarly named farms are in the neighbourhood of Norse settlements once in the parish.

Gaelic-speaking people lived in the parish 1000 years ago; for half that time they were probably the dominant race. The names show the people to have been Irish and Scottish Gaels. The western limb of the county is called Rhinns—headland, said to be thoroughly Irish. The eastern is Machars, said to be Scottish. Side by side in the parish are two farms, Mye (Magh) and Blair, both level. Blair is said not to be at all in Irish—circumstances that seem to point to Irish-Scots and other Scots peaceably intermingling. From the abundance of Gaelic names and the known characteristics of the race we can gather much more about the parish in their day than their mere presence, possessions, and means of defence. There is a Craig Dermott and a Knockalpin, these two being no doubt so pre-eminent as to cause them to be remembered by place-names. The land was more associated with the church and with its products than with its owners. In a space of five square miles are five places associated with Saints. Stoneykirk (Stainie Kirk, Stephankirk), Kirkmadryne (Draighen?), Ringuinea (Ringenvie, Ninian's headland), Kildonan, and Kirkmabreck. Kirkmadryne and Kirkmabreck are not a mile apart. Bricius was an opponent of Martin, uncle and teacher of Ninian. Did a supporter endow a chapel to him close to a chapel from Ninian's priory? It is worthy of note that kirk is final in one case and initial in the three others, indicating that Stephen was honoured or trusted later than the others. In all cases, however, Kirk wants the accent. Names were attached to a place from its connection with the offices and

worship of the church. Knocktaggart will mark a priest's residence or possession, Cairntaggart mark his grave. A large tract of land gets its name Port o' Spittal from a hospice once there, likely for the benefit of traders and travellers crossing to and from Ireland. Four miles on the road east is Craigencrosh. The cross here could do double duty, at once near the wayside and the church—Stoneykirk adjoins. There is also a Knockincrosh; and Corshill is quite near Kirkmadryne. Here, too, as at Hassendean, some magic power or sacred rite had been associated with a stone. Clayshaut (holy stone) is one of the three parishes now making up Stoneykirk.

The place names teach a good deal about the occupations and habits of the Gaelic parishioners. There was the primitive hunting, as seen in Barnchalloch. Craiginee marks where deer were, and Balloch a lee, hind calves. Knockscaddan hill, where herrings were sold, points to fishing as well as hunting. Knockteinan, beacon hill, in neighbourhood of Port o' Spittal, may have served to guide fishing boats as well as trading boats to a harbour. Cattle rearing was more extensively followed than agriculture. There is a glen, Allivolie, the glen suitable for cattle, also hills for them—Drumbawn, Knockbawn. Barvannoch may be the modern calf park. Barscarrow would be, most suitably, the hill for foals. There is an Airioland where the cattle were sent for natural hill pasture in summer, and Shielhill speaks of the shelters erected for the herds. Goats would feed on the crags, especially at Portgowar.

There was some tillage. Auchness Croft goes back to Gaelic times influenced by Anglo Saxons. Croft is said to be connected with Cruach, Erse for stack, as the first cultivated land was at the top. The name here is suitable for a spot tilled higher up than the meadow. There are two Awhirks, Auch, coirce, corn. Of one of these places it was once said to me "a fine wee farm for growing oats." In Drumillan and Knockmullin, three miles apart, there is evidence that corn was grown in several places, that querns no longer sufficed for grinding, and that the windmills needed to be then on heights.

The two trades then followed had to do with leather and with iron. There is a glen Grusy, for the leather workers, and Knocktrodden for tanners. Of course, this parish, like others, had its smithy forge (challoch). The field opposite the challoch

is to-day called Smithyhill. Traffic would not be of large bulk, but there would be some as there is a Knockarod, hill-road, and Kildrochat, bridge at the wood. There were necessities or customs similar to ours, and some very different. Chieftains had their residence in Doons, such as Dunanrea, chief man's fort—five of these doons noted for their strength; one, Greenann, for its sunniness. For some reason or other they had special places for women in Barnamon, Cairnamon. There are several Hermons. Do they, too, mark heights or cairns for women?

From the Gael's love of nature we see the colour of the face of the country, the form, and what then grew on it. There was the Drum, back-like-ridge; Drumfad, long ridge, the higher Knock (25 of them); a Knockcore, round knock; Bar, the rocky promontory; Slieve, the sloping heath; Torr, the hillock. There is no beg, but several mores—Birmore, etc. The diminutive affix is not uncommon—Carrick from Craig, Lochan and Altain from Loch and Alt. There are four times as many craigs as cairns in Galloway; in Stoneykirk there are eight cairns and five craigs. The discriminating observation of those men is remarkable. The names for hollows—Alt a glen with precipitous banks, Glaik a hollow, Slunk a gully—taken along with the names for heights, show a keen and minute perception of form. No less noteworthy is their perception of colour. White (Finloch), Black (Durcarroch), Yellow (Drumbuie, Island Buie, Cullabuoy), Red (Culreoch, Knockanarroch, Drumcarrow), and even different shades—Barjearg, red hill, different from heath red. They had the eye, too, for the beautiful and the fading—Shambelly and Nashantie, the old house; Knochalean, the beautiful hill. This, too, is likely the meaning of Garthland—old form, Garochlayne—Garbh achadh loinnach, local pronunciation of Garflan, and so = ground rough yet beautiful. Two hundred and fifty years ago a laird of the place had a craze for things Italianate, and he called the opposite hill Belvedere—thus likely an Italian rendering of the Gaelic name. It may be noticed here that the local pronunciation is an aid to the derivation. So with reference to a neighbouring place, Garry, not something rough, but an inclosure, as the Gar is pronounced Gār not Gär.

With such an eye and such a mind it was to be expected the inhabitants would leave a record of Nature's products. Thorns (Drumdailly), sloes (Iron slunk), hazel (Caidows), birch (Barbae),

oak (Lagganderry) are found in more or less frequency. Shaw, copse, cravie, bosky, tomachie, bushy, whillie, wooded, whurran, grove, appended to knock or cor by these the men make the words almost as good as a photograph of the place. Nor did they concern themselves only with the more lofty. Heather, bramble, fern, and foxglove are noted in Heugh, Slewsmirroch, Slunkrainy, Inshehannoch. The anthills of Balshangan are not beneath notice. Any peculiarity in a spot or thing notable for position stamped itself on their mind, and was recorded in the name, as Drumantrae, the ridge by the shore; Drum a lig, the ridge with the (chieftain's burial) stone, still standing erect, a massive block; Carrich a lee, the name vanishing from memory as the stone from sight; Girgunnochy, rough uneven pool. It did not denote any great capacity of mind to name the many fields, Auchs, by their notabilities, nor to mark a crag as in the west, Craigmtyre, but there was considerable observation, combined with discrimination, in the men that named the places Meoul (unpronounceable unless by a native), bare, bald place, near to or in contrast with Knockalean, hill of beauty; Lurghie, a ridge sloping to the plain, different from a slew; Lurghie wie, windy hillside; and Tonderghie, backside to (the prevailing) wind. We may now pass to later times.

There is hardly a place name of Saxon origin as distinguished from modern times. There is a doubt about Balgreggan. The ton in Toskerton marks it as the Saxon town, in the sense people here speak of the ferm toon. Toskerton was before the thirteenth century; it is no longer a separate manor; the village was entirely obliterated about a hundred years ago; there are legends of pit and gallows; one field is called Toskerton knowes. There were Welsh proprietors here then—ap Morgan, etc., but not one name survives now alongside of Toskerton to tell where these more modern Cymri dwelt amid Saxon and Gael.

A glance in conclusion at modern place names will show similarity of mind at work amid different surroundings. Men are no longer dependent chiefly on skins for clothing, but Dyester's Brae and Lintmill show that later generations named places from occupations carried on there as did the earlier; the very latest, cheesemaking, is threatening to oust an old name, Mote, from a place and call it The Creamery.

There are now more place names called after persons..

There is one Kirkhill, but there is a Bell's Hill, Baillie's Hill, M'Kelvie's Hill, with Paddy's Knowe, Jenny's Cairn, Mary Wilson's Slunk. Hills are still named from the cattle they feed—Hoghill, Horseparkhill. Partan Point is as significant as Knochscaddan. Salt pans denotes the place where salt was once got by evaporation. So Sandmill, the (meal) mill on the Sands. Like Lintmill, these tell of what once was and is no longer through the change of times.

Caldons was once as informative a name as Thistle hill, Thornhouse, Cranberry Rock are now. Heather house is not far from Freugh. Gennoch is at one end of the sand dunes, Sandhead at the other, a similar thought in both terms, but the latter being a modern name. The designation of places by any natural feature is nearly as marked in these modern terms as in the ancient. Lochhill (3), Bogside, Moorpark, Mosscroft, Lake Cottage are some specimens. As there is a Smithyhill opposite Challoch, there is a Bridgebank opposite Kildrochat. Strange to say the Goodwife is near Cairnamon, and there is also Maiden-craigs. No red or yellow occurs, but there is a Greyhill. A district is called Black quarter, as there was a Ducarroch. A place is called Stinking Bight from the collection of Seaweed there, anciently Carrick a glassen. Another place is called for the same reason Ringdoo (Rhinndhu), black headland. I know no ancient parallel to the modern Murder Plantain, a wood so named as it commemorates the death scene of many.

We have thus information in the place names about the life lived here in the past, and evidence of a certain similarity of the mind's action on what surrounded the inhabitants in the various centuries, though there was much dissimilarity in the surroundings themselves.

ARBORICULTURE AS A HOBBY. By Mr W. H. WHELLENS,
Forester, Comlongon.

There are many small estates where sylviculture or forestry proper is out of the question, as it is well known that to produce the finest crops of timber the plantations must be on a large scale. But even on the smallest estate where there is any park land or waste ground unsuitable for farming, arboriculture may be attempted. Most country gentlemen's houses have a certain

amount of park land attached, and many have little woods or waste pieces of land which are too small to be turned into a plantation as understood by sylviculturists. These little woods or coppices are generally filled with specimens of our more common trees, such as the oak, ash, elm, Scots pine, spruce, etc. These trees are often badly grown, and are not objects of beauty as seen through the eyes of a forester, who likes to see long, straight and clean boles, or from an artist's point of view. They are grown too far apart for the former's wish, and not far enough to allow side branches to grow naturally and thus make an object of beauty as seen by the artist.

You will all have noticed how well formed the hedgerow trees generally are (or, I will say, would have been had it not been for the use of the saw). There the trees have plenty of room to develop their side branches, too often, I'm sorry to say, to the detriment of any farm crop growing beneath their shade and drip. Hence the use of the saw. Many gentlemen (and ladies also) who take an interest in the growth of trees and shrubs are often handicapped by the want of a suitable place in which to study the subject from nature. They can see all sorts and conditions of trees, say at Kew Gardens, the Botanical Gardens of the big cities, or some of the private collections, but they cannot always be at Kew or the other places. Instead of that they could utilise the little woods and park land to which I have referred to make miniature Kew Gardens at their own door. The workmen even will have a pot plant and one or two shrubs in his garden. Those in a little higher station in life will have several shrubs on their lawns, so why should not the landed proprietor, who has an acre or two to spare, go one better and have a small arboretum?

If the area to be reserved as such is small, it would be impossible to grow many specimens of the tallest or largest crowned trees, but there are plenty of smaller trees and shrubs that could be planted. Deciduous and evergreen trees could be mixed with flowering shrubs, to the same end as we mix our garden flowers, viz., to make as good a show of colour as possible all the year round.

On a larger area it would be possible to plant any sized tree. The spruces and silver firs could be introduced. The foliage of some of the latter is magnificent. Take for instance

Picea Nobilis or the Noble Silver Fir, with its violet tinted leaves with the silvery lines showing beneath. *P. Nordmanniana*, with pale green leaves, or *P. Pinsapo*, with its stiff prickly foliage. Others of the Silver Firs that are worth a place in the collection are *P. Cephalonica*, *P. Concolor*, *P. Balsamea* (the Balm of Gilead Fir), *P. Grandis*, and, of course, our Common Silver Fir, which after all is one of the noblest trees in this or any other country. Many of these have varieties or sports of their own, which are often obtainable.

The list of Spruces is too long to give in full, even if I were able to do so, but some of the finest are the common Norway Spruce, *Abies Nigra*, the Black American, *A. Alba*, White American, *A. Alcocquiana*, *A. Menziessii*, and *A. Smithiana*.

The two varieties of the Douglas Fir, the Oregon or green and the Colorado or Glaucous, are worth a place in any collection.

The Pines are so numerous that want of space and time prevents me giving the names of more than a few of the better-known ones. The Scots Pine, the Austrian and Corsican Pines, called the Black Pines, *Pinus Cembra*, *P. Pinaster*, *P. Strobilus*, and *Pinus Insignis*, the latter a beautiful tree.

The different varieties of the Larch must have a place. There are the European, Japanese, Siberian, American, and a newer variety, the Occidental Larch.

The Cedars, *C. Deodara*, *C. of Lebanon*, and *C. Atlantica*, with their varieties, cannot be overlooked.

Other coniferous trees that I may mention are the *Wellingtonia Gigantea*, *Araucaria Imbricata*, the *Arborvitae* and its varieties, the many varieties of *Cupressii*, *Cryptomeria*, Junipers, Yews, *Retinosporas*, the Maiden Hair Tree, and countless others.

Specimens of most of our commoner hardwoods are to be seen dotted here and there over the countryside, so that perhaps it would be unnecessary to put in the Arboretum such trees as the Oak, Elm, Ash, Beech, etc., but there are many varieties of these species to take the place of their better-known relatives. To mention a few of the Oaks—the Scarlet Oak, Turkey Oak, Evergreen or Holly Oak, White American, Red American, and the Cork Tree (*Quercus Suber*). These all do well in this

island, although I have not seen one of the latter in Scotland. The Acacia, the Tulip Tree, Service Tree, the Willow, Poplars, and Maples should all be represented. The Maples are numerous, but the Eagle-clawed, the Sugar Maple, and the variegated varieties *Acer Negunda* are worth mentioning. I will not make a longer list, as long lists get monotonous, but reference to a standard work such as "Loudon's Trees and Shrubs" or any nurseryman's catalogue will show what an endless variety of trees there is to pick from.

