DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1929-30.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XVI.

EDITORS:
W. R. GOURLAY, C.S.I., C.I.E., F.S.A.(Scot.).
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1931

See Page 74.

Photo by J. Wilson Paterson.

NORMAN DOORWAY, OLD PARISH CHURCH,
GLENCAIRN, DUMFRIESSHIRE.

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Enquiries regarding purchase of *Transactions* and payment of subscriptions should be made to Miss Rafferty, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Treasurer, Town Clerk's Office, Castle Street, Dumfries.

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1929-1930.

October 18th, 1929.

Annual Meeting.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID, Vice-President.

The Secretary's report was submitted, which showed that during the year eight indoor meetings and three field meetings had been held. The average attendance at the indoor meetings was about 20, and that of the field meetings about 30. The Society is greatly indebted to Mr R. C. Reid both for his help in obtaining speakers for indoor meetings and for organising the outdoor meetings.

The following members have been lost by death during the year:—Mr Arthur Bell, Hillside, Langholm; Mr Alexander Bryson, Castramont, Maxwelltown; Mr T. J. Johnstone, Catherine Street, Dumfries; Rev. William M'Dowall, Kirkmahoe; Colonel E. P. Mackenzie, 14 Sussex Square, Brighton; Captain William Scott, Edinburgh; Mr Andrew Weatherstone, Bank of Scotland, Dumfries; Major Keswick, Cowhill Tower, Dumfries.

Eleven new members have joined, the total membership of the Society now standing at 286 ordinary members, 39 life members, and 7 honorary members.

The Treasurer's annual report was also submitted and approved.

Mr H. S. Gladstone explained that it was not from lack of interest he was resigning the presidency, but because he was unable to do as much as he would like for it.

Mr Shirley, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Gladstone, spoke of the length of time he had served as president and the high quality of his service in all departments. He moved that the Society place on record its appreciation of Mr Gladstone's services, and gratitude for his steady and assiduous care of the interests and status of the Society.

This was cordially approved.

Mr M. H. M'Kerrow then moved that Mr Frank Miller, Annan, be elected president. This was carried by acclamation.

Mr Gladstone then moved that Mr G. W. Shirley be appointed an honorary vice-president. This also received a very cordial agreement.

The other officers of the society were re-elected, Mr W. Dinwiddie being appointed a member of Council in place of Mr Wightman, who desired to resign as he found it difficult to attend meetings.

Referring to his election as President, Mr Frank Miller said :—I do not know how to thank you for the honour you have done me. Remembering that the chair has been occupied by such men as Sir William Jardine (the first president of the Society), Lord Loreburn, Sir James Crichton-Browne, Professor Scott Elliot, Sir Herbert Maxwell, and Mr Gladstone, I cannot but feel that the honour is too great for me. It was indeed with much hesitation that I agreed to accept office—if unanimously elected at this meeting—for I knew not only that I had done but little to merit promotion, but also that some other members of the Society well deserved it. The kind way in which I was asked to consent to nomination made it hardly possible to say " no "; and I at last agreed to act as president, on the understanding that my occupancy of the chair would be limited to one year.

Mr Miller then gave the following address :—

Old Collections of Songs and Poems.

By FRANK MILLER.

Mr Miller in his address said : It would hardly be possible to overestimate the value of the work done by the Antiquarian and Natural History Societies of our country.

They try, often successfully, to prevent vandalism; they encourage and direct research in different fields, and they place on record important facts in danger of being forgotten. This is an age of rapid change. Ancient buildings are being ruthlessly destroyed; place-names are being corrupted; fine old customs are vanishing, and picturesque superstitions are passing away. The very face of Nature is changing. Owing to the spread of industrialism and other causes, birds and plants which forty or fifty years ago were common are in many districts becoming rare. Fortunately the three counties to which our attention is confined are to a very large extent still unspoilt; and in nearly every parish within their bounds work of no mere local interest can be done by the archæologist, the botanist, or the ornithologist who has an active foot and an observing eye.

My own attention has been mainly directed to literary antiquities. As I showed in a paper which I read before the Society a few years ago, no fewer than thirty of the ballads and fragments of ballads which are given in Professor Child's monumental work on the English and Scottish Popular Ballads were taken down from the singing or recitation of old men and women in the Stewartry, by the late Mr William Macmath and his relatives. It is possible that some unpublished fragments of traditionary verse may still be remembered in out-of-the-way parts of Galloway, and I hope that members of our Association will keep this possibility in view. An effort should also be made to recover any old manuscripts of interest which have escaped the too common fate of thoughtless destruction. Few of us are likely to be so lucky as Snuffy Davie, in Scott's *Antiquary,* but we may come upon one or two treasures. Old papers should never be burned until they have been examined by someone likely to know if they are of any value. They may contain scraps of ancient verse, useful notes on family history, or information tending to throw light on everyday life in days that have long vanished. Autolycus was only a "snapper up of unconsidered trifles," but doubtless his capacious wallet held many a sheet that would be greatly prized now.

I have lately devoted a good deal of attention to two old collections of English and Scottish poems and songs in manuscript. One of these belongs to the extensive Macmath collection in Mr Hornel's great library. The poems of which it consists are contained in a neatly-bound quarto volume. Two or three writers of the early nineteenth century had access to the collection, but hitherto it has never been thoroughly examined. The volume required very close study, for there was nothing to indicate the source of any lyric, and one difficult question after another seemed to emerge as I read the book. I have now satisfactorily identified the compiler—who was a Scottish lady—and have got light on various questions. As Mr Hornel has kindly given me permission to keep the volume till I have quite finished my investigations, I may one day offer Miss Andrews a paper on the collection, or on some of its features.

The other collection was purchased by me from Maggs & Co., the well-known London dealers in rare books and prints. It was made by a lady in Yorkshire about the middle of the 18th century, or a little later. The pieces embraced in it are written in various hands, mostly on folio or quarto leaves; and the manuscripts have been in their present form — bound in three paper-covered volumes — since the 18th century. Perhaps a short paper on the collection might have some interest for you, though I have already, in the *Scottish Historical Review*, described a copy, dated as far back as 1745, of the Jacobite ballad, "O cam ye here the fight to shun," which I found in one of the volumes. The bearing of the discovery of so early a copy of the ballad on the question of its authorship is obvious. Born in 1734, the Rev. John Barclay, who is credited with the ballad by Chambers, Stenhouse, David Laing, and Henley, was only eleven years of age when the Yorkshire copy was written—a fact which seems to show that his claim to the piece is invalid.

It is gratifying to know that the value of the work which has been done by our Society in past years is widely recognised. The admirably edited volumes of *Transactions* issued by the Society are prized by readers of history in every part of Scotland—as the prominence given to them in

the two volumes of *Scottish Historical Clubs* well shows, and they are also highly valued by students of botany and ornithology. I hope the session which has now begun will be successful. A substantial increase in the membership of the Society would be very welcome. Surely history and botany are what Milton calls "delightful studies"! It adds immeasurably to the interest of our walks and drives if we know something of the historical and legendary associations of the ruins which we pass, and can name the birds and the flowers which meet our view. Natural History Societies would be benefited if schoolmasters would give increased attention to such subjects as botany and ornithology. Carlyle, in a letter to an Edinburgh gentleman, written in 1865, said:—"For many years it has been one of my constant regrets that no master of mine had a knowledge of natural history, so far, at least, as to have taught me the grasses that grow by the wayside and the little winged and wingless neighbours that are continually meeting me with a salutation which I cannot answer as things are!"

Some Maxwell Family Histories.

By D. C. HERRIES.

When Peerage cases come before the House of Lords all sorts of unknown documents are apt to come to light, making one wonder how many such treasures still repose unknown to fame in lumber rooms of country houses exposed to all the risks of fire, damp, and vermin. The object of this paper is to describe two such documents which emerged during the hearing of the claim of Mr William Constable Maxwell to the "title, honour, and dignity of Lord Herries of Terregles in the peerage of Scotland."

The House of Lords began to hear this claim in the May of 1849, but it was not till the June of 1858 that it came to a decision in favour of Mr Constable Maxwell. The reason for this long delay was that a certain Mr William Maxwell of Carruchan was opposing the claim. The point in dispute was whether the peerage conferred about 1490

upon Herbert Herries of Terregles could be inherited by a female. Mr Constable Maxwell's case was that not only could it be so inherited but that Agnes Herries, the eldest daughter and co-heir of the third Lord Herries, had actually inherited it, and had transmitted her right to himself as lineal heir of her body. On the other hand Mr Maxwell of Carruchan maintained that this peerage could not be inherited by a female and that Agnes Herries was only Lady Herries as wife of Sir John Maxwell, who, he contended, had obtained for himself about the end of 1566, a new peerage of Herries, which like the older honour was in its turn limited to heirs male.

There was a great deal to be said in favour of both of these points of view, and the Charter room at Terregles was ransacked in search of documents supporting the case of the claimant or of his opponent. Deeds bearing on the case were also produced from other houses such as Kenmure Castle and Maidenpaup in Kirkcudbrightshire. The Maidenpaup papers[1] were brought forward to show that in the time of Agnes Herries and Sir John Maxwell a certain Archibald Herries of Maidenpaup was not only the heir male of the body of his grandfather Herbert, the first Lord Herries, the grantee of 1490, but that he was well aware of that fact. This was an obstacle to the theory of Mr Maxwell of Carruchan, for if, as he said, the dignity of 1490 was not inherited by Agnes Herries, the heir female, why did it not devolve upon Archibald Herries, the heir male?[2] This was a good argument according to modern peerage law, which holds that peerages are personal dignities unconnected with any particular land; but would this doctrine of a landless lord have been comprehensible in the Scotland of 1490 or even in the Scotland of 1566?

[1] The Maidenpaup documents will be found in the Minutes of Evidence in this case, pp. 113-123.

[2] The present doctrine in Scots peerage law is that where (as in this case) no instrument of creation showing the limitation of the peerage can be produced, the presumption (in the absence of rebutting evidence) is in favour of heirs male of the body of the grantee.

Archibald Herries, as heir male, had in fact inherited a small portion of the old territorial barony of Herries which had supported the dignity, but this portion he sold in 1562 to Sir John Maxwell and Agnes Herries, driven by poverty as he declared in his charter of sale. In 1567 he even sold to his eldest son his own paternal acres of Maidenpaup, again pleading his urgent necessity. If this out-at-elbows gentleman had advanced any claim to the peerage—and there is no evidence that he ever did so—what chance would he have had against his cousin Agnes Herries and her husband, who by 1566 were in possession not only of her own portion but also by purchase of her sisters' portions of the original territorial lordship of Herries. Sir John Maxwell's consequence was increased by the fact that as tutor to his nephew Lord Maxwell, a boy of 13 in 1566, he was in practical possession of the Maxwell territories. He was, too, a man of great ability and experience in affairs of State, and at one time he had shown an inclination towards the puritan party opposed to the Queen. It was most important for the Court to gain him, and so he became Lord Herries, but whether in his own or in his wife's right was left to the decision of nineteenth century law lords.[3]

I must not, however, wander off into fascinating by-paths of peerage law. My real object is to consider briefly the two documents mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Both were from Terregles and both were delivered in as evidence in the case on the same day, the 20th May, 1851. One was a genealogical "Tree," which was said to have hung in the "Library of Terregles." The

[3] The difference in theory between the 16th and the 19th centuries concerning titles of honour and the lands "erected," as the phrase went, into baronies or the like in their support, may be illustrated by this case. In 1566 the title of honour and the territorial barony were kept together, but in 1858 this was no longer the case, for the claimant whose right to the title of honour was then recognised, though he owned considerable landed property, did not possess the old Herries lands and baronies of Terregles and Kirkgunzeon, which by a family arrangement had passed to his next brother.

other was described in evidence as "a MS. Account of the Herries Family (bound in a small Volume), which contains a statement that Queen Mary invested Sir John Maxwell in the Lordship of Herries."[4] This, however, was not an accurate description, for the document is really a History of the Maxwell family into which a short account of that of Herries is interpolated because its lands and title had been brought to the Maxwells by the marriage of the heiress, Agnes Herries. The Tree, too, is a Maxwell genealogy, but on one side of it in an oval is a short account of the "Noble and Ancient Family of Harries." Below this is a much longer account of the "Antiquity and Grandure" of the house of Maxwell. On the other side of the Tree, beneath an armorial achievement, are some "vouchers" for the Maxwell pedigree. At the top of the Tree appear as living persons William, "Earl of Nithsdale,"[5] and his two daughters, Mary and Winifred. Winifred, the younger daughter, by her marriage carried the Maxwell and Herries lands (with the pretension to the Herries title) into the Constable Maxwell family; but Mary, the elder daughter, died in December, 1747, in her 15th year. Presumably, therefore, the Tree was made, or at least finished, before this last date and after 1744, the date given on the Tree itself for the death of Mary's grandfather, the 5th Earl of Nithsdale.

The other document, the MS. History, is rather earlier in date. It thrice mentions as a living person "John Maxwel Earl of Nithsdaill Lord Maxwel and Herries," once at the very beginning in a sort of preface, and twice again in the course of the story. This Earl succeeded his father as Lord Herries in 1631 but did not succeed his cousin as Earl of Nithsdale till 1667, and he died in 1677. From internal evidence, therefore, it seems that this History was

[4] In the Minutes of Evidence a copy of the Tree is folded in between pages 264 and 265. The MS. Account or History begins on page 294.

[5] He was the son of the 5th Earl of Nithsdale, whose honours were forfeited for his share in the Jacobite rising of 1715.

begun and brought down to his time between the last two dates. Then there must have been a pause, after which, though the date of his death is not recorded, the History has been resumed, perhaps by a later writer, and brought down to the time of his grandson, William, the 5th Earl of Nithsdale, who lost his all—honours, houses, lands—in the "'Fifteen," and died in exile at Rome in 1744. Of these misfortunes, however, there is no mention in the History, which only records his birth in 1676, his marriage,[6] the death in childhood of three elder children, the birth of his son and eventual successor William and of a daughter Anne. Here the History ends; perhaps the writer, if he was still living, had not the heart to relate the subsequent woes that befell the family; perhaps he was parted from his manuscript, for after 1715 the Government took possession of Terregles and appointed commissioners to manage the property.

I do not know if there is any tradition concerning the authorship of this History. It is not revealed by internal evidence, nor were any questions asked on this point when it was produced in the House of Lords. As to its value as a historical document, I am afraid that value is small, at least as regards its earlier part. The writer, no doubt, had the run of the Charter Room at Terregles, and as parts of the History show, was quite capable of using such documentary evidence as came under his eye; but where he was without documents he seems to have been ready to invent. If the early part of his account is compared with what may be called the standard modern history of the Maxwells by Sir William Fraser in the "Book of Carlaverock," great discrepancies will be seen. In modern times the Maxwells have claimed as their founder a certain Maccus, who as son of Undweyn, or Undwain, was a witness to two documents of King David I. in the early part of the 12th century. Maccus, however, was unknown to the writer of the History, who begins with "Ewin Maxwel of

[6] No date is given in the History for this marriage, but by the contract dated 2 March, 1699, it was to take place between that date and the following Easter.

Carlaverock recorded to have bein at the siege of Arnock in England with K. Malcolm Canmore . . . . anno 1097."[7] As " Ewin " and " Undweyn " are somewhat similar names it might be argued that the Historian begins with the father of Maccus, but in that case he ought to have followed on with Maccus himself; unfortunately he does not, but gives as Ewin's successor a certain " Uthred," who " was at the battel of Allartoun with the Earles of March Menteith and Angus against the Duke of Gloucester anno 1134."[8] Probably the compiler of the History sat with " Holinshed " or some other chronicle at his elbow wherein he could look out suitable events in which his heroes might distinguish themselves. Anyone who has tried his hand at early pedigrees will know how difficult it often is to discover dates of death except in the case of really great people. No such difficulties troubled the writer of this History; he knew not only the year but the day of the month in which his various heroes died. The three successors of " Uthred," for instance, " Eugen," " Eustace," and " Harbert " Maxwell, died the 27th December, 1199, the 18th May, 1202, and the 3rd February, 1217, respectively.

If we turn from the History to the Tree a great difference will be seen. In the interval between the compilation of the two documents Maccus had been discovered, and he appears at the foot of the Tree. To him is transferred the adventure of the " Ewin " of the History at " Anwick with King Malcolm Canmore Anno MXCIII.," and he is said to have died " Anno MCII.,"[9] for the compiler of the Tree

[7] Arnock is no doubt Alnwick, where Malcolm Canmore was killed in 1093 (not 1097). The exact date when Carlaverock came to the Maxwells is uncertain, but it was not till some time after the period of Malcolm Canmore.

[8] The "battle of the Standard" near Northallerton in Yorkshire in 1138 is probably meant. There was no *Duke* of Gloucester at that time, and the contemporary Robert, *Earl* of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. of England, was not at this battle.

[9] Unfortunately for this date, the second of Maccus's authentic appearances in History as a witness to an undated deed of David I. took place after that King's accession to the throne in 1124.

shares the Historian's weakness for dates. From Maccus down to the first Lord Maxwell the pedigree of the Tree resembles that of Sir William Fraser much more closely than the pedigree of the History does, though there are still discrepancies.

The author of the History, even if he is ready to invent, shows moderation. He claims no extravagant antiquity for the family, not venturing farther back than the time of Malcolm Canmore. He tries to ante-date the peerage honours of both the Maxwell and Herries families, but at the same time he acknowledges that there were other views on this point. He says that "Homer Lord Maxwel of Carlaverock and Mernis is recorded to have been present in parliament holden by K. Alexr. 2d in the 21st year of his reign anno 1244 and so to have been a Lord of Parliament," but when he comes to "Harbert the 7th Lord Maxvel," the first peer of the family in the modern sense, he says that he "was created as it is alledged by one Johnstoun a wryter and a malicious traducer of this family Lord Maxwel by K. James 2d anno 1448." In his account of the Herries family he says that Sir John Herries of Terregles "one of the Pledges for Archibald Tyneman Earle of Douglas . . . was created Lord Herreis by K. Robt. 2d albeit others wryte that they were not created Lords till K. James 2d, and one Johnstoune wrytes that they were not created Lords till K. James 4t. That Harbert Hirreis of Kirkgunzean was created a Lord of Parliament holden at Edr. the 3d of Febrij, 1489 with the Lord Ross." The malicious Johnstone may have been animated by the traditional feud between Johnstones and Maxwells, but his dates were more correct in each case than those of the author of the History. Nevertheless it is excusable that the writer of the History should not have been able to distinguish between "Lords of Parliament," or as we should say "Peers," an order said to have been introduced into Scotland by James I., and the older sort of "Barons" who sat in Parliament, as holders of land direct from the Crown, and continued so to do long after the time of James I. No doubt both Maxwells and Herrieses had attended parliaments as crown tenants before they were

specially created in the 15th century Lords of Parliaments or Peers.[10] As written instruments or records of such 15th century creations are very rare it is not always easy to give the exact date when a great landowner passed from one stage to the other.

From the time of the first Lord Maxwell onwards the pedigree in the History is in substantial agreement with that in the "Book of Carlaverock," though whether everything that the Historian relates of the various Lords Maxwell is always to be believed I should not like to say. A paper in our *Transactions* by Mr G. W. Shirley[11] certainly confirms the accuracy of his brief account of the fight between the Lords Maxwell and Crichton of Sanquhar and their respective followers at Dumfries in 1508. The Historian tells his tale without distributing praise or blame; he recounts, for instance, the exploits that brought a Lord Maxwell to the scaffold in 1613 but does not attempt to palliate his conduct. He makes a point of recording the building activities of various members of the family. Thus the grandfather of the first Lord Maxwell "built the house and Barinkine of the Mernis"; Robert, the second Lord, "compleated the bartisan of Carlaverock"; Robert, the fourth (or fifth) Lord, "built the Langholme and a former Castle than this in Drumfreis with a bartisan about the same"; his successor "founded the house of Annan for better strengthening of the Scotts borders"; John, Lord Maxwell and Earl of Morton, fortified "his houss of the treaty in Galloway and Lochmaben in Annandale," and "built a new house in Drumfreis anno 15—"; John Maxwell, Lord Herries, the husband of the heiress Agnes Herries, "built the house of Hoddonstains in Annandale and the watchtower of repentance to be a Beacon The house of Kirkmizean in Galloway and mosstroops tower in Terreiglis He caused cast the warden dykes of Drumfreis for safety of the town against the theeves in Annandale and the dykes of Annan He caused pull down the Abbayes of Dundrenan and new abbay and

10 "Trariglis" (Terregles), for instance, sat among the barons in a Parliament at Edinburgh in February, 1471-2.

11 "The Raid at Dumfries on Lammas Eve, 1508" (*Dumfriesshire and Galloway Society's Transactions*, 3rd ser., ii., 78).

first planted the Religion in Galloway and yet still continow a Loyal subject to Q. Mary." Nothing is said, however, about the elaborate renaissance buildings erected at Carlaverock in the time of the first Earl of Nithsdale.

The History indicates where branch lines both legitimate and illegitimate parted from the main stem but does not follow them up. The Tree does the same thing and in its higher branches traces some of the descendants of the family through females.

The style of the writer of the History is not without spirit when relating the exploits of the family, as, for instance, when he tells how Robert, the fourth (or fifth) Lord Maxwell "for revenge that the English had burnt Drumfreis He with 24 men in Company only past to Perth [? Penrith] 20 myles in England took the Cross in his armes and crying 6727 tymes his slogan which is a ward law &c., burnt the Town and returned without any loss," or when he relates that the same lord "being warden with 60 men defeat a great host of the English being ten tymes more in number at Kizilemuir where Striking Violently at the Chieftain he cutt with his sword one of the Standard bearers hands and Spear from him."

As I have given my opinion that the early part of this History cannot be relied upon, it is only fair to say that in one instance at least in its more modern part it is correct where later genealogists have gone wrong. I mean in its account of the matrimonial adventures of Andrew, the second Lord Herries. His father, the first Lord, being afflicted with mental disorder, Andrew in his minority became a prey to various opposed parties, who wished to make a profit out of his marriage. In consequence before he attained majority he had already had two wives forced upon him, one of them being Janet Douglas, a daughter of the famous Archibald "Bell-the-Cat," Earl of Angus. A condition of the contract with this lady and her father was that Andrew in all possible haste was to obtain a divorce from a previous wife, Beatrix Herries. When of age Andrew repudiated these transactions and chose a wife to his own taste from Lord Home's family. The History gives the following account of this business:—"Andreu Lord Herreis maried Janet

daughter to Archibald Belcat Earle of Angus Chancellor for the tyme to obtain him a Charter of his Lands from the King upon condines to repudiat his first wife and by her he had Andrew & Elizabeth He maried the Lord Humes daughter by whom he had 2 sones and a daughter." The account is short and confused but the story of the three marriages is correct as far as it goes. Later genealogists, Crawfurd, Nisbet, Douglas, Wood, and even the great Sir William Fraser, only mention Janet Douglas, and make her the mother of Andrew's successor in the title, though it is certain that the Home lady was so in reality.[12]

The History records a curious tradition concerning the origin of the Herries family as follows—" The first of whilk family was Sir John Herreis brother to the Earle of Vandosine in France who came anno 1341 with K. David Bruce into Scotland who gifted him with the Lands of Terreiglis be resignation of the Earle of Marr in the 29th year of the said King Davids reign and after with the lands of Kirkmizeane which pertained to the Abbay of Holine in Cumberland his Surname happened by reason of 3 hurcheons which he carried in his arms called in Latine herimaceus and from thence Herreis."

The later Scots genealogists, who no doubt applied to Terregles for information, repeat this legend. Crawfurd in his Peerage published in 1716, and Nisbet in his Heraldry published in 1722 both say that the Herries family is " said " to be descended from the Counts of Vendôme in France, whose arms they bore, *viz.* three urcheons or porcupines. Douglas whose Peerage was published in 1764 says that the family of Herries was derived from the house of Vendosine in France, which bore for arms a porcupine or urcheon. As Douglas uses the same title for the foreign counts as does the History it seems probable that he had seen and read this Manuscript. Vendosine (or Vandosine) was probably a slip of the writer of the History, for the compiler of the Tree says the Herries family was descended from the

[12] See the *Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul, article Herries.

" Counts de Vendome in France, whose Arms they Bear viz. 3 Hurcheons."

It is not easy to accept this tradition. In the first place the name of Herries (under various spellings) was known in Scotland long before 1341, the date given in the History for the arrival in Scotland of the brother of the " Earle of Vandosine." Douglas knew this and accordingly in his " Peerage " brings him over at a much earlier period. In the second place French genealogical writers do not support the statements of Crawfurd, Nisbet, and Douglas that the Counts of Vendôme bore hedgehogs or porcupines in their arms, nor do they mention any cadet of the family who settled in Scotland.[13] Yet this was evidently a long standing tradition at Terregles and not merely the invention of the writer of the History. For if that writer unhindered by any existing tradition had looked about for some illustrious foreign origin for the Herries family he would surely have told a more likely tale and have selected for his purpose some family with a name more or less resembling Herries and with one or more hedgehogs in its arms, such for instance as the great Venetian house of Erizzo. The writer of the History does not, like his later followers, commit himself to any statement that the " Earle of Vandosine " bore " hurcheons " for arms, but merely says that the first Sir John Herries of Terregles did so. He also says that Sir John came to Scotland with King David in 1341, and it is true that David returned home in that year from France, whither the Scots notables had sent him when a youth in 1334 for safety,

[13] For these Counts, see Anselme's *Histoire de la Maison Royale de France*, etc., 3rd ed., viii., 722-731; *L'Art de verifier les dates*, 3rd ed., ii., 809-826; Dela Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dict. de la Noblesse*, 3rd ed., xix., 568. Their arms were:— " D'Argent, au chef de gueules, au lion d'azur brochant sur le tout." By the marriages of heiresses, this County passed through several families, and at last, about the end of the 14th century, it came to the house of Bourbon, for which family it was erected into a Dukedom in 1514. When the head of that family became King of France as Henri IV., the Dukedom merged in the higher dignity. Henri revived it for his natural son César, but this new race became extinct in the 18th century.

Scotland being then invaded and over-run by the English. It is possible that on his return he brought in his train a French friend related to the Count of Vendôme, upon whom he bestowed in marriage the heiress of a previous family of Herries; and it is possible that in his new country the foreign adventurer bore the name and arms of his wife. This, however, is mere conjecture.

To conclude — I have read somewhere (I cannot remember where) that another branch of the Maxwell family (that of Kirkconnell, I think) possessed a manuscript family History, which appeared in print some years ago in one of the local newspapers. If this is true it would be interesting to compare it with the Terregles manuscript to see if the one History is a copy of, or founded upon, the other or if the two are quite independent of each other.

November 29th, 1929.

Chairman—Mr F. MILLER, President.

MSS. in the National Library of Scotland.

By H. W. MEIKLE, D.Litt.,
Keeper of MSS. at the National Library of Scotland.

[This lecture was illustrated by some very fine lantern slides.]

Place Names.

By Col. Sir E. A. JOHNSON-FERGUSON.

The names and spellings are taken from the 1 inch and 6 inch Ordnance Survey Maps; the spellings in these and in the Valuation Roll sometimes vary.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A. . . . . Historical MSS.; Annandale Papers.
A.S. . . . Anglo-Saxon.
Arms . . Armstrong's *History of Eskdale,* etc.
B.N. . . Bannatyne Miscellanies.
Bl. . . . Blaeu's maps published in 1654 and 1660.
Br. . . . British.

C.B.P. . Bain's *Calendar of Border Papers.*
C.P.N. . Watson's *Celtic Place Names of Scotland.*
D. & G. . Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Dumfries & Galloway.*
E.D.D. . English Dialect Dictionary.
E.H.D. . Edgar's *History of Dumfries.*
E.P.N. . Publications of the English Place Name Society.
E.R.N. . English River Names. Ekwall.
G. . . . . Gaelic.
H.M. . . Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Scottish Land Names* and *Topography of Galloway.*
I. . . . . Irish.
J. . . . . Johnston's *Place Names of Scotland.*
K. Ch. . Kelso Charters.
M.E. . . Middle English.
Mel. Ch. . Melrose Charters.
N. . . . . Norse.
Q. . . . . Historical MSS.; Queensberry Papers.
R.E.G. . *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis.*
R.G.S. . Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.
R.M. . . *Registrum de Morton.*
R.R. . . Ragman's Roll.
R.S.S. . . Register of the Secret Seal of Scotland.
S. . . . . Sedgefield's *Place Names of Cumberland.*
S.D.D. . Chambers's Scots Dialect Dictionary.
Sh. Bk. . Extracts from the Dumfries Sheriff Court Books published in the *Transactions.*
T. . . . . Taylor's *Words and Places.*
Trans. . *The Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian Society,* with date following.
V.R. . . County Valuation Roll.
W. . . . Welsh.

GRETNA.

ALDERMANSEAT — Aldermannissait, 1610 (R.G.S.); (A.S.) ealderman saete, the alderman's farm or house.

BAURCH—Berghe, 1514 (C.B.P.) Berch, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) beorg, a small hill.

BLAAT—Blawad, 1190 (Q.); Blawath, 1200 (Mel. Ch.); Blayt, 1543 (Arms); Blawitwood, 1544 (Arms); Blawat, 1573 (A.); Blaat Wood, 1654 (Bl.); (N.) bla vath, blue

ford. " The great road from Blawath to the church of Rainpatrick " (Mel. Ch.).

BURELRONE—1573; (A.) Byrelton, 1624. Personal name, Buril or Burrel.

CAMPINGHOLM—Where the Scots army camped the night before the battle of Solway Moss in 1543.

CLERKSTON—The clerk's or priest's tun or farm.

CLOCHMABEN STONE—See *Transactions,* 1923, C.P.N., and *Dumfries and Galloway* (Sir H. Maxwell).

COWGARTH—(N) kua garthr, cow enclosure.

COWHOLM—Cowholme, 1610 (R.G.S.); (N.) kua holmr, cow holm.

DOUGLAS—Formerly Gretnahill; Greitnohyll, 1573 (A.). The farm was owned by Col. Christopher Maxwell, who married Miss Sarah Douglas about 1800. He changed the name from Gretnahill to Douglas. (W. F. Graham of Mossknowe.)

FLOSHEND—(M.E.) flasshe, flosshe, a marshy place; (A.S.) ende, end, but also village or district.

GRETNA—Gretenho, 1223 (R.E.G.); Gretenhou, 1223 (R.E.G.); Gretenhowe, 1376 (R.M.); Gretnocht, 1511 (A.); Gretno, 1521 (A.); Gritnocht, 1541 (Q.); Greitno, 1573 (A.); Greatney, 1583 (C.B.P.); Graitnaye, 1583; Greatney, 1592; Graitna, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) greot, gravel; hoh, a promentory.

GUARDS—(N.) garthr, an enclosure, or (G.) gart, a cornfield.

MILLIGAN'S BUSH—Personal name. Bush in old Scots was " a wood consisting of oak and birch " (C.P.N.). The name appears as Macrath ap Molegan, 1291 (R.R.).

PLUMP—Plompe, 1552. North country word, meaning a clump of trees (S.).

REDKIRKPOINT—Ryidkirk, 1654 (Bl.); Hiedkirkpoint (Statistical Account); (A.S.) hreod, a reed. Redkirk was united to Gretna as a parish in 1609.

RENPATRICK—Rainpatrick, Raynpatrick, 1200 (Mel. Ch.); Rempatric, 1223 (R.E.G.); Roynpatrick, 1305 (Q.); Renpatrick, 1581 (A.); (G.) rinn, a point, headland (C.P.N.).

RIGG—(A.S.) hrycg, a ridge.

SARK—Saxok, 1660 (Bl.). "The only suggestion that can be made is that the name is derived from the root ser, to flow" (E.R.N.).

SOLWAY—Sulewad, 1218; Sulewath, 1249; Sulway, 1300; Sulzaway, 1503 (R.S.S.); Booness Wath (Statistical Account); (N.) sol, sul, mud; (N.) vath, a ford.

STYLE—(A.S.) steall, a place, cattle-stall.

SURONE—Syronthwat, 1489 (A.); Souron, 1654 (Bl.); personal name, Sigrunar; (N.) thveit, a field, literally, a forest clearing.

TORDUFF—Dordoff, 1291 (RR); Torduff, 1305 (Q.); Tordeth, c., 1500 (Arms); Tordofe, 1540 (Arms); Tornduff, 1654 (Bl.); the old form of the name appears to be (G.) dobhar, water; dubh, black. The other form is from (G.) tor, a hill.

WESTGILLSIKE—(N.) gil, a glen; (A.S.) sic, a small stream in marshy ground.

WEST SCALES—Scrailes, Scallis, 1543 (Arms); Scheles, 1550 (R.G.S.); Skalis, 1561 (R.G.S.); Skells, 1654 (Bl.); (N.) skali, a hut.

HALF MORTON.

HALF MORTON—Morton was in the list of parishes in 1586 but was suppressed and annexed to Canonbie and Wauchope in the beginning of the 17th century. A chapel was built in the parish of Wauchope in 1703 at which time the parishes of Wauchope and Staple-Gorton were united into the parish of Langholm. After the erection of Langholm into a parish, Half Morton continued to be supplied by the minister of Langholm every 4th Sunday till 1825 when the chapel got into disrepair. It was disjointed from Langholm in 1835 and erected into a separate parish in 1839 under the name of Half Morton. (Statistical Account & Fasti Ecclesiæ.) Walter, the minister of Morton, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296 (Arms).

AUCHENGYLE—Auchingavil, 1573 (A.); Auchengeil, 1654 (Bl.); (G.) achadh na, the field of; gavil, a fork.

AUCHENBEDRIG—1610 (R.G.S.). Supposed to be now Solway Bank.

BERCLEES—Barkley, 1611 (R.G.S.); Barcleis, 1582 (Sh. Bk.); Berkleis, 1610 (R.G.S.); Barcloss, 1828; (A.S.) bere, barley; closs, an enclosure; or perhaps personal name Beric, and (A.S.) leah, a clearing.

BILLISTER SIKE—May be either from (A.S.) bylte, a hill; or personal name Billaster (N.), bolstaor, a dwelling place.

BOGRA—Bewgray, 1610 (R.G.S.); Bograch, a boggy place.

CADGILL—(N) kattr gil, wild cats glen.

CHARTOURISBIRREN—1610 (R.G.S.); Chatterusbirren, 1621 (R.G.S.); Charterusbirren, 1633 (R.G.S.). Personal name and (A.S.) burgaens, a burial place, or a heap of stones. Alias Barclays (Springkell Papers). Site unknown.

FLOWDENS—Floddens, 1828. Flodden, flooded; (A.S.) flode, literally, a channel of water.

GREENWRAE—Grenewraa, 1610 (R.G.S.); (N.) grene, green; (N.) vra, a tongue of land, good land wedged in between useless land (S.).

HALF OF NOTHING BURN—From an old paper at Springkell, site unknown.

HIGH STENRIES—Stanrise, 1610 (R.G.S.); Stanereis, 1611 (R.M.); High Stoneridge, 1828; (N.) steinn hreysi, stone cairn.

LOGAN—Capella de Logan, 1223 (R.E.G.); (G.) lagan, a hollow.

PARKHEAD—Formerly Whaup's Lee Hill.

PEELWALLS—Peel is from old French pel, and was used in English of a palisade of stakes, a stockaded enclosure (E.P.N., Yorks.).

SARKCREWKIS—1610 (R.G.S.). Site unknown.

STAFFLER—(A.S.) staefer, a stake or pillar used as a landmark.

STUBBIEKNOWE—Stobyknowe, 1828 (M.E.); stubbing, a clearing of land (E.P.N.).

TIMPAN—1828 (G.) tiompan, a rounded hump.

TIMPANHECK — Timpenbeksyde, 1610 (R.G.S.); Timpeinbreksyid, 1621 (R.G.S.); Thymponbecksyde, 1633 (R.G.S.); (G.) tiompan, a rounded hump. It is difficult to say which is the original name, but the lie of the ground would point to -brek, being the most likely. This is (N.) brekka, a slope.

THORTOUR BURN—Thortour, cross, transverse; from (N.) thwert, across (H.M.).

WATTAMAN—"The ½ mercatum de Watt lie manishoussteidis," 1610 (R.G.S.). This would be translated —"The ½ mark land of Watt—and or known as—the mains house." Wotte was an A.S. personal name.

WAUGHSLEE—Name was once Whaup's Lee, but it appears as Waughslee on a tombstone in Morton Churchyard in 1741.

KIRKPATRICK-FLEMING.

