

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

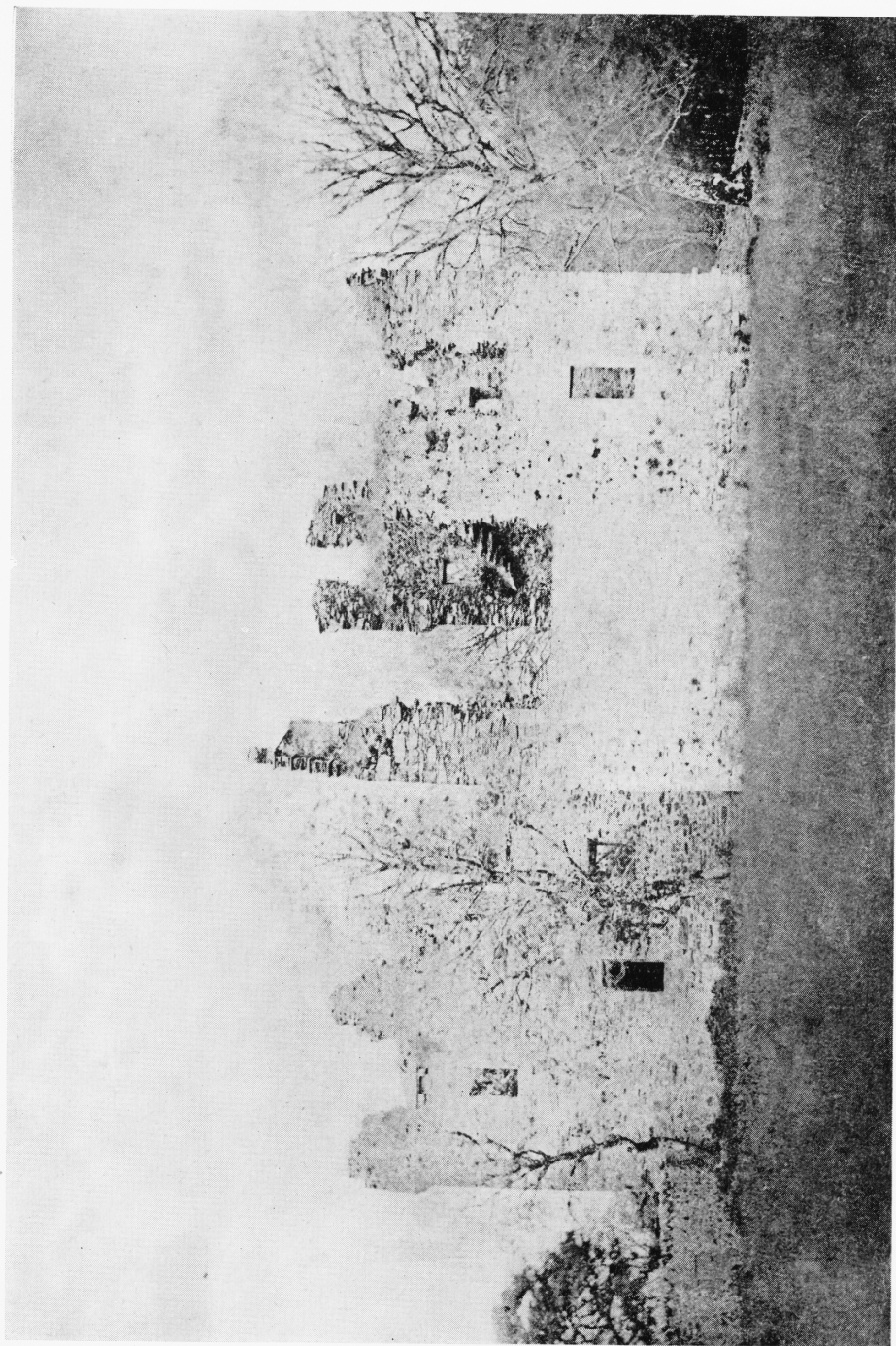
FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1933-35.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XIX.

EDITOR:
MRS E. SHIRLEY.

DUMFRIES:
Published by the Council of the Society
1936



THE OLD PLACE OF MOCHRUM

See page 144.

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EDITORIAL

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

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

The Society is indebted to the Marquess of Bute for the loan of a sketch of the Old Place of Mochrum prior to restoration; to the H.M. Stationery Office for loan of a plan block of the same; and to Messrs Gibson & Son, Hexham, and Eric Birley for photographs of Chesterholm—used as illustrations in this volume.

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

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

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

SESSION 1933 - 34

27th October, 1933.

Annual General Meeting.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Ewart Library, Dumfries.

The minutes of last Annual General Meeting were read and approved.

With reference to mention of Glenluce Abbey in the minute, Mr M'Kerrow said he understood the care of the building had now been taken over by H.M. Office of Works, and the Abbey would now be properly preserved and cared for.

A letter from the Town Clerk of Dumfries was read regarding the Observatory Museum in reply to one from this Society. In this letter it was stated that a former caretaker and his wife had now been appointed to look after the building, and that the Burgh Surveyor was making immediate preparations for putting it into order. In view of this Mr M'Kerrow suggested that the sub-committee previously appointed to enquire into and, if necessary, assist in the matter should be continued meantime, and this was agreed to.

The Secretary's report was read and approved, from which it appears that the membership stands at present at

about 215; withdrawals, 6; loss by decease, 10; and several new members fall to be added. The report further referred to the active part the Society has taken in connection with the Dumfries Observatory Museum, and the acquisition for the sum of £100 by the Society of a number of local MSS. and objects of interest when the contents of the Observatory were recently sold.

The Treasurer's report was given by Miss Rafferty, M.A., LL.B., and will be found in the present volume in full. With reference to the sum of £15 5s standing to the credit of the Field Meetings account, Mr Reid said this account had been started to provide a nucleus of £10 in case of any unforeseen deficit on these Field Meetings caused by bad weather or otherwise. He suggested that the sum of £5 5s should be added from this account to the general account, and this was agreed to.

The following recommendations from Council meeting were unanimously agreed to: President—Mr R. C. Reid in place of Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, who could not act owing to pressure of other business. Vice-presidents (additional)—Mr John M'Burnie in place of the late Mr E. A. Hornel; Mr Adam Birrell in place of Mr Reid; Mr Walter Bryce Duncan, Newlands; Mr Jas. Taylor, Dalbeattie Academy. Secretary—The Secretary having intimated a desire to resign, agreed, in view of the fact that the work of the remainder of the session would be more or less routine, to continue until another Secretary should be found.

The remainder of the Office-Bearers were to be as formerly.

Mr M'Kerrow then welcomed Mr Reid as President, and hoped he would have a successful term of office.

Mr Reid's Presidential Address will be found in the present volume.

The following new members were proposed and accepted: Mr J. Egarr, Dumfriesshire Libraries; Mr J. Thornton Taylor, Dumfries Academy; Rev. Prebendary Clerk-Maxwell, Mackworth, Derbyshire.