I have given the list of trees without reference to soil or situation, but in making the Arboretum, to find out the class of soil or soils is the first thing to do. When these are known, then the different species can be selected to suit each soil. What suits one tree may be death to another, or at least the tree will never come to perfection if planted in a soil unsuited to its requirements. For instance, a Scots Pine will grow on sandy soil and become a fine tree in time, but it would be useless to plant an Oak in sand and expect it to grow into a specimen tree. Again Willows and Poplars demand a moist soil, but others can grow on soil that seems to be almost devoid of this commodity. These trees generally have strong tap roots, which go deep into the subsoil and obtain their supply of moisture from thence. In the space of a few yards even, we often find two different soils. We expect to find a deeper and better class of soil in the hollows than on the hill sides. Most trees will do well in good deep soil, but only comparatively few will grow to any size on poor shallow soil. Some trees will not thrive where there is an excess of lime; others again will not come to perfection without it.

Climatic conditions play a great part in the selection of species for different places. Frosty hollows should be avoided when planting most of the exotic trees, even though the soil may be quite suitable for their development. The common spruce even often suffers from frost. Early autumn and late spring frost causes thousands of pounds' worth of damage every year. Therefore, in planting our miniature Kew Gardens, we must first of all find out the class of soil that we have to deal with. Secondly, find out the hollows where frost is likely to do damage, and avoid them. Thirdly, to see what natural shelter can be obtained for the protection of the less hardy species from the prevailing wind.

A wood or plantation, even if on an adjoining property, should be taken advantage of for the latter purpose. In the absence of any such shelter or of any sharply rising ground, it would be necessary to plant a shelter belt on the side from which the roughest winds come. This could be composed of beech, hornbeam, Austrian pine or Scots pine mixed. The trees forming the shelter belt should be planted about 4 feet apart in the lines, and the width of the belt from 16 to 20 feet. This belt should preferably be formed a few years previous to the planting of the trees in the collection, so that it will be of sufficient height to protect these more valuable species.

If the proprietor wished to rear his young trees from seed, the seed could be sown in the same year as the planting of the shelter belt. This, although very interesting, entails a lot of work and care in tending the young seedlings, and given a fair amount of success, he would have too many of each sort for his purpose, even with the smallest quantity of seed obtainable from the seedsmen. It would, I think, be more advisable to buy two or three good, healthy transplants of each variety, which have been lined out in the nursery at a distance suitable to the formation of well-formed specimen trees. I say two or three, because it is as well to have a second or third specimen handy in a temporary nursery in case of death.

The size of the plants at certain ages will vary with the species. Plants from 2 to 3 feet high for conifers, and rather larger for deciduous trees, will be perhaps the best sizes to plant out. Larger trees are more difficult to move, and they will be longer in starting away in their new position. The plants should have good fibrous roots.

To return to the subject of soils, I may class them thus:—Clays, loams, gravelly and sandy soils, chalky or calcareous, and peaty soils. To give a list of trees suited to each class of soil would take too much time, and it would be difficult to remember them all after having heard them. Suffice it to say, that there is a long list for every soil, quite long enough at least to form a fair-sized arboretum. "Webster's Forester's Diary" is a very useful book for helping one in this way.

Another great point is the arrangement of the species. Some trees are fast growing from the start. The Oregon variety of Douglas fir, for instance, or the Japanese larch. Others,

such as the silver fir, are slow growing in their early stages, but grow eventually to a great height. The trees should be divided into different classes, and planted in different groups. all the fast growing ones together, and all the slower growing ones. It would be a pity to surround a silver fir with trees such as the Douglas fir and larch, as it would never be seen, even at a short distance, for many years, and it would appear as though there were a blank. I would suggest that the tallest and fastest growing trees be placed in the background or in the centre of a group, with the others graduated down to the outside, with perhaps a border of flowering shrubs. Conifers and hardwoods could be judiciously mixed, so as to make a good show of colour all the year round.

As to the distance at which to place the trees apart, there can be no hard and fast rule. The smaller shrubs might be planted from 6 to 8 feet apart. A tree with a large spreading crown, such as the sycamore, would need from 24 to 36 feet of space, whereas a tree of the spruce tribe would be content with 18 to 20 feet.

In the early stages the spaces could be filled up with larch or birch, which would act as nurses to the more extensive trees, and could be cut out gradually as the latter spread their branches, or they could be filled with flowering shrubs, which would also be cut out when they had served their purpose.

As to the time of year to plant, this again depends on the variety of tree. Most of our hardier trees can be planted with safety in the autumn, but the planting of the more delicate exotics should be deferred till the danger from spring frosts is past. Most foresters now plant such trees in April or the beginning of May, so that they can have a better start in their new position.

The trees should all be planted in pits that have been opened some time before, to allow the soil to become broken up and sweetened by the action of frost. These pits should be large enough to admit of the roots being placed in a natural position all round the plant, not cramped and bent about to fit the hole. The soil at the bottom of the pits should be loosened up to a fair depth, and the tree planted not more than half an inch deeper than it stood in the nursery lines. This half-inch allows for a little subsidence of the soil. Trees planted too deeply never

thrive. A stout stake should be driven in to support each tree and to prevent the wind blowing it about, and thus letting air down to the roots to dry them.

In a closely grown plantation the trees provide their own food. As the sun cannot get in to dry the leaves and so make them easily blown away by the wind, they lie on the ground and rot, gradually forming a thick layer of humus, from which the trees draw their supply of nutriment. But when the trees are planted many yards apart (even when the spaces are filled with light foliaged trees as the birch) the sun and wind have free access, and the leaves are blown away, thus depriving the trees of their natural food. This should be replaced. The leaves can be raked together and mixed with road scrapings or any waste soil, or even the remains of a spent frame, and made into a compost. This should be left for at least two years before being applied, having been turned occasionally and sprinkled lightly with lime to hasten decomposition. Some of this mixture might be added to the soil when the young trees are first planted, and afterwards used as a top dressing. There is no need for a great quantity each year, but it should be dug in round the trees to the depth of 2 or 3 inches. This will help the trees considerably. Artificial manures, too, are often used. Basic slag, kainit, sulphate of ammonia are all good for the purpose, or if the soil be deficient in lime for the requirements of any particular tree, ground limestone could be applied.

If the park is grazed by sheep or cattle, a fence would be a necessity round each group. This could be either of iron and wire, which is the least noticeable, or a rustic fence could be erected. Wire-netting would have to be used if ground game were numerous.

Each specimen should have a plate with its name, and date when planted on, and records of the yearly height, growth, girth, etc., of each tree could be kept. This would be valuable as well as interesting to a succeeding generation. Of course, the planter of the arboretum would not see all of the trees come to maturity, but he would have the pleasure of watching them grow from young transplants to sturdy young trees, and there is as much beauty in a tree of, say, 30 years as there is in one of 150. It is a different kind of beauty often, but none the less pleasing.

There are many minor hobbies that could be taken up by

young and old in connection with the arboretum—a collection of cones, for instance, or leaves, or insects, which do damage to the different trees. The smaller the latter collection the better the owner should be pleased.

I should like to touch on another side of the subject. At present in most country places the lads leaving school look to the farms for employment, or to the village joiner, or perhaps, if they are more pushing, they go to the towns. Generally the boys have had a grounding in botany from books. They often think it a dry subject. Many of them cannot tell the difference between two of the trees that grow just outside the school. They are trees to them, nothing else. If such a place as I have been dreaming about were at hand, and the proprietor gave permission to the schoolmaster to take his botany class there to point out in nature what the boys had read of in books, it would make them take an intelligent interest in the subject. They would see trees from France, Spain, India, America, Japan, and many other countries. The botany lesson, in fact, could well be combined with a geography lesson in the arboretum. Perhaps, then, lads who otherwise might become farm labourers, or would drift away to the towns to swell the ranks of the casually employed, might see their way clear to entering a skilled and interesting profession, which would give more opportunity of advancement to those who would take the trouble to help themselves by studying the different branches, both from books and from nature itself. They would have had an insight into the methods employed to bring trees to perfection, and into the needs of each class of tree. If they went in for the profession they would most probably make good workmen, as they would know, for instance, why it is better for a tree to be planted with its roots in a natural position, instead of being cramped and doubled up. In time, with the help of their masters, they might get into the botanical gardens or one of the too few forestry schools of Great Britain, and gradually work up to the top of the tree, instead of crawling away at the bottom with no more interest in their work than is to be got from looking at their watches to see how near it is to "lousing" time.

31st March, 1911.

Chairman—Mr S. ARNOTT, V.P.

THE BALLAD OF KINMONT WILLIE. By Mr FRANK MILLER,
Annan.

Next to John Armstrong of Gilnockie, the most famous of the old freebooters of the Scottish Border is William Armstrong of Morton Tower or Kinmont, commonly called "Kinmont Willie," who flourished in the time of James VI. Captain Walter Scott of Satchells declares that Kinmont "from Giltknocky sprang;"¹ but there does not appear to be any evidence in favour of his statement, and, as regards lineage, he may have confounded Kinmont Will with Christie's Will, a thief who occupied Gilnockie Tower in the reign of Charles I., and was undoubtedly a descendant of the "murdered" chief.² Kinmont was the son of Alexander Armstrong—better known as "Ill Will's Sandy," for, as Sir Richard Maitland remarks, every Border reiver possessed "ane to-name," or a nick-name.³ His wife being a daughter of a Graham of Esk called Base Hutchen,⁴ he had allies in Cumberland—men as reckless as the Armstrongs themselves.

To the English officers Kinmont and his retinue of a hundred Armstrongs proved very troublesome. In September, 1583, the English Warden of the west marches reported to Walsingham that "Kinmonte, his sonnes and complices," rode nightly in Bewcastle and elsewhere, yet were not even "reproched" by the Scottish Warden for their conduct. Kinmont's forays spread desolation far and wide. On one occasion he made a raid into Tynedale and "took away forty score kye and oxen, three score horses and meares, 500 sheep, burned 60 houses, and spoiled

1. "A True History of Several Honourable Families of the Right Honourable Name of Scot," edit. 1894, p. 12.

2. For the pedigree of Christie's Will, see Scott's Supplement to "Johnie Armstrong."

3. See his poem, "Aganis the Thievis of Liddisdail."

4. Calendar of Border Papers, edited by Joseph Bain, Vol. II., Appendix II.

the same to the value of 2000£ sterling, and slew 10 men.”⁵ Let us remember that in the reign of Elizabeth, when these exploits were performed, there never was, formally, any war between England and Scotland!

Favoured by Buccleuch, the Keeper of Liddesdale, Armstrong was long able to defy his English foes. At length, in 1596, while returning with three or four in his company from a meeting with Thomas Salkeld of Corby, deputy of the English Warden, and Robert Scott of Haining, deputy of Buccleuch, held on a day of truce at Kershope, he was seized by “Fause Salkelde” and taken to Carlisle. Though he merited the doom which seemed to await him, his capture was a treacherous action, and was a violation of Border law. The Keeper of Liddesdale, therefore, wrote to Salkeld, and afterwards to Scrope, demanding the release of the prisoner. Receiving no satisfactory reply, he assembled two hundred men, including Willie’s four sons, and vowed that he would rescue his retainer, though he well knew that Carlisle Castle was a place of great strength, with a powerful garrison. Riding from Teviotdale, Buccleuch and his men rested and were equipped among the Grahams—the relatives of Kinmont’s wife—and afterwards, on a dark and stormy night, they proceeded to Carlisle to make their “proude attempte.” That attempt proved highly successful. Having forded the Eden, which was flooded, the Scots came to “The Sacray,”⁶ and halted on the right bank of the Caldew, where they all dismounted. Leaving part of his small force behind—doubtless to cover his line of retreat—Buccleuch advanced with the rest. To quote the account of the enforcing of the castle sent by Scrope to Burghley, the Scots “did come armed and appointed with gavloçkes and crowes of iron, hand peckes, axes, and skailinge lathers, unto an outewarde corner of the base courte of this castell, and to the posterne dore of the same, which they undermined speedily and quietly, and made themselves possessores of the base courte, brake into the chamber where Will of Kinmont was, carried him away, and in their discoverie lefte for deade two of the watchmen and hurte a servante of myne, one of Kinmonte’s kepers, and

5. Calendar of Border Papers, Vol. I., 314.

6. Now called “The Sauceris,” a name said to be derived from the willows which once grew there.

were issued againe oute of the posterne before they were descried by the watch of th' inerwarde, and er resistance coude be made."⁷ Before sunrise Willie and his brave rescuers were safe on Scottish ground.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BALLAD.

As Bishop Lesley testifies, the Scottish Borderers in the sixteenth century had a marked taste for music and for ballad poetry commemorative of exploits by soldiers or thieves of their race.⁸ In the early seventeenth century, and perhaps even in the later seventeenth century, they still possessed that taste. It may, therefore, almost be taken for granted that Buccleuch's successful attack on Carlisle Castle, a feat which recalled the achievements of Wallace and Bruce, gave rise to a ballad. Is the "Kinmont Willie" published in the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border"—though clearly not a traditional ballad as little altered as "Johnny Cock"—essentially ancient? Scott, in his introduction to the piece, says it "is preserved, by tradition, on the West Borders, but much mangled by reciters; so that some conjectural emendations have been absolutely necessary to render it intelligible. In particular, the Eden has been substituted for the Eske, the latter name being inconsistent with geography." That Scott really possessed fragments of an old ballad taken down from the mouth of some Eskdale or Liddesdale reciter, few readers of the "Minstrelsy" have ever doubted. Last year, however, Colonel Elliot, in an interesting book, entitled "Further Essays on Border Ballads," tried to prove that the whole ballad was made by Scott out of Satchells' rhyming history of the Scotts, published in 1688, as "Gude Wallace" was, by some unknown writer, made out of Blind Harry's "Wallace." The two old poetical accounts of the rescue of Willie have resemblances which cannot be purely fortuitous, a fact which Colonel Elliot was not the first writer to notice. But though we may agree with him that the two accounts are not independent, we need not yield assent to his hypothesis of the origin of the ballad. Surely it is more likely that the "old

7. Calendar of Border Papers, II., 121.

8. "De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum," edit. 1578, p. 60.

Souldier" used "Kinmont Willie" in an early form than that the author of the ballad was indebted for his materials to Satchells! In his "True History," which he says was "gathered out of ancient chronicles, histories, and traditions of our fathers," Satchells certainly made use of ballads as well as of formal histories; and the part of his work which deals with the assault on Carlisle Castle reads like a narrative largely due to suggestions from some popular lay. Mr Andrew Lang, whose book in reply to Colonel Elliot—"Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy"—should be in the hands of every lover of ballads, has no doubt that Satchells had a memory of some ballad about Kinmont.