ALLERBECK—Ellirbek, 1452 (Q.); Allerbek, 1596 (A.); Ellerbeck, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) alor becc, alder stream.

BELTENMONT—(G.) baile, a house; (G.) teine, fire; or (W.) tan, fire; (Br.) monadh, a hill.

BINWOOD BRIDGE—(A.S.) binnan, within.

BIRRONLEES—Site unknown. (A.S.) burgaens, a burial place; leah, a meadow.

BRANTETH—Branthat, 1654 (Bl.); personal name. Brandr; (N.) thveit, a piece of cleared ground.

BROATS—Brotts, 1514 (C.B.P.); Brottis, 1612 (R.G.S.); (N.) brotti, a heap of trees felled in a wood, and so a clearing in a wood (E.P.N., Yorks.)

CALVERT'S HOLM—Caversholme, 1509 (R.G.S.); Cawartisholme, 1572 (R.G.S.); Cauersholm, 1654 (Bl.); personal name; (N.) holmr, low lying land by a river.

CRAIGSHAWS—Shaws (A.S.), sceaga, a small wood.

CRANBERRY—Place where cranberries abound.

The ridge which runs from Wysebyhill between Kirkpatrick and Raeburn used to be occupied by a number of small cottages, where weavers lived. These were pulled down about 1800 and made into the present farms. (W. F. Graham of Mossknowe.)

DALVINGSWALLS—The last part appears to be (N.) vollr, grass covered flat land. There is no clue to the first part.

DUNSKELLYRIG—Dunskellie, 1408 (A.); Dowskelly, 1509 (R.G.S.); Dulskellie, 1596 (A.); (G.) dun, a fort; (G.) sgealaighe, of the teller of tales or romances.

FAULDINGCLEUCH—(A.S.) fald, a fold, but not confined to a sheepfold (E.P.N.); (A.S.) cloh, a ravine.

FAULDS—Fuldouris, 1555 (A.); (A.S.) fald, a fold, but not confined to a sheepfold (E.P.N.).

FLOSH—Flush, 1654 (Bl.); (M.E.) flasshe, flosshe, a pool, a marshy place.

GAIR—Either (N.) garthr, an enclosure, or (A.S.) gara. an isolated spot of tender grass.

GAULHILL—Gaul, bog myrtle; gall, a wet unfertile spot in a field.

GEDSHOLE—Ged, a pike (S.D.D.).

GILGOUN—1498 (R.G.S.); Kilgon, 1654 (Bl.); (G.) cill. a church or coill, a wood. On the Kirtle below Highmoor, site now lost.

GILLSHAW—(G) giolcach, covered with rushes.

GOWKHALL—Goukhall, 1736; Gowk, a cuckoo, derived from (W.) gog, a cuckoo (C.P.N.).

HARECRAIGS—1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) har, grey. Near Craigshaws, site lost.

HAYFIELD—Hayberry, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) haeg, a hedge and then an enclosure; (A.S.) beorg, a hill.

HOLLEE—(A.S.) hol, a hollow; leah, a meadow.

HOWGILLSIDE—(A.S.) hol, a hollow; (N.) gil, a glen.

KIRKCONNELL—Kircconveth, 1427 (R.G.S.); Kyrkconnell, 1486 (Q.); Kirkconvell, 1506 (Q.). The church of St. Conall or Convallus—he is said to have been a disciple of St. Kentigern. His centre may have been Dercongal, "Connall's Oakwood," now Holywood. He is supposed to be buried at Inchinnan, in Renfrewshire (*Trans.*, 1923). The old parish of Kirkconnel was united to Kirkpatrick in 1609. In the 12th century the Augustinian Priory of Gyseburn was in possession of

the churches (*inter alia*) of Kirkpatrick with Logan Chapel, Cummertrees, Rainpatrick, and Gretna.

KIRKPATRICK—Kirkepatric, 1179 (R.E.G.); Kirchepatric, 1181 (R.E.G.); Kirkepatrick, 1291 (R.R.); Kirk Patrick, 1291 (R.R.); Kirk Petry, 1654 (Bl.). Self explanatory.

KIRTLE—Kyrtilhous, 1452 (A.); Kirktilcloishe, 1572; Kirtilcloche, 1591 (R.G.S.). It is possible that the river is called after the owner of the house, as there is an A.S. name, Cyrtla.

LANGSHAW—Langschaw, 1612 (R.G.S.); (A.S.) sceaga, a small wood.

LOWN WATH—Lonwaith, 1641 (R.E.T.) Shown on the 1654 (Bl.) map at the place where the present Carlisle-Annan Road crosses the Kirtle. (N.) lundr, a small wood; (N.) vath, a ford.

MERKLAND—A measurement of land.

MERKLAND CROSS—The cross was erected to John, Master of Maxwell, eldest son of Robert, 2nd Lord Maxwell, who was killed here in 1484 after a battle in which the English were beaten. The Scots suffered " the loss of the Master of Maxwell, thir chiftane; for in mean tyme ther was ane Scottish limmar, called Gask, whose kinsman the Master of Maxwell hade caused hang be justice. . . . This Gask in revenge of his wicked intentions thought an meit tyme and stickit the said Master behind his back with ane long whinger as he was leaning and reposing himselfe on his sword hilt, being very evele hurt and wounded on the field before, and sun died ther." (Copy of old MS. in *Transactions*, 1902.)

MOSSKNOWE—Mouseknow, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) mos, a moss.

NOWT HILL—Nowt, black cattle (S.D.D.) Probably connected with (A.S.) neat, cattle.

NUTBERRY—(A.S.) hnutu, a nut; beorg, a hill.

PINCOD—(Br.) pen, a hill; (Old W.) coet (now coed), a wood.

RAEBURN—Roeburn, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) ra, a roe deer.

RAEBURNSTEILL—1667 (old Springkell paper)—see Raeburn. (A.S.) steall, a site, cattle-stall.

REDHALL—Reidhall, 1591 (R.G.S.); Ryidhall, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) hreod, a reed.

REDHEUCH—Reidwitht, 1555 (A.); (A.S.); hreod, a reed; (A.S.) withig, withy, or (N.) vithr, a small wood. Heuch is from (A.S.) healh, a corner, recess.

SARKSHIELDS—Sarkscheillis, 1612 (R.G.S.); (M.E.) schele, a small hut or cottage.

SNAB—The projecting part of a hill or rock; a steep place; the brow of a steep ascent (S.).

SPRINGKELL—Springkayle, 1485 (A.); Sprynkaillie, 1534 (R.G.S.); (N.) kelda, a spring. The original Springkell stood at the junction of the two Sark rivers, and is so shown on the 1654 (Bl.) map.

THRIDD BURN—1654 (Bl.). Near Allerbeck, site lost.

TINNIS HILL—(W.) dinas, a derivative of din, a fort (C.P.N.).

WYSEBY—Personal name, Wyse; (N.) byr, a farm.

WOODHOUSE—Woddes, 1596 (A.). Self explanatory.

MIDDLEBIE.

ALBIE—Oldby, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.); ald, old; by, a farm.

ALLFORNOUGHT—Allfornocht, 1610 (R.G.S.); Alfornocht, 1610 (R.G.S.); (G.) all fornocht, stark-naked rock (C.P.N.). The local tradition about the origin of the name is that the land was put into cultivation, but that it gradually went back to hill land and all the trouble was wasted.

ASKY GILL—(N.) askr, an ash; (N.) gil, a ravine.

BIRRENS—Byrrens, 1654 (Bl.); (A.S.) burgaens, a burial place.

BIRNY HILL—Birny, covered with charred stems of heather (S.D.D.). Possibly (G.) braonaigh, an oozy place.

BLACKET—Blackethouse; Blacwde, 1194 (Q.); Blacathous, 1583 (A.); (A.S.) blaec wudu, blackwood.

BLENKINS—

BOIGTHROPPIL—1612 (R.G.S.); Bogthropil, 1621 (R.G.S.); (A.S.) boga, a bow, curve; thorp or throp, a small settlement. Near Hotts.

CALLISTERHALL—Personal name, Kali; (N.) stathr, a farm.

CARRUTHERS—Carrotheris, 1372 (Q.); Carutheris, 1495 (Q.); (W.) caer Rydderch, Rydderch's fort. He was ruler of the Strathclyde Britons after the battle of Ardderyt (Arthuret) in 573, under the title of King of Alclut (H.M.).

CONGUP—

CONHESS—Conhesleyis, 1610 (R.G.S.); (G.) con eas, dog waterfall. Probably referring to otters (C.P.N.).

CORNFLAT HILL—

CHUB COTTAGE—

CRAWTHAT—(A.S.) crawe, a crow; (N.) thveit, a clearing.

CROWDIEKNOWE—

CUSHATHILL—Cushat, a wood pigeon.

DALBATE—(G.) dail bhaite, drowned glen, viz., subject to flooding (C.P.N.).

DOCKENFLAT—Either personal name Docca or (A.S.) dokke, a dock; (M.E.) flat, a level piece of ground, used of one of the larger portions into which the common field was divided (E.P.N.).

DOGSLACKS—(N.) slakki, a hollow boggy place.

DONKINS—

DARLAWHILL—(A.S.) deor, an animal; hlaw, a hill.

DIRRUP—(A.S.) deor, an animal, or used as a personal name; hop a hollow among the hills.

DUNNABIE—Dundoby, 1452 (Q.); Dundonby, Dundoube, 1544 (Q.); Downandbie 1572 (Q.); Downambie, 1591 (R.G.S.); (G.) dun, a hill and then a hill fort; this would make the name "the hill or fort of Doby." Doby again would seem to be a Norse name, viz., the bie or fort of someone whose name is represented by the first syllable.

EAGLESFIELD—Called after Mr Eaglesfield Smith of Blacket House on whose land the village was built.

ENNIE GILL—Perhaps from (G.) eang, a nook, primarily something triangular.

FALLFORD—(N.) fall, place where trees have been felled. Also used to denote enclosures from woodland (E.P.N.).

FIR CREELS—

FULTON—(A.S.) ful, dirty, muddy; (A.S.) tun, enclosed land with dwellings on it, a village.

GALLS—Possibly referred to as Galzaneleis, 1517 (R.G.S.); Galzeanleis, 1542 (R.G.S.); a wet unfertile spot in a field (S.D.D.).

GATELAWBANK—(N.) gata, a road; (A.S.) hlaw, a hill. Might be from (N.) geit, a goat.

GILMARTIN—(G.) gille, a servant; "Martin's servant."

GRAINS—(N.) grein, the fork or branch of a stream (S.).

GREENGATEHOUSE—Greengatho, 1654 (Bl.); (N.) grene gata, green road.

HASS—(N.) hals, a neck, col.

HEMPY SIKE—Hempy, wild, riotous (S.D.D.); (A.S.) sic, a small stream in marshy ground.

HOTTS—Hottcroft, 1612 (R.G.S.); hott, a small heap of anything carelessly put up.

HOWATH—(N.) hol, a hollow; vath, a ford.

KEPPOCK RIG, KEPPOCK SIKE—(G.) ceapach, full of stumps of tree roots, or a tillage plot.

LAND—(A.S.) land, an estate; one of the strips into which a field that has been ploughed is divided.

LINBRIDGEFORD—In the (Q.) papers there is a deed, dated 1349, in which it states that William of Carruthers was granted land in Midilby which had belonged to Thomas de Lindbi. Also the Drumlanrig Inventory of 1693 refers to the grant "of the lands of Middlebie quhilk were sometymes Thomas Aplindi's." Linbridgeford would seem to be a corruption of Lindbi's ford, and this would account for the word "bridge" being in the middle of the name, whereas the ford must have been there long before the bridge. Lindbi is probably taken from a still older personal name, and means the house of Lind. Aplindi is the Welsh form of the name, and appears as Radulph de Aplindene, 1200 (Mel. Ch.); Aplindene, 1304 (Q.); Applingdene, 1305 (Q.).

LINTDUBMOSS—Lint, flax; dub, a small pool of water (S.D.D.).

MEIN—Possibly connected with (A.S.) maene, common.

MIDDLEBIE—The Church of Middeby, 1291 (R.R.); Mydilby, 1349 (Q.); Meddilby, 1349 (Q.); Middilby, 1452 (Q.); Medilby, 1463 (Q.); Middilbe, 1486 (Q.); (N.) methal by, middle farm.

MINISTER'S MOSS—So called as the Minister has the right of casting peats there.

MINSCA—

MORALS—Morle Walls, 1828, Moorhills (V.R.).

MUCKLE SNAB—Snab, the projecting part of a hill; a steep ascent.

MIDDLEWHAT—(A.S.) middel, middle; (N.) thveit, a clearing.

NEWKE—1544 (Arms).

OUTLER SIKE—Outler, not housed; a beast that lies out in winter (S.D.D.); (A.S.) sic, a small stream in marshy ground.

PENGAW—1612 (R.G.S.). Site lost.

PENOBEN BURN—

PALMERSGILL—Palmer, one who goes from place to place shabbily dressed, or who wanders idly from place to place (S.D.D.).

PURDOMSTON—Personal name. In 1478 Corry of Newbie sued James Purdone for wrongfully occupying certain lands in Middlebie. It was decided that while Newbie possesses the superiority Purdone has proved his lawful entry. (*Trans.*, 1912. The Corries of Annandale.)

POKESKINE—Pokesking, 1610 (R.G.S.); Poleskine, 1610 (R.G.S.); Powheskin, 1654 (Bl.); (G.) pol easgann, the stream of the narrow waterfall.

PINGLE—A struggle for livelihood; labour, toil without much result (S.D.D.).

PALLING BURN — Powlin, 1488 (R.G.S.); Polyn, 1498 (R.G.S.); Poling, 1610 (R.G.S.); (G.) pol lin, flax stream.

PENNERSAUGHS—Penresax, 1218 (Q.); Pendersax, 1464; (Q.) Prendirsex, 1464 (Q.); Penerysex, Pennyrsax, Pennersex, 1495 (Q.); Pennyresexe, 1499 (Q.); Pennersax, 1500 (Q.); Pounersauges, 1550 (Arms); (W.) pen yr sax, the hill of the Saxon.

RISP HILL—Risp, long coarse grass (S.D.D.).

ROTTEN MOSS—Rotten, rainy, damp (S.D.D.).

RELIEF—

RESPITTEGE—Rispittige, 1610 (R.G.S.); Rispettedge, 1627 (R.G.S.); (A.S.) hris, brushwood; pytt, a pit; ecg, edge. Coupled with Allfornought. Site lost.

RESPOND—1498 (R.G.S.); (A.S.) hris, brushwood. Site lost.

STELL BUSH—(A.S.) steall, a site, place, cattle-stall (E.P.N.). Bush in old Scots signified a wood consisting of oak and birch (C.P.N.).

SHILLA HILL—Rising ground where grain can be winnowed by the wind (S.D.D.).

SCOTSBRIDGE—Godsbrig, 1654 (Bl.).

STOCKBRIDGE—(A.S.) stoccen bryeg, bridge made of logs.

SATUR—(N.) saetr, summer-pasture farm.

SETTHORNS—Sea, stunted in growth; no longer growing; bent (S.D.D.).

SCALERIG—(N.) skali, a hut; (A.S.) hryeg, a ridge.

TORBECKHILL—Thorbrec, 1218 (Q.); Torbok Hill, 1654 (Bl.). Tor is the Norse personal name, Thorir or Thora; it has no connection with the god Thor (*Trans.*, 1919). (N.) brekka, a slope, hillside.

TANLAWHILL—Tannasyid, 1612 (R.G.S.); (I.) teannail, a beacon fire.

TOFTGATES—Toftgaitis, 1511 (Q.); Tofteycates, 1550 (Arms); toft, a farm or enclosure; (A.S.) geat, a gate. Taylor says "toft" is distinctly Danish, and is unknown in Norway. As far as I know this is the only occurrence of the word in the county.

TODDLEKNOWE—Tod hill, fox hill; (N.) toddi, a measure of wool.

THORLAW KNOWE—For Thor see Torbeckhill above; (A.S.) hlaw, a hill.

'TWEEN WATERS—Betuix the watters, 1612 (R.G.S.); self explanatory.

URLEYBUTT WELL—

WILLIE'S SHANK AND CLEUCH—These may be connected with Willambie, 1190 (Q.); Wilhamby, 1654 (Bl.); personal name, and (N.) byr, a farm. The lands of Thorbrec and Willambie are granted together.

WIZZENGILL—Wizzen, parched, dried up (S.D.D.).
WINTERHOPE—Winterhoup, 1654 (Bl.); personal name, Wintra; (A.S.) hop, a hollow among the hills.
WHITEHILL—(A.S.) hwit, white; the word is used of open pasture land as opposed to wood and heather.

December 13th, 1929.

Chairman—Mr F. MILLER, President.

The Abduction of a Carlyle Heiress.

By D. MURRAY ROSE.

The story of the abduction of the heiress of the Carlyles does not appear in any of the accounts of this ancient family. A brief résumé of the history of the race will explain the circumstances which led to the attempt to deprive the lady of her inheritance. All authorities are agreed that the name is derived from the town across the border where a certain Hildred " de Karleoleo " appears about 1130. He had the lands of Gamelby and Glassonby from King Henry I., and was undoubted progenitor of a line of Carlyles famous in their time. One of them, Sir William Carlyle, married Margaret, sister of King Robert Brus, but the links in the pedigree between this Sir William and William Carlyle first of Torthorwald have not been satisfactorily substantiated.

All that is really known is that William Carlyle of Torthorwald succeeded his father, Sir John Carlyle, about 1432-3, and apparently through his marriage with Elizabeth Kirkpatrick he acquired the estate of Torthorwald, which lands were formerly held by Sir Duncan Kirkpatrick of that Ilk.[1] In order to consolidate his holding he exchanged the lands of Kirkpatrick for those of Roucan,[2] held by Thomas Graham, and henceforth he is styled Lord of Kinmont and Torthorwald. Although the ancestral lands of Kinmont, Middlebie and others were pretty extensive the family designation is chiefly " of Torthorwald " after this date.

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xv., App. viii., No. 101.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 82.

William Carlyle died before 10th November, 1463,[3] and was succeeded by his son.

Sir John Carlyle was an important personage inasmuch that he raised the family to its zenith, and became a Lord of Parliament as Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald. He was a great courtier and man of affairs much employed in the public service at home and abroad. The Indenture for marriage between him and Elizabeth Kirkpatrick, daughter of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, is an exceedingly interesting document, illustrating the procedure in those days. It is dated 8th March, 1432. The Lady's tocher was 400 merks, and William Carlyle, the father of John, had to provide an equal sum; the youthful couple were to be "handfast" in Holy Kirk at the exchange of Indentures, and later on the marriage was to be completed in Holy Kirk. Both parties agreed that a scholar should be engaged to teach the bridegroom such things as were most necessary and he was to be held at his studies so long as it was expedient. After the death of the boy's grandfather, Carlyle became bound to provide the young couple with 20 merks worth of land, while Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick binds himself to support the Carlyles in their affairs as if they were his own bairns.[4]

In 1449 Sir John Carlyle had seisin in the lands of Torthorwald[5] and about this time he acquired the honour of Knighthood. On 10th November, 1463, he had infeftment in the lands of Middlebie, Luce, Kinmont, Kinkell and Locharwood: paying £117 for relief of Middlebie and Kinmont, two red roses as double blench ferm of Kinkell and two red roses as double blench ferm of Locharwood, in all which lands his father died last vest and seised.[6]

Sir John Carlyle next took steps to perpetuate the family name, but all in vain for how many now know that Torthorwald was once the burgh of Carliell or Carlyle. On

3 *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xv., App. viii., No. 87.
4 *Ibid.*, No. 81.
5 *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. 9, p. 661.
6 *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xvi., App. viii., No. 87.

3rd December, 1473, he secured a Charter under the Great Seal, erecting the town of Torthorwald into a free burgh of barony to be called in all time coming the town of Carlyle with all the usual privileges pertaining to the liberty of a burgh of barony, the settlement of tradesmen, to have a cross, and a mercat day each week with open fairs each year.[7] About the same time Sir John was created a Lord of Parliament as Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald. This was the climax in a busy life in the public service and at Court. During the next few years he added considerably to the family estate, which he resigned in order that the outlying portions of his property might be united in the barony of Carlyle. The Charter following upon this resignation gives some idea of the extent of his holdings in January, 1486-7. Besides the lands of Kinmont and others in which he had seisin in 1463 he held the lands of Dornock with the Mill and patronage of the Church, Kirkconnell with the patronage, Annan with the fishing, Kirkpatrick with the Mill, Bramell, Marjoribank, Oulcotts, Ecclesfechan, Ryhill, Cummertrees, Torduff, Dalebank, Bridekirk, &c.[8] The possession of this fair inheritance, as we shall see, led to exciting incidents in the life of the heiress of the family.

The next we hear of John Lord Carlyle is his preparation for his journey to the bourne from whence there is no return. He settled his worldly affairs by resigning his lands in favour of his grandson William and his Testament[9] or Will shows that in November, 1500, he had disposed of most of his effects and had only left eight ploughing oxen and £100 in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to maintain the two aisles he founded in his Church of Carlyle and the Chaplains celebrating Mass for himself, his predecessors and successors. His body was to be buried in the Church; £40 to be expended on his funeral; he bequeathed four pennies to the fabric of the Church of Glasgow in honour of St. Kentigern. By Elizabeth Kirkpatrick, his wife, he had two

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 88.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[9] *Ibid.*, No. 97.

sons :—John who died in his father's lifetime leaving a son William; and Adam Carlyle, ancestor of the Carlyles of Brydekirk.

William Carlyle, who succeeded his grandfather as second Lord Carlyle, took little part in public affairs, so that his name hardly appears on record. He acquired the honour of Knighthood in January, 1487-8, and in 1500 he had a Charter of Confirmation of the lordship of Carlyle with the pertinents.[10] He married Janet, daughter of John, Master of Maxwell, and died about May, 1525, leaving with other issue :—James, 3rd Lord Carlyle, and Michael, 4th Lord Carlyle.

James, 3rd Lord Carlyle, died within a year of his father. He had resigned his estate for conjunct infeftment in favour of his spouse, Janet Scrymgeor of Dudop, but he died before seisin could be given, and his widow, Janet, had a Charter in liferent of half the lands and barony of Carlyle, with the Castle and other lands, on 24th December, 1529.[11]

Michael, 4th Lord Carlyle, was one of those chiefly concerned in the story we now have to tell. On 27th December, 1529, he had a Charter under the Great Seal of the lands and barony of Carlyle, etc., with reservation of Janet Scrymgeor's liferent.[12] For long years Michael, Lord Carlyle, resented his sister-in-law's possession of so large a part of his ancestral estate, more especially her occupation of the Castle of Torthorwald. But it was only in November, 1544, that the ill feeling between the parties broke out with violence. On 22nd November of that year Lord Carlyle with his merry men seized and " spulzied " the Castle of Torthorwald and adjacent lands, making a clean sweep of everything they could take away including cattle, sheep, grain, plenishing with provisions. But Michael forgot that the lady came of a doughty race and could fight for her rights. She was businesslike also, and made him pay the piper. We cannot give here the items in the extraordinary Inventory of losses

10 *Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 188.
11 *Reg. of Great Seal*, 1513-46, No. 868.
12 *Ibid.*, No. 871.

she lodged in process which gives minute details about carved oak bedsteads, featherbeds with furnishings, down to the very tongs, as well as the hides of the marts and muttons in her larder. They even took the lady's personal trinkets; her gold chain weighing three ounces worth £10 per ounce, her pendant or "hingar" of gold with a ruby worth £10, two gold rings, one with a ruby and the other with a sapphire valued at £15. They also took her store of provisions which included a two gallon pitcher of honey.[13]

She pursued Michael, Lord Carlyle, Alexander Carlyle of Brydekirk and Adam Carlyle, his son, before the Lords of Council for the spulzie, and got Decreet against Lord Carlyle for her loss including the profits she ought to have from twenty-four score ewes in wool, lamb, milk, butter and cheese and of twenty score yeld sheep in wool, etc.[14] In order to compose matters Lord Carlyle had to give her 10 merks worth of lands lying on the south of the Mains of Torthorwald, 10 merks of Roucan and 10 merks of Drumbuy, until her loss was made good when the lands were to revert to Lord Carlyle.[15]

Michael, Lord Carlyle, did not act a patriotic part during the trouble between England and Scotland, in consequence of which a process of treason was begun against him for delivering the Castle of Torthorwald to the English. Through the good offices of Archbishop Hamilton he obtained a remission for his misdeeds dated at Dumfries, 2nd August, 1551.[16] In the Marian Strife Lord Carlyle at first supported Queen Mary, but ultimately acknowledged the young King's authority and coronation.[17]

Lord Carlyle married 1st Janet Charteris, 2nd Mariota Maxwell. He had five sons with whom we are concerned, viz.—William, Master of Carlyle, father of the heiress; Adam,

[13] *Reg. of Great Seal*, 1546-80, No. 75.

[14] *Acts of Council and Session*, vol. 21, ff. 23, 113; vol. 22, f. 25.

[15] *Ibid.*, No. 75.

[16] *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, 2, p. 481; *Reg. of Privy Seal*, 24, f. 95.

[17] *Reg. of Privy Council*, i., pp. 572, 580.

of whom little is known; Michael Carlyle of Torthorwald, the "Wicked Uncle" in the story; John, ancestor of the Carlyles of Boytath; and Peter.

William, Master of Carlyle, had a Charter from his father of the lands of Pettinain in Lanark on 5th January, 1546-7. When his father was in trouble for treason, Archibald Hamilton arranged for a remission apparently on the basis of a payment of 1800 merks, and that William, Master of Carlyle, should marry the Archbishop's grandniece, Jean Johnston, daughter of James Johnston younger of that Ilk. This contract is dated 1st August, 1551—the day before the remission.[18] In the contest for the estate, later on, it was alleged that the Master of Carlyle was infeft in the estate "but was be long infermitic of desperate health and nocht able to continue long in this lyfe," so the infeftment was destroyed. The Master of Carlyle died in March, 1573-4, leaving an only child, Elizabeth, born about 1568, the heiress of the family and the Lady in the Case. The child was residing with her grandfather, Lord Carlyle, at the time of her father's death.

It is by no means clear what views Michael, Lord Carlyle, held as to the succession, but it was alleged that, on 24th March, 1573, he granted a Charter of his whole estate (except Kelhead and Pettinain) in favour of his son, Michael Carlyle: reserving his own liferent, and provision for his wife, Mariota Maxwell. The Charter was recorded in the Registers of Privy Seal and Great Seal at the time, and was accepted as authentic. Such was the position when the great struggle for possession of the heiress and estate began, a struggle that lasted for many years.

The mother of the heiress, Jean Johnston, naturally anxious to obtain the custody of her infant daughter, in March, 1574, began an action before the Lords of Council against Michael, Lord Carlyle, for delivery of Elizabeth Carlyle, her daughter,[19] with the result he was charged to

18 *Annandale Peerage Case* (1576), 122, 45, 46; *Acts and Decreets* (Scott), 145, f. 65.

19 *Acts and Decreets* (Scott), vol. 57, f. 365.

deliver the child to her mother. The King's Advocate next intervened and on 29th April, 1574, charged Carlyle to produce and deliver Elizabeth Carlyle to the King and his Regent to be kept during the ward of the lands held by the deceased William, Master of Carlyle. Lord Carlyle, by his procurator, denied the whole points and articles; he neither has, nor has he put away the lady.[20] The case came on again on 8th May against Michael, Lord Carlyle, Adam Carlyle, Peter Carlyle and Michael Carlyle, his sons, at the instance of the King's Advocate who contended that Elizabeth Carlyle was a ward of the King by reason of the ward, relief and non-entry of the lands of Kelhead and Pettinain, yet the foresaid persons refused to exhibit and produce Elizabeth Carlyle before the Council. Lord Carlyle was assoilzied, but the others were charged to produce the child.[21]

Jean Johnston, the mother, with feminine obstinacy, persisted that the child was in the custody of Lord Carlyle, and on 28th June, 1574, she continued her process against him, alleging that he has the child in his keeping, commits her to the custody of such persons as he pleases, and will not deliver her to her said mother.[22] All the efforts of the mother and the authorities to discover the whereabouts of the little heiress were in vain. It was only in the spring of 1575 that the truth leaked out; the heiress had been abducted and stolen from her grandfather's dwelling by her uncle, Michael Carlyle of Torthorwald, and Adam Carlyle of Bridekirk, of whom the less said the better. He was an associate of men who wrote their name large in border annals, such as "Duke's Jock," Will of Kinmont, "Gray Will," "Gawin's Jock," "Hobbe Elliot," "Geordie" Simson and "Gorthe" Graham. Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig incurred a penalty of £2000 in June, 1574, for not presenting Adam Carlyle of Bridekirk before the Council.[23]

One can only imagine the feelings of a little girl of six

[20] *Acts and Deecreets* (Gibson), vol. 53, ff. 290-1.
[21] *Ibid.*, vol. 53, f. 326.
[22] *Ibid.*, vol. 53, f. 501.
[23] *Register of Privy Council*, vol. 2, pp. 364-5.

years of age when carried about secretly from place to place in the custody of wild ruthless men who moved furtively from one fastness to the other. Fortunately for her the Steward of Gilsland, Thomas Carleton, got to hear that the missing heiress was brought into England. It is uncertain whether she was entrusted to him for safety, or whether he managed to secure her from her custodians, but he probably heard about her from Will of Kinmont, who was uncle of his wife, a daughter of " Gorthe " Graham, who had married Will's sister. Thomas Carleton was little better than the others already mentioned, for the wild border reivers who plundered the Scots always found refuge in his district. For this reason the Scots' Regent tried several times to have him removed from office, and Lord Scrope, the English Warden, was extremely suspicious about him. When Scrope heard about the heiress being in Carleton's custody he promptly had the little lady brought to his own home for safety.

News of the heiress reached Scotland in February, 1574-5, and on the 18th of that month the Regent wrote to the Privy Council of England about her abduction from her grandfather's house, and the rumour that she was now at Thomas Carleton's house in Westmoreland. He moved Lord Scrope, the Warden, to make search for her, and get her into his own custody in order that he (the Regent) might make suit for her deliverance, and the Regent prays the Council that she may be delivered to him.[24]

The Privy Council of England acted promptly in the affair. They record in their Minutes on 25th February that the heiress was stolen from her grandfather's custody by her father's brother, and after being carried secretly from place to place was brought to the house of Thomas Carleton and is now in the keeping of Lord Scrope. They wrote to Lord Scrope to deliver her with expedition to such persons as the Lord Regent shall assign, and they asked Scrope to report. The heir ought to be delivered as required, and they deprecated such bad practices on the one side or the other.[25]

[24] *Scottish Papers*, vol. 5, pp. 87-8.
[25] *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 8, p. 348.

After Elizabeth Carlyle returned to Scotland the long struggle for possession of the estate began, for early in 1575 her grandfather, Lord Carlyle, had been slain by English raiders, and she was now heir of the family. Thus on 9th July, 1575, her uncle, Michael Carlyle of Torthorwald, who was concerned in her abduction, was summoned to produce all the Charters and other writs of the whole lands and Lordship of Carlyle made and granted to the Lords thereof, predecessors to Elizabeth Carlyle, in order that they may be seen by the Lords, and be delivered to the said Elizabeth Carlyle and her Curators, Mr David Borthwick of Lochhill and Mr Robert Creichtoun.[26]

Michael Carlyle of Torthorwald was attacked from another quarter, this time by a man who proved to be his most persistent enemy—George Douglas of Parkhead, who had his eye on the heiress as a possible match for his son. Douglas, as the King admitted later on, by sheer importunity got a royal gift of the ward, relief and non-entry of the Carlyle estate against the King's wish. Douglas, by virtue of this right, on 20th October, 1575, masterfully seized the Castle of Torthorwald, and took a " spulzie " of the goods and gear therein together with corn, cattle, etc., from the Mains.[27] Before Michael Carlyle could pursue any action against him Michael is found a prisoner in ward under circumstances which are obscure unless connected with the abduction. Michael's confinement was apparently of short duration for he soon afterwards seized the Castle of Torthorwald and was still there in May, 1578. He probably had some help from the Maxwells, as he and they were summoned by Douglas for taking spoil of corn, cattle, money, gear, and plenishing out of the Place of Torthorwald.[28] Douglas now charged him to render up the Castle, and in obedience to the summons Michael Carlyle came to Dumfries, on 16th June, to deliver the place. He found Eustace Creichtoun, a messenger, at the Mercat Cross in the act of putting

[26] *Acts and Decreets* (Scott), vol. 61, f. 229.
[27] *Acts and Decreets* (Gibson), vol. 76, f. 335.
[28] *Acts and Decreets* (Scott), vol. 78, f. 147.

him to the horn! Carlyle in a loud voice offered the Castle to Creichtoun, but the latter refused to receive it. Next morning Carlyle sent Andro Cuningham to Eustace Creichtoun, who had gone to Sanquhar, offering to deliver the Castle to Douglas. Creichtoun again refused to receive it, because he had put Carlyle to the horn and endorsed the letters. This placed Michael Carlyle in a quandary, for no one would receive the Castle which he had left patent. Yet on 24th June he was charged to deliver the place under pain of treason. He therefore complained to the Privy Council about this sharp practice, and they, disapproving of the whole proceedings, decided that the charge should be suspended, as the former letters were sufficiently obeyed.[29]

While Michael Carlyle was having the lively exchanges with Douglas the struggle for the estate on behalf of the heiress still went on. In July, 1579, she was declared to be heir to her grandfather, Michael, Lord Carlyle, in the lands and barony of Carlyle, the Castle of Torthorwald, etc. The Lady's Curators also sought to have the Charter and Seisin in favour of her uncle, Michael Carlyle, dated 24th March, 1573, orderly reduced on the allegation that the deeds were false and feigned. Thus Michael Carlyle and Herbert Anderson, the notar public, had to face a most serious charge when they were summoned on 20th April, 1580, to produce the documents before the Lords. They failed to appear or produce the deeds.[30] The disputed Charter appears in the Registers of Privy Seal and Great Seal, and was apparently accepted as authentic. Any way Michael Carlyle adopted another course, probably to defeat the claim of the heiress. He entered into a contract with John, Lord Maxwell, whereby, on 24th November, 1580, he sold practically the whole outlying portions of the Carlyle estate, and Maxwell had a charter thereof on 7th March, 1580-1.[31]

Michael Carlyle, however, determined to maintain his hold on Torthorwald, for he once more seized his ancestral

[29] *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. 3, pp. 70-1.
[30] *Acts and Decreets* (Gibson), vol. 79, f. 275.
[31] *Register of the Great Seal*, 1580-93, Nos. 134, 136.

Castle, which he held until August, 1582, when Douglas forcibly ejected Grizel Maxwell, the wife of Michael Carlyle, and his children. The poor lady was compelled to seek refuge with her mother, Katherine Maxwell of Hill. Michael Carlyle retaliated on Douglas, as he thought, by plundering and taking spoil of the teind sheaves of Torthorwald. But this was a serious blunder, for they belonged to John Logan of Coustoun, donator of the escheat of Douglas. Michael Carlyle was now promptly denounced rebel and warded in the Castle of Blackness. But even in his prison retreat he raised letters against Douglas, charging him to restore his Castle of Torthorwald to him under pain of rebellion. Another enemy next appeared in the person of John Johnston of that Ilk, who had acquired a gift of the escheat of the mails and duties of the estate of Carlyle. The King acknowledges that he had intended the Johnstons to have the gift formerly, but he was so importuned that he granted it to Douglas against his will, and now for his conscience' sake he revoked the former gift to Douglas and granted the gift of escheat to Johnston. John, Lord Maxwell, protested that this gift should not prejudice the rights of Michael Carlyle.[32] Michael Carlyle proved a match for Johnston in the first legal round, and had the proceedings in 1584 quashed on the ground that neither he, his wife, nor family had lived within the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Dumfries for two years.[33] In 1585 Michael Carlyle had relief from all his mundane troubles, for he died in that year, leaving a son, John Carlyle of Lochartour—an estate Michael acquired from John, Lord Maxwell, on 6th March, 1580-1. A gift of the ward and non-entry of Lochartour was made to Captain Andro Brus on 26th September, 1585,[34] and on 24th May, 1592, John Carlyle of Lochartour had seisin in the lands and barony of Carlyle with the Castle of Torthorwald and other lands held by his late father, Michael Carlyle.[35] This John, like

[32] *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. 3, pp. 395-6.
[33] *Acts and Decreets* (Scott), vol. 100, ff. 283-4.
[34] *Reg. of Privy Seal*, vol. 53, f. 47.
[35] *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. 22, p. 468.

his father, was involved in litigation with the heiress, and became ancestor of the Carlyles of Lochartour, who afterwards claimed the peerage.