Several presentations to the Society were made, which will be found in the list at the end of the present volume. The Secretary was instructed to write and thank the donors of these.

This concluded the business.

24th November, 1933.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

The Nova Scotia "Gentlemen Adventurers."

By J. ROBISON, F.S.A.Scot.

An Interesting Stewartry Connection.

There are probably few more fascinating studies in the realm of politics than the rise and expansion of the British Empire. It is safe to say that few Stewartry people realise what a great part the county has played in the colonisation of the great Dominion of Canada, and how intimately the Ancient and Royal Burgh of Kirkcudbright is connected with it. The first ship sent out to explore the then wilds of Nova Scotia set sail from the port, and nearly two hundred years later there was the settlement of the Red River, the nucleus of the prosperous State of Manitoba, under the "Great Earl of Selkirk." Both settlements had to contend with many difficulties: but Nova Scotia had the more chequered career, and had finally to be abandoned owing to the hostility of France and the mean duplicity of Charles I. and his Ministers, the result being that in many cases the "adventurers" were ruined. It was, however, finally added to the British Dominions, after many bloody Colonial wars, at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

It was in the year 1621 that Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, near Stirling, a favourite Minister of James I.

and Charles I., and afterwards created Earl of Stirling, received a grant of what is now known as Nova Scotia, and one of the most flourishing of the Canadian Provinces. The Province consists of a long narrow Peninsula and the celebrated island of Cape Breton, and comprises about a third less area than Scotland, containing many flourishing towns, the chief of which is the modern capital of Halifax. The first recorded colonisation of the Province was in 1604, when the French attempted to form settlements at Port Royal, now Annapolis. The settlers were finally expelled by the Virginians, who claimed the country by right of its discovery or visit by Sebastian Cabot in 1497.

In the early days of the seventeenth century the English Government planned to institute a colony, but the French in the succeeding year took possession of it as forming part of New France, when it received the name of Acadia, celebrated by Longfellow. When Sir William Alexander received his charter little or nothing was known of the land, of its magnificent harbours and trackless virgin forests, abounding in practically all that makes for the welfare of man. Alexander, referring to the scheme of colonisation, said: "Being much encouraged thereunto by Sir Ferdinand Gorge and some others of the undertakers for New England, I show them that my countrymen would never adventure in such an enterprise unless it were as there was a New France, a New Spain, and a New England, that they might likewise have a New Scotland."

Resolving to attempt a settlement in Canadian territory, Alexander obtained the Royal sanction that his field of operations should be designated "New Scotland." The Company of New Plymouth having made the necessary surrender, Sir William procured a Royal grant of all that vast district on the mainland to the east of the river St. Croix, and south of the river St. Lawrence, lying between the colonies of New England and Newfoundland. On 5th August, 1621, King James communicated with the Scottish Privy Council declaring his purpose in regard to the Colony. In the forefront he declares that it is on account of "the

honour or proffete of all that our kingdom might be advanced, and considering that no kynde of conquest can be more easie and innocent than that which doth proceede from Plantations . . . many might be spared who might be fit for such a foreign plantation, all that was required was the transportation of men and women, cattle and victuals!" (The King had had good experience of plantations in the north of Ireland.) He had therefore hearkened to the motion made to him by his well-beloved Counsellor, Sir William Alexander, Knight, and asked the Council to "grant to Sir William, his heirs and assignees, or to anie other that will joyne with him in the whole or any part thereof the signatour under our Great Seale of the said landes, . . . to be holden of us from our kingdome of Scotland as a part thereof."

The Council accepted of the Royal request, and a warrant for a charter was granted at Windsor Castle on 10th September, 1621. Among Sir William Alexander's closest friends was a remarkable man,

Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar,

a man of a somewhat turbulent nature, but shrewd and far-seeing and one of the foremost Scottish statesmen of the day, being much consulted in Scottish affairs. Six years later, however, Sir Robert was in serious trouble with the Privy Council. In the spring of 1627 a privateer belonging to him brought into Kirkcudbright a ship of Middleburg which he had captured, thinking it belonged to Spain. Piracy was quite a common practice at that period, and it is more than probable that the Knight of Lochinvar knew very well that the vessel belonged to the Dutch. In the records of the Privy Council it is mentioned, under date 25th April, 1627, that the ship of Middleburg, pertaining to His Majesty's friends in the Netherlands, along with Sir Robert's own ship, were in the port of Kirkcudbright, and that the Provost and Bailies had been charged to keep both ships in safe custody until further instructions. A month later John Gordon, apparent of Lochinvar, is cited to appear and

answer for his detention of Gerard Scorar, merchant and owner of the ship, and in June a warrant was granted to the Lord High Admiral to release the ship.

Sir Robert was withal a man of business and a keen believer in colonisation, and was the author of a once well-known work, now exceedingly rare and valuable, entitled "Encouragement for such as shall have intended to be undertakers in the new Plantation of Cape Breton, now New Galloway, in America, by me Lochinvar. Edinburgh: 1620." The date of this book shows that Sir Robert must have been considering a scheme of colonisation long prior to the granting of the charter for the colonisation of Nova Scotia, and also that the lands in that province were called New Galloway nine years before the Royal Burgh of New-Galloway joined the ranks of the Convention of Royal Burghs.

Exploring Vessel Sails from Kirkcudbright.

Of this there can be no doubt, that Sir Robert Gordon was a man of enlightened views, and that it was largely due to his advice that Sir William Alexander, in March, 1622, provided a ship at London, and sent it round the coast to Kirkcudbright. Sir Robert Gordon, along with Sir Robert MacClellan of Bombie, exercised the greatest territorial influence in the Stewartry at this period, and he was asked by his friend to recruit a body of emigrants. Possession of land in the new Dominion was strictly hedged about with conditions. Purchasers only were to have any right in the soil, and farmers might obtain leases. The lieutenant-general was, after a specified time, to receive the thirteenth portion of the land revenues, and artisans were to receive their holdings during their lives only. Although many a Galloway man was forced, during the "killing times," to take the voyage to the Plantations, they do not, in this particular instance, appear to have been very enthusiastic in making the voyage to what was then practically an unknown land. It is recorded that only one artisan, a blacksmith, and one educated person, a Perth minister, elected to join the colonists. The others were agricultural labourers, said to be of the

lowest grade. In addition to the difficulties of obtaining recruits for what was at best a very dubious experiment, provisions had lately increased in price, due no doubt to a semi-famine, of which we have so many examples in the records, and the means of procuring a sufficient supply of what the King said was one of the four essentials was consequently diminished. The vessel, however, weighed anchor in the end of June, and proceeded first to the Isle of Man. One can almost picture the scene as the little vessel lay "under the Freiris of the town" (i.e., the Mote Brae, then known, and more properly, as The Mote), the partings between the emigrants and their friends, the last longing glances at the Stewartry hills as the vessel proceeded down the bay to the open sea. Many of them were, alas, never again to see the old scenes. Who they were there is no record to tell. They flit across the scene for a short space of time and are swallowed up in oblivion beyond the bare record that the great majority left their bones in the far-off Dominion to which they were bound, the first of a great army of colonists from those shores who founded the mighty colonies in the far West. The vessel appears to have rendezvoused in the vicinity of the Isle of Man, and it was not till early in August that the voyage was resumed, and about the middle of September till St. Peter's Island, to the south of Newfoundland, was sighted. Sailing westward, they approached the shores of Cape Breton, but were driven back by a storm to Newfoundland, where they sought refuge in what is now the harbour of St. John. There they resolved to pass the winter, while the vessel was sent back to Britain for additional men and supplies necessary to the emigrants. The relief ship, the "St. Luke," was despatched from London in the end of March, 1623, with additional colonists and supplies, but could not sail from Plymouth till the 28th April, and did not reach St John's till 5th June. About eight months had passed since the Galloway emigrants had landed at that port. The clergyman and the mechanic were both dead, and the others were scattered far and wide earning a scanty subsistence as fishermen.