Colonel Elliot's theory is open to the grave preliminary objection that we cannot accept it without accusing one of the most honourable men in literary history of gross deception. Scott's words were undoubtedly intended to convey the impression that "Kinmont Willie" was an old ballad rescued by him from oblivion. There is nothing in the words themselves to excite suspicion as to his good faith. A writer publishing as ancient a production of his own would not be likely to assert gratuitously that he had made "conjectural emendations" upon it; but one who had altered and improved an old ballad, stanzas of which might be known to a few of his readers, would be likely to offer some apology for the freedom with which he had handled his materials. Colonel Elliot thinks that Scott regarded the fabrication of ballads as but a venial sin. It is true that Sir Walter did not agree with Ritson that the "crime of literary imitation is as great as that of commercial forgery," and that he defended Bishop Percy's unscientific method of dealing with ancient pieces. But there is no evidence to show that he ever regarded the fabrication of an entire ballad, with intent to deceive the public, as an innocent ploy. He blamed Pinkerton for publishing, as genuine relics of antiquity, ballads written by himself, and he condemned such forgeries as "The Bedesman on Nidsyde" and "Jock of Milk and Jean of Bonshaw" as unsparingly as did Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

If Scott wrote, and did not merely improve, "Kinmont Willie," he had a marvellous gift for the imitation of old ballads. His contemporaries, William Motherwell and the Scottish Borderer, Kirkpatrick Sharpe, both keen critics, did not impugn

its genuineness; and such recent authorities as Professor Child, Mr William Macmath, and Mr Andrew Lang have accepted it as substantially old. If Scott had the gift claimed for him by Colonel Elliot, it is strange that his acknowledged compositions in the ballad form so unmistakably betray the touch of the modern writer. "The Eve of St. John," "Cadyow Castle," and the fragment about "Red Harlaw" in "The Antiquary" have great poetical merit, but no one who has studied ballad literature could mistake them for ancient popular lays. "Kinmont Willie," on the other hand, appears to be quite in the traditional vein. "It has," writes my friend Mr Macmath, "the undoubted ring of an old ballad, patched up and added to by a modern hand." That "Kinmont Willie" has additions by Scott I do not doubt. The question of vital importance, however, is not whether the ballad contains lines by the great modern minstrel, but whether it contains lines which could not have been written by him. Mr Andrew Lang says he would "stake a large sum" that Scott never wrote the fifteenth stanza of the ballad—

"He has call'd him forty Marchmen bauld,
I trow they were of his ain name,
Except Sir Gilbert Elliot, called
The Laird of Stobs, I mean the same."

I should be inclined to add that Scott was incapable of producing such lines as the following:—

"The first o' men that we met wi',
Whae sould it be but fause Salkelde?"

"Had there not been peace between our lands,
Upon the other side thu hadst gaed!"

Are not these in all probability some of the "rude strains" of an early "Kinmont Willie?"

In the account of the advance to Carlisle given in the ballad there is a curious historical mistake which cannot be due to Scott. We are told that "Fause Salkelde" was slain by Dickie of Dryhope, a real person—

"Why trespass ye on the English side?
Row-footed out-laws, stand!" quo' he—
The never a word had Dickie to say,
Sae he thrust the lance through his fause bodie."

These lines could hardly have been written before the death of Salkeld, which took place in 1624. The ballad, nevertheless, may have been in existence, in an early form, before that date, and the lines about the death of Willie's captor may have been inserted later. The possibility of their insertion by Scott is excluded by the fact that he knew that Salkeld was not killed.

There is topographical confusion, as well as historical inaccuracy in "Kinmont Willie." Staneshaw Bank (Stanwix Bank) is represented as on the Carlisle side of the Eden, whereas it is an eminence on the other side. There is no high bank on the south side of the Eden, except a very modern artificial one. Satchells knew that "Stonish Bank," which he also calls "Stenicks-bank,"⁹ was on the north side:—

"But yet his Honour he did no longer bide,
But paced throughout the Muir to the River Eden-side;
Near the Stonish-bank my Lord a time did stay,
And left the one half of his company,
For fear they had made noise or din,
Near the castle they should come.
The river was in no great rage,
They cross'd near half a mile below the bridge;
Then along the Sands with no noise at all
They come close under the Castle wall."¹⁰

Probably Scott knew, independently of Satchells, that Staneshaw Bank was not on the south side of the Eden, for he was well acquainted with Carlisle. Is it not more likely that he left a mistake by an old writer uncorrected than that he misunderstood Satchells and blundered himself? The mistake would not have been easily corrected, for it occurs in several verses:—

"Then on we held for Carlisle toun,
And at Staneshaw-bank the Eden we cross'd;
The water was great and meikle of spait,
But the nevir a horse nor man we lost.

And when we reached the Staneshaw-bank,
The wind was rising loud and hie;

9. "They met with the rest of their party at Stenicks-bank."

10. "A True History," p. 18.

And there the laird garr'd leave our steeds,
For fear that they should stamp and nie.

And when we left the Staneshaw-bank,
The wind began full loud to blaw;
But 'twas wind and weet, and fire and sleet,
When we came beneath the castle wa'.

We scarce had won the Staneshaw-bank,
When a' the Carlisle bells were rung,
And a thousand men in horse and foot,
Cam' wi' the keen lord Scroope along.

Bucleuch has turn'd to Eden Water,
Even where it flowed frae bank to brim,
And he has plunged in wi' a' his band,
And safely swam them thro' the stream."

But I must now conclude. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an independent version of "Kinmont Willie" may yet turn up and enable us to check Scott's ballad. In our own day an extra version of "Jamie Telfer in the Fair Dodhead," another ballad of the western Border which has recently been the subject of controversy, has been discovered by Mr Macmath and printed in Professor Child's monumental work, "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads."

LETTERS OF HORNING DIRECTED AGAINST THE ARMSTRONGS,
1582. Transcribed by Mr G. W. SHIRLEY.

The following transcript of Letters of Horning directed against Sandies Ringan Armstrong, brother german to Will of Kinmont, and other Armstrongs, dated at Edinburgh, 22nd November, 1582, found in a Sheriff Court book of the period, has a few points of interest apart from its being a literal transcript of a document not to be found in the National Records and the well-known names of some of the persons involved in the affair which caused its production. It reveals, as only similar documents do, the lawless condition of the Borders prior to James VI.'s act of 1605, establishing a body of forty well-equipped horsemen to hunt down outlaws, which finally reduced the Borders to comparative quietness.

Briefly, the story is of a rieving expedition by the Armstrongs with a following of broken men and outlaws, numbering altogether about 100 men, from southern Dumfriesshire, into the parish of Libberton, in Lanarkshire, where they "lifted" twelve score of sheep. They were pursued by the outraged owners, a body of seventeen men, horsed and with a "sleuth hound dog." After following the Armstrongs for two days, the latter, at "Glen-gagre scheill," were set upon, captured, and taken with their sheep, horses, and dog to the "myrs and placis of Kirtillhill, Auchinbeg, Barcleis, Carcane (?), and Auchingabill." Ransom was then demanded of them, and they, at the time of the Horning, appear to have been in durance strict and probably vile for about two months.

The Government makes a great show by denouncing the offenders and sending a messenger to Dumfries, distant from their strongholds over twenty miles, to proclaim them rebels with three blasts of a trumpet. In the course of the Horning, however, a statement is made which reveals how helpless were the forces of law and order. The charges, it appears, could not be delivered to the offenders because "our officers dare not repair to the parts wherein they [the offenders] dwell for fear of their lives."

So common were raids from the south into Libberton Parish that the people there built panned vaults as an asylum for their cattle. ("Statistical Account of Scotland.")

The document transcribed below was found among the Burgh Records of Dumfries.

Transcript of Letters of Horning directed against the Armstrongs.

Dated at Edinburgh, 22nd November, 1582.

JAMES be the grace of God King of Scottis To our Lowittis Thos Weir messenger, MESSENGERIS our shereffis In yt pairt conjunctlie and severalie, speciale constitute greitting: fforsamekille as it is humble menit and complenit to ws be our Louittis Jhone meinzes of [Cou]turras, Jhone blak his seruand, Rot bron In couter, andro creyhtoun ther, george weir In libertoun, hew aiczen ther, wm. fischir their, Jhone mosman ther, Alexr pain ther, Symond mosman ther, thomas somerwell ther, michell thomson, James mosman, James clerk ther, James clerk younger ther, Jhone somerwell ther, symond fischer ther, And our weil belouit

familiar clerk and counsalor Mr Daid m'gill of Nisbet, our aduocat for our Intres, VPONE Sandiis Ringan armstrang Brother german to Will of Kinmont, Sandis fergie armstrang In Kirtillheid, Sandiis Rob armstrang, Sandiis Jok armstrang callit Wallis, Jok armstrang callit Castells, geordie armstrang, francie and thom armstrang sonis to Will of Kinmont, Jhone armstrang of hollhous, christie armstrang of Barcleis his Brother, sym armstrang of Ralsonne new maid Ringand armstrang bastard sone to Will of Kinmont, James Armstrang of cannabie, Ringanis thom armstrang, young christie armstrang of auchingabill, chrestie cawert, Jok moffat of helbeks, James Armstrang of cabilgill, Rot. haliday and Ronnie armstrang In carrentoun qlks personis wt ther complicis wt conuocation of ane great number of common theiuis, Brokin men and out Lawis, Extending to the number of ane hundret personis or therby, all Bodin In feir of weir wt Jakis, speiris, steilbonnettis, hand bouis, Lang colweringis, Dagis or pestolets, prohibite to be Borne, worne, vsit or schot wt als weill be our actis of parliament as our actis of secreit consale rexlie [respectively] under diuerss painis conteint in the samyn; Laitlie vpone the — Day of october last bypast, haifing consaifit ane Deidlie rancor, feid and malice agains the said compleners, come be way of Brigantrie wnder sylence and cloud of nyt, to the toun and Lands of Libertoun Lyand wtin or shereffdome of Lanerk, and ther thifteouslie stall, concelit and away tuik furth of the samyn Lands tuelf scoir of scheip perteing to the sds compleineirs, had and conweyit the samyn away wt tham; Qlks being cum to the saids complenars knawedg thai for recours and Releif of the said scheip, conwenit thamselvis In quyet and sober manner, followit the saids common theifis be the space of twa dayis, qlk at Last vpone the — Day of the said moneth of october Last bypast, thai com to glengagre scheill qr the saids common theifis and ther complecis sot wpone and crewolie Inwadit thaim for their slauteris, put violent hands In ther personis, tuik tham captiuis and presoners, haud led and conweyit tham away to myrs and placis of kirtillhill, auchinbeg, Barcleis, carcane [?] and auchingabill rexlie, and thai deteint certane of tham strait firmance and captivitie and wald not permit tham to pas to libertie vnto the tyme thai payit Ransoume at the leist fand cation for ther entrie again or payment therof; lyk as thai as zit Detinis and keipis wytheris of the saids compleinars In captivitie and will not Releiw

tham, vsurpand therby out authoretie vpon thaim thai beand our frie liges And the saidis theifis haifing na pouer nor comission to tak thaim; and siklik thai at the tyme foirsaid be vay of stouthreif and manifest oppression reft stall away tuik foray sevintun horssees qlk thai war Rydand followand ther guds, price of the peale of ilk horss fiftie lbs; and tuik ane sleuth hound Dog qlk thai as zit withhalds and keipis, committand therby notor and manifest thift vsurpation in or autoritie In taikin of ovr fre Liges and deteining of tham In waired in high contempton of ws and or Lawis, and in ewill exempill to vythers our trew liges to comit the lyk greouis attemptatis gif the comitters heiroy Be suferit to Remaine wn punistzit as is allegit. OUR WILL IS theirfoir, And we charg zou straitlie and commandis that Incontinent, ye our letters sein, ze pas and in our name and auth[ority] tak seuer sourtie of the saids personis, comitt[er]s of the cryme abone writin In maner foirsaid, that thai sall compeir befoir our Justice or his Deputs and wnder ly our Lawis for the samyn in our tolbuith of Edgr the xx day of [Decem]ber nixt to cum In the hors of causis, wnder the painis conteint in our actis of parliament, and that ye charg thaim be oppin proclamation at the mercat corce of the heid Burt of our Schyr qr thai duell to cum and fand the said sourtie to zow w^{tin} sex dayis nixt efter thai be chargit be zow therto wnder the paine of Rebellion and putting of thaim to or horne, the qlk xv dayis Being Bypast and the said sourtie not being fundin to zow In manner foirsaid that ze incontinent thereafter Denounce the Dissobeyars or Rebels and put tham to or horne and escheit and Inbring all ther mouabill guds to or vse for ther contempton, we the qlk charge forsaid at the mercat corce we dispencè and remitts the samyn to be as Lauchfull as gif thai ver chargit personaly, or other vayis conforme to or actis of parliament, Becaus the said personis duells vpon or Borders qlks ar Broken be thaim vbi non est intus accessus, and or officars dar not Repair to the perts qrin thai duell for fear of ther lyf; and that ze summe ane assyse heirto, not exceidand the nomer of xlv personis, quhais namis ze sall ressaif In Roll subscrivit be the compleinars or ony of thaim conforme to or Lat act of parliament maid ther anent, according to Justice as ze will ansor to ws yrvpone, the qlk to do ve comit to zow conjunctlie and seueralie or full power Be thir or le[tte]rs Delyuering thaim to zow dewlie execut and Indorsit againe to the Beirar. Gewin

under or signet at Edgr the xxii day of nouember and of or
Kinge the sextene yeir, 1582.

Ex deliberatione Dominorum consilii.

BIRD LIFE IN THE SOUTH OF SCOTLAND. By Mr J. W. PAYNE,
Annan.

[Mr Payne submitted a paper on the birds he had met with
mainly within a ten-mile radius of Kirkcudbright. His list, while
not comprehensive, was enlivened by many personal observations
of an interesting nature.]

21st April, 1911.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID of Mouswald Place.

COMMUNION TOKENS, WITH DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THOSE
OF DUMFRIESSHIRE. By the Rev. H. A. WHITELAW,
Dumfries.