Elizabeth Carlyle's possession of the family estate was largely nominal. After the death of her uncle, Michael Carlyle, she had seisin on 6th May, 1587, in the lands and barony of Carlyle, with the pertinents,[36] but the litigation continued with her cousin, John Carlyle of Lochartour, until 6th March, 1593, when the Lords of Council decerned that the Charter in dispute was false.[36a] Early in 1587 Elizabeth Carlyle married Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, who thereafter is usually styled Lord Torthorwald, while she is frequently described as Elizabeth Carlyle, Lady of that Ilk, or as Dame Elizabeth Carlyle, Lady Torthorwald. This seems to prove that she never made good her right to the family peerage, although in the Decreet of Ranking in 1606 her husband appears as Lord Carlyle, while later on he is styled Lord Torthorwald.

Lord Torthorwald is chiefly remembered in history because of his cowardly murder of Captain James Stewart of Newton, the once powerful Earl of Arran, on 1st December, 1596, in revenge for Stewart's share in the downfall of the Regent Morton, who was Torthorwald's uncle. Torthorwald, hearing that Stewart was in his neighbourhood, mounted in hot haste, and, accompanied by three servants, overtook Stewart in the valley called Catslack, where in a furious onset he cut the Captain down, leaving the body by the roadside. For this slaughter Torthorwald was denounced rebel and put to the horn.[37] Although the Privy Council intervened and Torthorwald paid assythment to the nearest kin of his victim, a blood feud was inevitable, and on 14th July, 1608, Torthorwald met his fate at the hands of his victim's nephew, Captain James Stewart, who stabbed him to death with a "half lang sword" near the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh.[38]

[36] *Ibid.*, 21, p. 538.
[36a] *Acts and Decreets*, vol. 147, f. 69.
[37] *Reg of Privy Council*, vol. 5, p. 360.
[38] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 129.

It was only after the death of her husband that Elizabeth Carlyle, Lady of that Ilk, and her eldest son got actual possession of the family estate. The lands had fallen into the King's hand by reason of improper alienation, and William Cuningham in Dolphinton had a grant of them. He now resigned the lands, and on 6th April, 1609, the King anew granted a Charter of the whole lands and barony of Carlyle with the Castle and whole pertinents to James, Lord of Torthorwald, and his heirs male, reserving the liferent in the lands to Lady Elizabeth Carlyle, Lady of that Ilk.[39] Seisin followed on 17th April, 1609.[40]

From this time forth little of interest emerges concerning Lady Torthorwald, as she is styled, except in connection with bonds and debts, until she was abducted a second time. She married William Sinclair of Blans about 1619, and she flits through the records of Dumfries and East Lothian as being sadly in debt. The climax came in 1624, when she was put to the horn and denounced rebel because of non-payment of debt.

One of the extraordinary features in her life of adventure is the fact that no Carlyle ever came to her assistance in the hour of her need. But it is worthy of notice that the lady at last found a Carlyle champion. She was being conveyed prisoner by the Sheriff-Depute of Dumfries and Mark Glaidstane, when Alexander Carlyle, son of "Little Hobbie," chanced to come upon the scene. In spite of legal enactments he was armed with hagbuts and pistols, and when he beheld the lady's plight his chivalrous instincts were so aroused that he fiercely attacked the Sheriff-Depute and Mark Glaidstane. He gallantly rescued the lady from their clutches, wounded Mark to the great effusion of his blood, and took him prisoner. For abducting the lady from legal custody and this exploit Alexander Carlyle had to find caution in 200 merks and pay 20 merks as his escheat.[41]

Elizabeth Carlyle had four sons by Sir James Douglas,

39 *Register of Great Seal*, 1609-20, No. 48.
40 *Secretary's Reg. of Seisins, Dumfries*, 1609, ff. 5, 7.
41 *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. 13, p. 532.

viz. :—James, Lord Torthorwald; Archibald, John, and George; but she apparently outlived them all, and saw the last remnant of the great possessions of her ancestors dissipated by her son James, who sold or mortgaged the lands to William Douglas of Drumlanrig.[42] The date of her death is uncertain, but it took place about 1642. Nothing is known about her grandson James, son of Lord Torthorwald, beyond that he was baptised on 2nd January, 1621.

A Letter of the '45.

By R. C. REID.

On the 8th November, 1745, Prince Charles Edward crossed the Border to win back his crown, flushed with unbroken victory in the North. Just six weeks later—21st December, 1745—he re-crossed the Border a broken man. Much has been written about the '45. Historians have subjected that ill-fated venture to a microscopical examination. Playwrights, pamphleteers, and poets have all sought inspiration from it, and every likely depository of further data has been ransacked for information. The exploits and the fates of every considerable person connected with it have been narrated. Even lists of the prisoners and their subsequent punishments have been compiled. And yet, in spite of all this research, we have very little information of what actually took place in Dumfriesshire whilst the rebel army traversed it; what the inhabitants thought of it all or how it affected them. There was, of course, no local Press to record the Prince's progress in flaming headlines, so we have to fall back on personal letters, of which but few have survived. Some of these have been most properly published.

Dr. Waugh, Chancellor of Carlisle Diocese, a far-seeing man, at the outbreak of the Rebellion arranged with numerous correspondents in Scotland to keep him informed of the Rebels' movements. This correspondence, fortunately preserved, was published in 1846 by George Gill Mounsey,

[42] *Reg. of Great Seal*, 8th January, 1622.

and is the basis of all our knowledge, containing letters from the Provosts of Dumfries and Annan, Commissary Goldie, and other persons in Dumfriesshire. But they are concerned almost entirely with the military movements and political aspects of affairs, and lack the intimate touch of personal experience. Another collection of letters addressed to a resident in Whithorn parish has been admirably edited in our *Transactions* by Mr Shirley,[1] but in this case, too, the personal experience is missing. A few brief letters by James Fergusson, younger of Craigdarroch, chamberlain to the Duke of Queensberry, informing the Duke of the happenings at Thornhill, have appeared.[2]

With such a dearth of material we must welcome a letter from a Dumfriesshire lady who actually suffered from tartaned Highlanders in her house during the retreat—a letter written within two months of the event. The letter is the property of Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Y. Herries of Spottes, who has kindly placed it at the disposal of the Society.

It is written by Charlotte, erstwhile Marchioness of Annandale, and widow of Col. John Johnstoun of Netherwood. The only child and heiress of John Vanden Bempde of Hackness, she married on 20th November, 1718, as his second wife William Johnstone, 1st Marquess of Annandale, who died in 1721. Her second husband was a younger son of Sir William Johnstone, 2nd Bart of Westerhall, and was killed at Carthagena in 1741.[3] She was therefore a widow at the time of the '45, living at Comlongan, which she presumably rented from Viscount Stormonth. I have been unable to ascertain whether she resided in the tower or in a precursor of the present modern mansion adjoining—probably the latter. By her first marriage she had two sons —grown men at the '45—who do not enter into this picture. Her two boys by the second marriage, Richard and Charles, were then at school in Cumberland. When the rebel army crossed the Esk the school seems to have broken up and

1 *Trans.*, 1919-20, p. 179.
2 *Trans.*, 1894-5, p. 117.
3 *Burke's Peerage.*

the boys sent home, for in another letter from Lady Annandale to Mrs Waugh (28th November, 1745) she writes:—"I got a letter to-day by private hand from Dicky, who tells he and Charles are well but desire to come home, as the scholars does (sic) nothing after this week, most of them being gone for fear of the Highlanders."[4] The boys' wish was gratified, for they were at Comlongan when the Highlanders visited it.

The boy, Richard Johnstone,[5] became the 1st Baronet of Hackness, and his son was ennobled as Lord Derwent.

Internal evidence indicates that the letter is written to Sir James Johnstone, 3rd Bart. of Westerhall, her brother-in-law, who had eloped with and married Barbara Murray, daughter of Alexander 4th, Lord Elibank. The Westerhalls were all Hanoverians, but the Murrays all suspected of Jacobite sympathies; indeed Barbara's brother, Alexander, was created (Jacobite) Earl of Westminster. Such was the political cleavage in many Scottish families.[6]

Charlotte's health would seem to have given her trouble, and though her allusion to gout may have been a diplomatic illness to preserve her horses, she must have been suffering some indisposition to cause her to drink the waters of the Brow Well. Such waters are avoided by the robust. Perhaps waters were her failing, for she died at Bath, but not till nearly thirty years later.[7]

This letter is written in the somewhat stilted style of the period, yet graphic and incisive withal and not without some humour. If only we had more letters like it, recounting the experiences of the individual public, we would obtain a more definite idea of what contemporaries really thought of this historical episode in which Romance, Comedy, and Tragedy are so strangely blended.

[4] Mounsey, *Authentic Account of Carlisle in 1745*, p. 112.

[5] Born 21st Sept., 1732 *(History of Johnstones*, p. 165).

[6] In June, 1746, a correspondent of Dr Waugh wrote:—"I have had nothing from Scotland of late, only that poor Sir James Johnstone is a dying at Edinburgh, his rebel lady and daughter having broke his heart" (Mounsey, p. 241).

[7] 23rd Nov., 1772.

Copy Letter Signed C[harlotte] Annandale.

Comlongan,
Jan. 17, 1746.

Sir,

Tho' I am allways glad to hear from you, yet your delay was a kindnes as I shoud have sufferd extreamly in only knowing our friend was ill, without the comfortable part of your obliging letter, in hearing he was recovered, which I am thankfull to Heaven for, and humble hope god will long preserve him in health and tranquillity, and that I may see him which I realy long for more and more, and find myself very uneasy without out (sic), tho I dont know how to compass it, as my old mares are not able for it. I am very glad Dr Cox's medicins have had such good effects and I hope your visit to Weild Hall will yield the satisfaction wee both most ardently wish for in finding him well, and then I am sure he will have great pleasure in the company of such an affectionate friend and hope you will see him as often as is convenient. It gives me great satisfaction to find our friend has done everything for the establishing his dear health & hope he will preserve in it for our felicity as well as that of his most affectionate friends. I have lived in early hopes of a few lines from him. As I have not had that joy since the 4th June, pray when you see him say everything from me that a fond parental heart would utter if so happy to see him.

My dear boys being at home when the H[ighlan]d Army returned, was lucky as it freed me from the anxiety you mentioned, and their company was an amusement to me in such disturbances as this country was in at their return, on the 21st Decem[ber] the day my house was visited by 3 o'clock in the morning when a Captain & five men entered the house and staid till seven. They asked for arms and horses; the former I had none. Then they went to the stables and would have taken all my mares

but Mr H . . g . . n[7a] pleaded hard for them & told ym I was afflicted with the gout and that I had no way of exercising but in the coach, which prevailed with them so far as to leave me four, but the odd one they would have and two of H . . g . . n best horses (which I was sorry for as it's a loss to his business) and after they got plenty of meat and drink they all went to Sir W. G[rierson]'s who lost some horses too. After the morning was over I had another visit of 40 more who came at 2 o'clock, who made the same demand as the former, but as I had time I sent the best of my mares out of the way and by that means saved them; but they threatened to shoot one of Mr H.'s workmen if he did not tell where my mares were, for they said they knew I had five and a shelty,[8] but the man said he knew not where they were, which pacified them. Then they sliped round the parks and got a poor old dragoon of Mr H . . but her (sic) found it was not able to rid far, so they told H . . g . . ploughboy that her (sic) would sell him for ten shillings, but the boy said he had but sixpence—well then her (sic) will let you have him for 6d. And after eating and drinking, 34 of them marched off, but the other six who was not so able to go on to Dumfries said they would lye here, guests I would not have wished for. But what one cant remedy its best to bear and they were carried to the stablebeds which by no means pleased them, for they said they would not lye anywhere but in a good room with fire and was going to draw their broad swords; but by telling them their was no room in the house and that they should want for nothing they were at last prevailed upon to sleep in their quarters, but they declared if anybody offered to come where they lay, they would shoot them and they tooke their arms to bed with them. But as they found nothing molested them, they went away by six in the

[7a] Probably James Hoggan, "a writer in Comlongan" (*History of Johnstones*, p. 168).

[8] A pony.

morning after a good breakfast of meat cheese ale and brandy, and was so civil as never to set their foot in ye house, & sent their service to me & thanks for their good entertainment, and told my boys (who were much diverted with them) that they were namesakes for M'Donalds which they were, was was (sic) the same with Johnstone; but I was very glad when my cousins were gon, tho I realy bore it better than I coud have imagined. All the effects of it were the breaking a nights rest and eating no dinner which were triffells to what my neighbours suffered, for those who went to the Stank plundered the house leaving Richison and his wife and Mrs Barson (who was tending the wife in her lying inn) nothing but the cloaths on their backs and had near killid Richison if he had not run for it and the poor wife who had lain inn but a fortnight was obliged to rise her bed and walk bearfoot a mile with her bairn and fat Barson after her. I hope in God wee shall never see them more, for they ruin wherever they goe. Where they are now I know not. I wish both for publick & privett it was at and end, for business is at an end and no money to be had in the countrey.

My boys who are very well left me yesterday morning & will I hope be this night at Appelby. They desired I would make their duty acceptable to their dear uncle when I write. Charles is so zealous a man for the Royal Family that I am sure if he coud have got a horse & known the way he would have followed Lord Malton's sons example for he was quite wild to pay his duty to the Duke of Cumberland at Carlisle & can talk of nothing but cannons & sieges and scaleing of walls—nay, he even dreams of it; but I hope his book will now take place till he's of an age to serve his countrey. I had the pleasure of seeing my brother Walter Johnstone who is very well & is now at Carlisle. My boys were to sup with him last night and Charles said he would get his uncle to show him where the breach of the Castle wall was made. I am glad our post to London from this is again restored, as I shall have the pleasure I hope of hearing often of my

friend and your good health, and am much obliged for all your kind wishes and news, but I fear the poor Scots will be in the state of an old Almanack, if not worse.

In your next I should be glad to know if Captain Vincent is in Town for I have not heard from him since Octo[ber]. I shoud likewise wish to know where the trust papers are putt and if my dressing plate and ring are yet at Mr Childs and if I might now hope for their being preserved, considering what fortune I brought and how much I have conserved too in paying off debts.

I am very sorry for Mr Johnstone of Wamphray's[9] death, as he was truly a man of worth and friendship which makes the loss greater as the world does not abound in such men. I thank God my health is such as admits of a visit to the Brow most days and the weather favours, it being soft and sweet as in April that the trees are buding and spring flowers make their appearance, but I wish St Pauls day dont produce as great a change as was last year.

I think it is time to draw the 9th page to conclusion by assureing you how much I wish the health and prosperity of Westerhall and that I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate obliged humble servant

C. ANNANDALE.

Miss is well & her dear uncles dutyfull neice. Be so good to make my compliments to all my friends who are so kind to enquire after me.

P.S.—I was so lucky to get the mare again by Stephen's interest. I knew nothing of it till done which was better still, so that the gout & the [Rope?] have been of service.

[9] Captain James Johnstone died in England, 14th December, 1745, and was succeeded by his brother, Colonel Robert Johnstone.

A Sanquhar Castle Document.

By R. C. Reid.

When this Society visited Sanquhar Castle in 1928 it was observed how difficult it was to date the structure. At least two periods were obvious, but modern partial reconstruction had rendered most of the ruin unintelligible.

The Tower in the south corner, dating from middle or early 15th century, belongs to the earliest period. A fragment of a curtain wall abutting it at right angles also is of this period. The existing remains of curtain walls surrounding the inner courtyard are of later period. But there is nothing to indicate its date. No documents throwing any light on the castle are known to exist. But amongst the charters of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh I have found one that relates to the castle and that may refer to the reconstruction that included these later curtain walls. This, of course, is conjectural, but where all else is dark any small ray of light is of value.

Robert, Sixth Lord Creichtoun of Sanquhar, succeeded his father when he was stabbed to death on 11th June, 1550, being infeft seven years later. He was still a minor in November, 1558, when he was called on to choose curators. He died in 1581. His father also had been a minor, and can only have enjoyed the estate for a few years before his tragic death. His uncle, the Fourth Lord, had never attained legal age. In fact from 1520 to 1560 the estates had been in the hands of one set after another of curators, who were probably more interested in their own pickings than the upkeep of the castle. James, Lord Fleming, had secured the gift of the ward of Sanquhar, which he was busy milking just as his father, Malcolm, had done in the minority of the Fifth Lord.

It was obviously in the interests of the estates to get rid of this gift of ward held by Fleming. We do not know how it was done, but this document shows that in 1556 Lord Robert Creichtoun, with consent of his curators, discharged James, Lord Fleming, of all actions or claims he might have

against him "for our sustentacioun" under the gift of ward, and renounced any action he might have against Fleming "for dounletting, distructioun, bigging, beting, repairing or mending of our place and castell of Sanchquhair or woddis thereof."

This document clearly indicates a condition of dilapidation—with a forty year minority it could be nought else—but it by no means implies any extensive rebuilding. But as an isolated reference it is of interest and is worth recording.

We Robert Lord Creichtoun of Sanquhair wt speciale consent and assent of Williame Cunynghame young Lard of Capringtoun John Creichtoun or fader bruder, Robert Dalzell of yat Ilk and Maister Robert Creichtoun persoun of Sanquhair or curatours for yair interest, be ye termes heirof quitclamis discharges and rendres all actioun titill and clame quhilkis we haif or anywayis may ask clame haif or pretend againis or cousing James Lord Flemyng older for or sustentacioun and leving of quhatsamever warde or blenche landis perteining to us contenit in ye giftis maid to him of or warde nonentres and relief ower propurtie or tenandrie and assignit and disponit be him to quhatsumever persoun or personis before ye dait heirof. And sall nevir move actioun nor pley aganis him his airs executors nor assignais for any modificatioun of leving to be maid be us furth of the samen conforme to ye lawis and consuetude of ye realme bot renuncis ye samyn alsweill of termis bigane as to cum during ye tyme of ye warde and nonentries foirsaids for evir. And alsua renuncis all actioun yat we may haif aganis ye said James Lord [Flemyng] his airs or assignais for dounletting distructioun, bigging, beting, repairing or mending of or place and castell of Sanchquhair or woddis yrof or of quhatsumevir uyeris or places housses woddis parkis bigganys yardis or orchardis, and renuncis ye samen for us and or airis for evir. Be ye pnts (presents) subscrivit at or handis and be or curators intakin of yr consent, at edinburt ye 16 day of June ye zeir of God 1556 before yir witnesses, Johne Cunynghame of Capringtoun, Niniane Creichtoun of

Auchintair, John Fleming younger of Boghall, John Wd in Aldtounburne and Patrik Blake yt wyeris diverse.

signed ROBERT LORD SANQUHAIR
WILLIAM CUNYNGHAME
ROBERT DALZEIL of yt Ilk
ROBERT CREICHTOUN rector of Sanquhar
" manu sua "
and JOHN CREYCHTOUNE

January 24th, 1930.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

The Common Sorrel, Rumex Acetosa, Linn.

By G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.G.S.

The Sorrel or Sourock is by no means so conspicuous as *Caltha palustris*, and I am rather afraid that most botanists look upon it as a common, necessary weed which is not in the least interesting and which may be safely passed by without any examination.

The first point to which I would direct your attention is the extraordinary abundance of this plant in Britain.

Thus if you start on the seashore, i.e., at the frontier where the ordinary lowland flowers are invading the territory of *Armeria* (Sea Thrift) and its allies, you will assuredly find *Rumex Acetosa* amongst the first pioneers. If you then pass along the road leading through alluvial valley flats and arable land you will find it flourishing by roadsides, in the edges and corners of fields, in hay meadows, and also by the river bank. It can even maintain itself on the shingle and sand banks of the river itself.

On boulderclay soil it seems to thrive everywhere; even when one climbs up into the " rough hill pasture," where all the heather has been destroyed by fire and replaced by *Nardus, Agrostis,* Sheep's Fescue, Sweet Vernal Grass,

and *Juncus squarrosus,* even there *Rumex Acetosa* is still to be found, and especially along the edges of the drains [cf. W. G. Smith (3)].

But, which is a very remarkable fact, it may be classed as an Alpine plant, for it has been recorded even as high as 3980 feet in Breadalbane and at 3757 feet altitude in Rannoch[1] (1).

I have never myself found it in peat mosses, though it is very common in those parts of Lochar Moss which have been reclaimed, and especially in flats which are regularly flooded in winter.

Is it not remarkable that *Rumex Acetosa* should be able to hold its own in all these varied associations?

After the glaciers of the Great Ice Age had begun their steady retreat towards the frozen North they left a devastated area of desolate moraines, drumlins, shingles, and sand banks, interrupted here and there by bald, bare, and polished "roches moutonnées." In this desolation *Rumex Acetosa* and its first cousin *Rumex Acetosella* could, if we judge by the behaviour of their modern descendants, easily establish themselves.

All the subsequent changes, the orderly and systematic colonisation by Scots Pine and Bracken, by Oak forest, the destruction of the woods by the fires of Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and even by the shepherd of to-day, the pitiful attempts at cultivation of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, even the agriculture of to-day, have not suppressed *Rumex Acetosa.*

It flourishes everywhere, even in fields sown down with permanent grass, for its seeds cannot be removed from the soil.

Even in this respect, then, *Rumex Acetosa* is interesting and should not be despised.

The flowers appear from April to June, and are well worth close examination.

The plants are either male or female (diœcious). In

[1] In Kent and Warwickshire it is said to grow in damp copses and woods (2). See also Tansley (4).

the bud stage the male flowers are three-cornered and well wrapped up in the minute arched sepals, of which there are three inner and three outer.

The anthers (six in number) are bright red, as is the stalk, which is jointed or articulated. Sometimes there is a minute hole in the bud; if so, one finds that an insect has eaten the whole of the anthers.

The number of male florets on a stalk is very large. It is hardly necessary to give elaborate statistics, but 400 flowers per stalk seems to be a moderate estimate. I also attempted to reckon the number of grains of pollen, and made out that there were at least 800,000 in each stamen. According to these estimates a single male flowering stem of *Rumex Acetosa* produces about 1920 million grains of pollen in a single season.

When our infrequent sunshine strikes a quantity of male or female Sorrel in full flower, one is astonished at the beauty and grace of them. The stalks are a succession of elegant curves, and the colour is a harmony of reds, pure white, and green. Both main and minor branches of the flowering branches seem to move or nutate sideways; they are in spiral half-turns, with all the tips pointing in the same direction, but every fruit droops towards one side.

When one looks down on a young female flower, it is seen to be rather like a minute Sea-anemone some 2 mm. in diameter. There are three stigmas; each is divided into some forty arms, with 15 rows of minute papillae on each; the colour varies from pink to a raspberry red. In this young stage, that is when it is ready to receive pollen, the flowers are upright or nearly so, and together form a nearly continuous surface ready to intercept any pollen brought by the wind.

Later on they droop, and eventually hang downwards. Of the six sepals, three are bent backwards and remain small. The other three grow and enlarge, becoming thin and papery, and are elaborately veined.

Within them is the small, glossy, three-cornered nut.

The flowers are in small clusters of five, seven, or more;

as there are some 10 branches, each with 16 clusters of, say, five flowers, an ordinary female stalk will carry 800 to 1000 flowers, of which the great majority become fruits.

Although it is likely that wind is the regular and usual carrier of the Sorrel's pollen, yet on the 30th July, 1896, Dr. Knuth of Glucksburg observed numerous honey bees eagerly sucking and flying steadily from flower to flower; their entire bodies were grey with pollen. It would be interesting to know if they often do so[2] (5).

The percentage of male and female plants and the possible factors which determine whether a given seed is to be either male or female do not, at first sight, seem to be questions of universal interest. Yet if one remembers that all men and all women, whether for defensive, attractive or acquisitive purposes are necessarily interested in the question of sex, it is possibly not so surprising to find that a very large amount of scientific literature is concerned with these questions.

The vulgar, ubiquitous Sorrel is an ideal plant for statistical researches on the subject.

The celebrated Dr. Sprecher has published an elaborate and laborious study of the proportions of male and female plants. Some of his results are given here.

	SPRECHER.				HOFFMANN	AUTHOR
	Wild Plants	Total Plants observed	On Lime	On Lime with Manure		Roadsides.
Percentage of Male Plants.....	32—33	29—30	34	25—26	22—23	23
Female Plants...	67—68	70—71	66	74—75	77—78	77

It is of course tempting to speculate on the high percentage of male flowers in the plants grown on lime as compared with those which had manure in addition. Sprecher himself says: "Comment expliquer le fait que l'azote et le calcaire ensemble donnent une beaucoup plus

[2] Dr Knuth is perhaps the best authority on flower pollination.

grande proportion de femelles que les deux engrais utilisés séparément surtout que le calcaire qui favoriserait le développement des mâles."[3]

There is, as a matter of fact, some foundation for the belief that rich feeding tends towards the formation of female plants; therefore one would expect that a soil with lime would have the opposite effect, and result in a larger proportion of males. But as regards the wild plants in the first column, the males were only one to two per cent. fewer than in those which were grown on lime.

It is clear, however, that male plants are much less numerous, being from less than a quarter to rather more than a third of the total number of plants.

This, of course, reduces the number of pollen grains available for each female flower to 800,000. Even then there should surely be every chance of setting seed.

Another interesting point taken up by Sprecher, in considerable detail, is the difference in height between male and female plants. The average height (or mode) of 1,176 male plants was 90.2 cm. That of 2,671 female plants was 110.23 cm.

The fruiting plants in Galloway are almost invariably taller than those carrying pollen and appear to be much more vigorous. They are also more variable than are the pollen plants, especially in height and in degree of branching.

In endeavouring to compare the two sexes, however, I found an insuperable difficulty in deciding exactly when male and female were in precisely the same stage of growth, for there is a very marked increase in height of the females when their fruits are maturing. They are not nearly so tall when they are pollinated.[4]

[3] How can one explain the fact that nitrogen and lime together give a much larger proportion of females than (one finds) with the two manures when used separately, and especially why should lime favour the development of male flowers?

[4] In the Hemp, which also has plants of different sexes, the males are much taller than the females. Similar differences in vigour occur amongst birds. Sometimes the female, sometimes the male is strongest.

The height of the fruiting stalks of *Rumex Acetosa* when in fruit is, however, of practical advantage for the fruits are raised well above the level of the neighbouring grasses and other herbage and have a better chance of wider distribution.

When ripe, the fruits dangle on their thin, jointed stalks : both main and side branches become dried up, brown and withered looking. It is usually supposed that they are carried by the wind, and the thin, papery, winglike sepals point to this being the right explanation. A single fruit does in fact resemble a small shuttlecock and the small backward pointing sepals have been described as acting as " parachutes."

Small birds, however, appear to eat the fruits; one sees finches seemingly stripping the stems with every appearance of satisfaction.

There are about 130 species of Rumex and although the general design of the fruit is maintained in all of them, it is shaped and embroidered upon in the most different ways, though always of course in connection with the method of distribution.

In all one finds three outer small and three inner large sepals. Sometimes there are swellings or air sacks at the base of the larger ones : these may diminish the weight and so assist its aerial voyage or may possibly induce birds to eat the fruits. Sometimes the sepals form large wings; in other cases there are a few fine straight teeth along their edges which may become entangled in birds' feathers; in others again, the teeth are bent or curved outward at the tip or they may be very long, curving both downward and outward in all directions. In two species, the tip of the tooth forms a small hook of a most efficient appearance. *Rumex Brownii* has ten large and strong grappling hooks on each sepal whilst *R. Nepalensis* has quantities of little ones. Probably it is as perfect a sticky fruit as that of the Goosegrass (*Galium aparine*), or of the Woodruff.

An interesting and unusual character is the peculiar little joint or articulation in the flower stalk. In many

Polygonaceæ this is more or less jointed, possibly because the flower stalk is really a contracted branch with a stalked flower at the end of it.

According to Leconte, the tissue at the joint remains young and continues to grow and divide; this is an advantage, as the fruit is carried well away from the stem. It is here that the separation of the fruit takes place (6). After all of them have been removed the stalk remains for a considerable time quite green, and sugar is being manufactured and stored up in the stem until September or even later.

The little triangular nut with its enclosed seed consists of three carpels; the outside is smooth, glossy, and hard. In section it is found that the outside layer (i.e., of the carpels) consists of woodily thickened epidermal cells.[5] M. Joxe (7) compares them to "cloches à ouverture tournée vers le centre du fruit." At the angles of the nutlet these cells are narrower and more elongated (radially). When the seed germinates the minute rootlet which lies below the point splits open the nutlet along the three edges.

The shape of the nutlet clearly follows from the pressure of the enclosing sepals in bud, as also does the line of weakness along each corner. Yet as the result of these trivial details the rootlet is able to break the shell without difficulty and to grow straight downwards into the earth.

The Sorrel begins to prepare for summer as early as the 7th February. At this season, by digging at some spot where plants have been observed in the previous year, one is sure to find specimens.

The outside of the stem is very dirty, and is covered by dark brown, stringy hairs and membranous scales. The hairs are the woody bundles of the midribs of last year's leaves, and the scales are what is left of their sheaths. In these last resides a rich fauna of worms, other animals, protozoa and bacteria.

The leaf is attached all round the stem, whilst the

[5] Both outer and lateral walls are thickened: the latter are also folded so as to appear star-shaped in section.

stipules form a tube or sheath (ochrea), in which is enclosed the stem-bud with all the younger leaves. This is to say, the stipule of leaf 1 contains leaf 2, whose stipule enfolds the future stem with all the leaves which are to develop later in the season.

It is quite easy to make this out on a young plant. The stipule-sheath is tough, thin, and semi-transparent: within, it contains much slime and long hairs, in which the young leaf with its little rolled edges and a still younger stipule-sheath can be discovered.

The number of younger and still younger leaves, that one can dissect out, depends (a) upon eyesight, (b) upon manipulative dexterity, and perhaps (c) upon scientific imagination.

The slimy matter seems to be secreted by glandular hairs on the infant leaf: it may possibly prevent injury to the leaf when it bursts its way out of the stipule-sheath. The devouring apparatus of snails and slugs consists of a small band or ribbon covered with minute teeth. The slime and hairs might well interfere with comfortable mastication by the slug.

Whilst the leaves are still in bud they have at first no petiole at all; at this stage each blade is rolled back, and touches the broad midrib. In a slightly older condition the blades become spirally rolled on each side of the mid-rib, so that in section there are two neat coils on each side of the latter. As the petiole grows, a space is left on each side of it and below the blade. The continuation downwards of these two spiral coils forms afterwards the backward pointing flanges, which are a conspicuous character of the mature leaf.

As soon as it has struggled out of its sheath the leaf grows rapidly and becomes strongly curved downwards. When mature it places itself at right angles to the direction of sunlight.

The earliest February leaves, as well as the first of those formed by autumn buds, are often very unlike the ordinary type. They are variable in size and shape. Some

of them resemble those of the Arctic and Alpine *Oxyria reniformis,* which is a rather distant cousin. Some of these leaves were only 3 mm. long by 2 mm. wide.[6]

The fully grown leaves are rather fleshy, with a very stout stalk and strong midrib. The design in microscopic section is simple and typical; the epidermis is tough, and its cells are specially strengthened along the rim or edge of the blade. Numerous crystals (oxalate of potash) can be seen in the cells, and these give the rather pleasant acid taste.

The abundance of potash may be, as is suggested below, an important character of the Sorrel.

A section of the stem under the microscope is a particularly beautiful object. It is elegantly fluted, having clear strong projecting ribs, with green valleys or grooves between them. It is a simple but effective method of support, for it consists of a strong ring or cylinder, with the bundles or lines of supply so placed that they can hardly be distorted. Outside the mechanical ring are alternately strong ribs or buttresses (collenchyma) and shallow grooves with four to five layers of green cells containing chlorophyll: as these last, being alive, have to be supplied with food material, one can trace their connection with the pale grey phloem of the bundles: the stem is hollow in the centre, and the cells within the mechanical ring are used for the temporary storage of reserve food. Some of them are brilliant red.

The young buds lie in the grooves or hollows of the stem. Now the developing stems are at first enclosed within a series of sheathing stipules: the presence of the bud therefore involves a hollow which afterwards, when the internode elongates, becomes the groove.

If one digs up a plant carefully, the first two or three internodes are seen to be just at, or a little below the level of the soil; then follows a very hard woody underground

[6] They are usually from 1.25 cm. to 3 cm. long. *Oxyria* is not only circum-polar, but grows on most north temperate mountains.

portion, which is full of starch. This subterranean part is curiously bent or curved, and consists obviously of two or three parts, each of which represents a year's growth; each also has strong roots curving downwards.

There is quite a distinct junction between the woody, starch-filled underground part and that which remains of the upright flowering shoot of the current year.

Now if the Sorrel began every year's growth at the level of this line, that is, just at or near the surface of the soil, then, in the course of two or three years, it would be two or three inches or even six or eight inches above the ground. It certainly does not do so, for the year's flowering shoot always begins just about the level of the ground.

The way in which the roots are given off explains how this is managed. Several spring from the base of the flowering stem: these are stout and strong: they are often branched at the tip and are full of starch.[7] Many are curved or even coiled like a tendril.

During summer and autumn the sugar manufactured by the green tissue passes down the stem, and is laid up, as starch, wherever storage space can be found for it. Therefore every one of the root cortex cells becomes swollen or turgid; that is to say, it shortens and widens. In consequence the whole root has to contract or shorten itself, and frequently coils into something like a tendril. As all of the roots are firmly fixed at the tip, the result is to draw the base of the year's shoot into the soil, so that next year's bud has to begin life at the ground level.

Similar arrangements are not uncommon in the British Flora. There is no doubt that they are useful, inasmuch as they ensure security in winter and the best situation for next year's bud.

But how were they ever discovered or established?

[7] In February the outside is brownish and decayed with bacterial scum and occasional fungi. Then follow two or three layers of cork cells; then a cortex, 15 cells deep, packed with starch; the centre is very strong and woody, but the phloem and xylem can be clearly seen.

Let us suppose that the Sourock's Miocene ancestor was a woody perennial living in a warm and humid climate.

Then with the oncoming of the Ice Ages cold blizzards and hard frosts began to affect it as well as every plant in Europe. The Sourock was one of those which were being continually killed down to the ground by frost.

So one can, in imagination, see its stems continuing to form sugar up to the latest possible moment and storing it up in the underground stems and roots.

Then the stem died down to the ground, but that part buried in earth and under snow survived till the following spring.

On and about the roots of *Rumex Acetosa* there is always a rich flora of fungi, with algae (diatoms), protozoa, and bacteria.

I could not find a real mycorhiza, but some of these fungi and bacteria may be parasitic. At least I would not " put it past them."

In that case their attentions would involve a constant call for sugar, and the still active part of the flowering stem would supply all that it could produce.

This S.O.S. call would thus initiate the habit of storing sugar, etc., in the roots and underground stem.

I mention this point because M. Magrou (8) has shown that the Dog's Mercury, *Mercurialis perennis* (in all probability), developed its underground storage stem in consequence of its mycorhiza.

In his experiments, *Mercurialis annua,* a closely allied species, proved itself capable of brutally digesting the invading fungus. As a result this last plant remains an annual, and can hardly be said to be a native of England, where Dog's Mercury thrives.

Rumex Acetosa is not quite so cosmopolitan as *Phragmites,* and does not cover so wide a range as *Betula alba.* Nor are its enemies, though very numerous, quite so elaborately specialised as those which live upon Birch and Reed. Yet they are abundant enough.

Man is an enemy, for *Rumex Acetosa* is a pot herb and " l'oseille " is actually in cultivation in France. Both

insects, slugs, and snails agree with French opinion. I frequently found 75 per cent. of the leaves more or less eaten away. This is especially the case in the early months of spring. I also discovered a " sport " due to some parasitic insect: the veins were all picked out in bright yellow against the dark green of the leaf. In transparent spots on the leaves I have found neat packets of translucent eggs with a dark star in the centre. These possibly belong to some dipterous insect. All through the summer the greenfly *Aphis acetosæ* lives upon the leaves.

Horses and all sorts of grazing animals also devour Sorrel.

There are at least 36 species of Fungi to be found upon it. These include three Smuts: one of them (*Ustilago Kühneana*) occupies the flower buds, filling them with a mass of dusty violet spores: it also attacks the stems and leaves. Five kinds of Rust grow on Sorrel, including the common *Uromyces Rumicis,* which forms small pale brown spore cases mostly on the underside of the leaf, though sometimes also on the upper surface (9). Other enemies are one mildew (*Peronospora*) and nine other leaf-parasites. The remaining 18 species appear to destroy the withering stems and leaves; they are in fact saprophytes, that is, they disintegrate the dying or dead tissue and make it readily available for use by other plants.