A Land of Promise.

Notwithstanding the earlier disasters, exploring voyages were undertaken, but without great result. Sir William Alexander lost £6000 by the adventure, and no doubt Sir Robert Gordon also lost heavily. Alexander was, however, recompensed by royal warrant, and it was resolved to persevere. Alexander, ever fertile of brain, issued his *Encouragement to Colonists*, accompanied by a map of New Scotland. In his book he traces the history of colonial enterprise from the period of the sons of Noah (!) through the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans. The discovery of America, he held, was a call of Providence to Britain to extend her boundaries by occupying a new country. He described New Scotland as composed of "very delicate meadows, with roses white and red," and a "very good fat earth." He invited occupation of this new Paradise, and appealing more particularly to his Scottish countrymen, he said that Scotland, "like a beehive, yearly sent forth swarms of her people, but heretofore had expended her energies in foreign wars." He received no encouragement, however, and the English Treasury refused to make composition for a loss in which they had no concern.

The Nova Scotia Baronets.

Alexander then fell back on King James's method of raising money by the sale of titles, and in this he proved as great an adept as his master. From 1611 to 1622 two hundred and five English landowners had become Baronets of Ulster, with a benefit to the Exchequer of £225,000. But the cadets of the old Scottish nobility were not to be mulcted in anything like the same proportion, and Alexander had to offer much less costly terms to entice the Scottish landowners or the younger sons of the nobility to enrol themselves in a new Order of Baronets of New Scotland. Accordingly, the royal order was issued, and on 30th November, 1624, the Privy Council of Scotland made proclamation, but the response was slow. The creation of one hundred and fifty Baronets was contemplated, but a very much smaller number took the opportunity of being enrolled. The earliest

creation of Baronets was in May, 1625, among the first being Sir Richard Murray of Cockpool, and on May 1, 1626, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. Unlike the rest, however, the situation of his land is not indicated, and we are left to guess where the New Galloway of North America was. In 1627 Sir James Stewart of Corsewall was created a Baronet; in 1629 Sir Patrick Agnew of Agnew; in 1630 Sir Robert Hannay of Mochrum; and in 1636 Sir Alexander Abercromby of Birkenbog, the progenitor of the superior of Castle-Douglas. Between 1625 and 1637 a hundred and eleven Baronets were created, many of them bearing names which are familiar in the ranks of the nobility of to-day. By arrangement land and titles were obtained direct from the Crown. It was also provided that infertment in the lands should be expedite at Edinburgh Castle, so that technically the Esplanade there is part of Nova Scotia. To each of the Baronets territory was granted extending six miles in length and three in breadth. Sir William Alexander, now for a number of years Earl of Stirling, sent out a further expedition in 1627, composed of a fleet of small vessels, which sailed from Dumbarton, one of the vessels being loaded with ordnance and provisions for the use of a plantation. To bring in money (none of the £6000 had been discharged) a roll containing the names of the ancient gentry and those who had succeeded to good estates, or had "acquired them through industry," was made up, and more Baronets were created.

The Colony Ceded to France.

Whatever prosperity might have been in front of the infant colony had the adventurers got justice no one can say. The Earl of Stirling and his co-adventurers were thwarted on every hand, and eventually, through the hostility of the French, the colony perished, at least for the time being. The French, on the counsel of Cardinal Richelieu, reasserted their right to Acadia, which embraced every part of the Scottish colony. War broke out between the rival colonists, which somewhat revived interest in the Earl's

scheme. Soon more Baronets were created, and, incidentally, more money flowed in, which was applied to chartering vessels. After great difficulty with the crews deserting, the vessels sailed from the Thames round the north of Scotland, and proceeded on their voyage in May, 1628, carrying seventy colonists, who were safely landed at Port Royal. Shortly after Sir William Alexander, the Earl's son, obtained a patent for the colony as "sole traders in the Gulf and River of Canada," but the project was a constant drain on the slender resources of a poor country like Scotland. Lack of means, and the low duplicity of Charles I., ruined the colony, and on the conclusion of peace between France and Britain some of the settlements fell into the hands of the French. By that time thirty of the Scottish colonists had perished from exposure. Shortly thereafter Port Royal was ceded to the French, although the King assured the Privy Council of Scotland that he was resolved to maintain the colony. Finally the entire territory of New Scotland was ceded to France.

So perished the dream of a new Scotland beyond the seas. Even then the King maintained to his Scottish subjects that the colony would be persevered in. The Earl of Stirling and his fellow-colonists were ruined. This is not the place to follow the Earl's fortunes to their melancholy end. Weighed down with debt and worry, and thwarted by greedy courtiers, he made further attempts at colonising, but without success. Stripped of his American possessions, he and his family sank. He passed away at his residence of Covent Garden on 12th February, 1640. The body was embalmed and conveyed by sea to Stirling, and buried in the family vault there. Robert, the first Lord Kirkcudbright, was one of his creditors. It may be of interest to state that one of the many branches of the Alexander family were possessed of the estate of Glenhowl, in the Glenkens.

The Glasswort or Marsh Samphire:
***Salicornia herbacea* Linn.**

By G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT, F.R.G.S., F.L.S.

Amongst the many interesting features of the Solway shore is the manner in which one can observe in action the process of reclaiming for the use of fresh vegetation bare rock, sand-dunes and shifting banks of mud.

Between the mouth of the Annan and the Mull of Galloway, every variety of coast-line can be traced.

One can see everywhere the action of those specialists in the Dumfries and Galloway Flora, who have been trained or trained themselves to occupy rock faces and boulders, slopes of boulder clay and shifting sand-dunes, or to cover the unstable estuarine mud-banks with a temporary green covering of pioneer vegetation. In the end they make it possible for deciduous woods, rich pastures or arable fields to occupy a new territory.

One of the most important of these pioneers is *Salicornia*, which grows abundantly on the wet shifting mud-banks which are exposed at low tide in the estuary of the Nith.