[This contribution will be found pp. 36-126.]

THE ISLE OF SAINTS. LANTERN LECTURE by W. A.
MACKINNELL, Dumfries.

Rich as are the Western Islands in relics of the Keltic
Church, there are few of these remains which we can definitely
place earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century; when the early
wooden structures gave place to more substantial buildings of
stone and mortar. Only in those places where circumstances
were unfavourable to the procuring of wood, and stones for
drystone walling were available in plenty, do we come upon the
few faint traces which are left to us of the early days of the
Church. To those conditions being present, and to its peculiarly
isolated position, we owe the preservation, on one lonely little
island of the west, of a few rude memorials which link us to the
days of Columba himself.

Eileach-na-Naombh, the "Isle of Saints," or according to
some authorities, the "Training Place of the Saints," is the most
southerly island of the group called "Isles of the Sea," lying off





INTERIOR OF CHAPEL, ISLE OF SAINTS.



BEEHIVE CELLS, ISLE OF SAINTS.



GRAVE OF EITHNE, MOTHER OF ST. COLUMBA, ISLE OF SAINTS.

the coast of Argyleshire, between the Slate Islands and the Island of Mull. Even to-day it is by no means easy of access; lying as it does amid fierce tide races, and within sound of the roar of Corryvrechan.

Several attempts to visit the island, made during various cruises in that district, failed owing to unfavourable weather, but at last one made in July, 1910, proved successful.

On that occasion, accompanied by another member of the Society, I was returning from a cruise to Oban in a small motor launch. We had anchored overnight in the little harbour of Easdale; and the weather conditions on the following morning proving favourable we decided to make an effort to reach the "Isle of Saints." A swift run down Scarba Sound on the ebb tide brought us to the Island of Lunga; and after threading our way through the intricate strait between Lunga and the Fullah Isles, we passed through a rock gateway into the open.

In twenty years' cruising in those waters, I have few recollections of such a perfect afternoon or one more favourable for our trip. The sun shone brilliantly in an almost cloudless sky, and the wide expanse of sea was unruffled by the lightest "catspaw." Under those conditions the passage was quickly made, and by four o'clock in the afternoon we were close in to the island. The appearance of the Isle of Saints as one approaches it is wild in the extreme. Everywhere the rock shores fall steeply into the sea, and off the coast lie lines of forbidding reefs and rock islets, some rising to a considerable height. In the bright summer sunshine it looked desolate and grim enough; but in stormy weather when the Atlantic breakers surround it with lines of foam, its aspect must be savage in the extreme.

The only landing place is a creek about the middle of the island on the east side. On rounding a line of reefs and islets we caught sight of the entrance to this, and headed the launch shoreward. Passing between two walls of rock we found ourselves in a sea passage, running a short way into the island, and splitting into two arms; both ending in pebble beaches. We chose the one to the left, and running the launch on the beach were soon ashore.

Eileach-na-Naombh is about a mile and a quarter in length by a quarter of a mile broad, and rises toward the south to a

height of 252 feet. It is now uninhabited, like all the Isles of the Sea, with the exception of Garvelloch, the largest one; and has probably been so ever since the breaking up of the monastery, the ruins of which we had come to see. To this, and to its lonely position is probably due the preservation of those relics of that remote period.

There is every probability that these relics date from St. Columba's time. The island is identified with the "Insula Hinba" of Adamnan, and on it St. Brendan is supposed to have founded a monastery in 545. Though this was destroyed some years later, it is possible that some of the ruins, or at least their sites, may belong to that earliest settlement. A claim has lately been made for a place in Arran as the site of St. Brendan's monastery, but the probabilities seem to favour the lonely Eileach-na-Naombh. In any case it appears certain that St. Columba either restored this monastery, or founded one, on the island about 565. On a grassy slope towards the south-east is the supposed grave of his mother, Eithne.

The chief points of interest are grouped in a slight hollow just above the landing place. A few yards above the beach is the "Saints' Well," a spring of good water, and a short distance beyond the ruins of a chapel. This is a small building only 21 feet 6 inches long internally. The walls are still entire, with the exception of the gables, which have fallen; and are about 7 feet in height. A narrow doorway in the west end, and a very small rectangular window in the east, are the only openings. The building is correctly oriented. Though no mortar has been used in their construction, the walls are beautifully and strongly built, with stones of fair size, carefully fitted, and the openings are very neatly formed. At some recent period a lean-to shelter has been formed at the east end, and the wood beam used to support the roof is still in position. To the side of the small east window is a projecting slate shelf, probably used as an altar.

Close to the chapel is a curious underground cell, to which access is gained by a hole about two feet square. Internally the cell is about 4 feet 6 inches in diameter and 5 feet high, and on one side is a small recess 2 feet by 1 foot 6 inches, and extending about 18 inches backwards in the thickness of the wall. The cell is neatly built of dry stones, with a beehive roof, the apex of which is about eighteen inches below the surface of the

ground. The ground falls sharply away from the cell on one side, giving access to the opening which is just below the roof. This is lintelled by a large stone, and appears to have been the original entrance. The floor has apparently been considerably filled up, and if excavated the depth of the cell would probably be found much greater than at present.

A little way south of the chapel the site of the old burying ground can still be traced, and at some distance to the N.E., in a very rocky portion of the island, are the remains of two beehive cells. These have been joined together, and one is now practically demolished. The other is in better preservation, being intact for rather more than a half of its circumference, and the apex of the roof still in position. Internally it is about 15 feet in diameter, and about 12 feet in height from the floor to apex. There is no trace of an entrance in the portion still standing, so this must have been in the part which has fallen. The diameter of the other, more ruined cell, is about 16 feet.

The grave of Eithne, on the hillside to the south-west, is now marked only by a few rough stones, on one of which a cross has been rudely cut. From it a marvellous panorama is visible of the long line of the Southern Hebrides, from the far-off Paps of Jura to the rugged mass of Scarba, and the lower outlines of the Isles of Lorne.

The advisability of reaching an anchorage in the inner seas before dark, compelled our stay on the island to be short. Reluctantly we turned the launch once more out of the creek into the open, and as we throbbed a steady course across the calm sea towards Scarba, the Isle of Saints grew faint in the evening haze astern.

It is time some effort was made to preserve what remains are still left to us on the island. Though they have weathered the ravages of storm and time for so many centuries, they have reached a stage at which decay is proceeding rapidly, and the bee-hive cells especially will soon be only a confused heap of stones.

Rude though these remains are, they are precious as practically our only links with the very dawn of Christianity in the Western Isles, and with those missionaries of old who chose to make their habitation on that lonely isle. In those rough dry stone walls they have left us the memorials of their life and of their faith.

NOTES ON THE HEPATICÆ AND MOSSES OF THE THREE SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND. By JAMES M'ANDREW, Edinburgh.

The Botanical Society of Edinburgh a few months ago published as Vol. XXV. of their Transactions an excellent and exhaustive work of 336 pages on "The Distribution of Hepaticæ in Scotland," by Mr Symers M. Macvicar of Invermoidart, Acharacle, Argyllshire. As this volume may not be accessible to all the members of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, I, with Mr Macvicar's kind consent, have copied out from that volume the following new and rare Hepaticæ occurring in the three south-western counties of Scotland. The following list, though not claiming any originality on my part, may prove interesting to some of your members, and at the same time bring my former lists of Hepaticæ in No. 7 (1887-90) and of October, 1901, as far as possible up to date. Abbreviations are as follow:—(1) Symers M. Macvicar; (2) Peter Ewing; (3) Miss Macvicar; (4) James M'Andrew. D=Dumfriesshire; K=Kirkcudbrightshire; W=Wigtownshire.

- Riccia sorocarpa*, Bisch. D (J. T. Johnstone). K (4).
Lunularia vulgaris (L.), Dum. D (J. T. Johnstone). K (4).
Aneura latifrons, Lindb. D K and W (4).
Metzgeria furcata (L.). Var., *ærguinosa* (Hook.). K and W (1).
Fossombronina Dumortieri (Hüb. and Genth.), Lindb. W (4).
Gymnomitrium obtusum (Lindb.), Pears. K (All. Murray).
Marsupella Jorgensenii, Schiffn. K (1).
 „ *aquatica* (Lindenb.), Schiffn. K (1). W (2). K (4).
Nardia obovata (Nees), Carr. W (2). K (4). &c.
Haplozia sphaerocarpa (Hook.), Dum. D (1).
 „ *riparia* (Tayl.), Dum. W (4). &c.
 „ *pumila* (With.), Dum. W (1). K (4).
Lophozia badensis (Gottsche), Schiffn. D (1).
 „ *Mülleri* (Nees), Dum. D (4). K (4).
 „ *ventricosa* (Dicks.), Dum. Var., *porphyroleuca* (Nees).
 D (1).
 „ *excisa* (Dicks.), Dum. (= *Jung. capitata*, Hook.). K
 (4). D (1).
 „ *Floerkii* (W. and M.), Schiffn. Var., *Naumanniana* (Nees).
 D (1).

- Sphenolobus exsectæformis* (Breidl.), Steph. K (4). W (2).
- Plagiochila asplenioides* (L.), Dum. Var., *minor*, Nees (= *Plag. Dillenii*, Tayl.) D (1). K (1). W (1). K (4).
Var., *humilis* (Nees). K (1). Var., *major* (Nees).
D (1). K (Cruickshank and 4). W (2).
- Lophocolea cuspidata*, Limpr. D (3). K (4). W (1). Var.,
gracilis, Carr. W (1).
,, *spicata*, Tayl. W (1).
- Chiloscyphus polyanthos* (L.), Carr. Var., *rivularis*, Nees. K (W.
P. Hamilton).
,, *pallescens* (Schrad.), Nees. D (1). W (1).
- Harpanthus scutatus* (W. and M.), Spruce. D (1).
,, *Flotozianus*, Nees. K (4).
- Cephalozia lunulæfolia*, Dum. D and K (1). K (4).
,, *leucantha*, Spr. D (3). K (4). W (2).
,, *pallida*, Spr. D (1). K (4).
,, *curvifolia* (Dicks.), Dum. D (1). K (4). W (1).
- Hygrobiella laxifolia* (Hook.), Spr. D (1). K (4). W (1).
- Cephalozia Starkii* (Nees), Schiffn. D (3). K (1). W (2).
- Cephaloziella trivialis*, Schiffn. (= *C., bifida*, auct. mult.). D (3).
W (2).
,, *myriantha* (Lindb.), Schiffn. (= *Ceph. Jackii*,
Limpr.). D (3). W (2).
- Kantia Sprengelii*, Pears. K (4). D (1). W (2).
- Lepidozia Pearsoni*, Spr. K (4). W (2).
,, *trichoclados*, C. Müll. Frib. K (4 and 1).
,, *setacea* (Web.), Mitt. Var., *sertularioides* (L.). D (C.
Scott). W (2 and 4).
- Anthelia julacea* (L.), Dum. K (4).
- Scapania subalpina* (Nees), Dum. D (1). K (4). W (2).
,, *gracilis* (Lindb.), Kaal. (= *S., resupinata*, Carr.). Var.,
laxifolia, Carr. K (1). Var., *minor*, Pears. K (4).
,, *intermedia* (Husnot), Pears. D (C. Scott).
,, *rosacea* (Corda), Dum. D (1). K (4).
,, *curta* (Mart.), Dum. D (1). K (4). W (1).
- Mad-theca Thuja* (Dicks.), Dum. W (4).
- Cololejeunea microscopica* (Tayl.), Schiffn. K (1).
- Lejeunea serpyllifolia*, Lib. = *L., cavifolia* (Ehrh.), Lindb.
Var., *planiuscula*, Lindb. D (1). K (4). Var.,
heterophylla, Carr. K (4). W (1).

- Microlejeunea ulicina* (Tayl.), Evans. K (4). W (1).
Harpalejeunea ovata (Hook.), Schiffn. K (1).
Marchesinia Mackaii (Hook.), Gray. W (1 and 4).
Frullania Tamarisci (L.), Dum. Var., *cornubica*, Carr. W (1).
 „ *microphylla* (Gottsche), Pears. near Larbrax, Wigtownshire, August, 1843 (Grev. Herb). Sub. nom., *Jung. fragilifolia*, Tayl., MSS. W (1).
 „ *fragilifolia*, Tayl. K (1). W (4).
 „ *germana*, Tayl., Seaside Bank, Galloway, 1843 (Grev. Herb). Sub. Nom, *Jung Tamarisci* (L.).
Anthocerus lævis (L.). W (2).
 „ *punctatus* (L.): W (4).

Erase the following from my former lists as being either mistakes or uncertainties:—

- Dilæna Lyellii* (Hook.), Gray. Requires re-gathering.
Lejeunea flava, Sw.
 „ *Mackaii* (Hook.), Gray. Erase R. Dee, Tongland.
Cephalozia Francisci (Hook.), Dum. Cruickshank's specimen in Herb. Dickie is not this species.
 „ *catenulata*, Hub. This is *Ceph. lunulæfolia*, Dum.
Lophozia ventricosa (Dicks.), Dum. Var., *porphyroleuca*, Nees. This from K is doubtful.
Scapania æquiloba, Schwœgr. Not correct.
Plagiochila tridenticulata, Tayl. Not this species.
Haplizia Schruderi (Mart.). This is *H. autumnalis*, D.C. (= *H. subapicalis*, Nees).
 „ *sphærocarpa* (Hook.). Incorrect for K.
Lophozia orcadensis (Hook.). Incorrect.
 „ *lycopodioides*, Wallr. This *L. quinqueidentata*, Web.
 „ *exsecta*, Schmid. This *L., exsectæformis*, Bruch.
Scapania uliginosa, Nees. Incorrect.

MOSSES.

Also from the Census Catalogue of British Mosses, 1907, the following additions and corrections are made up to date:—V.C. 72 = Dumfriesshire. V.C. 73 = Kirkcudbrightshire. V.C. 74 = Wigtownshire. (1) J. B. Duncan. (2) W. P. Hamilton. (3) George West.

- Sphagnum subsecundum*, Nees. Var., *turgidum*. C.M. 73.
 „ *acutifolium*, Ehrh. Var., *subnitens*, Dixon. 72. Var., *quinquefarium*, Lindb. 72-73.