It is not then the want of enemies that enables *Rumex Acetosa* to be so enormously successful in colonising the world.

Is there, then, any special peculiarity of *Rumex* which may explain this rather difficult problem? Of course, as we have seen, it is a sort of vegetable rabbit: every female plant may have 1000 descendants, and each of these may live for several years. The fruits are distributed by the wind or possibly by birds.

These advantages are certainly great, but they are by no means unusual. There is, however, another characteristic of *Rumex Acetosa*: its tissues contain large quantities of potash salts.

Possibly this explains the fleshiness, almost succulence, of the plant.

If one waters an ordinary plant with salt solution, the leaves tend to become fleshy or succulent. In succulent plants the sap has strong osmotic power, which means that it absorbs and retains moisture with avidity. A solution of a potash salt (e.g., one gm. of potassium chloride in 100 cc. solution) may have an osmotic strength equal to 4.77 atmospheres. Sprecher actually tested the osmotic strength of *Rumex Acetosa,* and found in male plants a pressure equivalent to 7.67 atmospheres, whilst that in the female plants was only 7.21 atmospheres (6). The males were therefore the more thirsty in natural constitution.

This osmotic strength (which goes with its fleshiness) involves a power of retaining water in drought or exposed situations, and perhaps this is why Sorrel can exist on Scotch hills at 3900 feet, as well as on river shingle, or sea-side rocks along with *Glaux* and Scurvy Grass.[8]

Moreover, its extreme appetite for potash water may also explain why we find it in many of its favourite haunts. Just a little below the bleak stormy summit of a Scotch hill it is not unusual to find patches of apparently quite rich grass with Sorrel and other herbaceous plants which seem at first not natural to that wild country of Blaeberry, Heather, *Nardus,* and other wiry mountaineers.

Now towards the " darkening " one always sees a procession of Blackfaced or Cheviot ewes slowly scrambling up the hillsides, in single file, almost to the very summit of their " hirsel." This habit of theirs may perhaps date back to the time when they were wild animals who preferred to sleep in inaccessible places from which enemies could be easily descried.

The droppings of sheep contain a large proportion of potash salts. Hence *Rumex Acetosa* is able to thrive on these well-manured places.

[8] **Near Biskra, in Algeria, there is much very arid, stony ground, and no dew. Dr Fitting found that forty-six perennials which lived in the driest places had an exceedingly high osmotic pressure *equivalent to 100 atmospheres.***

Potash is quite a common salt in all good soils, though it is easily soluble in water and is soon washed out by rain.

So it is not surprising that *Rumex Acetosa* grows in all the diverse habitats that we have described above.

Roadsides, boulder clay, river alluvium are all rich in potash. The grassy hillsides with poor mountain pasture owe their origin (at least in my own opinion) to the practice of burning off the heather, for ashes contain a large amount of this salt.

This same avidity for potash may also perhaps mean that *Rumex Acetosa,* of which no one ever dreams of sowing the seed, may really have a most important function in nature.

Instead of this valuable salt being at once carried off by rain it will be gathered in by Sorrel roots, and, if so, it will never be lost, for after the breaking up of its dead stems and roots the destroying hosts of fungi and bacteria will hand on the potash to other plants, and of course in doing so will greatly enrich the soil.

Potash is not only useful in vegetable life, but it is also one of those minerals which are indispensable. There is some little doubt as to the exact part that it plays in vegetable economy. It is supposed that it assists in maintaining osmotic pressure and incidentally maintains a state of vigorous health. Others have suggested that it has a most important part to play in carbon assimilation.

Whatever may be the use of potash in plant life, it is clear that if the above theory is correct *Rumex Acetosa* is a very valuable member in any association, for it is a natural potash-catcher and should improve the soil.

It will, of course, be particularly useful on wet and sour moorlands.

Rumex Acetosa has an enormous range. It grows in the Arctic Regions and over temperate Europe and Asia, as far south as the Pyrenees, Caucasus, and Trans-Caucasus, and also from Alaska to Labrador in North America.

In Vermont, New York, and Pennsylvania it is supposed to be an immigrant recently arrived from Europe, and is found on waste ground.

In England its first appearance seems to have been in one of the milder intervals of the Ice Age, at Clacton. [Reid, 10.]

The allied genus, *Fagopyrum* (Buckwheat), was growing at Pont de Gail in Southern France in Lower Pliocene times.

It is probable, therefore, that this species began to develop with the oncoming of the Ice Age.

If its birthplace was in Southern France or Northern Italy, one may suppose it to have followed the retreating glaciers all over Europe and Asia, and to have then crossed Behring Strait, but keeping to the north of the Muskeg Swamps and Conifer forests of Canada.

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Glencairn Church.

By J. WILSON PATERSON.

The old church in which Annie Laurie, the heroine of the famous Scottish song, "Annie Laurie," worshipped is situated on the braes of Glencairn, about three miles from Moniaive. Records show that the church was among those confirmed to the Bishop of Glasgow in a bull of Pope Alexander in 1178, and that in the fifteenth century Bishop Turnbull granted it to the chapter as a common church. The church was probably erected about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was apparently continuously in use as a place of worship until 1836, when it was abandoned and a new church erected. Thereafter the building fell into decay,

and now there remain only the east and west gables with fragments of the side walls. The whole was covered with a thick growth of ivy, the stems of which were so matted together that the features were almost completely obliterated. Portions of the ivy were removed, exposing the west doorway and traces of the earlier windows. The church is 106 ft. 6 ins. long by 29 ft. 6 ins. wide. The gables are 4 ft. thick, while the side walls are 3 ft. 6 ins. thick. The building was originally slightly narrower in width, and the west doorway was placed in the centre of the gable. The building has subsequently been widened to the south by rebuilding the side wall, and the inserted window in the west gable was set central with the widened church. In the east gable are two narrow round headed windows having very deep splays to the interior and small splays on the exterior jambs, arches, and sills. The sills rest on a splayed course, which continues round the building at an unusually high level, being 4 ft. 6 ins. above the present ground level at the east end and about 10 ft. above ground at the west end, the difference being due to the fall in the ground. The gable has crow-steps rising from moulded skew-putts, and according to an old sketch (now hanging in the church) it was surmounted by a sevententh century belfry. The position of the belfry in the east gable is unusual, as it was usually placed on the west end, but too much reliance should not be placed on the accuracy of the sketch. In the west gable the original doorway was discovered. This had been built up in the later alterations. It is 4 ft. wide, and has simple moulded jambs and a plain splayed Abacus from which springs the round headed arch of similar mouldings to the jambs with the addition of a label mould sunk flush with the walling. From the characters of the mouldings its date is probably about 1250. Above the splayed string course are the remains of two narrow windows similar to those in the east gable, one being placed centrally above the doorway and the other several feet to the south. It is obvious from their position that there was a third window in the gable in a corresponding position in the west side, but no trace of this can now be found, as the upper part of the gable has been altered, crow-steps added

and a wide pointed arched window inserted in the centre of the widened gable. At each end of the gable, and projecting westwards, were two flat buttresses with offset and splayed head finishing at the level of the string course. Only the northmost one now remains, the other, no doubt, being destroyed when the gable was widened. Nothing remains of the side walls except a few fragments adjoining the gables, and these contain only two features, the splayed string course and a splayed wall head course. The old sketch shows buttresses on the south wall, and presumably there would be buttresses on the north wall, but no trace of these can now be seen, as the whole interior area of the church and surrounding ground is now the parish graveyard.

February 21st, 1930.

Chairman—Mr G. W. SHIRLEY.

Scotland in Prehistoric Times.

By ARTHUR J. H. EDWARDS, F.S.A.Scot.,
Assistant Keeper of Museum of Natural Antiquities of Scotland.

[This lecture dealt mainly with the evolution of present day types of animal and plant life, particularly the elephant. The illustrations were mainly from models based on measurements of fossil remains, etc.]

March 28th, 1930.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

Alexander Reid of Kirkennan.

By F. REID CORSON.

Nearly one hundred and thirty-four years have gone by since the funeral of Scotland's greatest poet passed slowly along the streets of Dumfries. That fatal year of 1796, which saw the illness and death of Robert Burns, has also left to us one of the best portraits of the poet, the miniature

which now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. So pleased was Burns with this portrait that he spoke of it in a letter to his patron, Mrs Riddell, as by far the best likeness of himself ever taken.

Alexander Reid, at whose studio in Dumfries the miniature was painted, came of an old Galloway family, which had been settled near Dalbeattie for several generations. His grandfather, William Reid, in Glen of Almorness, who is said to have owned lands in Ayrshire, was settled in the farm of South Glen of Almorness early in the eighteenth century, and here, in the wooded peninsula on the west of the Urr estuary, he died in 1724. It was his son, John Reid, who acquired the estate and mansion-house of Kirkennan, lying further up the river in the parish of Buittle and sheltered by low hills. Dying in 1762, at the age of 71, he left four sons, of whom Alexander was the third.

Alexander Reid was born at Kirkennan in 1747, eleven years after his elder brother William, who succeeded to the property. The second brother, John, while still a youth, went to Jamaica, where he died. Neither William nor Alexander ever married, so the estate passed eventually into the possession of the fourth brother, Robert, who married Euphemia Lindsay of Boreland in 1792.

Little is known of Alexander's earlier years; he probably lived at Kirkennan with his eldest brother, and it is believed that he did not take up painting until after he had passed the age of thirty. This view is borne out by some remarks of his brother William in a letter which is quoted below, but there is some reason for thinking that he may have painted at least one portrait at a much earlier date. It is known that a portrait of a Mr Ouchterloney was exhibited in London by the Society of Artists in the year 1770, and the catalogue gives the artist's name as "Alexander Read." This picture has been lost to sight for more than a century, so that it is impossible to state conclusively that Alexander Reid of Kirkennan was the artist.

If this was actually the case, the picture must have been painted when Reid was not more than 23 years of age, and fourteen years before he set out for London to earn a

living by his brush. Where he learnt the rudiments of his art we do not know; it is likely that he studied at Edinburgh some time prior to 1784, for in that year, at the age of thirty-seven, he had made up his mind to proceed to London. At least one portrait was the work of this earlier period, for a picture of his younger brother, Robert, bears signs of having been painted about 1782. But there was little scope for his abilities in the Stewartry of that day, so that in August, 1784, he set out for London, where he hoped to find wider opportunities. Evidently he had said nothing to his brother as to his intentions, for the latter implies this in a letter which he wrote some months later, though expressing himself as hardly surprised at the news of his brother's enterprise. When he had been a few days in London, Alexander wrote to his elder brother a letter which furnishes us with an interesting picture of the journey to the metropolis, and of the sights of London in the reign of "Farmer George." It seems to have been intended as the first of a series, but no others have been preserved.

JOURNAL TO AND FROM LONDON.

'Tis remarked by foreigners that the British are more fond of seeing other Countries than their own; they would no doubt make a better figure were they more acquainted with their own Country before they go abrod.

I left Dumfries the 5th June 1784 about 11 o'Clock A.M. dined at Annan and got to Carlisle about 6, where I had the pleasure of seeing a Balloon in the air, sett off only a few minutes before I stopt; it was about 20 minutes on sight, and seemt to take its Rout towards Dumfries.[1] I got to Penrith by 10 that evening, where I slept 4 hours; next day I traveled near 100 miles & slept above 6 hours at Ferrybridge. Next day Drove

[1] This reference to the balloon seen at Carlisle is of interest, since the first ascent in England was made in the month of September of the same year, and Mr Tytler, who ascended at Edinburgh in August, is said to have been the first to ascend in Scotland. It is therefore likely that the balloon seen by the traveller carried no passengers.

about 120 miles and slept 5 hours at Stamford. Next day I arrived at London about half past 4 in the afternoon.

A postchaise is the most expeditious & most agreeable way of traveling for you may stop when & where you please, wheras in the Stage Coach you are oblig'd to stop almost at every Ginshop & put up, & turn out, when the Coachman chuses.

Yorkshire is most remarkable for Good Roads, good Horses & excellent drivers; they seldom drove less than 8 or 9, somtimes nigh 10 miles an hour, they would often run a stage in about an hour and a half.

June 9. I took a walk to the Royal Exchange, which is the Resort of all the Merchants of this City, Foreign & Domestick. I was there from half an hour after One, 'till near 4 o'Clock in the afternoon; here I met an acquaintance Capt. Thomson unexpected

At night went to Haymarket Theatre where was present the King, Queen, princess Royal & princess Augusta, two Beautifull young Ladies. Princess Augusta Sophia is reckoned as great a Beauty as in England. the Comedie acted was The Spanish Barber which I did not much admire; the scenery was exceeding fine & Mrs Bannister is reckoned a very fine Singer.

10th. went to Guildhall & saw Justice Buller upon the Bench. This is a very venerable antient pile where the Mayor, Aldermen, & others concern'd in the Government of this city do meet; the Great Hall may be 160 feet long, near 50 broad & near 60 high; it is adorn'd with the pictures of several Kings & Queens & Statues of Alderman Beckford & the great Lord Chatham cutt out of marble. These two are lately done; there are several others of more antient date. The Bank of England is near this, well worth the Curiosity of a Stranger, whose Interest & Security is said to be the greatest & best in the world.

At night I went to a much frequented place about half a mile out of the City, call'd Saddlers Wells, where I was entertain'd by Rope Dancing to great perfection;

also upon the floor by men & women & boys & girls, who all perform'd their parts with amazing agility. there was also about half a Dozen dogs dress'd in Mens Cloths with hatts on their heads who came out & danc'd upon their hin' Legs, some of them with 3 feet upon the floor & one danced round the Room upon 2 feet on one side.

Besides there was also a good representation of the Ocean with a Ship at Sea; soon after arose a great Storm of Thunder & Lightning which Dash'd the Ship upon a Rock, and in a short time sunk to the Bottom. One man was sav'd, who got accquainted with an Indian Lady. Another Ship appearing the Lady was prevail'd upon to leave her Native Country, wherupon a Boat was sent ashore and a plank laid out for her to step into the boat, and was carried on board the Ship. Upon which a great Lion that had been some time before Reliev'd of a great thorn in his foot by the distressed Seaman & not wishing to stay behind his deliverer, sprang into the sea after the Boat giving utterance to a hidious roar, and made the boat like to sink beneath his weight.

11th. Din'd at the pleasant village of Chiswick about 4 or 5 Miles out of the city up the River Thames, where I had the pleasure of seeing again the Royal Family pass in their Carrages with their Guards, on their way to Windsor Castle. There was a man & a Horse & Cart employ'd here in watering the Road to Lay the Dust.

Went in the Evening to Ashtley's riding house;[2] when I went in there was a man Galloping round the house stand'g on the crown of his head upon the saddle. It is amazing to see the agility of the riders & the different attitudes of their Bodys upon horse back. They would Gallop round sometimes stand'g upon one horse sometimes 2 & other 3, without holding the reins, & young Ashtley, who is thout to be the best rider in Europe, would dance a minuet upon the saddle & would make one horse go

2 " Ashtley's riding-house " was the famous Astley's circus, which continued to entertain the London public until the early years of the nineteenth century. It was established in a field at Lambeth in 1770.

before the oyr & sett one foot upon one & the other foot upon the oyr. there was 6 or 7 horses brought out at once; no sooner were they on the Ground than they all clapt down upon their brodsides & lay as dead, their Leaders sitting down upon them. They would then raise them, & make them sitt on end like a dog, & some upon their fore-knees. They soon went off; only 2 stay'd & walked a minuet with 2 men riding upon them. It is impossible to describe all the different feats perform'd here; there was also fine Musick, vocal & instrumental. Dancing to great perfection by men & women, boys & girls.

12. Went to Westminster Abbey. You enter this palace through a great Hall 300 ft. long & 100 Broad without any pillars to support its Roof which is of Irish Oak & Butteressed at the Top very artfully. It would be tedious to give a full detail of what is to be seen here. I shall only notice there is shown you the Room where the Kings & Queens of England are all crowned in 2 old-Fashioned Oak Chairs, & the Genneral Repository of the Royal & Noble Ashes of these Kingdoms, adjoining to which is King Henry the 7th Chappel, still us'd as a place of worship. there are a great many Royal Monuments of Marble to be seen here, as also an effigie of Queen Eliz & Queen Ann in waxwork conceal'd in little presses of wainscot the doors of which opens by 2 leaves & the images stand behind a Glass.

There is also shown you one of the same kind, the Effigie of Lord Chatham done to the life with His Hatt & wig on; it is said to be a very great resemblance & was told when his daughter came to see it & the door being opened she started back. I think young Mr Pitt his son resembles his great Father both in body & mind.

In the Body of the Church all around are a great many modern Monuments of such as have distinguished themselves in the service of their Country both by Land & Sea. The Poets have a corner by themselves, and among them is our countryman, Mr Thomson.

[Here the letter ends abruptly.]

However interesting as a place of resort, London does not seem to have proved kind to the Scottish painter, for by 1785 he was in Paris. Here it was that he studied his art, which he was to put to good use later in Scotland. The following letter from his brother at Kirkennan reached him while he was living in the French capital, and has happily been preserved for our perusal. The austere character of the elder brother is well brought out, and it is clear that to his mind the whole idea of embarking on a career of art was precarious in the extreme.

A Letter from WILLIAM REID of Kirkennan, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Scotland, to his younger brother, ALEXANDER, in Paris, in the year 1785.

DEAR BROYR,

I Recd yours 27th Augst. from London, but was not greatly surpriz'd to hear of your stay there as I had some surmize of it before you left us. I am Inclined Indeed to think you have run a Great Risk in making such an uncertain attempt, for two Reasons. The first is your being too far advanced in years; the oyr is the want of some person of Quality to introduce you into the Great World & Establish your Character (and Science), wch Loss I'm affraid you must Labour under Still without you acquire to a greater proficiency than the first Reason will admitt of; so that after all your Toil and Expense, wh must no Doubt bring your Stock very low, you must still be at an uncertainity whether you can make a living or not, and must entirely depend upon the Humour of Mankind, and be obliged to wander from place to place in Quest of Business. But as there is none of your way in this place, nor no use for them, I can say but little of it, only these are a few of my fears.

I am sensible you had a tolerable Genius for it, had you been so lucky as improved it in time. I hope you have ask'd the counsel, conduct, and direction of providence: these things a person can hardly promise to prosper long without. But I can scarcely see what

Grounds you have to implore the Divine Assistance when you are about to Delineate the Features of a young fine Lady.

I sincerely wish your Just Eyes, Sound Judgm't, & Steady hand may long continue. Beware of Drinking hard, for once mortally Drunk will Greatly impair all the three. I have not Room to answer yr Rest of this at present.

I must own I was surpriz'd when I Rec'd yours of 23d January. Paris, which prevented my writing from Dumfries as I intended that day. I am glad to hear you keep yourself tolerably well in France, & that you like the manners of the French. I can spare no money at prest., but could spare a few Pds. if they would send me a Puncheon of Good Coniacke in Barter. I am sorry I have heard nothing of Broyr J.[3] as yet; I am affraid he is gone the way of all flesh.

I am not yet left the Glen, but have sent a maid to Kirkennan this last week with the most of the Glen cows; for want of fodder the outlyers are mostly there also. I make no Doubt of Robert[4] doing well at the Glen, as he is both cannie and carefull. One night Barlochan,[5] him, and I killed a fox here about six weeks ago, which is the 2nd we have killed this winter, & was to have been at to-day had it been a good morning.

The Gentleman who unfortunately was killed by falling down a Turnpice was Mr Jno. Mackenzie, a writer.[6]

No news, but a great scarcity of money, and a Great many farmers & Lairds Breaking & vast Quantitys of Land to be sold. Numbers of people going to America.

We do not know how long Alexander remained in Paris,

[3] This was the second brother John, who was last heard of in Jamaica twenty years before. He never returned, nor was the mystery of his fate ever solved.

[4] Robert Reid, the youngest of the four brothers, who took over the farm of South Glen from his brother William in 1785.

[5] A neighbouring laird, perhaps Robert M'Naught (M'Kerlie, iii., 271).

[6] A Turnpice, or Turnpike, was a spiral stone staircase.

but there is reason to believe that he was back in Scotland before 1789. After his return to Galloway he seems to have occupied himself in painting portraits of many of the neighbouring lairds and their ladies, as well as several family portraits. To this period probably belongs a painting of his mother, Janet Reid or Mackill, who survived her husband by thirty-one years, dying in 1793. A painting of his brother William, who is shown as a stern-featured elderly gentleman in white neck-cloth and high-collared black coat, also dates from these years. A cousin of the artist was a writer in Dumfries, and through the introduction of this gentleman he was able to secure many commissions. Among his sitters was Mr Murray of Broughton, whose portrait by Reid now hangs, or used to hang, in the Town Hall of Gatehouse, having been purchased at a sale at Cally House about 1844.

Reid was very fond of copying pictures for his own amusement, and would often obtain permission of the owners of existing pictures to make a copy of them. Kirkennan House in later years was full of such copies, many of which were sold at the roup in 1835, and others passed into the possession of Mr Robert Wallace, a relative of the Reids then living at Kirkconnel, on the Tarff. Among these Kirkennan pictures was a portrait of "Kipp Cairns," the eccentric laird of a small estate near the modern Kippford. He was a well-known character in the Stewartry, and some of his witty sayings have been immortalised in the pages of Dean Ramsay. He came by his death by misadventure, breaking his neck as the result of a fall down the turret stair of Munches. His portrait is now in the possession of Mr R. C. Reid, of Cleuchbrae House, Ruthwell, a namesake though not a relative, of the painter.

Another portrait which is believed to be in existence to-day is that of William Thomson of Garden. He was the son of a neighbouring laird who resided at the little port of Palnackie (close to Kirkennan), which was then known as Garden. A few cottages on the Dalbeattie-Palnackie road still retain the name of Gardenburn in this year of grace 1930. Thomson had been sent to France when

a young man to prepare himself for the Roman Catholic priesthood, but the study affected his mind, and he returned to Scotland with impaired faculties. He was a frequent visitor at Kirkennan until his retirement to Dumfries, where he died. The portrait was given to Mrs William Heughan of Auchencairn by the nieces of Alexander Reid, and was left by her to the late Mr Joseph Heughan, known as the Blacksmith Poet of Auchencairn.

A miniature of Edward Cairns of Torr, and one of his sister, Janet Cairns, are among the portraits executed by Reid. Miss Cairns afterwards married William Nichol, a master at the High School of Edinburgh, and a friend of Burns. The famous verses, "Willie brewed a peck o' maut," refer to this gentleman, who will long be remembered for his conviviality, if not for his scholarship.

Besides his portrait work, Reid executed many landscapes both in oil and in water colours. A view of the town of Kirkcudbright in 1792 has come down to us in the form of an engraving, while some of his work appeared as illustrations to a volume of "Famous Country Seats and Gentlemen's Residences." He also made a copy, in water-colours, of David Allan's picture, "The Cottar's Saturday Night." This copy, which is now in the possession of the writer, is stated to be in a more finished condition than was the original; it is remarkable for the beauty of its colouring, and the softness of its tones.

It was at his "painting room" in Dumfries that Reid executed the miniature of Robert Burns in 1796. It was probably completed about February of that year, for several sittings had already been given at the time of Burns's letter to Mrs Riddell in January. Where Reid first made the acquaintance of the poet we do not know; it is possible that the two may have met at the house of some mutual friend in the Stewartry. The Reids are not mentioned in the list of Galloway lairds in the Election Ballads, so that it is improbable that Burns was acquainted with the family. There is no reference to the poet in any of the family papers which have come down to us, and a contemporary holograph copy of one of the Election Ballads, in the

handwriting of someone who *may* possibly have been Alexander Reid, is, in fact, the only document which has the remotest connection with Burns.

The history of the miniature is tantalisingly incomplete. We do not know to whom Burns intended to give it, and indeed, until its reappearance some thirty years ago, its very existence had been forgotten by all except a few. To Mr W. F. Watson, who bequeathed it to the nation, and to the labours of Mr Gray, the late Curator of the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, we owe its identification, for it was only after much enquiry and comparison with known examples of Reid's work by Sir George Reid and other competent authorities that the miniature was given its present place of honour.

Alexander Reid probably remained in Dumfries for some years after 1796, but in 1804, on the death of his elder brother William, he returned to Galloway and went to live at Kirkennan, where his widowed sister, Mrs Fraser, kept house for him. Finding the old house too small and old-fashioned, he built the new mansion-house not far off. This is the building which is the present Kirkennan House. It has been altered and enlarged at later dates by successive owners, and is probably very different to the structure built for Alexander and his sister.

Here the artist passed the last twenty years of his life, painting an occasional picture, such as that of his sister-in-law, Euphemia, and her little daughter, Janet, but living the life of a country gentleman who was far more concerned with horses, sheep, and cattle than with colours and brushes. From still existing letters we can picture something of this pleasant evening of his life. In 1805, for example, he requires a new tea service, which was selected for him in Edinburgh by his friend, Mr Muirhead. It was to cost eight guineas, and the merchant agrees to send it on approval, stipulating only that Mr Reid is to be responsible for any damage in transit. He will despatch the service by coach from Edinburgh to Dumfries, whence it will be brought by carrier as far as Haugh-of-Urr. Here, no doubt, a servant from Kirkennan would meet the carrier

and collect the parcel. Mr Murray suggests that a coffee urn at a cost of £3 13s 6d would also be a good investment, adding the curious remark that Alexander might as well spend the money now, since he could not hope to take it with him to the next world!

Reid was fond of sport and country pursuits, and enjoyed the society of his fellow-men. He used to visit New-Galloway for the hare hunting in October, staying with Lord Kenmure, and he was a welcome guest at Munches, Terraughtrie, and Orchardton. He did not, however, lose all touch with his art, for there is a letter from Miss Gillespie, daughter of the minister of Kells, "thanking Mr Reid for his polite attention in sending the vermilion, which she had so much wanted." Had such a letter been written to-day, we should have little doubt as to the ultimate destination of the vermilion, but in 1812 things were rather different, and pictures were painted on canvas!

Alexander Reid died at Kirkennan in 1823, at the age of 76, and was buried with his forebears in the kirkyard of Buittle. He will be remembered for his miniature of Burns, and has his niche in the temple of Scottish art. Among the Scottish painters of the eighteenth century he takes an honoured place, and as a representative of Galloway and the west he is particularly of interest to those of us who hail from west of Devorguilla's Brig.

LIST OF THE WORKS OF ALEXANDER REID (INCOMPLETE).

1. Miniature of Robert Burns. In the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
2. A "Head of Mr Ouchterloney, born in 1691." Untraced.
3. Miniature of Edward Cairns of Torr. In the possession of his descendants in Glasgow.
4. Miniature of Janet Cairns, sister of the preceding.
5. Portrait of George Cairns of Kipp. In the possession of Mr R. C. Reid, Cleuchbrae, Ruthwell.
6. View of the Town of Kirkcudbright. Engraved by W. & I. Walker. Published 1st October, 1792, by Harrison & Co.
7. Portrait of William Thomson of Garden.
8. Copy, in water colours, of David Allan's "Cottar's Saturday Night." In the possession of Mr Reid Corson at Brackley.

9. Portrait of William Reid of Kirkennan, elder brother of the artist. In the possession of Mr Reid Corson at Brackley.
10. Portrait of Robert Reid of Kirkennan, younger brother of the artist. In the possession of Mr Reid Corson at Brackley.
11. Portrait of Euphemia Reid, wife of Robert, with her daughter Janet. In the possession of Mr Reid Corson at Brackley.
12. Portrait of the artist, by himself. In the possession of Captain E. Reid Corson, R.N., Laverstock, Dorset.
13. Portrait of Janet MacKill, or Reid, the mother of the artist. In the possession of Captain E. Reid Corson, R.N., Laverstock, Dorset.
14. A number of miniatures of now unknown persons. In the possession of Mr F. Reid Corson.
15. Portrait of John Ewart. Engraved by Thomson from painting.
16. View of the Burgh of Dumfries, 1793. Engraving by John Walker.
17. Friars' Carse. Engraved by T. Medland; 1793. Harrison & Co.

The Church of Sanquhar.

By Rev. W. W. M'MILLAN, D.D.

There can be little doubt that the Parish Church of Sanquhar had its rise in Celtic times. Tradition assigns its foundation to St. Connell after whom the neighbouring parish is named, but its dedication was to St. Bride or Brigit, whom our Celtic ancestors called the Foster Mother of Christ. A writer in the *Edinburgh Gazeteer* of 1822 alleges that the "east end of the Parish Church of Sanquhar is supposed to have been built by the Picts." Unfortunately he does not say on what grounds his statement is based. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia,* while indicating that there was neither record nor tradition as to when it was erected, states that it was remarkable for its antiquity, size and disproportion. "From some

[1] Ranken, *Statistical Account,* says that the stones were "Gothic." In any case, they must have come from an earlier building. About 1850 the foundations of an ancient building were discovered in a garden next the Churchyard. The thickness of the wall was about four feet, and in it were a number of carved stones from an earlier edifice. A small cross was found at the same time, which belonged either to the church or to this ancient structure, the walls of which were parallel to those of the church. (Simpson, *History of Sanquhar,* 64.)

sculptured stones found in its walls," he adds, " it is believed to be very ancient." It is possible that the " sculptured[1] stones " bore Celtic ornament, and that this may have led to the belief that the " Picts " had a hand in building the Choir or east end of the Church. Simpson,[2] writing in 1853, mentions that " certain antiquities " found at the Parish Church " render it almost certain that a religious edifice stood here coeval, if not more ancient far than the hospital church." He does not mention what these " antiquities " were, but it is quite possible that he refers to stones with Celtic ornament, one of which—a piece of a Celtic cross picked up somewhere in the parish—was in his own possession.[3] Fragments of such Celtic work have been found embedded in the walls of the old churches of Durrisdeer, Glencairn, Penpont, as well as at Morton, Closeburn, and Kirkconnell.[4] Mr Collingwood has shown that these may all be dated as being not later than the eleventh century, while some of the pieces belong to the tenth.[5] Simpson also tells us that the church which was removed in 1823 was traditionally believed to be coeval with the Cathedral of Glasgow, and to have been built by the same masons.[6] The genuineness of this tradition was thought to be confirmed by the fact that there were many " masons' marks " on the stones of the Church similar to those to be seen on the Cathedral. But even if such marks were to be seen, and I have been assured from various sources that they were so found, this would not throw much light on the age of the Church, for Glasgow Cathedral was centuries in building. Most of the nave, for example, belongs to the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, while the

2 *History of Sanquhar*, 118. He knew that the Hospital was in existence in the 13th century.

3 Another piece, formerly in the possession of Mr J. R. Wilson, was found in the dyke of the New Road, which was built immediately after the demolition of the Church.

4 Collingwood, *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway N.H. and A. Society*, 1924-25.

5 It appears to have been quite a regular practice for mediæval masons to break up Celtic work for building purposes.

6 *History of Sanquhar*, 63. The masons are said to have gone from Sanquhar to Glasgow.

7 Butler, *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals.*

tower was erected in the 15th and the Rood Screen just before the Reformation.[7] The few fragments of the old Church which remain suggest the early pointed period of Scottish Architecture (13th Century), and the plan indicates a similar date. Mr J. Jeffrey Waddell, I.A., the well-known architect, dates the Church from about 1250. That it was in existence then hardly admits of doubt, for a writer[8] of the 17th century has left us the following description of it: "Upon the Northside of Nith, near to the Water of Crawick, stands the Church of Sanquhar, a considerable and large fabrick, consisting of a spacious Church and stately Quire where are the Tombs of severall of the Lord Crichtons of Sanquhar wrought in freestone, and before them some Lords of the name of Ross." As the first Crichton[9] of Sanquhar died about 1360—it was he who obtained half the Barony of Sanquhar by his marriage with Isabella, the co-heiress of the Rosses—the tombs of the Rosses must have been considerably earlier. The last Ross of Sanquhar[10] died in or about the beginning of 1297 when engaged on the Scottish side in the War of Independence, so that the Church must have been in existence a number of years before that date.

The earliest account we have of the Church of Sanquhar is a very uncomplimentary one, and is to be found in the *Northern Memoirs* of Captain Franc.[11] This work was pub-

8 This statement is usually ascribed to Rev. Andrew Symson, minister of Kirkinner, 1663-1686. He wrote the *Large Description of Galloway*, and this reference to Sanquhar has generally been quoted as belonging to that work. The "Brief Description of the Bounds of the Presbytery of Penpont," from which the extract above is taken, is found in the *Macfarlane Geographical Collections* in the National Library, Edinburgh. It is printed in vol. 53 of the Scottish History Society's publications, and is stated by the editors to be anonymous. In Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, ii., 309, it is ascribed to Rev. William Black, M.A., minister of Closeburn, 1647-1684. As the writer, whoever he was, refers to the uniting of Sanquhar with Kirkconnell as a recent event, it may be dated about 1683.

9 Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage.*

10 A. Cameron Smith, *Transactions of Dumfriesshire and Galloway N.H. and A. Society*, 1823-24.

11 Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 188.

lished in 1692, but it relates to a tour made by the author in Scotland in 1656. "There is a kirk or something like it, but I might as reverently call it a barn, because there is so little to distinguish between them, and the whole town reads daily lectures of decays; so do her ports, her avenues, and entrances." Despite the fact that the Church was in such a bad condition, the parishioners continued to frequent it for worship for nearly a hundred and seventy years after Franc's visit. It probably was put into a better state of repair shortly afterwards—perhaps after the establishment of Episcopacy, for the Bishops took considerable interest in the state of the churches in their Dioceses. At anyrate by the time the next writer[12] wrote it seems to have been in a better condition. It must have been allowed to become ruinous again, for the Rev. William Ranken, writing in 1792, says[13] "The Church is remarkable for nothing but its antiquity, size, and disproportion. It is in a most ruinous condition. There are no records nor so much as any tradition when it was first built. From some stones of Gothic architecture in the walls it appears to be of remote antiquity. It is certain that it was a place for worship in the times of Popery, as the choir is still entire. There is a figure of a man as large as the life near the entrance to it cut out in stone, which vulgur tradition calls the saint of the choir."

In 1895 the late Marquis of Bute (the lineal descendant of the Crichtons, Lords of Sanquhar[14]), had excavations made in order to find the extent of the original Church, and when the positions of the walls were discovered they were, as far as possible, permanently marked. It was then found that the Church had been 96 feet in length and 30½ feet in breadth; being thus about half as long again as the present (1929) Church and about half as broad. The Church was oriented, and the choir formed about one half of the building. The choir had three bays with a fine chancel arch, and judging from the buttresses was in all probability vaulted with stone.

12 The writer before quoted, who speaks of a "spacious church and a stately quire," circa 1683.

13 *Statistical Account.*

14 His oldest title is "Lord Crichton of Sanquhar."

There were four buttresses on each side, the two at the corners being angle buttresses. At least tradition[15] asserts that the angle buttresses on the present Church were copied from those on the older one. The Choir had a splayed base round the outside, but the Nave lacked this; neither had it any buttresses whatever. The windows, of which several fragments remain, had simple pointed arches and single mullions. Six feet from the east end, which was square, the foundations of the High Altar were discovered, and a little to the side of it a burial vault, which was believed to be that of the Crichton family. The sites of the Altar and vault are marked, both being outside the present Church. At the west end was a square tower which may have originally been surmounted by a stone belfry; but in later days it had a wooden spire covered with lead.[16] Judging from the foundations the tower appears to have been about ten feet square. There was a porch on the south side of the Nave near the tower which probably would be the main entrance to the Church.[17] There was also a door into the Choir on the south side also. This may have originally been a priest's door, but in later days it was apparently the regular place of entrance for the congregation. It is mentioned in an interesting document of 18th century date preserved in the Manse of Sanquhar.[18] This is a list of graves in the Churchyard, and in it there are several references to the " Queer " door, and from these it appears that the door in question was between the two western buttresses of the Choir. One of these, the one

[15] MacGibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture in Scotland.* The letterpress and plan given there are from the pen of Mr S. Hultz, architect, London, under whose directions the excavations were made. The plan does not, however, show the foundations of the tower or the porch.

[16] There is given in Wilson's *Memorials of Sanquhar Kirkyard* a reproduction of a rare 18th century print of Eliock House. In the distance the old Church with its tower and spire can be plainly seen. Up to comparatively recently an old pen and ink drawing of this Church was preserved in Sanquhar.

[17] The south wall of the present church is built on the foundations of the older edifice.