To reach its domicile, one has to pick one's way through the salt flats which are, in summer, covered by the delicate rose-pink flowers of the Sea Thrift, *Armeria*. When one has reached the outside edge of *Armeria*'s territory, certain mud-banks still further out are seen to have a faint shade of green. This is because they are dotted over by *Salicornia*, perhaps the most peculiar of all our British plants.

It is an odd little thing, six to nine inches, rarely one foot in height, with inconspicuous leaves and green or reddish, fleshy branches.

Each small plant looks very like a miniature Cactus, and stands by itself in the bare, wet mud. At low tide it is fully exposed to the sunlight, but may be submerged under four feet of water at high tide.

In June one may easily discover its seedlings, which are quite unmistakable. The cotyledons are canoe-shaped and they float freely in the water, for the whole plant is

buoyant; there is a series of air-passages underneath the epidermis in the cotyledons, stem and roots. Dr Guppy found that they remained alive whilst floating unattached for some ten weeks (8).

Currents and tides will carry them all over the estuary until they strand on a mud-bank, which is just high enough to appear at low water.

As soon as they reach good slimy mud, they develop root hairs and establish themselves. The numbers of these colonising youngsters must be enormous. In June, 1923, I once picked out no less than 20 seedlings in a cubic inch of mud.¹ As shown in the two specimens figured, every root was thrown into coils or curves.

These spiral turns will be of some help in preventing the young plant from being torn out by the floods, as there will be a certain "give and take" in the coil. In the Solway the plants are apparently not torn out by the tidal wave or bore, some four feet in height, which rushes violently up the estuary.

The stems are extremely interesting; they are made up of short joints with two very small opposite leaves, or rather, tips of leaves, which can be seen on each side. If the stem is cut across, it will be found that the outer part is a ring or cylinder.

The two opposite leaves have in fact united to form a tubular sheath and the only free part of the leaf is the tiny point.

In a microscope section, one finds on the leaf sheath an outside skin or epidermis with outer cell walls only slightly thickened. Then follow two or three layers of long sausage-shaped green cells at right angles to the surface: between them are three-cornered air-spaces. Towards the inside of the sheath, the green pallsade cells are gathered together by twos and threes on large clear cells, which lead to the elaborately branched vessels which start from the node. Here and there amongst the pallsades are curious spirally

¹ Estuary of the Nith near Kirkconnel Lea.

thickened empty cells. These perhaps afford a certain mechanical support, preventing distortion of the branchlet, or, as some say, are reservoirs of water. For further details reference must be made to the very full description by De Fraigne. (12.)

The flowers which may be found until August or September are in groups of three. They are sunk in little pits of the branchlets and are of a very economical type.

There is a small fleshy envelope of three sepals and only either one or two stamens. The ovary, though it is made up of two carpels, has but one ovule. The seed is enclosed in a spongy envelope: the seed-coat is thin, tough, and chestnut brown in colour, and is covered with little hooked hairs. Considering the enormous number of migrating and other birds which haunt *Salicornia's* territory, it seems probable that the seeds will be carried in mud sticking to their feet or plumage. I have not, however, found any definite record of distribution in this way. Dr. Guppy states that the seed sinks within seven days, but, as we have mentioned above, the seedlings can float for ten weeks.

It is worth noting that the flowers do not interfere with the smooth rounded outline of the branchlets, for they are sunk below the surface: the contours of the little plant are all streamlines, and thus the incoming or outgoing tide flows smoothly over its surface and is not likely to tear it out of the mud.

In spite of its very unusual habitat, *Salicornia* has plenty of enemies. In the Mediterranean a parasitic flowering plant (*Cynomorium Coccineum*) lives upon the roots of certain species of *Salicornia*. The appearance is not prepossessing, for the colour is a dirty purple red: the leaves are very small, and the flowers consist of one stamen and one carpel, with a single ovule. But it is nevertheless an interesting plant, for it is the solitary representative in Europe of the Natural Order *Balanophoraceæ*; almost all the other thirty-five species are found only in the Tropics.

Salicornia is also attacked by two Rusts. One of them (*Protomyces conglomeratus*) is of an extremely primitive

type, for the fungus not only lives, but forms its spores *inside the plant*. The cluster cups of the ordinary rust (*Uromyces Salicorniæ*) are usually found on the cotyledons :

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Salicornia seedlings.</i> | <i>Salicornia seedlings.</i> |
| Very abundant. | b: bud. |
| About 20 in a cubic inch of mud with green alga. | c: Cotyledons. |
| They have root hairs, swellings on root, probably <i>Olpidiaceæ</i> , but all were too dried up to be sure. | o: swelling, probably <i>Olpidium</i> . |
| Note coils. All were coiled. | |
| Numbers of young plants seen near Kirkconnel Lea and in vigorous growth early in June, 1923. | |

Their spores are orange yellow : later simple, yellow uredospores are produced, and towards the end of the summer dark brown, thick-walled teleutospores, which presumably survive the winter and infect the seedlings in May or June.

The roots are also attacked by a very primitive fungus (*Olpidium*) whose spores swim in the water (zoo-spores) by means of cilia, and establish themselves below the epidermis. (12b.)

The other fungi recorded for *Salicornia* are not to my knowledge real parasites, but probably break up the decaying tissues.² (13.)

One does not at first realise that this odd little Glasswort can be of the least importance in the world.

Yet the *Salicornias* were once, as a matter of fact, of considerable industrial value, for from Europe and Northern Africa, the ashes of these plants (or "barilla") used to be imported for the manufacture of both soap and glass: naturally the "barilla" contained a very high proportion of soda.

The Glasswort has an enormous range:³ it may be found

² Three species of *Pleospora*, *Sphaerella Salicorniæ*, etc., etc.

³ That is to say, *Salicornia herbacea* in the sense in which Linnaeus understood the species.

all round the British Isles and France, on both sides of the Mediterranean, Lake Mareotis (Egypt), and also in salt marshes, as in Poland, Persia, Turkestan, Achit Nor (South Siberia), and China. In North America it grows both on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, as well as in the Salt Marshes of Kansas and Utah.⁴ (1.)

That is to say, one finds it all along the northern shore of the miocene Mediterranean. During the tertiary period, that is, until the pliocene, when the desiccation of Asia began, a wide world "Greater Mediterranean" or Sea of Tethys belted the globe, with gulfs extending over Persia and over the Sahara. Thus there is nothing strange in the distribution of *Salicornia* provided that it lived in miocene Europe, Asia, and America.

I have no record of any tertiary *Salicornias*, but that it is a very ancient type seems probable enough. Species of *Salicornia* occupy salty places and sea shores both in temperate and even in some tropical countries.

There are local species in Asia Minor, in the East Indies, as well as in Natal and Madagascar. Four or more occur in North America, others in South America, even at altitudes of 3500 metres in Chile and Argentina, also in Brazil and Patagonia; there are six species in Australia. (390b.)

Salicornia is certainly able to modify and adapt itself to varying local conditions. Even in England ten or more distinct species (in the narrower sense) have been recently described. (2.)