- Dicranum scoparium*, Hedw. Var., *spadiceum*, Boul. 72.
 „ *asperulum*, Mitt. 72. Doubtful.
Fissidens exilis, Hedw. 72-73 (James Murray and 1).
 „ *viridulus*, Wahl. 72 (1).
 „ *pusillus*, Wils. 72.
Grimmia apocarpa, Hedw. Var., *gracilis*, W. and M. 72.
 „ *atrata*, Miel. 72 (1).
Tortula rigida, Schrad. 72 (Dr Davidson).
 „ *princeps*, De Not. 72.
Orthotrichum stramineum, Hornsch. Var., *patens*, Vent. 72.
Bryum capillare, L. Var., *macrocarpum*, Hübn. 73 (2).
 „ *inclinatum*, Bland. 73 (2).
Thuidium delicatulum, Mitt. (73?).
Brachythecium illecebrum, De Not. (72?).
Hypnum crista-castrensis, L. Reported from Shambellie Woods,
 Newabbey, years ago by the Rev. Dr. H. Macmillan,
 73.
Hylocomium umbratum, B. and S. (72?)
Dicranella secunda, Lindb. 72 (1).
Campylopus flexuosus, Brid. Var., *uliginosus*, Ren. 73.
Barbula rubella, Mitt. Var., *dentata*, Schpr. 73.
Racomitrium heterostichum, Brid. Var., *gracilescens*, B. and S.
 72-73.
Hedwigia ciliata, Dicks. Var., *leucophæa*, B. and S. 73 (3).
Eurhynchium prælongum, Hob. Var., *Stokesii*, Brid. 73 (2).
Hypnum exannulatum, Gumb. Var., *brachydictyon*, Ren. 73 (2).
 „ *vernicosum*, Lindb. 73 (3).
 „ *fluitans*, L. Var., *anglicum*, Sanio. 73 (2).
 „ „ Var., *falcatum*, Schpr. 73 (2).

Also the following Sphagna named according to Warnstorf:—

- Sphagnum imbricatum* (Hornsch.), Russ. Var., *cristatum*. W (73).
 „ *papillosum*, Lindb. Var., *normale*. W (72).
 „ *compactum*, D.C. Var., *imbricatum*. W (72).
 „ *squarrosum*, Pers. Var., *spectabile*, Russ. 72.
 „ *cuspidatum*, Ehrh. Var., *submersum*, Schpr. 72.
 „ *recurvum* (P. B.), W. Var., *mucronatum*, Russ. W (72).
 „ „ Var., *amblyphyllum*, Russ. W (72).

LIST OF ARMORIAL BEARINGS NOTED IN DUMFRIESSHIRE AND ADJACENT COUNTIES. By J. B. IRVING, The Isle, Holywood.

[This valuable contribution has been reserved for publication in subsequent volumes.]

REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS OF A CAMP AT MOUSWALD. By Mr R. C. REID of Mouswald Place.

In the autumn of 1909 the attention of the Society was drawn to a rectilinear camp close to the high road above Mouswald Village. The site is within a few yards of the march between Dormont and Mouswald Place estates. It is on Townhead Farm, which forms part of the former property. The field is numbered 286 in O.S. of 1858.

A cursory inspection of the camp was made by Mr Barbour and Professor Scott-Elliot, and it was decided that some excavations should be started at an early date in order to ascertain if possible the nature and period of the camp. Owing to his close proximity to the site, Mr Reid was asked to take charge of the excavations.

Accordingly, on June 10th, 1910, operations were commenced. The camp at first sight appeared to be rectilinear, but on being measured it was found that the side, in which was the only gateway, was elliptical, curving outwards. The length of this side, facing W., was 252 feet, and the length of the corresponding side, facing E., was 183 feet. The remaining two sides both measured 149 feet. The field is of poor quality, the soil being only a few inches deep, beneath which was a very hard clay till full of small stones.

The camp is clearly marked on the O.S. of 1851, as having a ditch with a double rampart on each side of it. Only one gateway is shown. Since then the field has constantly been ploughed, almost obliterating all traces.

In starting operations two trenches were dug, one through the middle of the east ditch and rampart. It was found that from the outside of one rampart to the inside of the other measured 31 feet. The ditch was V shaped, measuring 15 feet across at the present level, and going down as deep as 5 feet

6 inches. At the bottom of the ditch was found a quantity of flat whin stones, lying face and face, in what looked like puddled clay. Considerable difficulty, however, was experienced in ascertaining how these stones lay, owing to the fact that the workers struck a spring of water, which flowed in quicker than it could be baled out. The party had not come prepared with a hand pump. A few bits of wood were dug out of the trench, but they only had the appearance of birch or elder roots; they had probably been thrown there to fill up the ditch when the land was first ploughed. No signs of a gateway were found on this side. In the hopes that remains of some sort might be found nearer the centre of the camp, this trench was continued as far as the middle of it. There were no signs whatever that the camp had ever been inhabited. Only one stone was unearthed that looked as if it had been cut with an implement, and after examination by Mr Barbour this idea was negatived.

The other trench was dug up through the centre of the gate, commencing outside the outer rampart:—it brought to light nothing except an old dry-stone drain, which came down through the centre of the gateway and then turned sharply to the left into the ditch. The ditch originally terminated on either side of the gate, so that there was an open level causeway from the gate, broadening out till it had passed the outer rampart. The gateway was 20 feet broad, and the causeway in the middle of the ditch measured 38 feet in breadth.

There were no signs of any traverse. A hole was also dug in a likely-looking spot within the camp, in the hope that a well might be found. It produced nothing but impenetrable till. The ground is to-day naturally moist, and with the spring found in the ditch any occupants of the camp could never have lacked water. In the O.S. of 1858 the camp was marked as "Supposed Roman." In the most recent survey it does not figure at all. So it is as well that some note of it should be put on record. It has no characteristics which can definitely be stated to be Roman. Its irregular, rectilineal shape, its single gateway, its lack of ashlar work on the ramparts, all point to its being of a different period. On the other hand, perhaps, its rounded corners, its sides of equal length, its V shaped ditch, might point to Roman influence.

Perhaps the flat stones which were found lying in puddled clay at the bottom of the ditch might strengthen the Roman hypothesis, as they may have been used to line slate-wise the sides of the ditch. But in this absence of any definite feature, a Roman origin for it cannot be accepted, and if a conjecture may be made, this camp might belong to that vague period when the Romans had withdrawn from the country, but before their influence had become entirely extinct.

FIELD MEETINGS.

17th June, 1911.

CARDONESS.

(From the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* and the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, June 21, 1911.)

The limited number of members who took part in this outing was doubtless due to the unpromising nature of the morning. The party met at Dumfries railway station, whence they left by the 8.30 train for Dromore. At Dromore a char-a-banc was in waiting, and the journey to Gatehouse was begun. The rain happily ceased. For the first mile or two the eye is arrested by the barren grandeur of the hills and moors. Here the naked rock is seen, sometimes in rugged escarpments where in 1902 returned to nest the golden eagle. It was notable that the heather has almost disappeared, giving place to grass, save for patches of bracken, and of course the abundant growth of the bog myrtle, the aroma of which was dispensed with a grateful prodigality. A halt was made to inspect Rusko Castle, which occupies a site overlooking the valley of the Fleet. The major portion of the members wended their way to the castle, an object of much interest. Architecturally the castle is in the main a replica of Cardoness Castle, though of subsequent date. The building is in a good state of preservation, the floors of the upper apartments remaining, although in some parts they have to be trod with some concern for the safety of the visitors. The original features of the Castle are still distinctly recognisable, though it has not been occupied for some years. The upper apartments, once the scene of activities and incidents which the least imaginative can easily conjure up, are now tenanted by flocks of pigeons and wild birds. The rooms of the ground floors were filled by nothing more appealing to the fancy of the anti-

quary than collections of wooden troughs, out of which earlier in the season the sheep had nibbled their sustenance.

The Castle of Rusko, we are told, was built by the family of Acorsane or Corsane. It afterwards passed to the Gordons of Lochinvar, Sir Robert Gordon marrying Marion, daughter of Sir Robert Corsane. The Gordon arms are carved over the doorway. The Gordons sold Rusko to the M'Guffoks, an old Wigtonshire family, from whom it was transferred in 1736 to one of the Hannays of Kirkdale, in whose family it remained until about twenty-five years ago, when it became the property of the late Mr Murray Stewart.

CARDONESS CASTLE.

The party then drove to Gatehouse, and here they were joined by the Rev. F. W. Saunders, minister of Anwoth, and Mr Salmon, headmaster of Fleetside Public School. A brief interval allowed the visitors to have a saunter through the little town. Luncheon was served in the Angel Hotel, and then the party walked forward to Cardoness Castle, where they were met by Mr T. H. M'Gaw, builder, Gatehouse, who, at the request of Sir William and Lady Maxwell, took the party in charge, and showed them the interior of the castle. Mr G. W. Shirley read a short account of the history of the building. The castle, it was set forth, is an oblong, rectangular tower or keep of five storeys. It is roofless, and occupies the whole apex of a cone-shaped rocky knoll, now covered with high trees. The castle rises to a height of about 50 feet. The walls have a thickness of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and with the exception of the chimney stalks, seem to be intact. A circular doorway enters directly on a cross passage four feet wide, and fronting it are two other doorways, the entrances to vaulted chambers in the basement. These chambers are about 16 feet high, owing to the removal of the intermediate or entre sol floor. Branching off the staircase is a gallery or narrowed passage leading to a recess immediately above the main doorway. In the stone floor of this gallery, immediately above the passage, is an aperture which was useful for scrutinising unseen any suspicious visitor. "If he was coming on an unfriendly errand it gave facility for molesting and expelling him with fire-arms, stones, boiling lead, or some such missile." Leading from the staircase already referred to

was to be seen what was formerly the castle dungeon. "The vaulted roof of the basement chambers was levelled up to form the floor of the lofty banqueting hall, 27 feet long by 16 feet broad, and which occupies the entire area of the interior. There is a large fireplace in the north wall, measuring 9 feet by 6, which has been richly sculptured, but the great lintel has been removed. Among other recesses in the walls are two aumries, with Gothic mouldings, revealing the hand of the ecclesiastical builder. The wooden floors of the upper apartments, in common with every scrap of woodwork, have now disappeared. The apartment immediately above the hall had been sub-divided into two by a partition wall, which now hangs in mid-air across the whole width of the building, without any visible support other than that afforded by a slight arched curve and the wonderful strength and tenacity of its ancient mortar." In one of the upper rooms is also an ornately carved fireplace with the lintel stone intact. Opening off the winding stair on a level with the second floor is a small chamber, 7 feet by 4, in the floor of which is an aperture about a foot and a half square. This is the entrance to a dark and dismal dungeon of the same cramped dimensions as the chamber over it. There would be no room on the knoll on which the castle stands for other buildings; but there had been others clustered near the main strength for occupation by retainers. The date of the building of the castle has been fixed at about 1450. "The present condition of preservation of the walls, exposed for 200 years to summer rain, winter frost, and storms from the sea, are a convincing proof of the care of the mason work. . . . The walls stand beautifully square to each other. . . . The ancient roadway by which the castle was approached can be traced from the valley or glade on the north-west side. It is believed that the arm of the sea or estuary of the Fleet surrounded the base of the rocky knoll up to the line of the present public road." In this connection it may be recalled that Gatehouse was formerly an important centre for shipbuilding, one of the residents of the town being able to recall the launch of a ship of 300 tons burthen about the year 1843. Referring again to the castle, some supplementary particulars were supplied by Mr G. McLeod Stewart, Dumfries, a member of the Cairnmore family (who was one of the party). He gave the following account of the castle, which was taken

from the Cottonian collection of MSS. in the British Museum, and which, it is said, was written by one of the officers of the opposite March of England who had come to "spy out the land" about 1560:—"Cardines Toure standeth upon an hight bancke and rocke, harde uponn the watter Flete: there can be noo ordinance nor gounes endomage yt of the sea, nor there can noo artyllarye be taken to it upoun the lande, ones having the house, for straitness of ground, and yf ye lande at Newton vp upoun flete watter, then ye must pass one myle strait ground up rockes, where noo ordinance can be caryed but upoun mens backes. Yt is nyne foote thick of the wall, withoute a bermeking, and withoute battaling. At the ground eb men may ryde under the place upoun the sandes one myle: And at the full sea, boats of eight tounes may come under the wall. It may be taken witht two hundreitht men, at the suddane. And being in Englyss possession, may be kepte witht one hundreit men in garrisone: It will annoyne the inhabitantes betux the watter of Cree aforesaid, and Kyrkcowbright; and be assistant to the same. Distant by see from Workington in Englande twenty-two myles."

Like all ancient castles, tradition has invested Cardoness with much that is interesting, if not strictly apocryphal. There is one story to the effect that the castle was built by a father and two sons, who bore the name of Kardoness, and who spent the whole of their substance in erecting the stonework of the walls. They had not, however, sufficient means to defray the cost of roofing, and the sons carried the heather for its covering from Glennicken Moors. M'Cullochs, Gordons, Murrays, and Maxwells have all been owners of Cardoness. The M'Cullochs, it is said, are doubtless of the original Celtic people who occupied Scotland before the invasion of the Saxon, Roman, Dane, or Norman. One tradition traces the M'Cullochs to Ulgric, who was killed at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. The most noted of the M'Cullochs was the turbulent Cutlar, regarding whom this proverb was long current in the Isle of Man:—

"God keep the good corn, the sheep, and the bullock,
From Satan and sin and Cutlar M'Culloch."

A saying familiar to a past generation of Gatehouse people may have reference to the same individual—"Weel, that coves Cutlings, and Cutlings cowed the De'il." Sir Godfrey M'Culloch

was the last to occupy the castle, which has been deserted since 1697. The Cardoness estate passed from William Gordon to his niece Elizabeth, daughter of his elder brother John. She married the Hon. William Stewart, younger son of James, second Earl of Galloway. Her son succeeded to Castle Stewart, in Penninghame parish, and her daughter Nicolas inherited Cardoness. Nicolas married Colonel William Maxwell, of the family of Calderwood. He erected the mansion-house at Bardarroch, changing its name to Cardoness. In 1766 the old castle was sold by David Maxwell to James Murray of Broughton and Cally. It remained in the possession of that family until 1904, when on the death of Mr Murray Stewart the estates passed to his cousin, Colonel Murray Bailie of Cally, from whom it was purchased in the same year by Sir William Maxwell, the present baronet.