[18] This document is given in Wilson's *Memorials of Sanquhar Kirkyard.*

opposite the Chancel arch, was apparently larger than the others. At least it is specially noted in the document mentioned as "the Queer Pillar." When the old Church was removed in 1823 it was found that the walls were over five feet thick in places, and so strongly had they been built that gunpowder had to be used to level them.[19] At the same time a large quantity of human bones was found beneath the floor.[20] In addition to the High Altar there were at least other four altars in the Church. The Altar of the Holy Blood (Altar Sacri Sanguinis) was founded in 1519 in the Church of Sanquhar by Sir John Logan, Vicar of Cowen (Colvend in Galloway), who gifted the endowment, which consisted of tenements in Dumfries and a manse in Sanquhar, with a "toft" attached for the use of the chaplain serving at the Altar. The gift was confirmed by the King some years later.[21]

Another Altar was dedicated to the Holy Cross (Altar Sacri Crucis), and was endowed with lands which lay near to the river Crawick. Some of these lands were sold by the then chaplain, Dominus Thomas Fleming, in 1559.[22]

A third Altar was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. The priest in charge in 1549 was a Sir Edward Crichton, who in that year sold the lands of St. Mary the Virgin to one John Boyd and his spouse Marion Crichton, probably a relative of the chaplain.[23]

A fourth Altar was dedicated to St. John. Reference is found to a manse and lands of St. John in an instrument of date 1547, when some neighbouring lands were sold by

[19] Simpson, *History of Sanquhar*, 64.

[20] Alexander Weir, a Sanquhar writer, in his book *Anastocrisia*, has the following, which refers to the state of the old Church:—"We have seen a church founded on the remains of human bodies so literally full of bones that it was difficult to dig through such a mass."

[21] *R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 862. The suggestion that this altar contained some of the "Holy Blood" brought from the East by a crusader may be dismissed. "Holy Blood" altars were comparatively common.

[22] The King confirmed this sale in 1583 at Stirling. *R.M.S.*, 1580-93, 617.

[23] *MS. Protocol Book of Sir Cuthbert Craig.*

Edward Clerk.[24] The " Field of St. John " occupied the spot now covered by the Public Hall. The last vestiges of the old manse were swept away about 1825, when the New Road was being made.

It is probable that there was at least one other altar dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. It used to be held that it was to her that the old Church had been dedicated, and though that was not the case there appears to have been some reason for associating her name with it.[25] The fact that the principal fair of the Royal Burgh of Sanquhar was appointed to be held on 22nd July, being the " Feast of Mary Magdalene," gives some weight to the conjecture,[26] but there is no documentary evidence as to such a dedication.

The old Church appears to have been furnished with bells,[27] for in the foundation charter of the Altar of the Holy Blood above mentioned the chaplain is directed to have the great bells (magnas campanas) rung, and also the hand bells going round the town as is the custom before service (campanas manuales circumeundo villam ut moris est). What came over these bells is not known. A fine bell, which was thought to have come from some Chapel in the neighbourhood, was found by some quarrymen about 1825 in the Euchan close to where it joins the Nith. Unfortunately no one thought of taking care of it, and it is now lost. In 1725 a new bell[28] cast in Edinburgh was presented to the

[24] *Protocol Book (MS.) of Sir Cuthbert Craig.* Some of the fragments from the old house may be noticed in the dyke at the " turn."

[25] *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald,* November 11th, 1903.

[26] This is given in the Charter of the Royal Burgh granted by King James, 18th August, 1598. The other fairs were on St. Felix Day (30th May) and on that of St. Luke the Evangelist (18th October). The fairs granted by the earlier (1484) charter (as Burgh of Barony) were on the day of St. James the Great (25th July) and the day of St. Simon and St. Jude (28th October).

[27] This is again the case, for a fine peal has been placed in the tower in memory of Mr James R. Wilson, for many years session clerk.

[28] R. M. stands for Robert Maxwell, a bell founder in Edinburgh.

Church by Charles, Duke of Queensberry. It is still preserved, though no longer in use. It bears the following inscription :—Ex Dono Caroli Dvcis Qveensberriæ Ac Doverni. Ecclesiæ De Sanquhar. R.M. Fecit, 1725.

In Melrose Abbey there is a tablet commemorating one John Morow or Murdo, who appears to have been the superintendent of a number of the larger churches in the South of Scotland, and there is some reason to believe that the Church of Sanquhar was among them.[29] The inscription on the tablet is as follows :—

Iohn Morow som tym callit was I
And born in Parysse certainly
And had in keeping all mason werk
Of Sanct Androys and the hye kirk
Of Glasgu, Melros, Paslay
Of Nyddisdale and of Galway
Pray to God and Mari Baith
And sweet St Iohn
Keep this haly kirk frae skaith.

The " Kirk of Nyddisdale " I take to be Sanquhar. It is the first church of any importance in the Deanery[30] of the Nith, and is certainly the mother Church of Upper Nithsdale. In addition Sanquhar was the seat of the Sheriff of Nithsdale, Lord Crichton; who was also Coroner for the same shire, and it seems quite in keeping with the facts of the case to consider that this was one of the churches alluded to on the tablet. The Rood Screen erected in the Cathedral of Glasgow by

[29] The late Dr MacGregor Chalmers, the distinguished architect, in a little work on John Morow, entitled *A Mediæval Architect*, suggested that the Kirk of Nyddisdale was Lincluden, and that some of his work was still to be seen there. MacGibbon and Ross doubt whether any of Morow's work is there, and think that work assigned to him belongs to an earlier date. In any case, Lincluden is hardly in Nithsdale, but in the valley of the Cluden—hence its name—in Galloway. I had the opportunity of discussing this matter with Dr MacGregor Chalmers more than once before his death; and he informed me that, while he still maintained that Morow's work was to be found in Lincluden, Sanquhar was quite as likely to be the Kirk mentioned on the tablet. Lincluden may be the Church " of Galway."

[30] The Deanery of the Nith is mentioned as early as 1367.

Archbishop Blacader is believed to have been Morow's work, as well as the vaulting of the aisle of Car Fergus. He is also thought to have supplied the design and exercised a general supervision of the work in St. Mirin's Chapel in Paisley Abbey. He flourished towards the end of the 15th century, and though born in Paris appears to have been a Scotsman. It is possible that the masons' marks, which were believed in Dr Simpson's time and earlier to connect the stone work in Sanquhar with that in Glasgow Cathedral, may have been on some part of the building, the erection of which had been supervised by this architect.

When the old Church was taken down in 1823 there was removed from a niche in the building on the north side of the chancel[31] the statue in full life size of an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, alb, chasuble, stole, maniple and amice. This figure was given to Dr Crichton, who took it to his home at Friars' Carse, in the Parish of Dunscore.[32] It shows how little interest was taken in such things when the local people raised no objection to this course, though it is probably just as well that they did not do so, or we might not have had the statue to-day. It has been stated by some writers (see below) that this was only one of several figures which were in the old Church, but if so then Simpson appears to have known nothing of the others. Mr William Wilson,[33] in his *Visitors' Guide to Sanquhar and Neighbourhood,* published in 1886, says that there were in the old Church " several tombs belonging to the Crichtons, Lords of Sanquhar, and the tomb and statue of a bishop." Evidently he only knew of one statue, and as he was well versed in the traditions of the district his evidence is worth considering. The figure removed from the Church was known at Friars' Carse as

31 Simpson, *History of Sanquhar*, 63. The Doctor settled in Sanquhar in 1820, three years before the Church was destroyed. It is greatly to be regretted that he did not leave a fuller account of it.

32 Dr Crichton, whose fortune went to found the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries, and the Crichton School, Sanquhar, was a native of Sanquhar, and died shortly after he got the figure.

33 Page 10. Mr Wilson was born in 1824, the year the new Church was opened.

the " Bishop of Sanquhar," which was, of course, erroneous. Sanquhar never had a Bishop, nor is the statue one of that order. Brown[34] says that the " image " represents " an ecclesiastic of high degree arrayed in full canonicals." The figure is simply that of a priest in the ordinary Mass Vestments of the time. In 1897 the Marquis of Bute succeeded in getting the figure brought back to Sanquhar, and he had it placed on a slab bearing the inscription :—" This figure formerly in the old Church of Sanquhar and which for many years lay in the Hermitage at Friars' Carse is placed here by John 3rd Marquess of Bute 14th Lord Crichton of Sanquhar 1897 A.D." Unfortunately when the figure lay at Friars' Carse the youths of the district took delight in chipping it with stones, with the result that it is much defaced. It is a well executed piece of work, and some of the carving on the vestments is especially well done. The hands are much broken, but enough remains to show that they have been clasped in the attitude of prayer. Simpson,[35] who was in Sanquhar when the old church was taken down, tells us that there was a stone in front of this figure bearing an inscription in " old black letter," but that this was broken and only a fragment remained. This fragment lay for a while in the churchyard, and was afterwards carried off. This is the figure which Ranken calls " The Saint of the Choir." Brown,[36] in his *History of Sanquhar* (1891), states that " the recesses of the windows (of the old church) were occupied by stone-cists which contained recumbent figures carved in stone," and suggests that these were destroyed at the Reformation. Wilson,[37] *Memorials of Sanquhar Kirkyard,* also refers to other " figures which lay in the Church." His conjecture is that they were the tombs of the Rosses and Crichton, mentioned in the 17th century, and that they were " destroyed in the wild outburst of Cameronian fanaticism that accompanied the Revolution in 1689 when the incumbent of Sanquhar Kirk, the Rev. Patrick Inglis, M.A., was ousted

[34] *History of Sanquhar,* 388.
[35] *History of Sanquhar,* 63.
[36] Page 387.
[37] Page 3.

from his benefice." Personally I have never been able to find the slightest evidence that there were any figures in the church other than that which still survives. Why any person, whether Reformer or Cameronian, should have destroyed monumental figures of laymen and left untouched that of a Roman priest in full Mass vestments is a problem which I leave to others to solve.

Some time after the Reformation a gallery was put in the Choir. This appears to have been of the nature of a "Laird's Loft," and so may be dated from about the middle of the 17th century. This may have been erected by one of the Crichtons, though it is much more likely that it owes its origin to James 2nd, Earl of Queensberry, or to his son, William 3rd, Earl and 1st Duke of Queensberry. There appears to be no reason to doubt that it was in existence during the period when James Kirkwood, the Curate, had his interesting encounter with the Earl of Airlie.[38] After the Douglas family left Sanquhar for Drumlanrig the Eliock family took possession of the "Loft." It was reached by an outside stair,[39] and in the 18th century description of the kirkyard before noted this is referred to as "The Duke's Stair."

In those early days there were few, if any, seats in churches, and as time went on parishioners began to erect seats each for his own family. There is a reference to the sale of such a seat in Kennedy's Poems (1848). The document of sale is dated 1750, and by it Janet Crichton, daughter of Abraham of "ghostly" memory, sells to her uncle, Provost Charles Crichton, for one pound one shilling "all that pew or seat late the said John Crichton's and Abraham Crichton's, situated in the body of the Parish Church of Sanquhar fronting the heritors seat there." From this it would seem that

38 Simpson, *History of Sanquhar*, 76-80.

39 There is a somewhat hazy tradition that the national bard, Robert Burns, worshipped in Sanquhar Kirk on one occasion. As he was making his way up the "Duke's Stair," he overtook an old lady in a bright scarlet cloak, to whom he is alleged to have made some facetious remark.

there was a special pew set apart for the heritors, and that this was in the nave of the Church.[40]

As has been noted, Charles, Duke of Queensberry, "the Good Duke," gave Sanquhar a bell in 1725. A few years later he gifted two Communion Cups, which are still in use.[41] About the same period he presented three brass candelabra, which were transferred (along with the bell) to the new Church in 1824. The places from which they were suspended may still be seen on the ceiling. These are said to have been magnificent pieces of brass-work, but they disappeared some time in the seventies of last century, being sold by the Kirk Session as old brass.

The Church apparently suffered much from neglect during the 18th century, and after the death of Duke Charles it seems to have become more and more dilapidated. A rowan tree grew on the roof in the north-east corner near the tower. It probably had sprung from a seed dropped by a bird, but the belief among the parishioners was that it had actually been planted there to scare the witches, the rowan being supposed to be efficacious in this direction. At length it was decided that a new Church should be built, and in 1823 the venerable edifice where our fathers had worshipped so long was demolished. Mr Montgomery, the then minister, appears to have been the leading spirit in getting the new Church erected. All his flock did not, however, see eye to eye with him in this matter. There were those whose hearts were sore at the passing of the older sanctuary. One of the elders, James Kennedy, bewailed the passing of the old shrine in a poem from which I may quote :—

> Though pleasing thy servants and people of old
> Condemned by their offspring for faults to be told
> Of space over scanty, long, darksome and narrow,
> Destruction awaits thee, commences to-morrow.

A good deal of the old material was incorporated in the new Church.[42] The new Church is a handsome edifice

40 Wilson, *Folk Lore and Genealogies*, 189.

41 Described in *Dumfries Standard*, 27th Nov., 1929.

42 Mr Jeffrey Waddell, I.A., informs me that an examination of the inside of the tower reveals mediæval stones in large numbers.

externally, with a square pinnacled tower at the west end. Internally the Church has a horse shoe gallery round the north, east and south sides. The pulpit forms the central feature in the west wall. It is surmounted by a wooden canopy, on the top of which is carved a royal crown. Under the pulpit was the Precentor's Desk or " Box," as it was generally called. On a lower level still was the Communion Table which, strange though it may seem, was surrounded by rails, a somewhat unusual feature in a Presbyterian Church of that period. In front of the east gallery is the official seat of the Town Council. The five Bibles which lie on its book board were presented to the Council when they took possession of their new seat by Lady Anne Scott, daughter of the fourth Duke of Buccleugh.

The Convener of the Five Incorporated Trades of the Burgh had also an official seat in the church. It, too, was furnished with a presentation Bible, which is still preserved. The Convener's pew was converted into an ordinary pew sometime in the seventies, and is now filled by the organ, which was placed there in 1894. In 1897 a number of alterations were made in the internal arrangements. The Precentor's Desk was removed, and also the Communion Rails. A new font with silver basin, a new Communion Table—in memory of Mr James Moffat, for many years an elder in the Church—and a new Lectern were then provided.

The only mural monument in the Church is one which was erected there by the Captain and Officers of H.M.S. Pembroke in memory of Mr John Lorimer M'Call, a native of Crawick Mill, who was Assistant Surgeon in the Pembroke, and who died in Vourla Bay, near Smyrna, in 1838. There is reason to believe that this tablet was designed by the great sculptor, Sir Francis Chantrey. A contemporary newspaper says: " The execution of a dedication due to merit was entrusted to Sir Francis Chantrey, and as the feelings of Mr Allan Cunningham were particularly interested the work was executed in a most superior manner, indeed far beyond what the money subscribed could be considered as justifying on the ordinary principles of business."[43]

[43] *Dumfries and Galloway Notes and Queries*, 415.

The new Church was opened for Public Worship on 28th March, 1824, the entry in Kirk Session Records being as follows: "The New Church was opened for Divine Service for the first time this day." From a newspaper account of the event we learn that Mr Montgomery preached "an appropriate sermon." In the Baptismal Register we have the following entry under April 4th, 1824: "Helen, lawful daughter to William Blair[44] and Mary Colvin Townhead. This was the first baptism in the new church." The old Baptismal basin has disappeared, but what is believed to be the old hour glass which did duty in past days is still preserved, though not in the Church.[45]

Sanquhar Church was one of the last Parish Churches in Scotland in which Mass was celebrated. Early in 1563 Robert Crichton,[46] the then Rector, was warned that if he did not desist from celebrating according to the Roman fashion he would be dealt with according to "the punishment that God has appointed to idolaters in His law." Apparently Crichton paid little attention to the warning, and he and about fifty others were tried before the supreme court in Edinburgh for their violation of the law.[47] He was committed to ward in Perth, but his imprisonment appears to have been nominal. In all probability the "Admirable Crichton" would be baptised in Sanquhar Church, and that too by the Rector, Robert Crichton, who was a kinsman. James Crichton[48] was born at Eliock on the 19th August, 1560, five days before the Scottish Estates decreed that "the Bischope of Rome have na jurisdiction nor authoritie in this Realme in tymes cuming." In Mediæval days only Parish Churches[49] were allowed to possess fonts, and there can be little doubt that the rite of Baptism would be administered

44 William Blair was for long an elder in the congregation. He used to officiate at the communion as precentor, being the last to engage in "reading the line."

45 It is in the possession of Mr R. Bramwell, Burnfoot, Sanquhar.

46 Knox, *History*, ii., 371.

47 Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i., 427.

48 Douglas Crichton, *The Admirable Crichton*, 6.

49 Dowden, *Mediæval Church in Scotland*, 143.

to this distinguished son of Sanquhar in the Parish Church. During the Covenanting period it is interesting to notice that gatherings of the Covenanters for worship were often held within its walls. Tradition asserts that when James Kirkwood was minister he left the key in a place where it could easily be found by those who wanted it, and that the Covenanting brethren took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to meet for worship in the church during the night seasons.[50] Sanquhar Church is the scene of Hyslop's Sacramental Sabbath Day.

NOTE.—Since the above was written extensive alterations have been made on the church. A new chancel has been built covering the site of the ancient high altar, and a north transept has been added. The old gallery has been removed and a new west gallery substituted. New furniture, including Oak communion table, pulpit, lectern, and stalls, has been placed in the chancel. There is also a new organ, for which an organ chamber has been provided. The old name of the church has been restored, and it is now (1931) known as St. Bride's Parish Church. The renovated church was re-opened on April 16th, 1931.

[50] Simpson, *History of Sanquhar*, 104.

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1929.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

DUMFRIES	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
Ruthwell (Comlongon Castle) ..	1·78	1·35	1·17	·99	2·19	1·94	4·82	6·59	·39	4·95	4·85	5·65	36·67
Mouswald (Schoolhouse)	2·85	2·25	1·06	1·58	3·26	2·86	5·33	7·20	·55	6·93	7·77	6·94	48·58
Dumfries (Crichton Royal Inst.) ..	1·79	1·12	·77	1·11	3·26	1·95	4·57	4·72	·39	5·19	6·67	7·19	38·73
Carnsalloch	1·86	1·48	·92	1·20	2·91	2·18	4·31	5·31	·40	5·42	6·74	7·91	40·64
Moniaive (Glencrosh)	2·77	2·61	1·16	1·74	4·72	2·68	5·92	5·37	·98	6·66	10·22	11·80	56·63
Durisdeer (Drumlanrig)	1·94	2·27	1·00	1·33	4·15	2·27	5·28	6·08	·69	6·16	8·32	11·18	50·67
Dalton (Whitecroft)	2·23	1·64	1·63	1·19	2·59	2·69	5·73	7·17	·59	5·89	6·79	6·08	44·22
,, (Kirkwood)	2·29	1·56	1·47	1·37	2·92	3·05	5·92	8·40	·72	6·55	7·35	6·76	48·36
Lockerbie (Castle Milk) . ..	2·15	1·53	1·15	1·68	3·45	2·63	5·86	7·55	·59	5·47	7·36	7·08	46·50
,, (Thorn Bank)	1·84	·36	1·23	1·27	3·24	2·33	5·15	7·20	1·12	4·44	7·49	7·68	43·35
Lochmaben (Esthwaite)	1·85	1·93	1·41	·99	3·36	2·66	5·29	6·47	·62	5·71	6·92	7·55	44·76
Eaglesfield (Springkell Gardens) ..	1·92	1·56	1·55	1·33	2·22	2·86	5·39	8·22	·59	6·70	7·14	7·26	47·04
Canonbie (Byreburnfoot)	2·25	1·50	1·25	1·00	1·25	2·25	6·25	8·00	1·00	5·00	6·50	7·50	43·75
,, (Irvine House)	2·28	1·60	1·49	1·48	2·21	3·67	6·00	7·82	1·29	6·05	7·18	8·86	49·93
Langholm (Drove Road)	2·76	1·86	1·46	1·49	2·75	3·30	6·39	8·48	1·20	6·54	8·23	10·49	54·93
,, (Ewes)	2·15	1·35	1·04	1·45	3·05	2·69	5·91	8·17	·82	5·46	8·96	11·30	52·35
Eskdalemuir (Observatory)	2·21	2·09	1·10	1·81	4·23	4·43	7·91	7·52	1·43	6·89	10·92	12·90	63·44

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
Borgue (Corseyard)	3·03	2·12	1·06	1·25	2·75	2·04	4·27	4·94	·77	5·61	6·11	7·92	41·87
Little Ross (Lighthouse)	1·67	1·17	·59	·95	2·64	1·64	3·32	4·12	·91	4·53	4·74	6·33	32·61
Mossdale (Hensol)	3·78	2·31	1·10	1·64	3·97	3·13	5·18	5·63	·70	6·70	9·62	12·86	56·62
Dalry (Glendarroch)	3·17	2·67	1·32	1·27	4·41	2·34	4·60	6·14	·63	6·97	9·31	13·49	56·32
,, (Garroch)	3·71	2·78	1·47	1·48	5·69	2·96	5·33	6·93	·83	7·90	11·13	16·85	67·06
,, (Forrest Lodge)	3·64	3·24	1·33	2·01	5·54	2·71	4·41	7·25	·91	10·18	13·96	19·88	75·06
Carsphairn (Shiel)	3·37	3·57	1·46	2·06	6·38	3·62	5·32	8·27	1·48	10·26	14·68	19·34	79·81
,, (Knockgray)	2·74	2·69	1·05	1·72	4·89	2·09	4·21	5·99	·97	8·35	11·03	14·14	59·87
Auchencairn (Torr House)	3·52	1·74	1·48	1·60	3·59	2·38	4·95	7·13	1·04	7·69	8·83	10·06	53·99
Dalbeattie (Kirkennan)	3·81	2·20	1·14	1·61	4·07	3·13	5·46	7·27	·75	9·29	9·23	11·06	59·02
,, (Drumstinchall)	3·25	1·62	1·52	1·14	3·08	3·52	6·25	7·06	·84	7·81	7·24	7·99	51·32
Dumfries (Cargen)	1·92	1·54	1·07	1·73	3·82	2·90	5·56	6·24	·76	6·43	8·33	8·96	49·26
Lochrutton (Dumfries Waterworks)	2·41	1·80	1·17	1·76	3·64	2·70	5·59	5·96	·84	6·48	8·07	9·94	50·36
Dumfries (Lincluden House) ..	2·02	1·44	1·03	1·20	3·21	2·24	4·26	5·39	·62	5·50	6·68	8·17	41·76
WIGTOWN.													
Loch Ryan Lighthouse	2·29	2·30	1·08	1·02	4·51	2·34	2·93	4·96	1.34	5·79	7·85	9·39	45·80
Logan House	2·34	2·64	·89	1·04	3·33	2·24	3·48	5·64	·93	5·39	6·13	8·48	42·53
Corsewall Lighthouse	2·19	1·91	·81	·88	4·62	2·84	2·82	5·58	1·71	5·11	6·78	10·66	45·91
Whithorn (Physgill)	2·13	2·28	1·03	1·11	2·66	1·78	3·75	5·11	·88	5·95	5·31	6·88	38·87
,, (Glasserton)	2·36	2·75	1·14	1·12	2·83	1·92	3.82	5·53	·89	6·08	5·92	7·44	41·80
Port-William (Monreith)	2·88	2·72	1·14	·91	3·22	1·94	3·53	5·53	·74	6·65	6·36	7·77	43·39
Stoneykirk (Ardwell House) ..	2·42	2·27	·73	1·13	3·57	2·29	3·45	5·47	·94	5·47	6·58	8·45	42·77
New Luce (Public School)	3·08	2·92	1·54	1 35	4·46	2·40	3·54	6·04	1·46	6·27	7·64	9·50	50·20
Garlieston (Galloway House) ..	2·99	3·51	1·41	2·14	2·85	2·45	3 75	5·25	·64	7·48	6·96	8·00	47·43
Kirkcowan (Craighlaw)	3·45	2·86	1·86	1·17	4·95	3·43	4·33	7·24	1·08	7·79	9·59	10·47	58·22
Newton-Stewart (Little Barraer) ..	3·51	2·97	1·73	1·06	4·49	2·98	4·21	6·17	·73	6·65	8·83	10·12	53·45
,, (Duncree)	3·33	3·21	1·82	1·14	4·60	2·73	3·66	6·23	·94	6·12	8·54	10·65	52·97

Field Meetings.

5th June, 1930.

This meeting was organised by Mr R. C. Reid, and took the form of an excursion to the Debateable Land. About 30 persons took part. A visit was made to Arthuret Church, where the Rev. Ivor Graham spoke of its past history. Outside the Church, overlooking the Solway Moss, Mr Gourlay gave a reconstruction of the Battle of Arthuret. The party then proceeded to Liddel Strength, where Mr T. L. Taylor explained the history of the mote. These two papers are subjoined.

The Battle of Arthuret, c. 573 A.D.

By W. R. Gourlay.

The poems of the Ancient Welsh Bards contain a number of references to a great battle fought between members of the Cymric race. It is referred to as the battle of Arderydd, and once as the fight of Arthuret and Erydon. Skene identified the site of this battle as lying between the Knowes of Arthuret and the lands on either side of the Carwinley burn which flows near Liddel Strength.

Recently in Dumfries an ancient burial site was discovered, and in it were found urns and some fragments of pottery. When archæologists study such fragments they try to obtain an idea of the shape of the original urn. They put together the fragments which fit into one another. They study the ornamentation. From their knowledge of similar fragments found in other places and of similar ornamentation they form an idea of the original shape. They then construct an inner vessel of plastic clay modelled on their assumption as to the shape, and they piece together the broken fragments on the outside of the clay. In this way, though the pieces may represent but a fraction of the whole, the assumption as to the original shape is tested.

A similar course can be followed with the fragments of history which are to be found embedded in the songs of the Ancient Bards. The history of the period known from other sources is the basis for forming the theory as to the facts and the task is to fit the statements of the bards into the design and to see how far these corroborate the theory. In this way it may be possible to gain a fairly correct idea of what happened just as it is possible to reconstruct the shape of the original beaker. This paper does not give the history of the battle, but it gives an outline of what I believe may have happened after studying the fragments collected from the poems of the Ancient Welsh Bards.

In the *Annals of Cambria* there is an important fragment. These *Annals* were compiled before 977, and often from ancient original sources, some of them doubtless contemporary. Under the year 573 we find the following entry :—" The battle of Arterid between the sons of Ellifer and Gwendoleu the son of Kediau : and in this battle Guendoleu fell : Merlin became insane."

This fragment gives us a clue to the period and the names, which recur in the Welsh bardic poems, help us to identify a number of references found there. These references, again, carry us back to other early sources of Scottish history.

The Romans withdrew the last of the Legions in 407. Britain for all practical purposes ceased to form a part of the great Empire. The different races were left to fight out amongst themselves the question, who should succeed to the Roman power. So completely was Britain cut off from communication with the outside world that for 150 years hardly any certain facts of its history have come down to us. When the country emerges again into the dim light of history a great change has taken place. The Provincial or Romanised Britons have disappeared and four parties are facing one another : the South and the East of England have been overrun by Teutonic peoples from Europe whom we will call Saxons : the remains of the old British race still hold out in Wales and on the West coast from Cornwall to the Clyde. North of the narrow neck between the

Forth and Clyde ruled the descendants of the ancient Caledonians, but they were being hard pressed in the West by the fourth party, the Scots from Ireland.

Before the Romans left, the Saxons had already appeared on the East and South coasts, and they were quick to take advantage of the confusion to gain possession of the cultivated lands near the shores. From the North tribes swarmed across the Wall. Gildas, himself a Briton, writing from Brittany about 560 A.D., tells us :—" Foul hordes of Picts and Scots, like tawny worms coming forth in the burning heat of noon, out of the deepest recesses of their holes, hastily land from their curraghs in which they had crossed [the Solway?] differing in manners but all sharing the same thirst for blood, and more eager to shroud their villainous faces with beards than to cover with decent clothing the parts of their bodies which required it." These bearded men in kilts, who sailed up the Solway, soon overstepped the boundary of the Roman Wall. The Roman occupation between the Forth and Clyde Wall and the Solway-Tyne Wall had been a military one. The inhabitants had never been brought under the full influence of Roman civilisation. When the Southern Wall was no longer effectually defended, joined by Picts and Scots they swarmed South till they met with those of their own blood who had maintained their independence in the mountains of Wales. There was nothing to stop these joint forces till they came against the Saxons advancing from the East and the South. Between the Saxons and the men of the North the Provincial Briton had little chance. A few of the more warlike joined their ancient brethren in order to fight the Saxon. The history of the great struggle which followed, and which for a time was successful, is dimly reflected in the accounts of the battles associated with the name of the historical King Arthur. The last of these victories was at Mount Baddon in 517. Arthur was killed at Camelon 20 years later. Meanwhile the new enemy, the Scot from Ireland, had gained a footing along the shore in the rear of the Britons, and as early as 500 A.D. had formed a settlement in Kantyre.

The Picts in the North under their King, Brude, made a great effort to drive out the Scots, and defeated them in a battle fought to the north of Argyle in 560. Gauran, the King of the Scots, was slain. A large number of the tribe, including his son Aidán, were driven across the sea. The remainder were penned up in the peninsula of Kantyre.

The part of Scotland which lies south of the Forth and Clyde was under the rule of a number of British chiefs, all but one of whom belonged to the family of Koel Hen, a name said to be preserved in the district of Kyle in Ayrshire. The one exception was Rhydderch, who ruled from Dumbarton, "the Rock on Clyde." He belonged to the Guletic family of Britons who traced their descent from Maximin, the British Emperor of Rome, and he was related to Melgun, the recognised leader of the Britons from Cornwall to the Clyde.

Rhydderch was chief of the tribes in Renfrewshire and in the valley of the Clyde. Koel Hen's descendants were divided into an elder and a junior branch. Urien, Mercaut or Morgan, and Gwallog, chiefs of tribes in Stirling, Linlithgow, and in Ayrshire (possibly including Galloway), and the western part of Dumfries including the land of Mabon, belonged to the junior branch. Gwenddoleu, his brother Nudd, and the sons of Ellifer, who held sway from the Solway to the Tweed and in Cumberland, belonged to the junior branch. Gwenddoleu's Caer or Town was in the neighbourhood of Netherby.

On the East Coast from the Tyne to the Forth the Saxons had occupied the lowlands and were pushing up the valleys. Under Ida their forces had been consolidated into the Kingdom of Bernicia. They were fighting the Britons along the foothills and up the valleys. Nennius tells us that about this time four British kings strove against the Saxon, Hussa (Ida's son). These four kings he names Ubrigen, Riderich Hael, Gwallawg, and Mercant. There is no mention of Gwenddoleu or Nudd. The lands of the latter in the valley of the Tweed were particularly open to Saxon invasion. It is possible that these two brothers had become friendly with the Saxons, and that this friendliness

had made them an object of suspicion to the rest of the Britons. The possibility of the Saxons cutting the Britons' territory in two by settlements on the Solway was a real danger.

Gwenddoleu belonged to the old British faith, or at least he was not a Christian. During the 150 years which had elapsed since the death of St. Ninian—years of war and strife—Christianity had been all but obliterated from the Border land, and in its place had come the influence of the Gods of the Saxons. In the poems of the old Welsh bards there is some evidence of this. In one place we are told of a great gathering of the senior branch of Koel Hen's family at Arthuret to see the sacred fire of Gwenddoleu. In another a warrior is praised for having killed " the two birds of Gwenddoleu that had a yoke of gold about them, and devoured two bodies of the Cymry at their mid day meal two again in the evening "—a dim allusion to some practice at the Court of Gwenddoleu which was not approved.

The origin of the battle of Arthuret is said to have been a trifling matter—a lark's nest. The ancient Welsh words meaning " the nest of the lark " are *Nydd yr ehededd.* There may be an echo of them in the second name, which is associated with the battle Erydon. This may have been the spot where these practices took place.

When the Britons were face to face with Saxons in a life and death struggle from Lothian to Devonshire it seems strange that they should turn suddenly upon one another, and that the chief of all the Britons should himself from his stronghold in Gwynedd, in the north of Wales, take the lead in the attack. But if we consider that the real point at issue was whether the British line should be broken and the Saxons given a settlement on the Solway the difficulty disappears.

Melgun was aware of Gwenddoleu's actions, and he determined at all costs to forestall the danger by an immediate attack upon his stronghold at Netherby. His best course was to take Gwenddoleu by surprise. This could not be effected if he marched across Wales and through Lancaster and the Shap Hills, because that would

have landed him in Cumbria, the land of Ellifer, Gwenddoleu's ally. Melgun's best course was to cross the sea and sail up the Solway, where, near Annan, he could join the forces of Rhydderch and Urien within a few miles of Netherby.

An old Welsh poem in the form of a dialogue between Merlin, the bard of Gwenddoleu, and Taliessin, the bard of Urien, gives a dim account of what happened. Melgun sent messengers to Dumbarton by sea. There they met Rhydderch and Urien. The chiefs at once set their forces in motion. It is possible that Rhydderch also took the sea route. The bard sings, "Soon is seen his retinue with Elgan; and he adds, "A great journey they came." If Rhydderch did bring part of his forces by sea he must have been on good terms with the Scots in Kantyre, and from what transpired later at the battle it is possible that some Scots accompanied him.

Gwenddoleu would have no knowledge of the extent of the force which was coming against him. He was a renowned warrior, one of the "three Bulls of Battle of the island of Britain." He would not fear an attack by Urien or any of the other chiefs of the junior branches. He had his brother Nudd within call, and the sons of Ellifer at Carlisle. He had with him, too, a man who in later history proved himself a great leader, Aidan, the exiled son of the slaughtered Gauran, King of the Scots. Aidan is referred to in the Welsh poems as "*the Treacherous*" Aidan Fradawg. His mother was a Briton, and through her he was related to several members of the senior branch of the family of Koel Hen. When he was driven out of Dalriada by Brude, King of the Picts, Aidan took refuge with his mother's relations, and thus he happened to be with Gwenddoleu at this time. No doubt his sword was at Gwenddoleu's service in any local raid that might take place.

Urien arrived first. He soon joined forces with Rhydderch. There was no sign of Melgun's ships, but they decided to attack at once. Gwenddoleu and his allies were ready for them on the opposite bank of the Esk at the

Knowes of Arthuret. The sons of Ellifer were foremost in the battle. The bard sings :—

> "The seven sons of Elifer,
> Heroes when put to the proof,
> Seven blazing fires,
> Seven spears that pierce:
> Seven rivers full of the blood of chieftains
> They fill."

Rhydderch was driven back. He lost many men, among them "Three generous ones, three men of note, great their fame." But Melgun came in the nick of time. Taliessen joyfully sings :—

> "The host of Melgun, it was fortunate they came,
> Slaughtering men of battle, penetrating the gory plain."

Merlin cries in response :—

> "Through and through in excess and excess they came;
> From yonder and yonder there came Bran and Melgun."

Then the alleged act of treachery took place. Aidán, who had been ready to lend his sword to Gwenddoleu in a local feud, saw Melgun and at once realised this was no local feud, but that the whole power of the Britons was ranged against Gwenddoleu. If the Bran of the poem is his own young son of that name, he saw that his fellow-Scots, too, were with Melgun. He may also have had information as to the true cause of the attack and have realised that the letting in of the Saxons was a danger to the ambitions of the Scots as well as to the existence of the Britons.

Aidan deserted Gwenddoleu and joined Melgun. This was probably the turning point in the battle. Gwenddoleu retired over the low ground to the north to his town, Caer Gwenddoleu, where to-day the name of Carwinley may identify the spot. He was driven out of Caer Gwenddoleu at Netherby, but he made a second stand on the other side of the stream in the land (as Fordun tells us), "quod erat in campo inter Lidel et Carwanolow," i.e., between the Carwinley Burn and the Lidel. There Gwenddoleu was slain, and his followers broke and fled. But his bodyguard refused to surrender. They retired to the strong place, Liddel Strength we now call it, and there, led by Nudd's son, Dinel or Dywel, they held out for 46 days.

"The grave of Dywel is in the level land of the enclosure. He would not be a vassel to a king: blameless, he would not shrink from battle."

The forces of Gwenddoleu were annihilated. Merlin, the bard, was amongst those who escaped across the Lidel to the Ettrick Forest, the Wood of Caledon.

> "Seven score generous ones become ghosts:
> In the wood of Caledon they came to an end."

Tradition records that Merlin lost his reason, and that for 50 years he wandered there. His grave is pointed out to this day in the valley of the Tweed.