It has one great advantage in being able to grow quite happily in very salt water or mud. Hence it can find places where there are no competitors. Even its near relations of the same natural order, such as *Salsola* and others, are not found on newly-established mud-banks, although most of the *Chenopodiaceæ* have adapted themselves to a more or less salty soil. (3.)

Salt is extremely poisonous to most vegetables, and yet quite a number of plants have so adapted themselves that they are uninjured by it.

⁴ Boissier also gives South Africa.

There are quite a number of marine Bacteria which live in water containing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of salt : some of these remain alive even in a solution of 16 per cent. (4.)

At a place called Wieliczka there are certain salt mines and factories which have been worked for possibly 800 years. There one finds excessively salt liquors from which a whole series of new organisms have been described. Not only Bacteria but even Protozoa (*amoeba salina* Herb.) have been discovered in them. (5.) Dr. Namyslowski states that some of these species not only thrive under an osmotic pressure *equivalent to that of 213 atmospheres*, but may even be cultivated in saturated solutions.

These new species are apparently descended from ordinary forms accidentally introduced by man during the last 800 years, and which have suited themselves to this strange and distressful existence.

Even the *Armeria* flats of our estuaries show that particular plants of quite different affinities have also succeeded in colonising more or less salty ground. Scurvy Grass (*Cochlearia*), *Armeria* itself, *Aster Tripolium*, *Plantago maritima*, *Triglochin*, *Scirpus Maritimus*, and at least three grasses (*Phragmites*, *Spartina*, and *Glyceria maritima*) manage to do so. This is all the more remarkable, for salt, even in quite small proportions, is fatal to any ordinary plant. Indeed, the rich and luxuriant flora of the seashore often stops suddenly just at the edge of the salt marsh.

How has *Salicornia* managed to make itself immune to this poison? There is no doubt that it is able to adapt itself to amounts varying within certain limits. Thus in the Solway estuary the plants may be, in floods, entirely covered with almost fresh water, and at high tide, with a south-west gale, submerged under many feet of water almost as salt as that of the open sea. Direct experiments have proved that, if the Glasswort is grown with its roots in salt solution, the strength may be slowly increased to 5.8 per cent. and even sometimes to 17 per cent. without any signs of ill-health.⁵ (6.)

⁵ *Botany of To-Day.*

But if you cultivate it for two hours in a one per cent. solution and then suddenly plunge it in 5.8 per cent. the root hairs die. (7.)

The seedlings of *Salicornia* are found to thrive best in one of three per cent. of salt, and are less vigorous in fresh water. (8.)

Now *Salicornia* is really rather like a tiny Cactus or other succulent plant, and its leaves are very much reduced. It is probable that this fleshiness has something to do with its power of enduring salt water. Certain plants, such as Herb Robert (*Geranium Robertianum*), Birds' Foot Trefoil (*Lotus corniculatus*), *Matricaria inodora*, and others, when growing near the sea, have decidedly fleshy leaves, but elsewhere the leaves are thin and not at all succulent. Then also *Plantago maritima* and *Arenaria peploides*, which are regular seaside plants, have thick and more or less fleshy leaves, whilst *Plantago major* and other *Arenarias* have thin and membranous ones. Many other plants of the seashore are more or less succulent, notably *Cochlearia*, *Glaux*, and *Aster Tripolium*.

M. Lesage carried through some interesting experiments which seem to show that salt increases succulence. In his garden *Lepidium* and certain other herbs were watered with salt water; he then found that the leaves became fleshy. M. Lesage even collected and sowed the seeds of these plants and believed that to a certain extent the character was inherited even when the seedlings did not receive any salt. (9.) There is surely then some connection between salt and succulence. Then one begins to ask the exact meaning of fleshiness or succulence? Broadly speaking, it means grossness or fatness, an increase in width and depth as compared with length, perhaps a tendency to make the surface, or part exposed to the outer air, as round and spherical as possible.

Both in *Sedums* which grow on dry rocks and in those *Mesembryanthemums* which manage to exist in the Kalahari desert, the leaves tend to become round and fleshy, whilst in *Cactus*, *Opuntia*, and some *Euphorbias* it is the stem or

branch which becomes succulent, whilst the leaves are reduced to mere rudiments.

All these plants lose very little water in transpiration, and can therefore flourish in the driest of deserts.

They are able to do so in consequence of the extraordinary osmotic pressure within the cell sap. MacDougal found that in the cell of a Cactus, *Opuntia versicolor*, this pressure was equivalent to 12 atmospheres and in *O. Blakeana* and *Echinocactus* sp. to 9 atmospheres. (10.)

In this connection certain experiments by F. T. Lewis are extremely interesting.

He placed living leaves of various plants (Holly, Camellia, etc.) in seawater or in solution of common salt. At first the leaves lost weight through loss of water, but after a time they became decidedly heavier. Moreover, the amount of salt within them increased greatly.

After from 12 to 27 hours there was a distinct increase in the osmotic pressure of the cell sap, and at this stage the leaves were no longer injured by the seawater.⁶ (11.)

This strong osmotic pressure means a tenacity in holding water. But during growth a rapid elongation of internodes or of petioles, or the formation of ordinary thin leaves, is not possible if the cell sap is tenaciously holding on to such water as it has absorbed.

The tendency will rather be for leaves or internodes to become short and swollen, that is to say, towards the fleshy, globular, or succulent type.

Here again is another clear example of a particular evil bringing about a suitable reaction. The direct action of the poisonous salt has brought into existence a cell-sap which makes a salt sea life at least not impossible. In fact an entirely new sort of plant has been evolved capable of flourishing in poisonous water, and therefore able, as we have seen, to colonise almost the whole brackish world.

But insignificant as the Glasswort seems at first sight to be, it has its share, and indeed is almost necessary for

⁶ The cells are not plasmolyzed.

the formation of merselands, that is of alluvial flats in estuaries.

The reclamation of the series of wandering mud-banks at the mouth of a great river is a very complex affair.

Fine particles of sand and silt carried down in the turbid coffee-coloured floods tend to fall to the bottom just where the fresh and salt water meet.

The submerged banks so formed are for ever moving, changing shape under the influence of tides and currents.

Before any colonisation can be done these banks must be fixed or stabilised.

Along the shore in quiet estuaries both *Phragmites* and *Scipus maritimus* can do this.

Under water even at depths of occasionally over 30 feet there are sometimes submerged meadows of the Seagrass (*Zostera marina*).⁷ Its waving ribbon-shaped leaves may be over 3 feet long though only 3 to 8 mm. wide. (14.)

Every detail in the habits and structure of this extraordinary plant enables it to hold on to and to fix the unstable surface. The short, thin, and extremely strong rhizome is elegantly curved like the fluke of an anchor. From it the roots diverge on either side so that each, like the people in a tug-of-war, can help in taking the strain. The leaves are smooth and rather oily, so as to give as little resistance as possible.