CARDONESS HOUSE.

Later in the day the party drove to Cardoness House, and were welcomed by Sir William and Lady Maxwell and Mr Horatio Macrae, W.S., Lady Maxwell's brother. The flag was flying from the mansion-house in honour of the birth that day of a son and heir to Mr and Mrs Rainsford Hannay. Mrs Rainsford Hannay is a daughter of Sir William and Lady Maxwell. The present mansion-house was rebuilt by Sir William so recently as 1889, and is a handsome building of modern design. The party were shown over the grounds by Sir William and Lady Maxwell, who, along with Mr Macrae, pointed out and described the more outstanding objects of interest. The grounds, which are large and extensive, are well laid out. The late Sir William had a passion for shrubs and ornamental trees, and the wide circle of rhododendrons which enclose a bit of delightful sward are evidence of the enthusiasm with which the late baronet applied himself to the cultivation of his hobby. Unfortunately the visitors were unable to see the rhododendron at its best, as already the bushes had cast their summer glory. Sir William pointed out several fine specimens of pines and cedars, one of the former (the *pinus insignis*) being regarded as the finest of its kind to be found in the country. A Turkish Oak also attracted attention. It has an enormous spread of branches, extending to a total length of twenty-six paces. A lofty Auri-

caria was also pointed out. It is seventy-six years old, and one of the first to be brought to this country. Where the lower branches had begun to decay they were lopped off, and that part of the tree has sent out a vigorous new growth. Two upright stones in another part of the grounds claimed some attention. These bore certain markings, the indentations including the cross and other faint symbols of sculpture which seemed to favour the theory that they had at one time served as tombstones. Mr Alex. Bryson, Dumfries (who was one of the party, and who knows the district well), stated that the stones had been carted from High Auchinlarie Farm at the instance of the late Sir William Maxwell, some fifty or sixty years ago. Close by were seen other two stones, one almost square and the other pear shaped, which bear very perfect examples of the mysterious cup and ring-markings, regarding which the archæologists and antiquaries in different parts of the country have made repeated attempts to account for.

Entering the mansion-house, the walls of the hall were found to be hung with several interesting portraits. Chief among these were portraits of Colonel William Maxwell and his wife, Nicolas Stewart, who have already been referred to. Colonel Stewart had a varied and romantic career. He took part in the stirring events of "the killing time," was a friend of the Earl of Argyle, and was with that nobleman at his execution. Colonel Maxwell went to Holland, where he became a favourite officer of the Prince of Orange. He returned to England with the Prince, and was given command of a regiment. He went to Ireland, and took part in the Battle of the Boyne and other engagements. The Prince, afterwards King William III., showed his appreciation of the Colonel's devotion to his cause by presenting him with a gold ring, which was shown to the party. The ring, which rather resembles a small brooch, and was originally worn with a ribbon circlet for the finger, has a design of the Crown and crossed swords and monogram worked in gold thread together with some of the Prince's hair. On the back the date of the giver's death is engraven, "Obit. 2 Mar. 1702; Aet. 51." The case in which this interesting relic reposes also contains the wedding ring given by Colonel William Maxwell to his bride, Nicolas

Stewart. This ring is inscribed with the words, "Let love abide till death divide."

Portraits of King William and Queen Mary by Sir Godfrey Kneller are hung in the hall, these having been presented by King William to Colonel Maxwell. At the time of the Jacobite rising in 1715 Colonel Maxwell organised the training of military levies in the Stewartry, and he was appointed Governor of Glasgow and also of Edinburgh Castle. His services were so highly appreciated that the municipalities of both cities made him a presentation of silver plate. This also is among the family treasures. The Edinburgh gift was a punch bowl and ladle. From Glasgow he received a silver tray, a wine flagon, and three castors. The articles bear the arms of the respective cities, as well as the recipient's monogram. In the churchyard of Anwoth are small stones commemorating Archibald Faulds and Thomas Irving, servants of Colonel Maxwell, who had accompanied him, as the inscription bears, "in Flanders and Germany during the wars of the glorious King William."

The visitors were entertained to tea, and a short meeting of the Society was afterwards held, at which Mr R. Dinwiddie presided. Mr C. M'Leod Stewart proposed Sir William and Lady Maxwell as members of the Society; and Mr Shirley proposed Major William Jardine, Craighdu, Cape Town, and Mr William Wauchope Jardine, postmaster, Klipdam, Kimberley. Thereafter a short paper by Mr M'Gaw on the antiquities of Anwoth was read. Mr W. Dickie tendered the cordial thanks of the company to Sir William and Lady Maxwell for their great kindness, and remarked that the visit to Cardoness had been the crowning delight of an interesting and pleasant day. Mr Bryson, in seconding the vote of thanks, mentioned that there had been born that morning an heir to Kirkdale and a grandson to Sir William and Lady Maxwell; and as the visitors subsequently drove off they gave a cheer for the little stranger.

The exigencies of time permitted only the briefest visit to the old church of Anwoth.

10th July, 1911.

LINCLUDEN MAINS.

On the invitation of Miss Dudgeon the members visited Lincluden Mains to inspect the experiments being made in plant culture by electricity. Miss Dudgeon explained her methods and showed the results of the treatment on potatoes and turnips. A detailed report will be included in the next volume of the Transactions.

Provost Lennox moved a vote of thanks to Miss Dudgeon, and Mr S. Arnott seconded. The Secretary proposed Mr Edward Cornet as a member, and this was seconded by Mr John Barker.

23rd September, 1911.

CASTLEMILK.

(From the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 27th September, 1911.)

About twenty members visited Castlemilk on the invitation of Sir Robert and Lady Buchanan Jardine, and had an opportunity of seeing the fine collection of pictures in the castle and the beautiful and extensive gardens. In the gallery are examples of the work of Tennyers, Morland, Sidney Cooper, Troyon, Herring, Sam. Bough, and other celebrated painters; and two well-known Jacobite pictures of T. Duncan (Prince Charlie entering Edinburgh and Flora Macdonald watching over his sleep in a Highland hut). The family portraits include full lengths of Sir Robert and Lady Jardine and their son and daughter, by Ellis Roberts; and the presentation portrait of the late Sir Robert subscribed for by the Liberal electors of Dumfriesshire. The extensive conservatories contain many fruits and flowers of exceptional interest, one striking object being a banana tree weighted with heavy bunches of fruit. The bed of the Water of Milk, in which sandstone, whinstone, and breccia are exposed, attracted the attention of the geologists; and opposite the gardens the remnants were pointed out of the piers of a bridge which carried the old Carlisle

and Glasgow road. The visitors—most of whom had driven from Dumfries in a drenching rain—were hospitably entertained. Before leaving, Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, solicitor, requested Mr Campbell, under-factor, to convey their thanks to Sir Robert and Lady Jardine, who are still at their Inverness-shire seat, and also tendered thanks for the kindness experienced at the hands of the staff. Mr Roger S. Gordon, Corsemalze, Wigtownshire, was elected a member of the Society on the motion of the Secretary.

PRESENTATIONS.

13th January, 1911.—Mr W. H. Patterson, General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India Department, 1893-4—1907-8. 15 vols.

Mr J. M. Corrie, Newtown St. Boswells—Pot Quern from Dr Paton's Cottage at Torthorwald. Lithograph of St. Michael's Churchyard by John M'Kinnel, Dumfries, circa 1840. Goiffering Iron and small collection of Coins.

Mr John Jardine, Town Mason, Dumfries—Hammer Stone found on the Sands, Dumfries, when relaying causey. Two ancient Horse Shoes found on the Edinburgh Road, Dumfries, at a depth of 16 feet, when laying drain Dozen Pikes made to arm the inhabitants of Dumfries at the time of the Napoleonic Invasion Scare. Tongue of the Bell in the Midsteeple. Iron portions of the Gibbet from the Prison in Buccleuch Street, Dumfries. Four Cannon Balls which came from Russia with the cannon now at the Observatory Museum, and which previously stood at the head of the High Street, where Burns' Statue now is.

20th January, 1911.—Mr M. H. M'Kerrow—Communion Token, Kilbirnie Parish, 1826.

3rd March, 1911.—Mr J. M. Corrie, Newtown St. Boswells—Specimens of Roman Pottery from Newstead Roman Station.

Mr M. H. M'Kerrow—Valuation Roll, Ancient and Modern, for the County of Dumfries. Dumfries: W. Carson, 1827.

Canoe found at the Kirk Loch, Lochmaben, in December, 1910, 12 feet from edge of loch (now, a new bank having been made, 23 feet) and 3 feet under the surface, when excavating the new Curling Rink. Canoe measures

8 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 2 feet in breadth, and is rounded on the bottom both inside and outside. Appears to be of oak. Obtained through the interest of Provost Halliday, Lochmaben.

- 31st March, 1911.—Portion of Canoe and two Photographs of Canoe (by Mr J. P. Milligan) found at Kirk Loch, Lochmaben, 10th March, 1911. Measured in situ being about 12 yards from where former Canoe was found, but distant from the old bank about 14 yards and under the surface 5 feet, it was 12 feet 10 inches in length and 2 feet 2 inches broad. The height of side was estimated to be 24 inches, but when seen had been broken down to 8 inches. The narrow end of the canoe was towards the water, and it lay in soft ground with hard ground about it on three sides, that towards the water being soft, as if there had been a natural inlet there. The canoe was of black oak, and flat-bottomed outside and inside. A small round hole at the broad end went right through the bottom, and had evidently been made intentionally. The canoe fell to pieces when lifted.

EXHIBITS.

- 21st October, 1910.—Mr James M'Cargo, Kirkpatrick-Durham.—Bronze Pin ($3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, 1 inch in diameter across head) found in a peat moss near the head of Loch Doon, in Carsphairn parish, at an original depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Whetstone or polisher of polished quartz ($2\frac{5}{10}$ inches by $\frac{5}{8}$ inch) with rounded ends found at the farm adjoining Walton Park, Kirkpatrick-Durham.

Triangular-shaped Stone Hammer (3 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at base) having indentations on both sides. The cavities, which measure $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the surface and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in depth, appear to have been picked out. Found at Crofts, Kirkpatrick-Durham.

Two Stone Whorls (a) of Claystone, plain, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter $\frac{3}{16}$ inch thick; (b) of Claystone, ornamented on both sides and outer circumference with small cup-shaped hollows and with incised line round spindle-hole on one side and also on outer circumference, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch to 1 inch in diameter, about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in thickness. Both found in Kirkpatrick-Durham Churchyard.

Stem and Barbed Flint Arrow-head, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch across barbs. Found at Challoch, parish of Penninghame.

Flint Flake or Scraper, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in breadth, convex in section, with semi-circular scraping edge. Found on Kilquhanity Farm, Kirkpatrick-Durham.

Mr J. M. Corrie, Dumfries.—Flint Flakes showing traces of secondary working. Found near Moniaive, 1910.

Flint Flakes and Chippings found at Todstone, Dalry, Galloway, May, 1910, two of which may have been used as scrapers.

Stirrup of wrought iron, found at Todstone, Dalry, Galloway, 1910.

B-shaped Strike-a-light. Found on the "wa-head" of an old house in Tynron parish.

Whorls (a) of whinstone, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch diameter, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick, found at Peelson, Glencairn, 1892; (b) imperfect, of claystone, originally bead-shaped, 1 inch diameter by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, incised line round outer circumference. Found near Collin (c) of sandstone, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, ornamented on one side with incised lines. Found at Drumbreg, Collin, 1908.

Stone Hammer, imperfect, of whinstone, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 7 inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Found in Holywood. When perfect would measure 11 by 7 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Smoothing Stone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Found at Roucan, Forthorwald, 1910.

Rapier, imperfect, with point re-made. Tang, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; blade, $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches. When perfect, the blade would measure from 27 to 30 inches. Found at Caerlaverock Castle, 1908.

18th November, 1910.—Dr J. W. Martin.—A Spotted Crake, found 25/8/1910 on the Glasgow Road near Holywood. Killed, apparently, by flying against telegraph wires.

James M'Cargo, Kirkpatrick Durham.—A "Wassock," beautifully carved and with lettering "G. C. 1770," supposed to be of "considering" wood. Used for inserting the end of the right-hand knitting needle, in a method of holding the needles which is falling into disuse. Sometimes made of a wisp of straw or feathers. A favourite lover's gift. This one measures 8 inches long, 9-10 inch at broadest part, and has a slot by which it was hooked on to the apron string. Got in Kirkpatrick-Durham parish.

Whorl of Sandstone ($1\frac{5}{8}$ inch diameter by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad), ornamented with dots and radial lines. Found at Nether-town of Croys, Kirkpatrick-Durham.

Stone Ball, found on Barncalzie, Kirkpatrick-Durham. Of Sandstone, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch high.

Iron Ball, found in Lochrutton parish, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch high.

Axe of lead, found on Crofts, Kirkpatrick-Durham, among soil excavated by a deep drainer, 2 inches long; head, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep.

Stone Axe, said to be found near Kirkcowan, Wigtownshire, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{4}{5}$ inch broad at cutting end.

Snuff Mull, $1\frac{3}{10}$ inch by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch broad, supposedly old in design.

Brass Ball with 36 numbered facets, got in Kirkpatrick-Durham Village. Mr James Davidson said he believed it was used in crystallography for purposes of definition.

2nd December, 1910.—The Secretary.—Two Whorls, (a) circular, flat, being ornamented with encircling lines; (b) shaped like a half cone, both of claystone and found on Dargavel Farm.

20th January, 1911.—Mr M. H. M'Kerrow.—Rapier found at Castledykes, length of blade, 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; remains of tang, 4 inches; blade grooved. Coin, unidentified, supposedly Dutch. Found in Ruthwell parish.

31st March, 1911.—The Secretary.—Letters of Horning against the Armstrongs, 1582, from Sheriff Court Book of the period in Burgh Charter Room.

21st April, 1911.—The Secretary.—Bronze Matrix of the Seal of the Burgh of Dumfries, with an impression, unattached, but obviously belonging to a deed dated 20th June, 1579.

Mr Peter Stobie.—Watches (a) in tortoise-shell case, dated 1775, made by Dalzell & Hunter, Dumfries; (b) bearing on the face the Royal arms and of the period of George II.

Mr John Primrose.—Bronze Brooch of simple ring and pin design, found when excavating near the Greyfriars' Convent of Dumfries.