In a famous Welsh poem attributed to Merlin the bard regains his reason just before his death, and sings:—

> "Sweet apple tree that grows by the river side!
> Whereof the keeper shall not thrive on its fruit.
> Before I lost my reason I used to be around its stem,
> [With my twin sister Gwynnedd] fair and matchless.
> But ten years and forty, the sport of lawless ones,
> Have I been wandering in gloom among sprites,
> After wealth in abundance and entertaining [of] minstrels,
> And after suffering disease and despair in the forest of Calydon."

Melgun was a statesman. He saw that if the danger was to be averted the responsibility for keeping the Saxon back must be in the hands of someone on the spot. He made his relative, Rhydderch, independent King of the chiefs north of the Shap hills, and thus Rhydderch came to be the first King of Strathclyde, giving the name of his chiefship to the whole Kingdom. His Kingdom lasted with stormy intervals till the battle of Carham in 1013. Aidan, too, very soon after the battle, was called by St. Columba to be King of the Scots of Dalriada in Argyle.

The battle in its origin was, I believe, one incident in the campaign of the Britons against the Saxons and not a battle of Christians against Pagans. No doubt Rhydderch was a Christian, and Urien too, but on the other hand Melgun was a Pagan fighting alongside Christians, and Aidan was a Christian fighting at the outset on the Pagan side.

Immediately after the battle, however, Kentigern was recalled from exile and promised the protection of Rhydderch and Urien. He settled down first at Hoddam, which was probably within the domain of Urien, and possibly as soon as things could be made safe for him against his old enemies in Stirlingshire he settled finally at the Molindinar burn in Glasgow. From the close relationship between the King Rhydderch and St. Kentigern, Christianity, which before had been a missionary religion, became the national religion of Strathclyde. At the same time, through the alliance between Aidan, King of the Scots, and St. Columba, Christianity became firmly established through the land of the Scots. Among the Picts the fruits of St. Ninian's labours had survived. So that, though the origin of the battle of Arthuret had nothing directly to do with religion, it is from that event that we can trace the rise of the Christian Church as the national Church of the land we now call Scotland.

Liddel Strength.

By T. THORNTON TAYLOR.

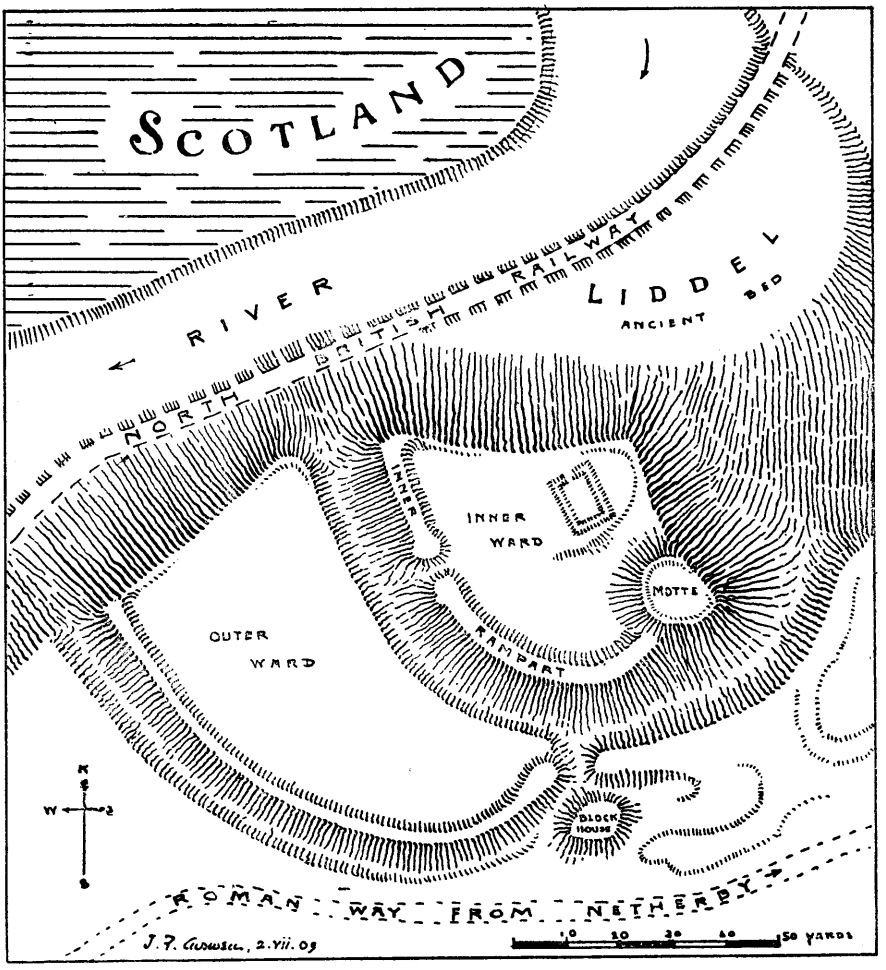
Topography.

Liddel Strength occupies a strong, naturally-fortified site some four acres in extent to the north-east of the confluence of the Liddel and the Esk.[1] The site is one of great antiquity, but in this brief survey we are primarily interested in its post-Norman history.

The sole method of approach is by the old road (once erroneously believed to be Roman) from the S.-W., on which side a gentle slope leads to the Mote and Bailey, which is here (south and south-east fronts) fortified by ditch and rampart. On the north side from west to east the site is fortified by a natural precipice falling abruptly to the River Liddel some 150 feet below. The Inner Bailey lies to the

[1] For detailed measurements and plan see Mr J. F. Curwen's admirable paper on "Liddel Strength" in the *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society*, N.S., vol. x., and J. L. Mack, *The Border Line*, pp. 113-14.

PLAN OF LIDDEL STRENGTH.



(By courtesy of the Cumberland Archæological Society).

Facing Page 112.

N.-E. and the Outer Bailey to the S.-W. of the dividing trench which traverses the site from N.-W. to S.-E. The entrance to the Inner Bailey is through the ditch separating it from the Outer Bailey, and at the mouth of this ditch a mound has been erected at the right hand side (E.)—in the days of the shield the undefended side—and this redoubt serves the purpose of narrowing the entrance way and subjecting all-comers to a gauntlet of fire. To reach the Inner Bailey and the Mote, where the lord and his retainers would have their dwellings, one proceeds thirty yards north-west along the dividing trench, the sides of which rise to a height of about thirty feet above the floor, and then turning east through a gap in the rampart (formerly secured, no doubt, by a stout wooden gate) one finds oneself in the Inner Bailey. At the eastern extremity of the Inner Bailey is the small conical Mote.

Liddel Strength has several unusual features—notably the double Bailey and the very small Mote. The Mote, which rises to a height of 35 feet at the eastern extremity of the Inner (and smaller) Bailey, has a present top surface of only 35 by 25 feet. It is known that there has been a small landslide on this side, and it is probable that the original top area had been approximately 35 feet in diameter. So small is this, however, that Mr J. F. Curwen, writing in the *Proceedings of the C. and W. Antiquarian Society* (N.S., Vol. X., 1910), suggested that there never had been a tower on this Mote, but that the timber castle of the early owners had shared the Inner Bailey with the more humble huts of their retainers, and that this mound had been used as a look-out tower and final citadel of defence. May it not be that originally this was not a Mote and double Bailey (which is uncommon in the border districts), but the more usual Mote and (single) Bailey with the present Inner Bailey as the original Mote? Despite Mr Curwen's doubts, I think it is probable that the present Mote had at some time in its history been crowned with a small wooden castle after the style of those depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry.

The excellence of the lay-out of the site suggests that this example of the Mote and Bailey castle should be placed

late in the period of such structures—probably well into the 12th century. Personally I feel that so admirable a site was fortified early in the history of the English barony of Liddel (i.e., late in the 11th or very early in the 12th century), and that the defensive system has at various times been improved and brought up-to-date. We are fortunate enough to possess an account of the buildings on this site in 1281-2. It is from an inquisition post-mortem of the manor of Liddel in Cumberland, the property of the newly-deceased Baldwin de Wake. We are told that "the castle" contained the following buildings, all, of course, of wood:—"A wooden hall with two solars, cellars, and a chapel, also a kitchen, a byre, a grange, and a wooden granary which threatened ruin, but might be repaired for five marks."[2]

In 1300 we find Sir Simon Lindesaye given a grant of the "Mote of Lydal" and charged by Edward I. to "repair and maintain the pele and palisades and to make lodges within the mote for the safety of the men at arms of the garrison." Forty-eight years later, i.e., two years after the famous siege of the castle by David II., when the castle was probably completely destroyed, the property passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Wake, and it was probably he who built the small stone keep, the foundations of which can be seen to the N.-W. of the Mote.

History.

Though the site of Liddel Strength has, almost certainly, been fortified from very early, possibly prehistoric, times, there is no authentic history of Liddel Strength prior to the reign of Henry I. (1099-1135); but it is stated on the authority of the Register of Wetheral Priory (which is substantially the same as two other contemporary records—viz., the Register of the Priory of St. Bees and the Tower Miscellaneous Rolls, No. $\frac{459}{3}$—and may therefore be given some credence) that William, Duke of Normandy, gave all

[2] J. L. Mack, *The Border Line*, p. 137, surprisingly attributes this description to Liddel Castle at Castleton, some twenty miles higher up the Liddel, which was not then in the possession of the de Wakes, but was still held by a de Soules.

the land of the County of Cumbria to Ranulf Meschin. We may doubt the truth of this statement, or be sceptical of the actual authority enjoyed by Ranulf during the reign of the Conqueror, but at least it cannot be denied that in 1092 William Rufus made Cumberland the north-west frontier of his realm. The line of demarcation between Scotland and England, we may be tolerably certain, would be the natural line of the Solway, the Esk, and the Liddel, which became the official boundary in 1125.[3] Cumberland, however, was an outlying part of a recently won kingdom, far from the active supervision of the central power, and it is generally agreed that Ranulf Meschin (who was certainly in possession of Cumberland by the end of the 11th century) enjoyed viceregal powers in this border state. As the *Victoria History of the County* points out, Cumberland for long was rather a "crown colony than a settled division of the commonwealth"—hence the large number of motes, peel towers, and castellated churches. We know, further, that Ranulf Meschin created two baronies for the defence of his northern frontier—that of Burgh-by-Sands for defence west of the Solway, and at the same time he enfeoffed the Fleming, Turgis Brundos, in the barony of Liddel, as a protective measure against the Scots.

From what is known of the history of the site and from the geographical position, situated as it is at the mouth of the valley of the Liddel, and commanding a ford and a clear uninterrupted view into Scotland, I am of opinion that Liddel Strength was originally built by some Norman knight who held his estate from the English, rather than the Scottish, crown. Not improbably the site may have been fortified by that Turgis Brundos, or Brundas, who was given the barony of Liddel by Ranulf Meschin at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century. It seems a reasonable assumption that Turgis Brundos would want some stronghold near the border, since his chief duty was to keep the Scots out of Cumberland. That being the case, what better site could he find than this of Liddel Strength, which

3 *Victoria History of Cumberland*, vol. i., p. 309.

not only presents a precipitous face to Scotland, but has an additional defence in the waters of the Liddel. Moreover, it also stands at that point where the Liddel broadens out before joining the Esk, and is immediately below, and commands, a ford. Against Scotland this site presents excellent natural defences—on the southern side the slope is gentler, and has been rendered less vulnerable by impressive ramparts and ditches. The site is admittedly a sound defensive one, and is ideally suited as an English frontier-post against Scotland. A likely inference, then, is that the site was originally fortified by a Norman baron who owned allegiance to the English king, and who may well have been Turgis Brundos, the first English Baron of Liddel.

From the Scottish point of view the history of Liddel Strength is disappointing. As I have attempted to show, Liddel Strength was probably of English origin, and, apart from a short period in the reigns of David I. and Malcolm IV. (1136-1157), when Cumberland was held by the Scottish kings as a fief of England, the castle was from its foundation an English stronghold in English hands and on English soil—*soil which was never debateable.*

The actual history of Liddel Strength is difficult to decipher, as there existed side by side an English and a Scottish barony of Liddel. The English barony was of little importance, but seems to have had Liddel Strength as its capital, while the Scottish barony developed into the great barony of Liddesdale, based on the Mote of Castleton. This was first held by Randulf de Soules, the royal butler in the reigns of David I., Malcolm IV., and William the Lion. We know that David I. was given Cumberland by the usurper, Stephen of Blois, in 1136, for his assistance against Matilda. It is unlikely that Randulf de Soules ever occupied Liddel Strength, for it is known that he started about this time to build on a site to the east of the River Liddel above its junction with the Hermitage burn, some sixteen miles higher up the river, at the Mote of Castleton, in the vicinity of the later famous Hermitage Castle built by his successor, Nicholas de Soules, about 1240. To a Scot the site of

Liddel Strength was not so admirable as it must have appeared to an English knight intent on keeping the Scots to the north of the Liddel. Moreover, the site had one grievous fault, namely, the absence of a convenient water supply. In 1157 Malcolm IV. re-granted to Henry II. the county of Cumberland, and in 1158 we find Turgis Russedale (variously stated to be the same as, the son of, or the heir of, Turgis Brundos) in possession of the English barony. What probably happened was that the Normans in possession did homage to the Scottish king for their lands, and continued to hold them. Turgis Russedale, it is thought, must have died childless and without heirs, and the estate, reverting to the crown, was re-granted to Nicholas de Stuteville, who, we know, was in possession by 1174. In that year William the Lion made his disastrous expedition into England, which ended in his capture at Alnwick. On his journey south it is recorded that he stayed with his butler, Randulf de Soules, in Liddesdale, and also that he captured "the castle of Lidel," then held by Nicholas de Stuteville. From this it appears fairly certain that the earliest Scottish lord of Liddesdale did not settle in the former castle, but set about building on his own.[4]

In 1216 Alexander II. passed through the district on his way to the siege of Carlisle, and apparently seized Liddel Strength and the country round it, for in the following year —September 23rd, 1217—Henry III. issued a summons demanding "nobleman Alexander" to render up all lands won in the war, and on December 18th we find King Henry directing the Sheriff of Cumberland to take into the king's hand the castle of Liddel and guard it until further instructions. By an agreement of 1242 Cumberland was acknowledged an English county, and the boundary line between the two countries was recognised as the line of the Solway, the Esk, and the Liddel. Henceforth Liddel Strength was *dejure* as well as *de facto* an English stronghold.

From this time onwards, if we except one single event, Liddel Strength does not play a prominent part in history.

[4] See R. Bruce Armstrong, ***History of Liddesdale and the Debateable Lands,*** **p. 123** ***et seq.***

It remained in the possession of the de Stuteville family till 1241, when it passed, by the marriage of Johanna, heiress of Nicholas de Stuteville, to Hugh de Wake, Lord of Wake. Only on one other occasion was Liddel Strength closely bound up with Scottish history, and this brings us to the most famous event in its story.

In 1346 David II., son of Robert the Bruce, on his expedition into England, which ended so disastrously at Neville's Cross, near Durham, laid siege to Liddel Strength, which was then held by Sir Walter de Selby and two hundred men. The defence was conducted with such gallantry that it was not until the fourth day before daybreak that the Scots, by filling in the ditch with earth and brushwood, were able to make a successful assault. Covered by their shields they advanced to the attack, and with iron tools tore down the foundations of the ramparts and the walls, and at last took by storm the stubbornly defended peel. Selby, who had held out with great gallantry surrendered in the hope of honourable and merciful treatment. King David, however, carried out (as Hutchison phrases it) "most savage cruelty and unremitting revenge." He had Selby's two sons strangled before their father's eyes, and then "felt no other clemency towards his unhappy captive, than to shorten a parent's wretchedness, by ordering his head to be cut off — in which the barbarian was immediately obeyed."[5]

The reason for this callous and unchivalrous behaviour on the part of the Scottish king is difficult to understand. The likeliest explanation is that David felt he had been detained on the siege an unnecessarily long time—that Sir Walter Selby had held out long after he realised the impossibility of a successful defence, and David would therefore be justified by the existing laws of warfare to show no clemency to the stubborn garrison. Though this code of warfare may provide some palliation for the execution

[5] Hutchison, *The History of Cumberland,* vol. ii., pp. 529-530; cf. also G. Neilson, *The Peel,* pp. 13-14; and the excellent account in good monkish vituperation in *The Chronicle of Lanercost,* 1272-1346, translated by Sir H. Maxwell.

of the garrison, it cannot condone the brutally heartless strangling of Selby's sons before his eyes; and, unless there is some evidence which has been completely lost, the incident shows Bruce's son in a sorry light indeed.

Subsequent history is of little but local interest. The estate passed either by marriage or purchase from the Wakes to the crown, and was annexed to John of Gaunt's Duchy of Lancaster.[6] In 1583 we find Fergus Graeme dwelling "at the Mote Skore on the R. Lydall." He was succeeded by his younger son Arthur who "lived on his father's land at the Mote" and was killed by Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle. A pension of £20 a year was in consequence granted by Queen Elizabeth to his son William who was living at the Mote in 1596. This William and his brother Arthur (also known as "of the Mote") were transported to Ireland in 1607, but rehabilitated their good name by gallant service in the royal cause, and returned to Cumberland where, the tombstone testifies, lies the body of William who died in 1657 in his 94th year! Before William's death however the lands of the old English Barony of Liddel had passed to another branch of the Grahams. In 1628 Richard Graham of Plomp—a favourite of Charles I., and protégé of the two most ambitious and powerful nobles of the day—Buckingham and Mentieth—bought the lands of the Barony of Liddel and henceforth they are known as the "Netherby Estate."

Liddel Strength, then, we see has little direct or continuous connection with Scottish history—except perhaps as a thorn in the flesh of the Scots living in the Debateable Lands between the Esk and the Liddel.

There was an interval for tea at the Cross Keys, Canonbie, and then the party proceeded to Kirkandrews Church and Tower, where the Rev. H. Taylor and Mr R. C. Reid gave interesting information. These papers will also be found subjoined.

[6] **For the owners and occupiers of "Liddel Strength," see T. B. H. Graham's "Annals of Liddel," in *Trans. C. and W. A. and A. Society*, N.S., vol. xiii., p. 33 *et seq.*, and his "Six Extinct Cumberland Castles," in vol. ix., pp. 212-216.**

Kirkandrews and the Debateable Land.

By R. C. REID.

It is a curious fact that whereas no district is better known on the Borders, has been more recorded in song, and I might almost say abused by tradition, than the Debateable Land, yet we do not know how or when it derived that name. The early history, too, is singularly scant. It is known that an Anglo-Norman named Turgot de Rossedale owned the English barony of Liddell. He also seems to have had some undefined, proprietary rights to Canobie and Kirkandrews, for we know that prior to 1165 he presented the advowson of both churches to Jedburgh Abbey.[1] Canobie was erected into a Priory as a cell of Jedburgh, but there are no records to show whether the Priory comprised all de Rossedale's lands or what became of the rest of them. The family of Wake succeeded that of de Rossedale and supported England at Bannockburn, thus losing Kirkandrews and Brettalache (Canobie), which Bruce granted to Sir John de Soulis.[2]

De Soulis suffered forfeiture in 1320 for being implicated in a mysterious conspiracy against the Scottish crown, and the barony of Kirkandrews was at once granted to Sir Archibald Douglas the Regent, except those lands which belonged to Sir John Soulis, Lord of Blamire.[3] Kirkandrews remained in Douglas hands till 1431, when Archibald, 5th Earl of Douglas, granted the whole barony to William Stewart, failing whose heirs it was to revert to his elder brother, Sir David Stewart of Rossyth and Durisdeer.[4] William probably died without issue, for when the crown in 1590 called on everyone in the Debateable Land to produce their titles Henry Stewart of Rossyth put in a hopeless claim for the barony of Kirkandrews.[5] There are, however, no records to show who owned it, though in 1495 it was

1 *R.M.S.*, 1306-1424, App. i., 94.
2 *R.M.S.*, 1306-1424, App. i., 28, 33, 94.
3 *R.M.S.*, 1306-1424, App. ii., 293, 504.
4 *Douglas Book*, iii., 64.
5 *R.P.C.*, 1st Series, iv., 709.

included amongst the possessions of Herbert, Lord Herries of Terreglis.[6] But its inclusion must have been more of a liability than an asset, and one cannot be surprised that no one made any effort to take possession.

Several conjectures have been made as to when the first Debate or dispute concerning it between England and Scotland arose or what was the cause of such dispute. Mr Bruce Armstrong,[7] having explored all the Scottish records, discovered a reference—in 1449 to the "Batable Landez or Threpe Landez," but if the district was known by that name then it must have acquired it at some earlier date. He suggests that the dispute may have originated in fishing rights in the lower Esk. Some time prior to 1474 the English erected a fish garth, which prevented fish ascending to the upper reaches of the Esk, which had always been Scottish. The dispute over that fish garth followed the course of many other international disputes. It dragged on for just 24 years, was the subject of endless commissions of enquiry—we have record of no less than 10 different English commissions—and ended in the inevitable compromise, the Scottish crown leasing to the English Warden the fishing of the Esk, permitting the fish garth and receiving 52 salmon yearly in return. That the garth had led to disturbances of the peace is obvious, for it was laid down that in future its destruction by one or other of the parties should not be held an infraction of the truce between the two countries.

The late Mr Carlyle of Templehill has put forward a far more likely theory as to the origin of the term Debateable Land.[8] After Bannockburn there were many Englishmen who had formerly owned lands in Scotland, forfeited after that battle. These disinherited Barons seized every opportunity to recover their Scottish possessions, and it was they who enabled Edward Baliol to seize the Scottish throne in 1332. Amongst them were the Wakes—already referred to—eager to recover Kirkandrews. In due course the Wakes ended in an heiress, married to Edward, the

[6] *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 2294.
[7] *History of Liddesdale*, p. 171.
[8] *D. and G. Trans.*, 1866, p. 21.

Black Prince, so the English crown till 1603[9] had a definite interest in putting forward a claim to the Debateable Land.

Whatever may have been the origin of the dispute, one thing is clear. The original boundary was the Esk. This must have been established as early as 1154, the year after King David's death. The principal residence of that monarch had been Carlisle, and he had ruled over Cumbria as well as Scotland. His grandson, Malcolm IV., a mere boy, had to surrender Carlisle and Cumbria, receiving the Earldom of Huntingdon instead. But no record survives of the boundaries fixed between the Kingdoms at that date. Yet in 1249, the date of the first extant code of Border Laws drafted by a commission of both nations, the middle of the Esk is definitely mentioned as the western boundary.

It was not till the beginning of the 16th century that the English, under pressure of circumstances, put forward pretensions to Canobie and the baronies of Kirkandrews and Morton Woods. Indeed until then the Debateable Land, though an unwholesome place to live in and liable at any moment to an English inroad, seems to have been recognised as Scottish and administered by that crown. In 1345 some English plunderers raided the "vill of Blamyre, in the barony of Kirkandrews in Scotland,"[11] and removed loot to the value of £1000. The English crown at once appointed a commission to enquire and punish them. Here was clear recognition by England of Scottish rights. As late as 1504 James IV. visited Canobie, held a Court, executed several reivers, and entertained English officials there. The Prior rendered suit to him for his lands. At that date there can be no question that England recognised Canobie as Scottish.[12] Again in 1494 we find the crown granting to a chaplain named Schir Thomas Tyndin the holme land called "Kirkandrews holme with ane myle of land nixt about it of the debatabill land betwix us and Ingland"—for life on condition he conducted Divine service.[13] It is true that this document suggests that the

[9] When the Crown granted the barony of Liddell to the Earl of Cumberland.

[11] Bain, iii., 1454.

[12] *History of Liddesdale*, 195.

[13] *R.S.S.*, i., 34.

church had ceased to function normally in Kirkandrews, and that the chaplain was being offered a very substantial inducement to perform his duties there. But it also proves that, in spite of all the Debate, Kirkandrews was then a part of Scotland, and still an inhabited district. It was not, however, to remain inhabited long. For, both nations claiming it, neither would allow the other to inhabit it. Somewhere about the year 1500 it became a no man's land, where no one was allowed to dwell by night, but which both nations could graze by day. In effect it was intended to make it a *tabula rasa,* a buffer state, consisting of a neutral zone, void of all habitations and totally unoccupied from dusk to dawn.

However long this policy may have been practised, it received definite recognition at the hands of both Kingdoms in an agreement, dated 1525, between Angus and the English Warden. It was there laid down that no one was to occupy the " Bayttable grounde except as has been the past custom." If any house shall be built therein it is lawful for the takers thereof to injure or destroy it without restitution, and it was not to be in the power of either Warden to grant license so to build.[14] Indeed another contemporary document (1552) expressly states that this policy had originated in the time of Robert the Bruce.[15] But as this document set out the claims of England at the time of the Partition it must be suspect as an *ex parte* statement. These three uninhabited baronies — Kirkandrews, Canobie, and Morton Woods—were to be common pasture for both realms " to be occupied from sunrise to sunset with bit of mouth only."[16] " And if any subject of aither realme wilfully sal stub or stake or kepe any cattell under cover of night it is *and always has been* at the likkes of the Wardenis, fynding them greved, to brenne destroye waiste take and drive away all such goods and cattell as there salbe founde so wilfully kept under cover of night."[17]

[14] *History of Liddesdale,* p. 231.
[15] *C. and W. Trans.,* 1912, p. 35.
[16] *Cal. Letters and Papers,* 1531, Henry VIII., vol. v., p. 220.
[17] Dacre to Council of Scotland, 6th July, 1517, quoted by Bruce Armstrong, p. 209, n. 3.

This policy can be exemplified by the proceedings arising from a raid on 23rd June, 1517, carried out by John Charteris of Amisfield and Herbert Maxwell, brother of the Warden. These worthies, accompanied by friends mustering more than 400, entered the Debateable Land in broad daylight just before noon and carried off from Hedderskale bog 700 cows and oxen. The Scottish Warden, tongue in cheek, of course, knew nothing whatever about it, but Lord Dacre pressed the claim on the Lords of Council. A joint commission was appointed to investigate, and things dragged on for five years. The Scots claimed to have raided English intruders on Scottish lands, and admitted that Lord Maxwell, the Warden, had had a share in the loot. The correspondence that passed clearly brings out the principle involved, viz., that no one should live in the Debateable Land; that men and goods taken in a house there even in broad daylight should be escheat, but that beasts pasturing and men herding in daylight were inviolable. Every house and its contents could be burnt. It is not known how the dispute ended, but it is clear that a partition at that date, 1522, was discussed.[18] Partition, however, was to await consummation for another 30 years.

This policy—of making a wilderness and calling it peace—was a failure, because it took no account of economic factors. The 16th century was a period of rapid expansion of population. Agriculture was still of a very primitive nature and trade confined to a very small class. Land drainage was unknown. The greater part of what is now good arable land was then swamp, and the land could barely produce sufficient to support the population. In the higher grounds of Tundergarth, Corrie, and Eskdale the position must have been so serious that migration was inevitable. An uninhabited tract, consisting of two parishes or more,[19] within a distance of some 15 miles from an over-populated

[18] Bruce Armstrong, p. 216.

[19] "The Debateable land is 10 miles in length and most part of it 4 miles in breadth" *(Cal. State Papers,* Dom., Ed. VI., vol. 2, p. 369). If Canobie be included, it was about 8 miles broad.

district, was an irresistible attraction to younger sons, and a number of Grahams from the barony of Mosskesso on the confines of Huttoun and Dryfehead, risking the wrath of the Scottish Wardens and the certain enmity of the English authorities, entered Kirkandrews, where they at first maintained a precarious livelihood, lifting sheep and cattle from their neighbours on both sides of the Border, and carrying on an uncertain but lucrative trade in stolen horseflesh. This migration would seem to have been entirely Scottish. It was the Northern Kingdom that felt most the pitiless working of the inexorable law of economics. The Armstrongs first appeared in the Debateable Land round Canonbie in 1518,[20] the Grahams in Kirkandrews in 1528, though, of course, they may have been there a bit earlier. In 1526 the Armstrongs had seized the greater part of Canonbie, on which they had built towers.[21] It is obvious that at first such residences must have been wooden erections. That year the English burnt Hollows and laid claim to Canonbie on the ground that the yearly merk paid by that Priory to England proved that it belonged to England—whereas the Scots retorted that the payment was made to get them the liberty to resort to the market at Carlisle. A second time that year Dacre invaded the Debateable Land and destroyed every house that had been unburnt before, especially a strong pele belonging to Ill Will Armstrong, which was built in such a manner that it could not be burnt or destroyed till it was cut down with axes.[22] Clearly there was no stone residence in the Debateable Land at that date—save the Priory.

The English Warden was now faced with two alternatives—either to extirpate the new settlers on the Debateable Lands or make friends with them. It happened that there was a new Warden—Henry, Earl of Cumberland—and he adopted a new policy. The land east of Esk, between that river and the Leven (now the Lyne), was, owing to inroads, just as much a wilderness as the Debateable Land. This

[20] *History of Liddesdale*, p. 211.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[22] *History of Liddesdale*, p. 247.

district the Warden decided to populate, leasing it out in small estates.[23] He may have found no English eager to be the tenants, at any rate he chose for the most part those very Grahams who had settled in Kirkandrews, and in making them vassals of England he ensured they were always willing to fight against Scotland. So in 1528 we find Lord Maxwell burning the house of Richard Graham of Netherby or of Esk. To the English crown thereafter they always owed allegiance, fighting on the victorious side at Solway Moss in 1542.[24] In the dreadful decade that followed, Fergus Graham of the Mote is constantly recorded as rendering invaluable assistance to the ceaseless English raids on a defenceless Scottish Border. In 1545 the Grahams even ambushed, defeated, and captured Robert, Master of Maxwell, the newly appointed Scottish Warden, at Yellowsykehead in Wauchopedale.[25]

Some semblance of peace came at last to a distracted Border, when in 1552 the Debateable Land was partitioned and Kirkandrews was ceded to England. The parish now possessed a legal status, and was no longer a no man's land. At once stone towers began to spring up where before had been "houses," and a map of the Western March, dated 1590,[26] shows six towers in Kirkandrews and eight between Esk and Leven. Of these only two now remain—Brackenhill Tower between Esk and Leven, and Kirkandrews Tower. It is obvious that both of them have been built by Scotsmen, for they possess an architectural feature common in all Scotland but almost unknown in England. Their high pitched roof and crow-stepped gable clearly indicate Scottish influence, and their builders, we know, though English vassals, were Scottish born. Bracken-

[23] *C. and W. Trans.*, 1912, p. 41.

[24] Spotiswode, p. 305, says that in 1542 there were only 30 men resident in the parcel of waste ground that lay opposite the West Borders of Scotland, but in 1579 they had grown to 300 or 400, and had built 8 or 9 strong houses *(C. and W. Trans.*, 1914, p. 136).

[25] *D. and G. Trans.*, 1866, p. 31.

[26] *C. and W. Trans.*, 1912, p. 49.

hill was built in 1586 by Richard Graham, son of Fergus of the Mote. The date of Kirkandrews Tower is unknown, but it must have been about the same time. It was the house of Thomas Graham of Kirkandrews,[27] brother of Richard of Netherby.[28] It is, I believe, the sole Scottish relic in what is now a part of England.

A few words will suffice to complete the story of the Debateable Land. The Partition did not bring the peace that had been anticipated. Cattle were still lifted; life was just as insecure; raid and counter raid just as frequent as before. Wardens were partial to their own folk and often privy to the raids. We have seen Lord Maxwell avowing his ignorance of a raid, yet pocketing his share of the loot. A weak Warden was useless, a strong one (like Morton) merely made things worse, causing the muddy waters to boil over, soil and injure everyone. The Wardens were sometimes absent—one of them spent more than half his term of office in jail—and often in fear of their lives—one of them resigned because of the enmity of the lawless Borderers,[29] another was murdered by them. Special arrangements were made in favour of their heirs in case a Warden lost his life in the execution of his duty. The office was no bed of roses, and they were constantly harassed by an irate crown egged on by an outraged English Court. Occasionally they lapsed into merciless severity—as when the Master of Maxwell burnt to ashes at the Market Cross of Dumfries a noted thief, whose principal offence may have been that he was an undoubted retainer of the Laird of Johnstone.[30] The Warden Courts must have often been an open farce, and it is little wonder that no record of them has survived. When a joint commission of the realms was appointed to enquire into the raid by Charteris in 1517 (already referred to) the Scottish Warden nominated as commissioner Charteris's right hand man in the raid itself. When in 1541 Richard Graham of Netherby and his five brothers, having mur-

[27] *C. and W. Trans.*, 1912, p. 150.
[28] *Scots Peerage*, vii., p. 98.
[29] *History of Liddesdale*, p. 6.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 6, n. 2.

dered several Scotsmen, turned up at the Warden Court in contempt of justice with the blood of the slain still on their jacks and doublets, their hands and faces, the Scottish Warden instantly demanded redress, but no answer was forthcoming.[31] Whilst Symon Armstrong of Whithaugh boasted to the Earl of Northumberland that he and his friends had laid waste 60 miles into England, destroyed 30 parish churches, and that no one in Scotland dared remedy the same.[32] No wonder that Kirkandrews Church is a modern structure![33]

But the dawn of the 17th century brought relief to the harassed authorities. The Union of the Crowns in 1602 solved the economic problem, for England, which till then had been a closed country to the Scots, was now open to them, and the poverty-stricken Scots started the great trek to the South, which must have seemed to them a land flowing with milk and honey. Prior to the Union no one was able to enter England save with license; it was a penal offence for an Englishman to employ a Scot, and even mixed marriages were forbidden.

Further, a single Crown was able to act with vigour and completeness, and in 1607 the Grahams were deported lock, stock and barrel from Kirkandrews and the Border to Ireland. This vigorous action, though ordained by the Crown in 1603, had in the end to be effected by public subscriptions, £400 being raised for that laudable purpose by the neighbourhood. Only Fergus Graham of Plomp, a man of uncertain pedigree and the murderer of John Maxwell, provost of Dumfries, survived, and was the ancestor of the Baronets of Netherby. Surely subscriptions cannot have been solicited in Dumfries, else Fergus would have joined his kinsmen in their exile.

For the rest, the history of Kirkandrews is the story of the Grahams, and as it is purely English need not detain us further.

[31] *C. and W. Trans.*, 1912, p. 41.

[32] *History of Liddesdale*, p. 262.

[33] In 1632 Charles I. gave license to Sir Richard Graham to refound a church where the church of Kirkandrews formerly stood (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 465).

On the return journey a halt was made at the Clochmaben Stone. Mr Gourlay here gave some account of his researches into its history. This paper is also given here.

Mr J. H. Bell, Seaforth, Annan, was elected a member on the motion of Mr R. C. Reid.

Lochmaben Stane.

By W. R. GOURLAY.

The Lochmaben Stane is one of the most interesting historic relics in Scotland. It is an ice-borne granitic rock, and was deposited here many thousands of years ago. It has served many ages of men. In the *New Statistical Account* it is stated that this boulder was once surrounded by a large ring of stones. It is possible, therefore, that it was utilised to mark the spot where a chief was buried. In the Welsh bardic songs there was a warrior named Mabon, who gave his name to the district of which Lochmaben is the centre, and the stone may mark his grave. But the stone has nothing to do with Lochmaben. There is in existence an old indenture dated November 6th, 1398, which contains these words :—" The men of Galloway, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Crawford Muir shall meet the wardens of the West March for redress of claims at Clochmabenstane. Those of Eskdale and Liddesdale at Kirkandres." That gives us the clue to the meaning of the word. This is the Cloch (the ancient Cymric name for a stone) of Mabon. When the Saxons overran this part of the country they knew nothing of the meaning of Cloch, and they added their own word " Stane," and the word Clochmabonstane later became corrupted into Lochmabenstone.

Look across the sands of Solway to the English shore and you will realise that the Stone was for centuries the landmark which guided those crossing the fords of the Solway to the high ground where the ford ended. At the house from which we have just come was the end of the Sulwaith, the " muddy ford," for centuries a high road between Scotland and England.

In 1218 King Henry III. granted a safe conduct to

Reginald, King of the Isles, and his retinue coming to do homage. Gilbert Fitz Reinfred is commanded to meet the said King at Sulewad, Carlisle, or Lancaster or elsewhere in those parts. The statute of Marches in 1249 enacts that the proper tribunal for the trial of offences against the Border Laws was at Sulewath.

The Lochmaben stane therefore became the meeting place for the administration of Border Law for the exchange of prisoners and also for the assembling of troops to undertake or repel invasion.