What is even more remarkable is that pollination and seed distribution is arranged for a submarine existence. Flowering may begin as early as February in the Mediterranean, but may last in Brittany until September. As many as twelve little flowers are enclosed in the smooth flattened sheath or spathe which is neatly folded over them.

Each flower consists of two stamens and two carpels, which last have but a single ovule.

When mature a half-anther opens by a longitudinal split, and lets out a mass of white pollen grains, which are

⁷ It is recorded for Glencaple (Miss Hannay), Corbally, New Abbey (Dr Gilchrist), Southerness (J. M'Andrew), Annan Mouth (Dr Singer).

of a very remarkable type. They are more or less spirally curved and rather like minute worms: they are some 2 mm. long and 8 micromillimetres thick, that is, 250 times as long as wide! They float freely in water, and, if fortunate, may come in contact with the branched styles; indeed, they are often found coiled or bent round them.

When ripe the sheathing spathe opens lengthwise, exposing rows of styles, each of which is some 3 mm. long.

The fruits are eaten by different kinds of fish, and the seeds are probably distributed by them. Other algæ live and many marine animals pasture in these fields of *Zostera*, notably the Great Turtle of the Mediterranean, which depends almost entirely upon it for food. As soon as the mud-bank is fixed, and gradually raised by continual deposit of silt until it is exposed at low water, it is possible to distinguish clearly what happens. In the very first stage the shining wet surface of the mud-bank is colonised by numerous blue-green algæ (*Microcoleus*, etc.), diatoms, and others belonging to them, the lowest and most primitive kind of vegetation. (17.) The mucilage of the cell-walls of these algæ assists in holding the grains of sand together. Insects such as beetles graze upon them; there are also Nematode worms and other minute animals. Bacteria and no doubt Protozoa also occur in this slimy upper surface of the mud. Sometimes, as in the Solway, various green algæ such as *Enteromorpha* and *Rhizoclonium*, as well as the Glasswort, establish themselves. Afterwards both these and other seaweeds become entangled in the *Salicornia* settlement.

In the new marsh at Blakeney the green *Enteromorpha* was first noticed, then *Rhizoclonium*, *Microcoleus* or *Vaucheria*, after this came *Fucus vesiculosus*, in which the seedling *Salicornias* took root and established themselves. (15.)

After scattered plants of *Salicornia* have taken root they and the Algæ intercept more and more of the flotsam of the river.

The surface of the bank is thus continually rising, and sooner or later, if not torn away by some erratic change in

the river channel, it will be invaded by the long trailing branches of the grass, *Glyceria maritima*, which root in the mud. Very soon afterwards the wind blows on to it the miniature shuttlecocks which are the fruits of Sea Thrift, and the mud-bank becomes an *Armeria* flat. Several other plants grow amongst the rosettes of the Sea Thrift and trails of *Glyceria*.

So long as high tides regularly overflow the *Armeria* flat, the only change seems to consist in a gradually increasing density of population with but very little change of species. But small streams from the land cut winding channels through it, and by these the salt water is quickly hurried back to the sea. These flats are regularly grazed by cattle, and in prehistoric times were no doubt visited by wild cattle and other ruminants.

But such estuaries are also favourite haunts of an enormous variety of birds, especially wild duck, geese, gulls, waders, etc., etc. They come in great flocks and feed on them regularly.

So, not only during the transformation of a mud-bank into an *Armeria* flat, but for a very long time afterwards, the ground is regularly manured. After a very long interval the level is above all ordinary high tides. Rain will also in the course of time dissolve and carry off the salt.

Then there is probably an invasion of the ordinary flora of the neighbouring coast, or perhaps some enterprising proprietor builds a sea-wall, and the work done by *Zostera*, *Salicornia*, *Armeria*, and many other plants and animals results in rich crops and valuable pasture.

One must confess that anywhere in temperate Europe the later stages of the process are difficult to follow, for the influence, direct and indirect, of mankind, especially in the early historic period, has much confused the available evidence.

No doubt sometimes ancient *Armeria* flats became Oak forests, or were even occupied by vast expanses of Peat-moss, such as Flanders Moss (near Stirling) or the Lochar Moss.

But even if this did happen there would eventually come a stage when birches and Scots Pine would establish themselves on the drying surface. In the end Oak forest, which is probably, for the South of Scotland, the best possible natural vegetation, would occupy the ground, being, so to speak, the climax of the life work of all the predecessors.

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15th December, 1933.

Chairman—Mr G. W. SHIRLEY.

Modern Methods of Sea Fishing.

By L. BEATTIE.

A very interesting paper was contributed on this subject, dealing mainly with Mr Beattie's own experiences when accompanying the herring fishers of the Firth of Clyde and also with the boats fishing for hake, etc., from Fleetwood. For the first time in the history of the Society the lecture was illustrated by cinematographic pictures taken and shown on a small screen by the lecturer.

ERRATUM.

This paper, "Sidelights on Lochmaben History,"
is by R. FRASER, Lochmaben.

26th January, 1934.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Sidelights on Lochmaben History.

Reference to the boundaries of Lochmaben as outlined in the Burgh Charter granted by King James at Edinburgh on 16th July, 1612, reveals that the town at that time possessed extensive properties, the yearly value of which to-day would be sufficient to warrant the Town Council in paying a dividend to the inhabitants instead of levying taxes or rates. The Charter relates that the King, "considering the very many faithful and acceptable services done to us and to our predecessors by the burgesses and free inhabitants of the said burgh of Lochmaben in all time past, and that they and their successors for the future may have the greater occasion of continuing the said offices and services"; therefore his Majesty confirms the ancient erection and of new grants and dispones all and sundry the lands, fishings, forests, etc., "within ye particular bounds before specified," notwithstanding that the "evidents and erections containing the aforesaid lands, previous possessions, &c., had been burnt and destroyed or otherwise amitted and lost." Local tradition declares that the burgh's original charter, said to have been granted by King Robert the Bruce, was destroyed with many other priceless documents when Lochmaben was raided and burned by the Earl of Warwick in 1463.

It has been computed that the lands originally belonging to the burgh covered more than two thousand acres, a very respectable patrimony. Part of that was stolen, part frittered away by various Town Councils. The burgh records are incomplete. What has been preserved has been so badly cared for that the earliest minutes are almost undecipherable. From 1763 onwards the records are in a fair state of preservation; those dealing with events before that date are tattered and difficult to follow.

There is evidence that the alienation of the burgh lands had begun as early as the sixteenth century, but it did not become serious till the eighteenth century. It is tradi-

tionally held in Lochmaben that at the time Elsie-shields Tower was being built there was some surplus material left over, and Lochmaben being then without a cross took over from the laird of Elsie-shields some of the surplus stone to build a new one, giving him in exchange the mill and mill lands of Lochmaben, valued in 1845 at £100 a year.

Incidentally this sheds some light on the age of Elsie-shields Tower in its present form. The Lochmaben Charter of 1612 empowers the Magistrates to build a court-house and market cross, the ancient market cross having been demolished in the Albany Raid of 1484. Having waited some hundred and thirty odd years to replace the cross, the Magistrates evidently felt that they could afford an expensive one.