Rev. H. A. Whitelaw.—Tokens in illustration of his lecture

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS

For Year ending 30th September, 1911.

CHARGE.

By Balance on hand	...	...	...	...	...	£13 19 5
„ 217 Subscriptions at 5s	...	...	...	£54	5 0	
„ 19 „ at 2s 6d	...	...	...	2	7 6	
						56 12 6
„ Transactions sold	...	...	...	...	...	8 4 6
„ Interest on Deposit Receipt for £20, dated 17th October, 1910	...	...	...	0	1 6	
„ Interest on Deposit Receipt for £150, dated 17th October, 1910	...	...	...	0	11 9	
„ Interest on Bond for £170 at 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ from 28th November, 1910	...	...	...	2	15 1	
„ Interest on Deposit Receipt for £2 11s 6d in Excavation Fund	...	...	...	0	0 7	
						3 9 1
						£82 5 6

DISCHARGE.

To Rent, Taxes, and Insurance	...	...	...	£9	19 4	
„ Books bought, including Printing Transac- tions	...	...	...	39	10 3	
„ Stationery and Advertising	...	...	...	9	5 10	
„ Miscellaneous	...	...	...	16	7 4	
„ Balance on hand	...	...	...	7	2 9	
						£82 5 6

CAPITAL.

By Invested on Bond and Disposition on Security, at 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.	...	...	...	£170	0 0	
„ Invested on Deposit Receipt for Excavation Fund	...	...	...	2	11 6	
						£172 11 6

Note re “Communion Tokens,” by Rev. H. A. Whitelaw.

INCOME.

Price of Copies sold as at this date	£15 17 6
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					£15 17 6

Note.—

7 Copies sold at 2s 6d; money to collect	£0	17 6
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LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

SESSION 1910-11.

Those who joined the Society at its reorganisation on 3rd November, 1876, are indicated by an asterisk.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G., K.T.	10th Jan., 1895.
E. J. Brook of Hoddom	12th June, 1909.
Earl of Mansfield, Scone Palace, Perth	18th Nov., 1907.
F. R. Coles, Edinburgh	11th Nov., 1881.
Wm. D. Robinson Douglas, F.L.S., Orchardton	11th Nov., 1881.
Dr C. E. Easterbrook, Crichton Royal Institution, 20th Mar., 1908.	
Thomas Fraser, Maxwell Knowe, Dalbeattie	2nd March, 1888.
H. Steuart Gladstone, F.Z.S., of Capenoch	15th July, 1905.
Alex. Young Herries, Spottes, Dalbeattie.	
J. J. Hope-Johnstone, Raehills, Lockerbie	3rd May, 1884.
Wm. J. Herries Maxwell, Munches	1st Oct., 1886.
Sir Mark J. M'Taggart Stewart, Bart., Southwick..	7th June, 1884.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Arnott, S., F.R.H.S., Sunnymead, Maxwelltown	5th Feb., 1893.
Baker, J. G., F.R.S., F.L.S., V.M.H., 3 Cumberland Road, Kew	2nd May, 1890.
Brown, J. Harvie, F.L.S., Dunipace House, Larbert.	
Carruthers, Wm., F.R.S., 14 Vermont Road, Norwood, S.E.	
Chinnoek, E. J., LL.D., 41 Brackley Road, Chiswick, W.	5th Nov., 1880.
Murray, James, Woodhouse, Edgware, London	7th Aug., 1909.
M'Andrew, James, 69 Spotteswoode Street, Edinburgh.	
M'Pherson, W.	7th Aug., 1909.
Sharp, Dr David, F.R.S., Lawnside, Brokenhurst, Cambridge.	
Shirley, G. W., Dumfries	28th Oct., 1904.
Wilson, Jos., Liverpool	29th June, 1888.
*Service, Robert, M.B.O.U., Maxwelltown	1876.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Anderson, Er Joseph, LL.D., H.R.S.A., Assistant Secretary Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.
- Borthwick, Dr A. W., B.Sc., Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh.
- Bryce, Professor Thos. H., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., Regius Professor of Anatomy, Glasgow University, Member of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments, 2 The College, Glasgow.
- Curle, James, W.S., F.S.A.Scot., Priorwood, Melrose.
- Gregory, Professor J. W., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., F.G.S., M.I.M.M., etc., Professor of Geology, Glasgow University.
- Holmes, Professor E. M., F.L.S., F.R.B.S., Edinburgh and London, F.R.H.S., etc., 17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.
- Johnstone, R. B., Hon. Secretary and Editor, Andersonian Naturalists' Society, 17 Cambridge Drive, Glasgow.
- Keltie, J. Scott, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary, Royal Geographical Society, Hon. Member Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1 Savile Row, Burlington Gardens, London, W.
- Lewis, F. J., F.L.S., Lecturer in Geographical Botany, The University, Liverpool.
- Macdonald, Dr George, M.A., LL.D., 17 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- Reid, Clement, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., 28 Jermyn Street, London, S.W.
- Rhys, Professor Sir John, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Celtic, and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, Fellow of the British Academy.
- Smith, Miss Annie Lorraine, B.Sc., F.L.S., Temporary Assistant, Botanical Department, British Museum, 20 Talgarth Road, West Kensington, London, W.
- Watt, Andrew, M.A., F.R.S.E., Secretary Scottish Meteorological Society, 122 George Street, Edinburgh.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- Adamson, R., W.S., Dumfries21st Oct., 1911.
- Affleck, James, Castle-Douglas23rd March, 1907.
- Agnew, Sir A. N., Bart. of Lochnaw, Stranraer9th Jan., 1891.
- Aitken, Miss M. Carlyle, 2 Dunbar Terrace,
Dumfries 1st June, 1883.
- Angus, Rev. A., Ruthwell4th July, 1908.
- Armstrong, T. G., Timber Merchant, 24 Rae Street,
Dumfries9th Sept., 1905.
- Armistead, W. H., Kippford, Dalbeattie.
- Arnott, S., F.R.H.S., Sunnymead, Maxwelltown5th Feb., 1893.
- Atkinson, Mrs., The Ladies' Club, Castle Street,
Dumfries28th Oct., 1904.

- Banner, Miss Edith, Palmerston House5th Nov., 1909.
 Barbour, Miss, St. Christopher's, Dumfries4th March, 1910.
 Barbour, James, F.S.A.Scot., St. Christopher's,
 Dumfries3rd Dec., 1880.
 Barker, John, Redlands, Dumfries23rd Sept., 1905.
 Bartholomew, J., Kinnelhead, Beattock21st Oct., 1910.
 Bedford, His Grace the Duke of, Woburn Abbey ...7th Feb., 1908.
 Bedford, Her Grace the Duchess of, Woburn Abbey ...7th Feb., 1908.
 Bell, T. Hope, Morrinton, Dunscore22nd Oct., 1897.
 Blacklock, J. E., Solicitor, Dumfries8th May, 1896.
 Blacklock, W., Bookseller, Dumfries2nd Dec., 1910.
 Borland, John, Auchencairn, Closeburn7th Sept., 1895.
 Bowie, J. M., The Hain, Dalbeattie Road, Maxwell-
 town15th Dec., 1905.
 Boyd, Mrs, Monreith, Dalbeattie Road, Maxwelltown.
 Brodie, D., Ravenscraig, Rotchell Road, Dumfries, 23rd Dec., 1908.
 Browne, Sir James Crichton, 61 Carlisle Place,
 Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.3rd Sept., 1892.
 Brown, Stephen, Borland, Lockerbie10th June, 1899.
 Brown, T. M., Closeburn, Thornhill6th Aug., 1891.
 Bryson, Alex., Irish Street, Dumfries6th Feb., 1891.
 Byers, J. R., Solicitor, Lockerbie14th Sept., 1907.
 Cairns, Rev. J., Rotchell Park, Dumfries6th Feb., 1891.
 Cairns, R. D., Selmar, Dumfries20th Dec., 1907.
 Campbell, Rev. J. Montgomery, St. Michael's Manse,
 Dumfries15th Dec., 1905.
 Campbell, Rev. J. Marjoribanks, Torthorwald21st Nov., 1908.
 Carmichael, William, Albert Road, Maxwelltown ...4th Nov., 1910.
 Carmont, James, Castledykes, Dumfries6th Feb., 1891.
 Carruthers, J. J., Park House, Southwick-on-Weir,
 SunderlandOct., 1908.
 Carruthers, Dr G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, Oct., 1909.
 Clarke, Dr, Charlotte Street, Dumfries6th June, 1889.
 Charlton, John, Huntingdon, Dumfries15th Dec., 1905.
 Chalmers, Dr, Crocketford4th Nov., 1910.
 Chalmers, T., Thomasville3rd Feb., 1911.
 Chapman, A., Dinwiddie Lodge, Lockerbie 1907.
 Cleland, Miss, Albany Lodge, Dumfries19th Feb., 1909.
 Coats, W. A., of Dalskairth18th Sept., 1896.
 Common, W. Bell, Gracefield, Dumfries14th Sept., 1908.
 Copland, Miss, The Old House, Newabbey 5th July, 1890.
 Cormack, J. F., Solicitor, Lockerbie4th June, 1893.
 Corrie, Jos., Millbank, Maxwelltown4th July, 1908.
 Corrie, John, F.S.A.Scot., Burnbank, Moniaive6th Aug., 1887.
 Corrie, John M., Post Office, Newtown St. Boswells ...4th Oct., 1907.
 Cornet, E., St. Mary's Place4th July, 1911.
 Cowan, John, Glenview, Maxwelltown15th Dec., 1905.
 Crichton, Douglas, 3 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.7th Feb., 1908.

Crichton, Miss, 39 Rae Street	20th Oct., 1909.
*Davidson, James, Summerville, Maxwelltown	3rd Nov., 1876.
Davidson, J., Hillhead, Bankend Road, Dumfries...	10th May, 1895.
Dick, Rev. C. H.,*St. Mary's Manse, Moffat	4th Nov., 1910.
Dickie, Wm., Merlewood, Maxwelltown	6th Oct., 1882.
Dickson, G. S., Moffat Academy, Moffat	14th Sept., 1907.
*Dinwiddie, W. A., Bridgebank, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries	3rd Nov., 1876.
Dinwiddie, Rev. J. L., Ruthwell	18th May, 1908.
Dinwiddie, R., Overton, Moffat Road, Dumfries...	9th March, 1883.
Dods, J. W., St. Mary's Place, Dumfries	2nd March, 1883.
Douglas, A. H. Johnstone-, Comlongon	20th Oct., 1909.
Drummond, Bernard, Plumber, Dumfries	7th Dec., 1888.
Drummond, J. G., Stewart Hall, Dumfries	17th Nov., 1905.
Drysdale, A. D., H.M. Prison	23rd April, 1909.
Duncan, Jno. Bryce, of Newlands, Dumfries	20th Dec., 1907.
Duncan, Mrs, of Newlands, Dumfries	20th Dec., 1907.
Dunlop, Rev. S., Irongray Manse, Dumfries	10th June, 1905.
Eddie, Rev. W., Greyfriars' Manse, Dumfries	15th Dec., 1905.
Elliot, G. F. Scott, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Meadowhead, Liberton	4th March, 1887.
Elliot, Mrs Scott, Meadowhead, Liberton	26th Oct., 1906.
Ferguson, Sir J. E. Johnson-, Bart. of Springkell, Ecclefechan	30th May, 1896.
Ferguson, A. Johnson-, Knockhill, Ecclefechan	9th Sept., 1905.
Finlay, Miss, Bridgend, Dumfries	21st Oct., 1910.
Forbes, Rev. J. M., Kirkmahoe	21st Nov., 1908.
Foster, Wm., Nunholm, Dumfries	20th Oct., 1908.
Geddes, R., Brooke Street	20th Oct., 1909.
Gillespie, Wm., Solicitor, Castle-Douglas	14th May, 1892.
Gladstone, Mrs H. S., Capenoch, Thornhill	13th July, 1907.
Gladstone, J. B., Architect, Lockerbie	15th Feb., 1907.
Glover, John, W.S., 1 Hill Street, Edinburgh	23rd Nov., 1906.
Gooden, W. H., Oxford	14th Sept., 1907.
Gordon, J. G., Corsemalzie, Whauphill	20th Jan., 1911.
Gordon, Roger S., Corsemalzie, Whauphill	3rd Sept., 1911.
Gordon, Robert, Brockham Park, Betchworth, Surrey	10th May, 1895.
Gordon, Miss, Kenmure Terrace, Dumfries	14th Sept., 1907.
Grahame, Mrs, Springburn Cottage, Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire	28th July, 1906.
Grierson, R. A., Town Clerk, Dumfries	15th March, 1907.
Haining, John M., Solicitor, Dumfries	21st Nov., 1908.
Halliday, T. A., Leafield Road, Dumfries	26th Jan., 1906.
Halliday, Mrs, Leafield Road, Dumfries	26th Jan., 1906.
Halliday, W. J., Esthwaite, Lochmaben	6th April, 1906.
Hannay, Miss, Langlands, Dumfries	6th April, 1888.
Hannay, Miss J., Langlands, Dumfries	6th April, 1888.