This ancient stone has witnessed many strange events. In 1216 King John had invaded Scotland, and Alexander II. retaliated by crossing the ford and ravaging Cumberland. The Scots pillaged the Abbey of Drum Cultram on the opposite side of the water. Dr. Neilson gives a graphic account of the sequel :—" Laden with their spoil, the Scots, returning, required to cross the Eden. At Rockcliffe (the Eden's) broad and limpid waters ripple over a pebbly channel washing the base of a high red cliff. A little further down its waters take somewhat of the tawny complexion of the Solway sands, through which they are beginning to flow. The neighbouring sandy foreshore is coated with rough merse grass, on which numerous herds of cattle graze. As one walks along the march skirting the river, a quiet, sibilant but penetrating sound from the sea is the announcement of a wave racing up the Eden. A line of advancing foam breaks gently on each side of the sandy channel. In a few minutes, where before was a narrow current of fresh water with a wide margin of sand, there is a broad volume of brine, and the estuary of the Eden is flowing ' from bank to brae.' In the winter season the scene, impressive under any conditions, is much intensified, especially if the tide is high and there is a southerly gale behind. Then the sea approaches with great speed, gaining as it goes; the wave is white with tumbling foam; a great curve of broken surf follows in its wake; and the white horses of the Solway ride in to the end of their long gallop from the Irish Sea with a deep and angry roar. In February, 1216, some terror-stricken survivor may have witnessed this tumultuous

onrush of waters, whilst his companions in arms, heedless of the danger, were fording the Eden. Suddenly the tide was upon them—escape was impossible—and 1900 men were swept away."

Nearly 100 years later, in 1307, Edward I. was encamped with his army at Brugh at the opposite end of the ford. He was intent on a final blow at Scottish Freedom. But he was a sick man. " He was carried in a litter from Carlisle, six miles in four days, and at daybreak on the 7th of July, 1307, he was in camp on the sands north of Brugh. The road to Scotland lay in front across the fords —the Stonywath hard by, over the Eden, and the Sulwath two miles distant over the Esk. As his attendants were in the act of raising him to give him food he collapsed in their hands, and the mighty spirit passed away." The monument (raised on the spot where stood the ancient cairn erected at the time) was visited by the members not long ago.

Such is a short account of the Lochmaben stane and some of the events connected with this historic spot. I am sure every one of you will agree with what Sir Herbert Maxwell wrote in his *History of Dumfries and Galloway,* published in 1896 :—" The Lochmaben Stone is just one of those historic relics, of more than local interest, which ought to be placed without delay under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Act.

12th July, 1930.

This excursion started from the Ewart Public Library at 10 a.m. At Clarie (Clary) Mr Gourlay spoke of the ancient residence there of the Bishops of Galloway and of the connection of the house with Mary Queen of Scots.

The party went on to Kirkinner, where Mr R. C. Reid and the Rev. Mr Walker spoke of the history of Kirkinner Church and its importance in the old diocese of Candida Casa.

From this they proceeded to Cruggleton Castle and Church, where Mr Reid and Dr. Rankine gave outlines of local history. Mr A. J. M'Cormick gave some information on Baldoon Castle and its connection with the "Bride of Lammermoor."

At Sorbie Tower Mr Gourlay spoke, explaining why such a structure might have been built.

These papers will be found appended herewith.

Votes of thanks were offered to the speakers, and also to Mr James Taylor, who had prepared a diagram of the geological structure of the area under observation and explained to the members the significance of the landscape before them.

After tea at Newton-Stewart Mr J. H. Bell proposed a vote of thanks to Mr Reid, who had organised the expedition.

Clery.

By W. R. GOURLAY.

Little remains on this spot to suggest that it was once the site of a dwelling-house of considerable importance, but here stood the residence of the Bishops of Galloway, and the site is associated with one of the happiest episodes in the life of Mary Queen of Scots.

The lands of Penninghame belonged to the church, and the Bishop resided at Clery. Andrew Durie, Bishop of Galloway, died in 1558, and was succeeded by Alexander Gordon, a half-brother of that Earl of Huntly who rebelled against his Queen and lost his life at Corrichie. Alexander Gordon does not seem to have had any previous connection with Galloway, and he probably came to Clery as a stranger.

These were stirring times in Scotland. In December, 1557, there appeared the first manifesto of Protestantism—the first of these bonds or "*covenants*" so frequent in the subsequent history of the country. These "covenanters" styled themselves "Lords of the Congregation." The mortal struggle between the defenders of the old faith and the champions of the new had begun.

Scotland's Queen was a young girl in France, and the country was ruled by her mother, Mary of Lorraine. The Lords of Congregation urged upon the Queen Regent the need for an immediate reform of what they termed "*the wicked, slanderous and detestable life of Prelates and of the State Ecclesiastical.*" The Queen Regent replied by burning Walter Mill at St. Andrews for heresy: that, she thought, was the right way to deal with Bolshevism in the Church. But she was wrong: Protestant preachers became more energetic than ever. The population of Edinburgh showed their sympathy by mobbing a procession of clergy who were carrying the image of St. Giles through the streets of the city. The Lords of Congregation thereupon presented a petition to the Queen Regent requesting that she should submit it to the Estates of Parliament. On the Regent's refusal, the Lords presented the petition themselves. "*We protest,*" they said, "*that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for the diversity of religion and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us who most humbly seek all things to be reformed by an order.*"

In the same month—November, 1558—the Catholic Mary Tudor of England died, and she was succeeded by the Protestant Elizabeth.

In the midst of these happenings Alexander Gordon was appointed Bishop of Galloway. Immediately after his consecration Gordon showed his interest in reform. As a neighbour he had Alexander Stewart, younger of Garlies, who had identified himself with the new faith, and in 1559 we find the Bishop associated with the Lords of Congregation, and in January, 1560, he subscribed to the First Book of Discipline along with Lochinvar and Garlies.

Scotland was in sore trouble. Mary of Lorraine, the Queen Regent, was a Frenchwoman; the principal offices of State were in the hands of Frenchmen; and bands of French soldiery occupied the main strongholds in the country. The object of the Queen Mother (directed by her brothers, the Guises) was to see their niece, the young Queen

of Scotland and wife of the heir of the King of France, take what they considered as her rightful position as Queen of England, and thus to roll back this wave of Bolshevism in religion and to re-establish the power of Rome.

It was essential that Scotland should be at the bidding of France to secure these ends, but Scotland was alarmed at this French domination, and at the same time she was torn between the old faith and the new. Hatred of France was swinging the whole population towards the side of those who demanded reform in the Church. But the forces at work were not only political and religious. They were economic as well. In 1559 a terrible manifesto, "The Beggars' Summons," purporting to come from "all cities, towns and villages in Scotland," was affixed to every religious establishment in the land. The "*Summons*" closed with these words:—"*Wherefore seeing our number is so great, so indigent and so heavily oppressed by your false means that none taketh care of our misery, and that it is better to provide for these our impotent members which God hath given us to oppose to you in plain controversy than to see you hereafter (as ye have done before), steal from us our lodging and ourselves in the meantime to perish, and die for want of the same: we have thought good, therefore, ere we enter in conflict with you, to warn you in the name of the great God by this public writing affixed to your gates where ye now dwell that ye remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next, so that we the only lawful proprietors thereof may enter thereto, and afterwards enjoy the commodities of the Church which ye have heretofore holden wrongfully from us: certifying that if you fail we will at the said term with the help of God and assistance of his saints on earth enter and take possession of our said patrimony and eject you utterly forth of the same.*"

It was true that the Church had failed the people. One half of the wealth of the country was in possession of the clergy who not only neglected the people but harassed them with exactions. And this manifesto gave some indication of the temper of the countryside.

The Queen Mother, with the help of her French soldiery, made vain attempts to quell this revolution. It became a *national struggle* against French domination led by the Protestant Lords. In the midst of this civil war the King of France died and the Queen of Scots became the Queen Consort of France. The Guises redoubled their efforts. They sent more troops from France, but their star was no longer in the ascendant. Mary of Lorraine died in June, 1660, and foreign troops were withdrawn from Scotland, and the Protestant Lords were triumphant—for *a time.*

Then was held what was perhaps the most important national assembly in the history of the Scottish people. A statement of Protestant doctrine was drawn up by Knox and his brethren. This was accepted. Three Acts were passed, *abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope, condemning all doctrines and practices contrary to the new creed,* and *forbidding the celebration of Mass.* Mary and her Consort sent from France a refusal to ratify these, but the Estates carried on without their ratification. At this crisis Francis died and the Young Queen of Scots, a few days before her 18th birthday, was a widow.

A few months later (in August, 1661) Mary left France for ever. The great dream of the Guises was fading away. They had lost much of their power in France, and where their sister Mary of Lorraine had failed in Scotland their young niece was not likely to succeed alone. Still hoping to keep Scotland within the Papal jurisdiction and through Scotland to see their niece on the English Throne (at least as the successor of Elizabeth), three of her uncles accompanied the young Queen to Leith.

Remember, when Mary landed at Leith she was not yet 19. Her mother was French, and since her 6th birthday she had been educated in France under the direction of her uncle the Cardinal. French was her mother tongue.

She came full of hope to her own kingdom with the views as to the position of a Queen which she had learned in France. She had heard much of the progress of the new heresy and especially of one John Knox, who was the

leader of those professing the new faith. She was determined to be mistress in her own house. She was intelligent beyond most women of the time, full of gaiety and of the joy of living, and confident in her power to win others to her side. But alas, she had little knowledge of Scotland and of the character of its people. As her chief adviser she had her elder stepbrother. He himself was but 30, but he knew the people and he sympathised with those who held the new faith.

The four years which followed on her landing in August, 1561, to her marriage with her cousin, Lennox's son, in July, 1565, were full of incident and full of disillusionment for the Queen but they were years of comparative tranquillity for the people. Scotland was the pivot upon which the diplomacy of the great courts of Europe turned but no foreign soldiery entered the country either as friend or foe during these years, and while Mary and her rebellious lords were engaged in a life and death struggle for the direction of the country's destinies, that middle class was definitely formed which was to determine the character and ideals of Scotland for three succeeding centuries.

Mary got her first shock of disillusionment on the Sunday after her arrival. She had come determined no doubt to bring Scotland back within the fold of the Church but she had come determined to do so by getting the Protestant Lords to see reason and to work with her for the good of the country as she saw it. Therefore she was quite willing to accept the existing religious settlement for the present—*so far as the country was concerned* but when the people attempted on her first Sunday to interfere with her own private religious observances her surprise probably exceeded her anger and indignation. Mary in her direct way sent for Knox and argued the point with him but the two started from different premises and her argument was in vain. Mary was soon to find that there were other matters in which she was not to have her own way. Elizabeth refused to recognise her as the heir to the throne of England and even evaded Mary's efforts to have a personal interview. Meanwhile the Protestant Lords were

having difficulties. The Reformed Clergy were established over the land but there was no regular provision for their maintenance. The Church revenues were still in possession of the old Clergy and much of the ecclesiastical property had passed into the hands of the lay lords both of the old and of the new faith and these lords were unwilling to give up what they had acquired. The Privy Council tried to settle the matter by decreeing a tax of 33 per cent. on all church lands half to go to the maintenance of the new clergy and the other half to go to the Queen. John Knox pithily put it, *" I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil."*

Such was the state of Scotland when Mary set out upon her first Royal Progress in the North. She had previously visited her Royal castles at Linlithgow, Falkland, Stirling, and Loch Leven: she had visited Perth and St Andrews, and been the guest of some of her lords as at Hamilton and Seton, but this was the first tour of an extended nature, the first visit to the lords in the North. It must be remembered that in those days there was no central administration such as we understand it. The administration of justice and the policing of the land was in the hands of the local lords, and therefore when the Sovereign visited the outlying portions of the Kingdom she was trusting herself to the loyalty of her subjects. If the lord within whose territory she happened to be failed her she was dependent on the speed with which a more loyal lord could reach her with his retainers. On this occasion the journey took a different turn from what she had expected. Huntly, the great lord of the North, failed her, and it was only after dangerous and exciting experiences that she regained Aberdeen. Huntly and his retainers were defeated by her brother at Corrichie. Huntly fell dead from the horse which was conveying him to Aberdeen. The father lost his life in the retreat, and the son was hanged. Huntly's body in its coffin, according to the barbarous customs of the time, was tried some months later and sentenced to the customary feudal mutilation.

Undaunted by this experience, Mary made a second

progress the following year, this time to the S.-W. of Scotland. Our knowledge of this tour comes from a document recently brought to light. In 1919 Mr M'Cormick, the town clerk of Newton-Stewart, brought Sir Herbert Maxwell's attention to a document which the late Mr William Macmath of Edinburgh had examined in the General Register House. Sir Herbert gave an account of the document in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1922-23. It is a roll of expenses kept by Queen Mary's French Equerry during her progress through the S.-W. of Scotland in August, 1563.

The confidence that the young Queen had in the lords of Ayrshire and Galloway is shown by the fact that the whole of her Court, her servants, and her baggage were carried upon 18 hackneys and 6 mules.

The young Queen (*remember she was not yet 21*) spent Sunday, the 1st August, at Eglinton. The Earl, her host, was a young man of 33. He had been sent to France to accompany his Queen to Scotland, but on the return voyage the convoy ship in which he sailed was taken by the English. He was, however, released soon after. He remained one of the Queen's most faithful adherents. From Eglinton the little party, swelled no doubt by the retainers of the Earl and of other lesser lords, set out on the Monday for Ayr. They found lodging in the monastery of St. John the Baptist there. On Tuesday they entered the territory of the Earl of Cassillis, a young man but a year or two older than herself, a staunch supporter and one who fought for her at Langside. The Earl was her host at his Castle of Dunure (which the Society visited last year) till the Saturday forenoon, when she set out for Ardmillan, the house of another Kennedy, a branch of the Cassillis family. Sunday evening she was entertained at the house of another member of the family at the Castle of Ardstincher, close to Ballantrae. On the following Monday she lodged at the monastery and abbey of Glenluce, where it is possible Cassillis was again her host. On Tuesday she rode from Glenluce to Whithorn (22 miles), and on Wednesday, the 11th August, 1563, she arrived at Clery, the residence of the Bishop of Galloway.

It was not Alexander Gordon who received her, however. This is not surprising, for only three months before that she had dealt with the dead body of his half-brother Huntly. We have additional proof that she was not on friendly terms with the Bishop. Knox tells us that. Earlier in the year in an interview he had with the Queen at Lochleven Mary said to him: — "*I understand that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries for the election of a Superintendent in these countries. . . . I hear that the Bishop of Athens (a title held by Alexander Gordon) would be superintendent. . . . If ye knew him as weal as I do ye would never promote him to that office nor yet to any other within your kirk.*" It was decided by the General Assembly that Alexander Gordon should not be appointed Superintendent in Galloway "till the churches cravit him," which apparently they did not do.

Queen Mary's host at Clery was Alexander Stewart, younger of Garlies. The house was ecclesiastical property, but the Bishop, though he had renounced the Church of Rome and joined the Protestant cause, was still in possession, for we find that before his death, which took place at Clery in 1576, he bequeathed the lands of Clery to his younger daughter, Barbara, who in 1566 had married Alexander Stewart's half-brother, Anthony, the parson of Penninghame. Other deeds show that Bishop Alexander Gordon had already disposed of some of the church lands. In 1564 some were transferred to a branch of the Garlies family, the Stewarts of Balclye, by the Bishop and Chapter of Whithorn, and Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar came into possession of some of the lands in a similar way on the 15th April in the same year. It would appear that Alexander Gordon, taking advantage of the times, sold the lands of the Bishopric and kept Clery as his own personal property. He had apparently made over the occupation of the property to the Stewarts of Garlies before 1563. Alexander Stewart appears to have resided here till his death, which took place in 1571, during the lifetime of his father, and thereafter it was probably the home of his half-brother, Anthony, to whose wife, Barbara, it was bequeathed. In

the Barnbarroch papers there are letters up to 1588, dated at Clery, written by Dame Katherine Stewart, the wife of the Laird of Garlies and the mother of Anthony.

Alexander Stewart, younger of Garlies, was 35 years of age. His wife was Catherine, daughter of William, Lord Herries, and they had three children: Alexander (who succeeded his grandfather as laird of Garlies) and was at this time about 12 years old; and two younger sisters, Agnes and Elizabeth, the latter probably a baby. Alexander Stewart had early identified himself with the Protestant cause, but that did not deter Mary from visiting his house. He was a kinsman of Lennox, and it is interesting to note that when Mary was married to Darnley two years later Alexander Stewart stood by them at the altar. He received from the bridegroom a comfit box engraved with the words:—"The Gift of Henry, Lord Darnley, to his cousin, Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies"—a box which has ever since been in the custody of the head of the family, and is a prized possession of his descendant, the present Earl of Galloway.

I have tried to create for you something of the atmosphere of Scotland at the time, and to give some idea of the experiences through which Mary had gone prior to the visit. The rest I leave to your imagination. One may be permitted to dwell upon the picture of the young Queen enjoying the peace of these surroundings, secure in the knowledge that she was safe with a family which, in spite of religious or political differences, received her not only as their Queen but also as their friend. Remember again she was only 20 and a widow: she had been Queen of Scotland all her life: she had been Queen of France, and was regarded by many as the rightful Queen of England. Her choice of a husband was the pivot round which revolved the diplomacy of the chief Courts of Europe, and at this moment the assignation of the King of Spain for her marriage to his son seemed likely to be successful. She had been accustomed to the splendour of courts, and in Touraine she had been passionately fond of the chase and of an outdoor life. In Scotland she had been thrust suddenly into the turmoils of a kingdom at strife with itself: surrounded by

lords struggling with each other for power: she had had a narrow escape only twelve months before when she had trusted herself to Huntly in the North. The uncle in whom she had trusted all her life had been murdered in France early in the year. *Now she was far from it all.* She was happy in the outdoor life and in the peace and security around her. I think she must in later years often have looked back with pleasure and regret at the happy days she spent in Galloway in the summer of 1563.

The Pre-Reformation Church at Kirkinner.

By R. C. REID.

Though there is not time to-day to deal with the secular history of Kirkinner, it is desirable to give a brief sketch of the early ecclesiastical history of this site, especially with an episode that belongs to the 15th century and that illustrates the methods of the Papacy in its halcyon days before the Reformation. Kirkinner was by far the most valuable living within the old diocese of Candida Casa. That is the key-note of its ecclesiastical history. Whether it was the Pope, the Scottish Crown, the Bishop of Candida Casa, its lawful patrons or needy and ambitious clerics, they all had their eye on Kirkinner, and when an incumbent of this church died or was elevated to be a dignitary of the church there was a general scramble for the presentation.

From earliest Celtic times Kirkinner has been a centre of Christian influence. Of its dedication there can be no doubt; in early documents it is referred to as the church of St. Kenere of Carnesmole. Carnesmole was the earliest name of the parish, a relic of the days before an Anglian bishopric was established at Whithorn. The prefix "Kirk" of the present place name we probably owe to that episcopacy. St. Kenere is usually identified with a continental saint who joined St Ursula in her pilgrimage to Rome, where St Ursula and her 1000 virgins were slain, St. Kenere alone escaping by the protection of the King of the Rhine, whose wife in a fit of jealousy strangled St.

Kenere with a bath towel and buried her in a stable.[1] It is difficult to believe that a continental saint should have a dedication in Wigtownshire were it not that the neighbouring parish of Wigtown has a kindred dedication imported from Normandy probably by some early Anglo-Norman settler.[2] It seems much more likely that we have here a Scoto-Irish dedication, either to St. Cainner from Kildare, or St. Cainder, daughter of Caelan of Rinnh Allaid, whose obit. was on 5th November. The Breviary of Aberdeen records on 4 kalends November:—"In Scocia apud Kyrkyner in Galwedia Sancte Kennere virginis non martyris."[3] At the present day the canonisation of a saint is a serious business, including a magnificent ceremonial at the Vatican. But in the early days of Christianity there was no formal process, no ceremonial, no searching inquiry as a preliminary. It was not even necessary to be a martyr. The conditions of sanctity in those early times may not have risen to modern standards. The proofs of holiness were based on an abundant piety and blamelessness of life, and were fortified with an element of the miraculous. If a miracle was wrought at the tomb, everyone flocked thither and sanctity was carried by acclamation. If St. Kenere did not earn the crown of martyrdom, at least her life must have been blameless and devout.

To whatever date Kirkinner owes its dedication, its first definite vestige of Christianity is its cross. It is purely Anglian work, and in ascribing it to the 10th century Mr W. G. Collingwood has pointed out that during that century the Anglian community in the Whithorn district must have led a peaceful and even prosperous existence.[4] Two centuries of darkness follow till Fergus, Lord of Galloway, emerges into the light of history and established the territorial Bishopric of Candida Casa. But not till 1298 occurs a reference to Kirkinner. Edward I. had just overrun Scot-

[1] Bishop Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 361.
[2] D. and G. N.H. and Antiq. Soc., 1924-5.
[3] Forbes, p. 136.
[4] *D. and G. Trans.*, 1922-3, p. 226.

land, and the Church of "Carnemoel" had fallen vacant. Edward promptly filled it by presenting Robert de Beverley.[5] Robert may have been a place hunter, but he knew a valuable living when he saw it. So for that matter did the Bishop, who probably took the first opportunity of a vacancy in the living to annex it to the use of himself and his successors to be part of what was known as the "episcopal mensa." This happened in the year 1306, the grounds of annexation being the small amount of revenue of the see.[6] But Bishop Thomas, who was a Kirkcudbright man, also had his eye on the main chance, for his election as Bishop is stated to have been through a certain compromise involving a sinonaical deal (*sinonaica conversatio*) with the prior and canons.[7] Bishop Thomas died in 1319, but he lived to see his own handiwork undone. For by 1312 Edward Brus was Lord of Galloway, and, ignoring the Bishop's annexation, he presented the living of Kirkinner to the Prior and Canons of Whithorn.[8] We do not know who the Canons presented to the living, but in 1359 (or before) one Thomas M'Dowel held Kirkinner, and was even elected unanimously by the canons to the Bishopric of Candida Casa. The Pope, however, refused to confirm, appointing another Thomas as Bishop, and providing the rector of Kirkinner as a solatium with a prebend at Glasgow.[9]

The destructive warfare that eliminated the Baliols and ended in the Douglases becoming Lords of Galloway may well have laid Kirkinner in ruins. By 1402 the Earl of Douglas presented Gilbert de Cavans[10] to the church, which is stated to have long been void. Its value is given as 40 marks.[11] Cavans was still rector in 1420, also holding by special dispensation the rectory of Parton.[12] The dis-

5 Bain, ii., 998.
6 Bain, ii., 1772.
7 Dowden's *Bishops*, 359.
8 *R.M.S.*, 1306-1424, app. i., 20. This must have been between 1312-18.
9 *Papal Petitions*, i., 351.
10 *Ibid.*, 618.
11 *Papal Petitions*, i., 618.
12 *Papal Letters*, vii., 152.

pensation was to lapse in four years, when he was to resign from or exchange Kirkinner for another living. This he appears to have done, having acquired the rectory of Kirkandrews. Meanwhile Alex. Cairns, provost of Lincluden, secured the rectory for a year, at the end of which John Ewalde, late rector of Kirkandrews, was installed in Kirkinner.[13] Ewalde was succeeded almost at once by John Cameron, who in April, 1426, was elected to the see of Glasgow, which rendered Kirkinner void. Whereupon David de Hamilton, rector of Cumnock, was presented and given dispensation to hold both rectories with the Deanery of Aberdeen for the space of five years,[14] which was afterwards extended for his life.[14a] The new rector was a Master of Arts at Paris, a bachelor of Canon Law, who had studied theology for seven years. To these technical qualifications he added the advantage of being a kinsman of Murdac, Duke of Albany, and of John Stewart, Earl of Buchan.[15] In spite of these advantages he did not secure the coveted Kirkinner without a struggle, for another Churchman, Patrick de Symontoun, laid claim to it, having actually been provided to it by the Pope. But Patrick was a leper. This must have been his undoing, for the fact cannot have been disclosed when he received Papal provision. But his case must have been a strong one, for David de Hamilton only secured the rectory by making a compromise with the leper, who was to receive for life a pension of £20 Scots from the fruits of Kirkinner. This received Papal assent in 1435.[16] David was dead by 1449, when one Adam de Hamilton was presented. He was only twenty years of age, a defect which was overcome by receipt of Papal dispensation.[17] Adam had gone to Rome to secure the dispensation, and died there. In Rome at the same time was one Thomas de Levington, erstwhile Abbot of

13 *Papal Letters*, vii., 269. The date of the Letter is 1423.
14 *Papal Letters*, vii., 425, and viii., 413.
14a *Papal Letters*, ix., 36, in 1431.
15 *Papal Letters*, vii., 258.
16 *Papal Letters*, viii., 533.
17 *Papal Letters*, x., 193, 194, 195.

Dundrennane, a disputative theologian of the front rank, with both eyes fixed on the main chance. He had been sent out to represent the Scottish Church at the Council of Basel, and amidst that tumult of voices he at once made his mark. That Council of Churchmen started in 1431 and ended with its forty-fifth session in 1443—twelve years of tempestuous talk. Just think of it; they were all divines! Needless to say, the Council broke up in disorder in 1437, the Pope[18] and his followers retiring to Ferrara, where they continued the talk, whilst the opposing party prolonged the ecclesiastical excitement for six years more of debate at Basel. Foremost in this schism was the Abbot of Dundrenane. There was no champion of the other side whom he was not prepared to silence, no doctrine however subtle he was not ready to answer. "Vir subtilis plurima disputavit" is the description of him by a contemporary. In his main effort to set the authority of the Council over that of the Pope he had a partial and temporary success. When the Pope withdrew, the Council appointed Levington one of a Triumvirate to choose electors to elect a new Pope, and his efforts were crowned with success on the election of the Hermit Duke of Savoy as Anti-Pope.[19] But the Abbot's triumph was short-lived. He had exceeded his instructions, for Scotland, after a period of hesitation, definitely adhered to the Pope at Ferrara, and Parliament at Stirling in 1443 ordained rigorous process against all who favoured schism.[20] Disowned by his own government, Thomas de Levington must have proceeded to trim his sails, for, whilst the other two members of the Triumvirate were both created Cardinals, Thomas was only made Bishop of Dunkeld in 1441, an empty title seeing that another was nominated to that Bishopric by the Scottish Crown. So in the records Thomas always figures as Bishop of Dunkeld in the Universal Church —a term applied to Bishops who possessed no diocese.[21]

18 Eugene IV.

19 Pope Felix V.

20 *S.A.P.*, ii., 33.

21 He was also appointed Administrator of the Monastery of St. Christopher outside Turin (*Rot. Scot.*, iii., 330).

Thomas must have been disappointed. Clearly he had backed the wrong Pope. So in 1447 he forsook the Pope of his own creation and submitted to Pope Nicolas V.,[22] who appointed him Commendator of Cupar Abbey,[23] and in 1449 provided him to the vacant rectory of Kirkinner.[24] So Thomas secured this plum. But there were others who sought it. For Thomas Spens, Bishop-Elect of Whithorn, supported by William, Earl of Douglas, petitioned the Pope to have Kirkinner appropriated to the Episcopal mensa of Whithorn on the grounds that, whereas Whithorn was only worth £130 sterling, insufficient to support a Bishop, the rectory was worth £30 sterling, or more than sufficient for a rector.[25] This attempt to oust him was successfully repelled by Levington, but it was followed by a more serious attempt. In 1455 the Pope who had provided him to Kirkinner died, and his successor, Calixtus III., was persuaded to re-open the case. Levington's actions at Basel were reviewed, the endowments of Coupar Abbey considered sufficient, and the distance of Kirkinner from Coupar emphasised. His provision to Kirkinner was annulled,[26] and Patrick Lockhart was provided thereto in 1456.[27] Two years later another Pope succeeded, one who had known Levington in his halcyon days at Basel, and on appeal he reopened the case and restored Levington to Kirkinner on the ground that material facts had been suppressed. Patrick Lockhart's provision was revoked and he was called on to pay the costs.[29] Levington did not enjoy the rectory

22 Nicolas V. succeeded Eugenius in 1447, and at once tried to conciliate the followers of the anti-Pope.

23 *Register of Cupar Abbey*, i., 49.

24 *Papal Letters*, x., 196.

25 *Papal Letters*, x., 96. It is there stated that Kirkinner was situated at the doors *(in foribus)* of the cathedral church.

26 *Papal Letters*, xi., 113. It was pointed out that there were very few churches in Galloway not already united in perpetuity to monasteries.

27 *Papal Letters*, xi., 39. He was chaplain to King James and King Charles of France, and held the chapel of Dundonald.

29 *Papal Letters*, xi., 380, 418. He was, however, compensated with a canonry of Moray *(ibid.*, 457).

long. Seventy years of age and nearly blind this ecclesiastical orator, the overthrower of one Pope and the creator of another, was laid to rest in July, 1460.[30] His long and chequered career, the prominent part he took in the proceedings of the Council of Basel which shook Christendom to its foundations have been long forgotten.[31] But no account of Kirkinner can be complete without some reference to this rector, this Galloway man, whose mighty effort against Papal claims almost succeeded in democratising Papal autocracy. Levington was succeeded by Hugh de Douglas,[32] nephew of James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, and by 1486 Mr John Stewart was rector.[33] The Crown was the last to cast an envious eye on Kirkinner. It belonged to the Priory of Whithorn, and the crown in 1503 was busy establishing the Chapel Royal of Stirling and endowing and erecting prebends within it. George, Bishop of Whithorn, was designated as the first dean of the Chapel Royal and with his assistance the Crown arranged a deal with the Priory, whereby the Crown granted Kirkandrews to the Priory in return for Kirkinner.[34] Thereafter the ecclesiastical history of Kirkinner is absorbed in the Chapel Royal of Stirling which lies outside the scope of this Society's interests.

30 *Register of Coupar*, i., 79.

31 The Rev. A. H. Christie, *Abbey of Dundrennan*, is the first local writer to give an account of this Abbot.

32 He was treasurer of Glasgow *(Papal Letteers*, xi., 421-423).

33 *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 2239. M'Kerlie (ii., 337) says he was John Stewart of Henriestoun, which seems unlikely.

34 *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 2760. Mr David Abercromby was the instrument used for the negotiations *(L.H.T. Ac.*, ii., 409). Mr David was afterwards sub-dean of the Chapel Royal *(R.S.S.*, ii., 1066).

"The Bride of Lammermuir."

By ANDREW M'CORMICK.

At Baldoon, in the parish of Kirkinner, which time prevents us from visiting to-day, may still be seen part of the ruins of Baldoon Castle, where the tragedy depicted in that novel took place. Sketches of the ruins and gateway will, however, be found on page 390 of M'Kerlie's *Lands and Their Owners in Galloway* (1870) and Dick's *Highways and Byways of Galloway,* Page 200 (1924) Mrs Sproat, Masonfield, Newton-Stewart, tells me that her mother had often had tea in Baldoon Castle. For those interested in the psychology of horses it is worthy of note that on the morning before the north wall of that castle fell the farm horses must have had a premonition of that event, for they refused to pass the place. The lid of an oven lay in the castle ruins for a long time. It had on it the arms of the Dunbars, and was unfortunately taken away in a fit of abstraction, let us hope, about the time of the centenary of Sir Walter Scott's birth!

The estates of Basil Hamilton, who took part in the Rising of 1715, were forfeited, but in the recent Petition by Captain Charles Dunbar Hope to be placed on the official roll of Baronets in respect of the Baronetcy of Dunbar and Baldoon, the question arose in connection with Basil's forfeiture whether the Baldoon estates belonged to him or to his mother, Mary Dunbar, and it was decided that the forfeited estates belonged to his mother, and the petition was accordingly granted.

In an elegy on the "Unexpected Death of the Vertuous Lady, Mrs Janet Dalrymple, Lady Baldoon Younger," appended to the *Large Description of Galloway* written in 1684 by Andrew Symson, Kirkinner, a Scottish Episcopalian clergyman, and afterwards a printer in Edinburgh, who was well acquainted both with the Bride of Lammermuir and David Dunbar, the only son of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, and who was her husband for a brief period, we find the following undisputed facts about the Bride:—Nupta Aug.

12, Domum ducta Aug. 24, Obiit Sept. 12, Sepult Sept. 30, 1669; and so her death happened exactly one calendar month after her marriage.

Symson, out of gratitude to David Dunbar, who had continued to worship under him when his hearers were reduced to two or three, wrote that elegy in which he glosses over the details but yet refers to the death as " some strange and uncouth thing," and states that " the comedie is metamorphos'd to a tragedie."

There are many variants as to the facts which led up to the Bride's early demise.

In the introduction to a new edition of the story Sir Walter Scott admits that this novel was founded on incidents in the history of the House of Stair, and carefully commends the attainments and excellencies of character which brought about the high standing of that great House, and concludes thus :—" Accordingly, the author has endeavoured to explain the tragic tale on this principle. Whatever resemblance Lady Ashton may be supposed to possess to the celebrated Dame Margaret Ross, the reader must not suppose that there was any idea of tracing the portrait of the first Lord Viscount Stair in the tricky and mean-spirited Sir William Ashton. Lord Stair, whatever might be his moral qualities, was certainly one of the first statesmen and lawyers of his age." And he also appends a letter, dated September 5th, 1823, from Sir Robert Dalrymple Horne Elphinstone, of Logie Elphinstone, connected in blood with the unfortunate heroine of the romance, which, whilst admitting the general accuracy of the version communicated by Mrs Murray Keith to Sir Walter Scott, explains that it was not the bride who had stabbed the bridegroom but Lord Rutherford, to whom Miss Janet Dalrymple had been formerly engaged, who, on the fateful night, had managed to conceal himself in the bedroom, and having stabbed Dunbar fled through an open window. Sir Herbert Maxwell, in his Address to the Sir Walter Scott Club, Glasgow, 12th November, 1919, shrewdly observed that " the dominant note in Scott's character was his unwavering kindliness, his gentle toleration of the shortcomings of other men." Is it likely, then,

that Sir Walter Scott would unreasonably magnify the bad traits of the characters he portrays. In that new edition Sir Walter Scott quotes many variants which, either in satire, buffoonery, or out of self-interest, twist the story to suit their enmity or friendship for the Stair family. In truth those of the writers thereof most nearly related to the unfortunate heroine are the most willing to admit the general accuracy of Mrs Murray Keith's version, and that goes far to determine the arguments of those who had less opportunity of ascertaining the true facts of the case. Some of the recent writers, founding on the elegy written by Symson, would even have us believe that the heroine merely died of a broken heart, but such a death would not account for the passages above quoted from the elegy.

According to the version in the novel the actual tragedy is described as having taken place during the progress of a ball in an adjoining saloon :—A shrill cry struck terror into the hearts of the gay company. When the door of the bridal chamber was burst open the bridegroom was found lying on the threshold, and all around was covered with blood. The unfortunate girl was found in a corner of the old-fashioned chimney, couched like a hare on its form—her headgear dishevelled, her nightclothes dabbled with blood, her eyes glazed, her features convulsed, and she gibbered like an idiot, the only articulate words that she had spoken being :—" So you have ta'en up your bonny bridegroom." Sir Walter Scott also changes the locale of the story from Galloway to the Border country—substituting Ravenswood Castle for Carscreugh, where the Stair family then lived, and Fast Castle for Baldoon Castle.

If a novel may be regarded as " a fictitious prose narrative or a tale presenting a picture of real life especially of the emotional crises in the life history of the men or women portrayed," what matters it what the variant may be of the raw material out of which it has been woven If you hold up a mirror to the characters described in " The Bride of Lammermuir " you do not expect to find reflected in it the story as told in any of these variants, but Sir Walter Scott's version of the story as known to him and as moulded by his

unique brain to suit the exigencies of the tale he sets out to tell. When one remembers that he regarded everything "as moonshine compared with the cultivation of the heart," how easy it would have been for him to improve away the defects of character which led up to the tragedy, but such a course would have ruined the story. It was necessary for the exigencies of the story that Lady Ashton should be portrayed as a proud woman of strong will, determined, at all costs, to strengthen the position of the House of Stair; and be it remembered that at her death she desired "that she might not be put underground but that her coffin should be placed upright on one end of it, promising that while she remained in that situation the Dalrymples should continue in prosperity . . . and her coffin stands upright in the Aisle of the Church of Kirkliston." It was necessary also that Lucy Ashton should be depicted as an impressionable, ductile girl of gentler disposition and weaker will. Had it been otherwise the steadfastness and the nobility of character of old Alice, the blind but devoted servant of the House of Ravenswood as depicted in the brave and noble words with which, in presence of Lucy Ashton, she roundly upbraided Edgar, Master of Ravenswood, for being untrue to his forefathers in making friends of those who had brought about the downfall of his House. The portrayal of the false-hearted Craigengilt makes one value more highly the devotedness of Caleb Balderstone to the House of Ravenswood nothwithstanding his seeming trickery and duplicity to attain his ends. And, moreover, the character of Rutherford, the prototype of the jilted lover, had to be strengthened, as we find it portrayed in Edgar, the Master of Ravenswood, and that, of all who thwarted him, had to be painted in a more discreditable light to permit of the story ending heroically. You remember how the Master of Ravenswood in disguise attended the funeral of Lucy Ashton, his loved and lost one, and was challenged to fight a duel with her brother, Colonel Ashton, who actually accused him of having murdered his sister. A night of dreadful suffering ended by his deliberately selecting a sword shorter than the one which had been selected by Colonel

Ashton, for he knew that Ashton was no match for him in swordsmanship. Old Caleb had previously solemnly warned the Master of Ravenswood that if he trafficked with those who had brought about the downfall of his house he would meet his doom in the Kelpie's quicksands—as prophesied by Thomas the Rhymer, to which prophecy the Master had replied :—" I hope I shall choose a better stable for my horse than the Kelpie's quicksands, and especially as I have always had a particular dread of it since the patrol of dragoons were lost there ten years since." And yet, as he goes to keep his tryst for the duel, rather than have the killing of his enemy on his conscience, he rides, like the gallant gentleman he was, straight to his doom in the Kelpie's quicksands.