The reference to the building of a new court-house is wholly due to the piety of King James VI. Before the granting of the new charter it is on record that the ordinary courts and the stewartry courts were held in the ancient parish kirk, a practice which the King condemned. In 1602, on the 19th October, at Dumfries, the King had given a commission to Sir James Johnstone of Duns-kellie, then Warden of the West Marches, to see that the "paroch kirks . . . of Lochmaben, Dryisdell, Wamfray, Hoddum, Apilgirth, Moussell, Lockarbie, Mortoun, Ruvell, Torthorrell, Sillebie and Middilbie sal be reedefeit and biggit vp be the parochinaris," and nearly twenty years later, in 1621, he again returns to the necessity for keeping the kirk of Lochmaben for church purposes, and orders the building of a proper court-house.

In the lists of Town Councillors of Lochmaben are many distinguished names. For example, in 1721 we find the Marquis of Annandale occupying the Provost's chair. The Marquis had succeeded his father in January of the same year. Unfortunately the noble Marquis was at the time occupying more than the seat of the chief magistrate—he was retaining possession of one of the farm lands belonging to the burgh. On 13th September, 1721, the Town Council met in the noble Provost's absence and addressed to him a very spirited remonstrance in these terms :

“ The present magistrates and toune councill of ye burgh being convened in common council, and after conferring together anent the present state of the burgh, take this occasione humbly to represent to my Lord Marquis of Annandale, the Provost :

1mo. That the fyve merk land of Thorniewhat is presently disponed and contained in the fundamentall charters and seasines of the burgh, yet nevertheless both propertie and superioritie thereof is in his lop.'s hands and his vassals, and ye toune is nowayes considered for the same.

2do. It is hoped his lop. will contribut his best offices for clearing the controverted marches of the burgh with his Grace the Duke of Queensberry and other adjacent heritors and gett the same settled conforme to ye toune's bounding charter.

3o. Lochmaben being ye headburgh of ye stuartrie, and be constant law and custom the seat of the stewart, courtts for the dispatching of ordinary business ought to be regularly kept and held thereat for the hail stewartrie; it is hoped his lop. will give order for his deput and substitut to observe that practice in all time coming except upon extraordinary crisis.

4to. The fewes of the burgh and small customes of the same having for a considerable time byegone become so very lowe that the same have near gone to desuetude, it is hoped his lop. will contribut his assistance by giving the necessary orders to his lop.'s servants and tenants and otherwayes, soe as the same may be restored and brought to ye due extent, conforme to ye burgh's antient rights and possessiones.”

[Note the large number of Dicksons. The family played a leading part in Lochmaben history for a century and a half.]

Robert Robertson, B.
 Thomas Dickson, B.
 John Johnston, Treas.
 Geo. Kennedy, C.

J. Henderson, C.
John Dickson, C.
Jos. Weir, C.
George Dickson, C.
J. Forrester, C.

Captain John Forrester later became Town Clerk.

This letter or protest seems to have had little practical effect, though it caused the Marquis to be present at the next meeting of the Council, when he promised "with all convenient speed to redress the grievances complained of in the sederunt of 13th inst., so far as in his power and consistent with justice." At the same meeting representatives of the Duke of Queensberry appeared, who proposed that the disputes as to the marches should be settled by arbitration, the Provost to be the arbiter.

Jumping over an interval of forty years we find that the possessions of the burgh are still extensive, and that instead of being feued they are let, or, in the language of the time, "sett" yearly. So also were the town customs and the magistrates' seat in the parish church. In 1766 the customs were let at ten shillings and the kirk seat at half a crown yearly, Provost James Richardson being the successful bidder.

At this time membership of the Council was eagerly sought, for obvious reasons. Some of the members in 1765 were Francis Carruthers of Dormont, Robert Henderson of Cleugheads, George Clerk Maxwell of Dumcrieff, James Maxwell of Barncleugh, and George Muir of Cassencarry. These were the non-resident councillors, who, however, enjoyed the same privileges as the resident members of the Council. The mode of election was as follows: The retiring Council assembled either in the Council House or Town House, or more likely in one of the inns in the town. The Act relating to the prevention of bribery and corruption was solemnly read, after which the whole Council qualified themselves by taking and subscribing the oaths to the Crown prescribed by law. The next step was to elect two new members of the Council. These were generally waiting out-

side pending the result of the election. On being brought into the meeting they, too, at once, qualified themselves by taking the oath, and took part in the subsequent proceedings.

The election of a Provost generally produced a leet of two. The unsuccessful candidate usually figured as the successful candidate for the first or eldest bailiership except in the cases where he preferred to become Treasurer. In this way the defeated candidate for one post receiving the next on the list, the offices were filled, and the last act of the meeting was to vote out of the Council two members in place of the two elected at the opening of the meeting. There was no popular representation; the electors were the Council themselves, and these were all heritors and burgesses.

In 1765 the Rev. James Lindsay, minister of the burgh and parish of Lochmaben, accepted a call to Kirkliston. Certain of the heritors opposed his translation, and a party in the Council also developed a sudden affection for the departing minister, and threatened to send representatives to the General Assembly to have the call cancelled. The minister eventually accepted the charge offered him, and a successor was found in the Rev. Richard Broun of Kingarth, who was in the happy position of having two patrons offering him charges at the same time. He decided to settle in Lochmaben, and speedily made his presence felt.

In February of the following year, 1766, Provost Maxwell and the three bailies are deputed to meet the Presbytery regarding the repairs to be carried out on the kirk, "without Prejudice to any others of the Council or Heritors of the Burgh to appear that day for their Interest if they shall see cause."

Three days later Mr Broun laid before the Council a demission of office by the schoolmaster of the burgh and parish, Mr James Richardson, which the Kirk Session had accepted on the conditions laid down by the schoolmaster. These were that he should retain the sum of ten pounds sterling per year for life, together with the house and garden mortified to the schoolmaster.

This James Richardson seems to have deserted the paths of learning for the pursuit of business, and evidently found that more profitable for a time. He seems to figure later as a merchant in the town, but is usually referred to as "the late schoolmaster." The last mention of him is on the 19th October, 1780, when it appears that he owed the Douglas and Herron Bank the sum of forty pounds sterling, a debt which the town had to pay because one of the bailies had stood cautioner and could not himself raise the money.

A fortnight after Mr James Richardson's demission the Town Council arrived at the conclusion that the remaining emoluments and perquisites "will be but a small Encouragement for a man of Learning and other qualifications to accept of the said Office — bind and oblige themselves and their successors in office to pay to the schoolmaster One Hundred Merks Scots yearly, with power to withdraw the payment at the end of the first or any other year." The payment was continued for three years, then withdrawn.