Hastie, D. H., Victoria Terrace, Dumfries	24th Feb., 1906.
Henderson, Mrs, Logan, Cumnock	18th Dec., 1908.
Henderson, James, Solicitor, Dumfries	9th Aug., 1905.
Henderson, Thos., Solicitor, Lockerbie	17th Oct., 1902.
Henderson, Miss E. L., Barrbank, Sanquhar.....	12th June, 1909.
Heriot, W. Maitland, Whitecroft, Ruthwell	14th Sept., 1908.
Hill, Bazil H., Archbank, Moffat	22nd Jan., 1909.
Houston, James, Marchfield, Dumfries	9th Aug., 1905.
Houston, Mrs, Brownrigg, Dumfries	12th June, 1909.
Houston, James, Brownrigg, Dumfries	12th June, 1909.
Hunter, Dr Joseph, Castle Street, Dumfries	24th June, 1905.
Irving, Colonel, of Bonshaw, Annan	18th Jan., 1901.
Irving, John B., Shinnelwood, Thornhill	16th Oct., 1903.
Irving, John A., West Fell, Corbridge-on-Tyne	7th Dec., 1906.
Irving, H. C., Burnfoot, Ecclefechan	1907.
Irvine, Wm. Ferguson, F.S.A.Scot., Birkenhead	7th Feb., 1908.
Jackson, Colonel, Holmlea, Annan	9th Aug., 1905.
Jardine, Major Wm., Craigdhu, Capetown.....	17th June, 1911.
Jardine, Wm. Wauchope, Klipdam, Kimberley	17th June, 1911.
Jenkins, A. J., Victoria Terrace	8th April, 1910.
Jenkins, Mrs, Victoria Terrace	8th April, 1910.
Johnstone, F. A., 16 Draycott Place, London, S.W.	11th April, 1911.
Johnstone, John T., Millbank, Moffat	4th April, 1890.
Johnstone, T. F., Balvaig, Maxwelltown	12th Sept., 1908.
Johnstone, Mrs, Victoria Terrace, Dumfries	17th Feb., 1896.
Johnstone, W. S., Victoria Terrace, Dumfries	11th Feb., 1898.
Johnstone, T. S., Victoria Terrace, Dumfries	19th Feb., 1909.
Kerr, James, Troqueer Holm	24th July, 1909.
Keswick, J. J., of Mäbie	6th March, 1908.
Kirkpatrick, Rev. R. S., The Manse, Govan	17th Feb., 1896.
Kissock, James, Solicitor, Dumfries	19th Feb., 1909.
Laidlaw, John, Plasterer, Lockerbie	18th Oct., 1901.
Laurie, Col. C. E. R., Maxwelton House	20th Jan., 1911.
Little, Thos., Buccleuch Street, Dumfries	4th Oct., 1907.
Little, Rev. J. M., U.F. Manse, Maxwelltown	26th May, 1909.
*Lennox, Jas., F.S.A.Scot., Edenbank, Maxwelltown,	3rd Nov., 1876.
Loreburn, The Right Hon. Lord, 6 Eton Square, London, S.W.	9th Jan., 1891.
Lowrie, Rev. W. J., Manse of Stoneykirk, Wigtown- shire	2nd March, 1908.
Lusk, Hugh D., Larch Villa, Annan	25th April, 1908.
M'Burnie, John, Castle Brae, Dumfries	21st Nov., 1908.
M'Call, Wm., of Caitloch, Moniaive	20th Jan., 1911.
M'Cargo, James, Kirkpatrick-Durham	24th April, 1896.
M'Cormick, Andrew, Solicitor, Newton-Stewart	3rd Nov., 1905.
M'Cormick, Rev. F., F.S.A.Scot., Wellington, Salop,	4th Oct., 1907.
M'Cracken, Miss, Fernbank, Lovers' Walk	9th Nov., 1906.
Macdonald, J. C. R., W.S., Dumfries	6th Nov., 1885.

M'Dowall, Rev. W., U.F. Manse, Kirkmahoe	20th March, 1908.
M'Gowan, B., Solicitor, Dumfries	26th Oct., 1900.
M'Jarrow, David, Town Clerk, Lockerbie	22nd Feb., 1906.
Mackenzie, Colonel, of Auchenskeoch	25th Aug., 1895.
Mackenzie, Miss, Greystone, Dumfries	12th June, 1909.
M'Kerrow, M. H., Solicitor, Dumfries	19th Jan., 1900.
M'Kerrow, Matt. S., Boreland of Southwick	9th Jan., 1890.
Mackie, Chas., Editor, "Dumfries Courier and Herald"	7th Aug., 1909.
M'Kie, John, R.N., Anchorlea, Kirkcudbright	4th April, 1881.
MacKinnel, W. A., The Sheiling, Maxwelltown	22nd Feb., 1906.
MacKinnel, Mrs, The Sheiling, Maxwelltown	22nd Feb., 1906.
M'Lachlan, Mrs, Dryfemount, Lockerbie	26th March, 1906.
M'Lachlan, Jas., M.D., Lockerbie	25th Oct., 1895.
MacOwen, D., Rotchell Cottages	5th Nov., 1909.
Malcolm, A., 37 George Street, Dumfries	2nd Oct., 1894.
Malcolm, W., Lockerbie Academy, Lockerbie	14th Sept., 1907.
Mann, R. G., Cairnsmore, Marchmount Park, Dum- fries	24th Oct., 1900.
Manson, D., Maryfield, Dumfries	16th June, 1906.
Manson, Mrs, Maryfield, Dumfries	16th June, 1906.
Matthews, Wm., Dunelm, Maxwelltown	28th July, 1906.
Matthews, Mrs, Dunelm, Maxwelltown	28th July, 1906.
Martin, Dr J. W., Newbridge, Dumfries	16th Oct., 1896.
Marriot, C. W., 21 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow	27th June, 1907.
Maxwell, Sir H., Bart. of Monreith, Wigtownshire...7th Oct., 1892.	
Maxwell, Sir Wm., of Cardoness	17th June, 1911.
Maxwell, Lady, of Cardoness	17th June, 1911.
Maxwell, W. J., Terregles Banks, Dumfries	6th Oct., 1879.
Maxwell, Wellwood, of Kirkennan, Dalbeattie	5th Nov., 1886.
Maxwell, John, Tarquha, Maxwelltown	20th Jan., 1905.
Maxwell, Miss, Tarquah, Maxwelltown	5th Feb., 1909.
Michie, F. W., 10 Albany Place	21st Oct., 1910.
Milne, R. W., Hillside, Lockerbie	14th Sept., 1908.
Milligan, J. P., Aldouran, Maxwelltown	17th Oct., 1905.
Milligan, Mrs, Aldouran, Maxwelltown	17th Oct., 1905.
Millar, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 50 Queen Street, Edin- burgh	14th Sept., 1908.
Miller, F., Cumberland House, Annan	3rd Sept., 1886.
Mond, Miss, Aberdour House, Dumfries	9th Sept., 1905.
Murdoch, F. J., Cluden Bank, Holywood	21st Dec., 1906.
Murphie, Miss Annie, Cresswell House, Dumfries...23rd Nov., 1906.	
Murray, G. Rigby, Parton House, Parton	4th Dec., 1908.
Murray, Wm., Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan	8th Feb., 1895.
Murray, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan	29th July, 1905.
Neilson, George, LL.D., Wellfield, Partickhill Road, Glasgow	13th Dec., 1895.
Neilson, J., of Mollace, Castle-Douglas	13th March, 1896.

Nicholson, J. H., Airlie, Maxwelltown	9th Aug., 1904.
Ovens, Walter, of Torr, Auchencairn	13th March, 1896.
Pairman, Dr, Moffat	24th Feb., 1906.
Palmer, Charles, Woodbank Hotel, Dumfries	29th July, 1905.
Paton, Rev. Henry, 184 Mayfield Road, Edinburgh, 21st Nov., 1908.	
Payne, J. W., 8 Bank Street, Annan	8th Sept., 1906.
Paterson, D., Solicitor, Thornhill	4th July, 1908.
Paterson, John, Bridge End, Wamphray, Beattock, 4th Dec., 1908.	
Paterson, W. H., 25 Catherine Street, Dumfries, 18th March, 1910.	
Pattie, R., Buccleuch Street, Dumfries	23rd Oct., 1908.
Penman, A. C., Mile Ash, Dumfries	18th June, 1901.
Penman, Mrs, Mile Ash, Dumfries	17th Oct., 1905.
Phyn, C. S., Procurator-Fiscal, Dumfries	6th Nov., 1885.
Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries	26th Oct., 1900.
Primrose, John, Solicitor, Dumfries	5th Dec., 1889.
Proudfoot, John, Ivy House, Moffat	9th Jan., 1890.
Ralston, C. W., Dabton, Thornhill	20th Jan., 1911.
Rawson, Robert, Millgreen	4th Oct., 1907.
Reid, James, Chemist, Dumfries.	
Reid, R. C., Cleughbrae, Ruthwell	18th Nov., 1907.
Robertson, Dr J. M., Penpont	3rd Feb., 1886.
Robson, John, Westbourne, Maxwelltown	25th May, 1895.
Robson, Dr J. D., Maxwelltown	6th March, 1908.
Robertson, Rev. G. Philip, Sandhead U.F. Manse, Wigtownshire	20th March, 1908.
Robison, Joseph, Journalist, Kirkeudbright	12th June, 1909.
Romanes, J. M., B.Sc., 6 Albany Place, Dumfries...	18th Jan., 1907.
Ross, Dr J. Maxwell, Duntrune, Castle-Douglas Road	11th July, 1891.
*Rutherford, J., Jardington, Dumfries	Nov., 1876.
Saunders, Mrs, Rosebank, Lockerbie.	
Scott, Alexander, Solicitor, Annan	7th Nov., 1890.
Scott, Rev. J. Hay, F.S.A.Scot., Sanquhar	6th Aug., 1887.
Scott, R. A., per George Russell, Banker, Dumfries ...	1st Oct., 1890.
Scott, S. H., Glebe Terrace, Dumfries	4th July, 1908.
Scott, W. S., Redcastle, Dalbeattie	14th Jan., 1898.
Scott, W. Hart, The Hovel, Maxwelltown	9th Nov., 1906.
Scott, Dr W., Clarencefield	4th July, 1908.
Semple, Dr, D.Sc., Mile Ash, Dumfries	12th June, 1901.
Shannon, John P., Noblehill Mill, Dumfries	18th Jan., 1907.
Sinclair, James, Langlands, Dumfries	20th March, 1908.
Sloan, R. J. J., Barbeth, Newabbey	17th Feb., 1911.
Smith, Miss, Llangarth, Maxwelltown	6th Oct., 1905.
Stark, Rev. W. A., F.S.A.Scot., The Manse, Kirkpatrick- Durham	23rd Oct., 1908.
Smart, J. T. W., Catherine Street	18th Dec., 1908.
Steel, A. J., of Kirkwood, Lockerbie	20th Jan., 1911.
Stewart, William, Shambellie, Newabbey	21st Dec., 1906.
Stewart, G. Macleod, Woodbank	4th Nov., 1910.

- *Stobie, P., Beechwood Bank, Dumfries3rd Nov., 1876.
 Stobie, Mrs, Beechwood Bank, Dumfries17th Feb., 1911.
 Swan, J., Stationer, Dumfries23rd April, 1909.
 Symons, John, Royal Bank, Dumfries2nd Feb., 1883.
 Symons, John, Solicitor, Dumfries6th Nov., 1885.
 *Thomson, J. S., Moffat Road, Dumfries3rd Nov., 1876.
 Thomson, Miss, c/o Miss Dunbar, Langlands, Dumfries.
 Thomson, Mrs, George Street, Dumfries4th July, 1908.
 Thomson, G. Ramsay, George Street, Dumfries4th July, 1908.
 Thompson, Mrs H. A., Inveresk, Castle Street,
 Dumfries25th Nov., 1904.
 Todd, George Eyre, 7 Oakfield Terrace, Hillhead,
 Glasgow6th Dec., 1902.
 Turner, Alex., Chemist, Dumfries17th Oct., 1905.
 Tweedie, Alex., Annan24th July, 1909.
 Veitch, W. H., Factor, Hoddon26th Oct., 1900.
 Waddell, J. B., Airlie, Dumfries11th June, 1901.
 Walker, Capt. G. L., of Crawfordton21st Oct., 1910.
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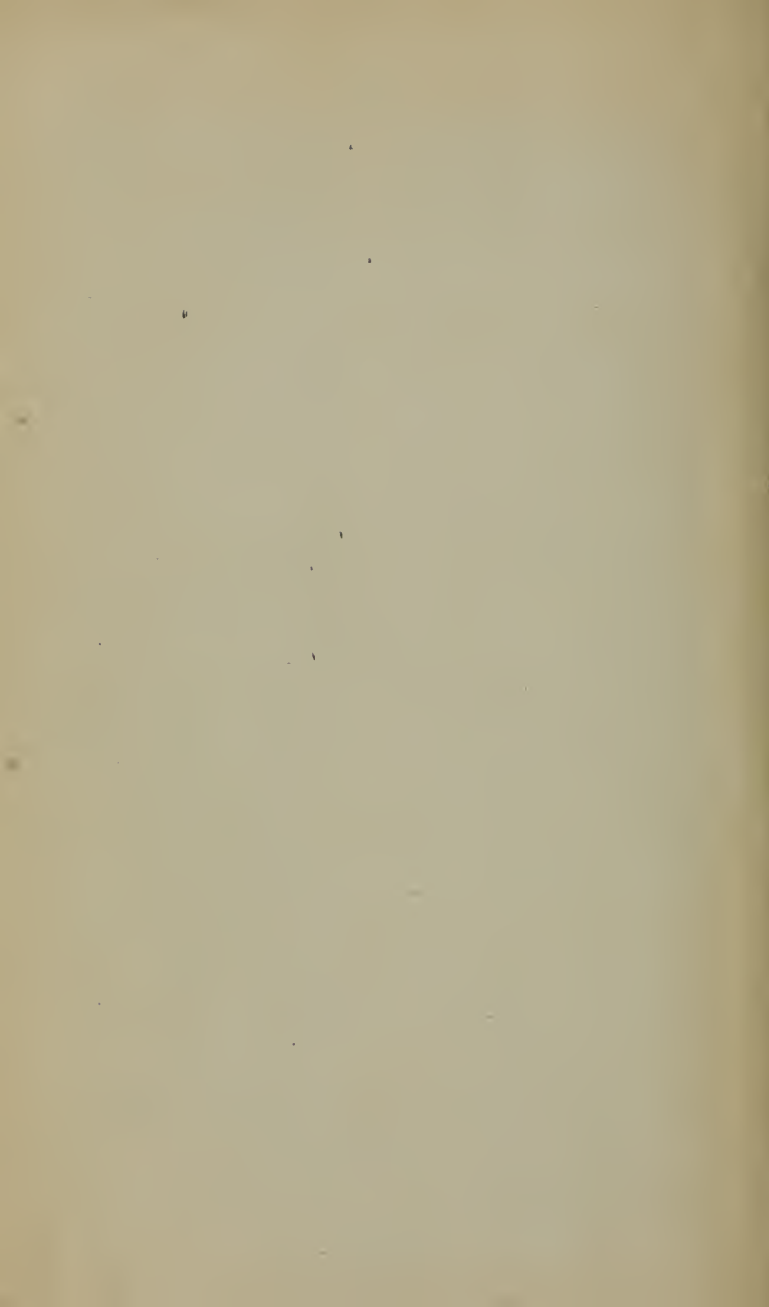
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