If some still imagine that Sir Walter Scott committed a local injustice in exaggerating the faults and shortcomings of certain of his characters, on the other hand it must not be overlooked that he created a work of art of world-wide benefit.

Let the higher critics, who have more time on their hands than the few minutes allotted to me and now expired, determine whether or not Sir Walter Scott was justified in his methods of artistic treatment.

Cruggleton Castle.

By R. C. REID.

From what little we know of its history, the general lay-out of the site and the few fragments of masonry that remain, Cruggleton Castle must have been a typical 13th century castle of what is known as the Edwardian type. Though the castle builders of that period considered a defensive position of primary importance, they did not often choose a remote cliff edge for their purpose, and we may perhaps conclude that the site had been used in a previous age, and was chosen by the castle builders for convenience of adaptability. Prior to the 15th century only three references to it occur in the records, and we hear of it first in

1290 in possession of John Comyn, Earl of Buchan. To construct an account of its owners is almost as difficult a task as to reconstruct the ruins of the castle. But, inasmuch as the only account of Cruggleton we have was written by a partial hand whose main object was to aggrandise his own forebears, and who, though quoting the known records, ignored them and even denied their validity, it is high time that an effort be made to re-state what is at present an incoherent story.[1]

Curiously enough, it will be found that the story of Cruggleton is in its early stages largely the story of the High Constables of Scotland, though it was only by chance that the office and castle were held by the same persons. Alan, Lord of Galloway, succeeded his father, Roland, in 1200 as Hereditary Constable of Scotland,[2] and died in 1234. He left three daughters, great heiresses amongst whom Galloway was divided. Dervorgilla, the youngest, had as her portion eastern Galloway, based on Buittle Castle. Christina, Countess of Albermarle, the second daughter, probably had central Galloway perhaps as far west as Cree. The Edwardian Castle at Kirkcudbright may have been associated with her. Elena, the eldest, must have received Wigtownshire, for her descendants owned Cruggleton. She married the Earl of Winchester, who had to fly from Galloway owing to an insurrection in 1247. It may be conjectured that on his return he set to work to make his position impregnable, and built Cruggleton. In right of his wife as Alan's eldest daughter he became Constable of Scotland, and died in 1264.[3] Dervorgilla inherited the lands of her sister, Countess of Albermarle, so by 1264 Galloway was divided as to two-thirds to Dervorgilla Balliol to the east and one-third mainly in Wigtownshire to the Countess of Winchester. The last named also left three daughters as

[1] M'Kerlie's *Lands and Owners in Galloway.*

[2] Roland succeeded his father-in-law, Richard de Norville, as Constable of Scotland.

[3] *Scots Peerage,* iv., 142, where Roger's two wives are confused. He married (1) Elena or Helena, daughter of Alan, and (2) a lady named Alianora *(Reg. de Dryburgh,* 99).

co-heiresses, amongst whom the Wigtownshire third of Galloway was divided. The eldest married the Earl of Ferrars, who in right of his wife became Constable of Scotland, an office which in 1270 he resigned in favour of Alex. Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who had married the second heiress.[4] That is how the Comyns became associated with Cruggleton. Ferrars and his wife would seem to have resigned their share of Wigtownshire along with the Constableship; at any rate they drop out of the picture.[5] Alex. Comyn, the new Constable, was Sheriff of Wigtownshire in 1264, and died in 1289. He must have inherited Cruggleton through his wife, for his eldest son, John, Earl of Buchan, Constable of Scotland, and Sheriff of Wigtownshire in 1290, proceeded to repair—if indeed he did not build—Cruggleton. In 1292 he obtained leave from the English Crown to export lead from the Isle of Man to cover the eight turrets of his castle (*in castro ipsius Johannis*) of Cruggleton.[6] He was a witness to John Balliol's fealty to Edward I. in 1292, and in 1295 joined Balliol in resisting Edward I., besieging Carlisle in vain in 1296. In reply Edward confiscated his property in Leicestershire, and John Comyn thereupon submitted. But in the meantime Henry de Perci had been given custody of Cruggleton and other Galloway castles, and we do not know on what date it was restored to Buchan.[7] Thereafter Buchan figured as an unwavering supporter of Edward I. His wife, on the other hand, was an unrepentant patriot, and when Bruce was crowned in 1306 it was her hand that placed the crown upon his head, a privilege which her brother owned by heredity but would not exercise. So, whilst this heroic lady was imprisoned in a cage at Berwick Castle, her husband was unconcernedly figuring as joint Warden of the English Marches. Perhaps he was glad that it was so. He died in 1308, a supporter of his neighbour, Balliol, and of Eng-

[4] *Scots Peerage*, ii., 255.

[5] Their son William is not mentioned in connection with Wigtownshire.

[6] Bain, ii., 616, and Stevenson, i., 329.

[7] Bain, ii., 616.

land.[8] He left no issue, and for a third time Wigtownshire and the Constableship passed to female co-heiresses.

These heiresses were his two nieces—Alice, wife of Henry de Beaumont, and Margaret, wife of a younger son of the Earl of Ross. In right of his wife, Beaumont became Constable of Scotland, and was recognised by Edward I. as Earl of Buchan. He was an English nobleman and fought on that side at Bannockburn, and was accordingly disinherited by Bruce as far as his Wigtownshire estates were concerned. In 1308 Edward Bruce became Lord of Galloway, and captured 13 castles there. Both Beaumont and Balliol retired to England, and did not return till 1330, when the battle of Dupplin placed Edward Balliol on the throne and Beaumont in the Earldom of Buchan. But Beaumont and Balliol quarrelled, and in 1334 Beaumont retired to England, never to return. His descendants never laid claim to the Earldom of Buchan or the Constableship.[9] For a fourth time that peerage and title passed to an heiress, Margaret Comyn, sister-in-law to Beaumont and wife of Sir John Ross, second son of the Earl of Ross. Margaret is described as Countess of Buchan, but there is no record of her husband having claimed the Constableship. He died soon after his marriage, and on his widow's death the Wigtownshire lands of the Earls of Buchan passed to his nephew, William, 3rd Earl of Ross.[9a]

Let us turn for a moment to Edward Balliol. Though he was de facto King for only three months, till his death he described himself as such, and was a very real Lord of Galloway.[10] His influence as such must have extended to

[8] *Scots Peerage*, ii., 258.

[9] *Scots Peerage*, ii., 259.

[9a] On the death of his uncle, William Earl of Ross inherited half of the lands of the Earldom of Buchan, but had to resign them for a regrant of his lands and titles in 1370, from which were excluded those lands of the Earldom of Buchan which lay in Dumfriesshire and Wigtownshire. Thus Wigtownshire and Cruggleton came into the hands of the Crown, and the way was open for the Crown grants to Fleming and Douglas in Wigtownshire *(Scots Peerage*, ii., 260).

[10] *D. and G. Transactions*, 1923-24, 202.

Wigtownshire, for when Sir Malcolm Fleming was made Earl of Wigtown in 1341 he was unable to take possession.[11] Balliol died in 1363, and at once Archibald the Grim overran it, being rewarded with the Lordship of Galloway (1369). With him must have been associated John Kennedy of Dunure[12] and Thomas, second Earl of Wigtown. For in 1365-6 we find Kennedy transferring to his eldest son, Gilbert, the lands of Srogiltone (which we must identify with Cruggleton) and Poltona or Polton (now Galloway House),[13] whilst the Earl of Wigtown under a new charter took possession of his Earldom.[14] Thomas, Earl of Wigtown, only held that Earldom five years, selling it to Archibald the Grim owing to the unruly nature of its inhabitants. It would seem that Gilbert Kennedy had experienced a similar difficulty, for his lands of Cruggleton and Polton were undoubtedly transferred to Douglas.[15]

We have now to see what Archibald and his successors did with these lands. Cruggleton was a very substantial area of land. It was divided into three sections, perhaps a legacy from the days when there were three co-heiresses. There was the 10 merkland of Cruggleton Castle, the 10 merkland of Cruggleton Cavens,[16] and another section, "the third part of Crigiltoun," which had been owned by Sir Wm. de Soulis and probably inherited from his father, Sir Nicolas

11 When the grant was repeated to his grandson, the 2nd Earl, on 26th Jan., 1366-7, the charter expressly stated that the gift to his grandfather had remained in suspension "for certain causes" *(Scots Peerage,* viii., 523).

12 He had already seen much fighting against Balliol in Galloway in 1346 *(Wynton,* Bk. viii., ch. xl., l. 6301), and in 1361 had received the contributions due to the Crown from the Sheriffdom of Wigtown *(Ex.* R., ii. 75, 293).

13 *R.M.S.* 1306-1424, 223, and app. ii., 1531.

14 *Scots Peerage,* viii., 523.

15 In 1370 Gilbert acquired from Fleming the town of Kirkintilloch, perhaps in compensation for Cruggleton and Polton *(Scots Peerage,* ii., 447). Fleming must have included Cruggleton and Polton in his sale to Douglas in 1371-2.

16 Probably so called because it is stated to have once been owned by John de Cavens in 1421 (M'Kerlie, ii., 387. It has been found impossible to trace the source of this reference.)

de Soulis, who had married an unnamed daughter of Alex. Comyn, Earl of Buchan.[17] This third, lying so remote from his other estates, Sir Wm. Soulis granted to the Prior and Canons of Whithorn, who on his forfeiture in 1320 obtained a Crown Confirmation to establish their legal rights.[18] If these lands of de Soulis were one-third of the whole, then Cruggleton must have been a 30 merkland, equivalent to the average feudal Knight's fee. It was not long before the remaining two-thirds, i.e., a 20 merkland, was also granted to Whithorn. On the feast of St. Nicolas, 1423, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, son of the Grim, granted the lands of Crugiltoun and Poltoun to the Priory, and on the 27th March, 1424, his wife, Margaret, presented more unspecified "lands of Crugiltoun" to the same convent.[19] Margaret's grant was for the definite purpose of founding a chapel at Whithorn and endowing a canon for its service.

Thus the whole of the lands of Cruggleton became Church property, and till the Reformation we only hear of them once. The monks of Whithorn in a mood of munificent generosity transferred to William Douglas, a former Canon and a late Prior of the Convent, for his life the greater part of their endowments. The reasons given were his honesty of life and for his honourable sustentation. The grant included the 16 merkland of Poltoun, the one merkland of the garden of Crugiltoun, and the 20 merkland of Crugiltoun.[20]

Until the Reformation Cruggleton was therefore conventual lands. We know nothing of its history, which was doubtless uneventful. The practice would be for the lands to be set in short leases by the Convent. At the

17 *Scots Peerage*, ii., 257.

18 20th May, 1325. *R.M.S.*, 1306-1424, app. i., 20, and app. ii., 92. Mochrum also was owned by de Soulis.

19 *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 12. Archibald's grant seems to have been the 10 merk land of Cruggleton Castle and the 16 merk land of Poltoun, which always go together. Margaret's grant was probably Cruggletoun-Cavens, which must have reverted to the Douglases from the de Cavens family.

20 The grant was confirmed by the Crown in 1473 (*R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 1134).

Reformation the Commendator of Whithorn, Robert Stewart, feued to his half-brother, James, Earl of Moray, a great many of the Priory's lands. They included Cruggleton Castle, Cruggleton Cavens, Portcarrick (now Portyarrock), Polton, and Whitehills.[21] The transfer of this property to the Regent was only of a temporary nature, and to obtain his protection, for the Crown had gifted to John, fifth Lord Fleming, a third of the rents of Whithorn Priory,[21a] which Fleming was determined to collect. The Commendator was in possession of Cruggleton Castle, and implored help from his half-brother, the Regent, since Fleming with horse and foot was besieging "the hous of Crugiltoun."[21b] A few months later, when the danger was past, the Regent resigned the 10 merkland of Cruggleton Castle into the hands of the Commendator, who feued it to Andro Stewart, Master of Ochiltree.[22] This feu led to litigation, which gives us a fleeting glimpse of the castle. On Andro's death his widow, Margaret Stewart, had to apply to the Privy Council to obtain possession, for no sooner was Andro dead than Robert Stewart, the Commendator, declared he had received a tack of the lands from Andro and obtained a decreet of the Lords of Session to the Chamberlain of the Priory to deliver the castle up to him.[23] The Chamberlain was in possession, and was in a quandary when the Privy Council on appeal from the widow ordered him to hand over the castle to her.[24] The Chamberlain in consequence did nothing, whereat the Privy Council in wrath mulcted his surety in 2000 merks,[25] and, over-riding the Lords of Session, compelled the Commen-

[21] *R.M.S.*, 1546-80, 2823, on 6th September, 1569.

[21a] *Scots Peerage*, viii., 544. The gift was dated 1567 (*Correspondence of Sir P. Vaus*, ii., 405).

[21b] *Correspondence of Sir P. Vaus*, i., 61. A later attempt by Fleming in 1587 seems to have come to naught (*ibid.*, 405).

[22] On 14th December, 1569, including the 5 merk land of Whitehills and 5 merk land of Portcarrick (*R.M.S.*, 1546-80, 2797).

[23] *R.P.C.*, 1st series, iii., 89.

[24] *Ibid.*, 119-20.

[25] *Ibid.*, 141.

dator to find caution to deliver the castle.[26] That was in August, 1579. The widow must then have taken possession, for that December the Commendator, accompanied by Alex. Stewart of Garlies, his sons and others, fully armed, came under silence of night to "the place and fortalice" of Cruggleton and "dernit thameselffis quietlie in the laich housis, and on the morne at the yettis oppening enterit perforce within the said hous," and ejected the widow's servants.[27]

Clearly the castle was habitable at that date, though the Convent may have allowed much of it to fall into disrepair. Garlies and the Commendator were put to the horn, and the widow apparently reinstated, for ten years later John Maxwell of Munreith became cautioner for Garlies not to harm her tenants there.[28] The widow can never have been happy there, and two years later, 1591, James Kennedy, son of John Kennedy of Blairquhan, was owner of Cruggleton and suffering annoyance from Garlies[29] for not paying his share of the taxation of the Priory.[30]

A final glimpse of the castle is revealed in 1613, when one Alexander Mortoun,[31] as the result of a dispute, was seized by James Kennedy of Cruggleton and carried off to the Castle of Cruggleton and "committit to strait prisone within the pit of the same," where he was kept in great misery. Kennedy was denounced rebel,[32] but secured suspension of the charge on the ground that he had not been lawfully cited at his "place of Crugiltoun." Five years after its inception the case was still dragging on, though it is to be hoped that poor Alexander was not still within

26 *R.P.C.*, 1st series, iii., 206. The Regent Morton had interested himself in her case, and instructed the Earl of Angus as assignee of the Maills of Whithorn to order the maills to be delivered to her (*R.P.C.*, 1st series, iii., 89).

27 *R.P.C.*, iii., 275-6 and 292.

28 *R.P.C.*, 1st series, iv., 402.

29 *Ibid.*, 612.

30 *R.P.C.*, 1st series, vi., 392.

31 He was tenant in Grenane of James Glendonyng of Mochrum.

32 *R.P.C.*, 1st series, x., 173-4.

that noisome pit.[33] That is the last reference to the castle that has been found.

About 1620 James Kennedy began to get seriously into debt, John Fleming of Carwood, a burgess of Edinburgh, being the principal creditor. Carwood also got into difficulties,[34] and finally, with consent of his creditors and those of James Kennedy, the 10 merkland of Cruggleton Castle was transferred to Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw,[35] in the hands of whose descendants it remained till quite recent years. One of them, we are told, pulled down most of the castle to build steadings.[36]

The site is one of peculiar strength, the castle standing some 30 feet above the surrounding level within enclosing walls, the plan of which ought easily to be recovered with a spade and some of the original eight towers located. Below the walls is a large wide space defended by an outer ditch no less than 36 feet wide. Within this outer court the Historical Monuments Commission detected remains of foundations, not easily identifiable now—perhaps the "laich housis" of 1579. Within the walls some sort of central tower must have stood, of which only a fragmentary arch remains. It has been said that on the south side there was a winding path leading down to a landing place, where vessels could be secured in stormy weather.[37] The path has disappeared, and no vestiges of such a landing place remain. A built in well also existed about 1830, known as the "golden well." It must now be filled up. It is to be hoped that some day this site will be scientifically excavated.

[33] *Ibid.*, xi., 407.

[34] *R.M.S.*, 1620-33, 2088.

[35] *R.M.S.*, 1634-51, 1276.

[36] M'Kerlie, i., 450. But according to Sympson it was wholly demolished and ruinous by 1684.

[37] M'Kerlie, i., 452.

Sorbie Tower.

By W. R. GOURLAY.

What struck me when first I saw a tower like this was: How could the laird of the day build for himself and his family such an inconvenient and uncomfortable residence?

The answer to that question is twofold: First, he had regard to the circumstances of the time; and, secondly, he was to a great extent bound by convention.

When railways were invented the first carriages were replicas of stage coaches—a small window on either side, luggage on the top, and even a box seat for outside passengers. The first motor cars were like high dogcarts—seats back to back, high wheels, a guiding handle like that of a bath chair instead of reins, and the engine hidden away underneath the seat so that it might not look ugly. It was only after many years that the chassis and body as we know it was evolved. The influence on construction of the memory of the old dogcart or "machine" has gone, and the aim now is efficiency and comfort, combined with beauty of line. A new type of road transport vehicle has been evolved.

The form of the domestic residences of the well-to-do which we see around us to-day in the landward areas of Scotland has had a similar evolution.

The tribal chief lived in a wattle house not very different from that occupied by the other members of his tribe. He needed no castle: his protection was the fidelity of the clan. Where he needed protection from the depredations of wild animals he built his hut on an island or surrounded it with a palisade.

The castle came with the Norman. It was not loved by the people. It not only signified a break in the traditional order of the countryside, it was usually an instrument of oppression as well. The Norman laird had need of protection. He had a bodyguard of Norman blood like himself. Therefore he raised a mound (or utilised a natural mound), and on this he erected a wooden tower for himself and his family. His wooden tower and the sheds for his retainers and cattle were surrounded by a palisade, while adjoining

(usually at the foot of the mound) was a second enclosed space or baillie, where the bodyguard lived. Small as they were, these mound towers were not merely defensive posts: they were the country residences of the lairds of those days.

The wooden tower lasted long after pure Norman days. Up to 1300 the Scottish gentry were housed in such towers of timber, and it was only very slowly that the tower of wood gave way to the tower of stone. Towers of wood continued in use perhaps until 1475. The palisade, which was easily burned, gave way to a clay and then to a stone wall. In the greater strongholds, where more accommodation was required, there was more than one tower, and these were usually placed at corners of the stone enclosure. But, again, these castles were not defensive posts only: they were residences as well.

Of the Norman type there are many traces. In Galloway alone some 50 such sites have been definitely recognised as mounds believed to have been associated with Norman wooden towers. Some of these (for example, the greatest—the Mote of Urr) are not entirely artificial, and in such cases the point of natural strength may well have been used as a meeting place or as a post of defence long before Norman days. It is pretty generally accepted, however, that the great majority of these mote hills mark the sites of Norman wooden tower residences.

In four places in Galloway there are remains of great stone castles, built perhaps between 1300 and 1400: Castle Dykes (Kirkcudbright), Buittle, Wigtown, and Cruggleton. In each case there is a strong natural site with indications of a large enclosed and defended area, with more than one stone tower.

By 1450 people had become bored with the inconvenience of living in such confined quarters. Those who could afford to do so built halls (*palatia* in Latin) usually between two of the towers; later a gallery was sometimes added at right angles, while buildings of a domestic nature occupied the other two sides of the walled enclosure. These residences were often called "palaces," from the Latin *palatium*, as for example "The Bishop's Palace," shortened

often to " Place," as in the name, Mochrum Old Place. The use of the word " place " or " palace " in Scotland thus often corresponds with the use in England of the word " hall " for the laird's residence.

After 1450, when a new tower was being built as a residence, the plan was made oblong rather than square so as to allow of more commodious rooms and yet retain sufficient defence against the dangers due to the unsettled state of the country. The Old Place of Mochrum and Dunskey are examples of this advance, and also M'Lellan's House in Kirkcudbright.

Between 1500 and 1600, after the Protestant revolution and the rise to importance of the middle classes, many of the lesser lairds built residences of stone for the accommodation and protection of themselves and their families. In doing so they followed the plan of the old stone tower. At the same time they were aware of the inconvenience of this design, and they desired to have more privacy for themselves and their families. They followed the fashion, but, while building the tower on the old design, they added to it a smaller wing, within which to make provision for a staircase and (in the upper floors) for studies or private rooms. This is the origin of the L-shaped tower with which you are familiar.

" Sorbie Tower " is an example of this new plan. It was probably built about 1590. The main tower is oblong in shape, thus allowing for a convenient hall. The inner section of the wing is square. The entrance is in the re-entrant angle. A straight convenient stairway (a great advance on the old circular main entrance stair) is within the re-entrant angle, and leads by two easy flights to the hall. A small circular stairway corbelled out over the main entrance leads to the upper rooms, leaving the upper storeys of the wing to be used for small private rooms. There was a second and a third floor and possibly an attic. An examination of the large opening leading from the staircase to the third storey shows that there were two doors, the one leading to a room on the right and the other to a room on the left—again a great advance on the old, inconvenient plan,

where all were through-rooms. In the basement is a kitchen and store rooms. The fireplace is remarkable; it has a window on the west side, possibly to help the draught, and a recess on the opposite side for storing commodities, such as salt, which have to be kept dry.

The property belonged to a family named Hannay. On the *Ragman Roll* (1296) the name Gilbert de Hannethe of the County of Wigtown occurs, and he may be a member of the same family. But the first name definitely connected with Sorbie is that of Odo Hannay, who about 1490 was succeeded by his son, described as Robert Ahannay. The next name is that of John Hannay, who is said to have married a daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies (grandfather of the Sir Alexander of Clery). He in turn was succeeded by Patrick, who in 1581 represented Wigtown in the Scottish Parliament. It was probably he who built this tower. Soon after 1600 a feud broke out between the Hannays and the Murrays of Broughton. In prosecuting this the Hannays appear to have ruined themselves, and the property passed from them about 1640. In 1662 it was united to the Barony of Garlies, and it was the residence of General John Stewart, son of the third Earl of Galloway, until his death at Sorbie in 1748.

The tower, however inconvenient it may appear to us as a domestic residence, was probably regarded at the time of its building as the latest design of domestic architecture.

Even as it now stands in ruins one can imagine what the house warming in 1590 would be like. Let us "chap" at the door. A retainer with a horn lantern lets us in and conducts us up the stair. When we reach the entrance to the hall we see on our right across the end of the room on a slightly raised dais or platform a long, narrow table (probably formed of boards on trestles) covered with a linen cloth. Seated at it with their backs to the wall (which is warmed by the kitchen fire) are the laird and the chief guests. The laird occupies a high-backed chair (the only chair in the room); possibly a canopy hangs from the roof over his head. On the wall behind him hangs a piece of tapestry. The members of his family and chief guests

occupy benches with cushions on either side. In the great wide fireplace on the right there is an open peat fire. On the opposite side of the hall is a second long trestle table, where guests of lesser degree are seated in a row, also with their backs to the wall. The floor is thickly strewn with rushes. In the centre of the room the retainers are busy carrying the smoking dishes and the wine flagons. All but the retainers have their heads covered, the women's heads being covered by kerchiefs. The room is lighted by candles, some in candlesticks on the table and some in sconces attached to the wall.

But I need not try to elaborate the picture. I leave you to enter and to complete it with your own imagination, but I would warn you that the Government architect who examined the building eighteen years ago said then that he thought the vaulted roof over the ground floor might fall in at any moment!

6th September, 1930.

This excursion started from the Ewart Library at 10 a.m., and went first to Stair House, near Mauchline. Mr J. Carrick, the architect who superintended the alterations for the original tenant, took the party over the house and pointed out the interesting features.

The party then went to Mauchline Castle. Mr R. C. Reid spoke in the old Tower, now used as a barn, and pointed out the remains of the original architecture as he proceeded. In Mauchline Castle the party also inspected the room where the reputed marriage of Robert Burns to Jean Armour was said to have taken place. Mr J. M. M'Intyre spoke briefly of the great Burns interest of the district, and conducted members over the churchyard, where several of Burns's friends lie buried.

At Auchinleck House the members were received by Col. Boswell. He spoke of the new house, and then took

the party through very beautiful grounds to visit the remains of two former castles.

Votes of thanks, coupled with condolations on the weather, which was very wet, were accorded to all the speakers.

At Old Cumnock, after tea, Mr G. W. Shirley read a paper on Boswell, the biographer.

Mr R. C. Reid proposed votes of thanks to the different speakers.

Mauchline Castle.

By R. C. REID.

This tower, which has seen some adaptation, a good deal of structural alteration, and one partial restoration, is often spoken of as the Prior's House.[1] It may have been such, but I can find no evidence of a Priory at Mauchline at any period, no reference to any Prior. It was about 1165 that Melrose Abbey acquired its first grant of lands in Ayrshire, the gift of Walter, son of Alan the Steward, Lord of Kyle Stewart.[2] This substantial grant of land was augmented by the gifts of other pious donators until in 1430 the Abbey had all its Ayrshire lands erected into a Regality, the courts of which were held at Mauchline,[3] then a village, which was turned into a Burgh of Barony in 1510.[4] It is generally supposed that the Cistercian community at Melrose established a cell at Mauchline, but again we have scant evidence. Such a course would not have been uncommon; St. Mary's Isle was a cell of Holywood, and became a Priory; Canonbie and Restennet were cells of Jedburgh Abbey, and were Priories. But they were always called

[1] M'Gibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, iii., 202:—"The existing Tower is the only relic of the ancient Priory."

[2] The grant was "of all the lands of Makelin (the earliest form of the place name), and the boundaries are set out at length (*Reg. de Melros*, i., 55).

[3] *Reg. de Melros*, ii., 495-7.

[4] *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, 3514.

Priories, and the names of many priors have survived. Such cannot be said of Mauchline, so one must conclude that there never was a Priory at Mauchline and that this building is not strictly ecclesiastical.

A few monks may well have been sent hither from Melrose to look after the lands, and we know that in due course they erected a church at Mauchline, of which we have reference in a document dated 1200-1210.[5] That church possessed no parochial status; the rites of baptism could not be celebrated therein, and it appears to have been nothing more than a private chapel for such monks of Melrose as resided here in charge of the conventual estates in Ayrshire. Not till 1315 was the privilege of rites of baptism conferred, and it was raised to the dignity (" decentia ") of a parish church with cemetery attached, it being held to be a necessity in view of the fact that these extensive lands lay outside the parishes of the diocese and at a great distance from a parish church. The newly created parish church was excluded from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon, and the tithes were to be for the benefit of Melrose.[6]

These facts alone are sufficient to dispose for ever of the statements of Dugdale and Spottiswode, who have been followed by most writers — that Mauchline was a monastery founded by David I. So far from being a priory it was a parish church of late creation. In 1631 and 1636 it was subdivided, the parishes of Muirkirk and Sorn being formed out of it. All three parishes once belonged to Melrose.

Such a large estate required skilled management and, in troublous times, the protection of a local magnate. Just such a man was found in 1521 in the person of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, hereditary Sheriff of Ayr, Crown Chamberlain of Terrinzean, and brother of Annabella Campbell, wife of the first Boswell of Auchinleck.[7] This magnate, who a few years later assassinated the second Earl of Cassillis, was appointed by the Abbot for 19 years as bailie

[5] *Reg. de Melros*, i., 65.
[6] *Reg. de Melros*, ii., 368-370.
[7] *Scots Peerage*, v., 495.

of the conventional lands at Mauchline, and though he may not have lived in this tower, yet he must have been in it frequently on the business of his office. The decayed but still living stump of a venerable chestnut tree within these grounds, still pointed out as the "hangman's tree," may well preserve a memory of the activities of this baron bailie in the exercise of his power of life or death within his jurisdiction. When the Reformation came, his son and successor, the father of the first Earl Loudoun, obtained a grant of all the wide Ayrshire acres of Melrose, and his present descendant still owns this tower.

The tower itself has not received the attention which it deserves, for which reason it is dealt with in some detail now. Architecturally it presents some unusual features and not a few puzzles. In the first place, it contains what may be described as a basement, an uncommon occurrence in a Scottish tower. This feature is rendered possible by the fact that the tower is built on the steep bank of a stream with its southern wall on the top of the bank and its northern wall at the water's edge. This basement consists of two barrel vaulted cellars communicating with different floor levels, having an external entrance on the west side, now approached down a flight of stairs, and an internal entrance from the ground floor by means of a spiral stair in the south-west corner. The ground floor is entered by a flat-headed door in the same corner—the original entrance to the tower—and exhibits what has been once a fine room ceiled by a wooden floor supported on large corbels. In the south wall has been a large fireplace, the stonework of which has now gone, only the arch remaining and now reduced to a small fireplace of late date. The room has been lit by two windows in the east wall, in both of which can be seen, especially on the outside, remains of tracery, the larger window having been divided into double lights by a stone mullion now gone.[8] Viewed externally, both windows show unmistakable ecclesiastical characteristics. In the north

[8] The mullion was still *in situ* in 1889, being figured in M'Gibbon and Ross, iii., 203.

wall is a gardrobe entered by an intermural passage that rises in four steps to a small chamber, which has been used for its original purpose in quite recent times. It is provided with an alcove to hold a lamp. In the west wall has been another doorway, now built up, communicating with a range of two-storied buildings running westward from the tower, as the raggles on the outside of the tower indicate.

Access to the first floor is now by an external flight of steps on the south wall. The door at the head of the stairs is surmounted by a recess, containing a stone base for a statuette now missing. This flight of steps, to judge by a raggle above it, must have been at one time roofed over, the roof being supported by pillars. It must, however, be pointed out that this flight of steps is a secondary structure, as can be detected from a chamber beneath them entered from the modern house adjoining, where is visible a wall with blocked up arch contemporary with the tower, extending south in line with the east wall of the tower. At some time, then, previous to the erection of these steps, there must have extended a two-storied range of buildings from the south wall of the tower. The height of these buildings is indicated by a raggle on the south wall of the tower, and the present door at the head of the stairs must have been the means of communication between the two buildings. If that is the case, we must look elsewhere for the original entrance to the first floor of the tower, and we must also postulate the demolition of this southern range before the erection of these stairs.

The first floor in its original form must have been a remarkably fine hall 25 feet by 20 feet, with a stone roof vaulted in two bays, with ground arches springing from carved corbels, the groins joining overhead in three carved bosses. The southern boss, now covered with soot, represents a winged human figure in full length robe with bare feet, holding diagonally across his body a shaft with a cross (?) at its head, and at its lower end an enlarged terminal now broken off. The central boss is of a floriated indeterminate character. The northern boss presents an

armorial shield, surmounted by an angel's head with outstretched wings enfolding and hands grasping the sides of the shield. At the foot the shield is supported by a devil, who grasps it above his head with his claws. The shield bears an armorial device. Croziers saltierwise between three hunting horns, with rose in chief and mason's mallet (?) in base. Above the device are the letters A and H. A similar shield without the lettering figures on a corbel at Melrose Abbey, and is stated to be the arms of Andrew Hunter, who was Abbot of Melrose in the middle of the 15th century and Lord High Treasurer in 1449-53.[9] The addition to the shield of what appears to be a mason's mallet warrants the presumption that Mauchline Castle was built during the abbotship of Hunter.

The hall has two fireplaces, reconstructed in modern times, so perhaps it was at one time of its existence divided by a wooden partition. In the northern gable is a gardrobe very similar to the one in the ground floor, and a large window, now built up, with stone seats. In the east wall have been two similar windows, which have been reconstructed, reduced in width, robbed of their stone seats, and supplied with square-headed windows in place of mullions. In the west wall are two intermural chambers, the northern one having originally had a much wider entrance. It is large enough to have been a small bed closet. The southern chamber is much smaller, and may once have been a passage communicating with the spiral stair in the south-west corner, where there has been much reconstruction. The whole of that corner of the hall has been built up, obscuring the corbel from which the groined arch springs. If the external flight of stairs is secondary, some entrance to the hall must originally have been situated in this corner. Within this hall, tradition affirms, the Mauchline martyrs were judged and condemned to death, spending their last night in the cellars of the basement.

At the ground floor entrance a spiral stair ascends to

[9] M'Gibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, ii. 346. The corbel at Melrose is illustrated in figure 783 on p. 368.

an attic floor in the crow-stepped roof, around which runs a parapet walk, the parapet being a modern restoration. One of the most interesting features of the tower is the prolonged external shoots of the gardrobes emptying direct into the burn. These, in conjunction with the mullioned windows and the numerous doors, indicating that it was not intended as a place of defence, strongly suggest ecclesiastical influence.

If the armorial boss be ignored, no closer date can be assigned to the tower than the 15th century, and that mainly on the evidence of the intermural chambers. Originally it cannot have been an isolated building, but had extensions south and west, with probably a courtyard and wall on the remaining sides. There are indications of a gate giving access to the burn at the foot of the stairs leading to the basement.

If we reject this tower as the remains of a priory, we must regard it as a civil residence for ecclesiastics engaged in managing a very large estate, having barns, granaries, and store-houses adjoining, the whole in charge of a land steward, who after 1521 gave place to, or represented, the bailie of the barony, Sir Hew Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr.

Lastly, the designation Mauchline Castle is purely modern. Originally (1555) it was known as the Place of Mauchline—"locus de Mauchlene."[10]

[10] *Reg. de Melros*, ii., 605.

Presentations.

By Mr John Lang, Tynron, per Mr W. Dinwiddie—The Upper Stone of a small quern, probably used for a special purpose, as it is much smaller than an ordinary quern. It was found in a drystone dyke at Lannhall, Tynron.

Exhibits.

By Mr Blair Imrie, per Dr. Semple — Specimen of *Caterach Officinarum*.

By Mrs Halliday—Stone Perforated Hammer Axe of the Bronze Age.

By Mr A. Gordon, Creetown—Various Coins from Ravenshall and Stirling; an Arrow Head from Glenquicken; a Keltic Brooch lent by Mr J. L. Davidson, Newton-Stewart.

Abstract of Accounts
For Year ending 30th September, 1930.

I.—ON ACCOUNT OF CAPITAL.

Sum invested at close of last Account ...	£414 2 6	
Interest on War Certificates uplifted ...	38 12 6	
		£452 15 0

II.—ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

CHARGE.

Balance brought forward from last Account	£118 3 6	
Annual Subscriptions	128 5 0	
Interest on Investments	25 0 6	
Donations	16 15 0	
Sale of *Transactions*	3 9 0	
Miscellaneous	4 13 3	
		£296 6 3

DISCHARGE.

Rent and Insurance	£13 6 0	
Books bought	31 4 10	
Stationery and Advertising	13 14 2	
Miscellaneous	15 18 11	
Transferred to Branch III.	16 15 0	
		£90 18 11
		£205 7 4

III.—DONATIONS TOWARDS PUBLICATIONS.

Sum at close of last Account	£88 12 0
Interest on War Certificates uplifted	25 5 0
Donations during the year	16 15 0
	£130 12 0

M. H. M'KERROW, Hon. Treasurer.

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Spencer, Miss, Warmanbie, Annan.
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Thomson, Miss N. M. Carlingwark, Castle-Douglas.
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