The new schoolmaster, Mr William Taylor, must have been sadly incommoded for want of house-room as well as by the loss of ten pounds a year. In July, 1766, the Council grant to the heritors a vacant piece of ground measuring 50 by 22 feet for building a new schoolhouse for teaching in. The building erected served the parish for over a century and is still in use as the Infant School at Lochmaben. I suspect that some of the furnishings, notably the blackboard, date back to this period. According to the reminiscences of aged people who sometimes visit their old school, this blackboard served a double purpose. The writing surface is raised and lowered on the guillotine principle. Unruly pupils found themselves firmly held between the bottom of the board and the framework somewhere about the waistline, after which justice was administered in the proper place without any risk to the dominie.

Six years later, 1772, another master had taken the place of Mr William Taylor. The new master was Mr Thos. Henderson, who is also referred to as a "mathematician," presumably because, like Goldsmith's dominie,

“Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
And e'en the story ran that he could gauge.”

At any rate he succeeded in screwing another two guineas out of the Council to help to pay an usher, the heritors also doing something to meet the extra cost. Mr Henderson was employed in February, 1778, to lay out 104 acres of the Burgh lands for feuing purposes. Actually 112 acres were laid out, the only person of any consequence in the list of inhabitants who got nothing being the schoolmaster or mathematician.

On the 6th June, 1775, appears this interesting entry. “The Magistrates, taking under their consideration proposals laid before them by Wm. Johnstone of Lockerby, and Mr Stewart, My Lord Annandale’s factor, for making a Generall Shearch through Annandale for Coals which is signed by a great number of the principal gentlemen of the county, therefore, to encourage this laudable undertaking, we authorise William Maxwell, Provost, to subscribe the said proposals for Five pounds.”

Under date 22nd May, 1776, the name of Dr Robert Clapperton, father of Capt. Hugh Clapperton, the famous African traveller, appears as a cautioner for John Ferguson, wright, who rented the Innerfield pastures that year. Captain Clapperton resided in the town from 1817 till 1820, prior to his African journey.

Reverting to 1766, we find an entry recording the election of Thomas Shortt as a councillor. Mr Shortt took the oath de fidele but delayed taking the oath to the crown as “there was a new Act of Parliament passed in the last session of Parliament, altering the form of the oath on account of the death of the late Pretender. The clerk had not yet got a copie of the new oath.” In the same year a visitation of the Manse by the Presbytery is recorded, probably prompted by the reforming zeal of the new minister, Mr Richard Broun. The Council appoint a committee to meet the reverend Presbytery and take any steps to repair the Manse, with the usual reservations as to the rights of other heritors to object.

Four months later, on the 14th March, 1767, it was reported to the Council that the Presbytery had assessed the heritors — it will be remembered that the Council were also heritors in their corporate capacity as well as individually — in a considerable sum of money to repair the old Manse, “contrair the Inclination of the greatest part of the Heritors, and notwithstanding the said majority of heritors were willing to build a new manse and had assessed themselves in upwards of £200 sterling for that purpose. Sundry of the heritors and Kindly Tenants of the Four Towns have resolved to suspend the Presbytery’s decreet,” and the Magistrates and Council concur in raising a suspension of the decreet and promise to bear a share of the cost in proportion to the burgh’s valuation. Those in favour of building a new Manse seem to have won their point, the present Manse being built about that date. In this year, 1767, the town customs were let at £1 7s 6d, and the Kirk seat brought 2/6 for the year.

By 1768 the first signs of the coming financial troubles of the town were apparent. Very few of the town’s vassals seem to have troubled to pay their dues, and the feuars followed their example. On the 5th February a committee is appointed to check the compts of the various treasurers for several years back and to recover arrears of rents and feu-duties as “the town’s affairs require immediate payment.”

This attitude of contempt for authority is reflected in another entry of the same year where it is recorded that Thomas Carruthers, one of the town’s officers and the Jaylor holding the keys of the Tolbooth, is dismissed for misbehaviour and disobedience in connection with the transport of “two companies of soldiers their Baggages in their route from Dumfries to Moffat.” The Town’s officers were paid 6/8 annually, with various perquisites in addition. The salary of the Town Clerk was the same and remained at that figure well on into the nineteenth century, but there were useful pickings in the form of legal fees for the preparation and recording of various deeds in the Registers of Sasines.

One cannot help thinking that these were palmy days for the gentlemen of the gown and wig in Lochmaben. There were several lawyers in the town who all seemed to be kept busy, judging from the frequent references to actions raised in the Sheriff Court and the Court of Session. As a rule several "writers" were in the Council at the same time during most of the eighteenth century. Quite frequently the Provost was a lawyer. Sometimes the Town Clerk was also a member of the Council, and on more than one occasion was also Provost while holding the clerkship. It is remarkable that the Town Clerkship of Lochmaben was eagerly sought after by men who afterwards advanced in their profession and set up business in Dumfries and Edinburgh. Francis Shortt and James Spalding are both mentioned as Town Clerks of Lochmaben for a time; both of them removed to Dumfries, a step which resulted in James Spalding being superseded in the Clerkship, much against his will.

Before leaving this period we find an entry on 17th October, 1776, wherein Provost William Hoggan outlines the proposals for the new turnpike road from Dumfries to Moffat by Lochmaben. The Council supported the Provost's action in pledging the town to pay £50 towards the estimated outlay of £650. The same meeting also agreed to the Provost's proposal that the town should pay £1 yearly to the funds of the new infirmary proposed to be built in Dumfries. Two months later, on 10th December, it was intimated to the Council that the estimates for the Moffat road had swollen to £800, an increase of £150, the whole of which increase was shouldered by the burgh of Lochmaben. The two hundred pounds required for this purpose was borrowed from Francis Irving of Ladderhook (29th September, 1777), and a year later Francis Irving was elected a councillor.

The zeal of the Rev. Richard Broun had not exhausted itself in the eleven years since his appointment, for we find on 29th September, 1777, that he had obtained the support of certain heritors, and especially of Mr Gordon of Halleaths,

to carry out alterations in the ancient Kirk of Lochmaben by the addition of galleries. The objecting heritors had raised an action of suspension in the Court of Session, and the Town Council supported this action on the ground that the proposed alterations "will be disrespectful and hurtful to the Magistrates when attending divine service," as the whole people of the parish will be admitted by the door of the Magistrates' loft, the loft itself will be made much smaller, and, worst of all, the door of the said loft will be kept almost continually open.

The years between 1777 and 1786 are occupied in a series of scrambles for the best of the burgh lands, which are feued out to Magistrates, late Provosts, Councillors and their friends and relatives, at what seem to be ridiculously low rates. That question contains enough matter for research to fill a separate paper, and I propose to leave it there for the present.

Naturally the events related are more or less a chronicle of small beer; they are interesting only to the student of local history, except here and there where they cast light on old manners and customs. For example, in an entry dated 5th November, 1781, the inhabitants of the burgh are forbidden to cast "truffs or flaiks" on the common moor. The "truffs" were, of course, turfs or peats for fuel. The "flaiks" were large patches of turf used for roofing before thatching became common. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the roof of the parish Kirk was covered in this way, an old inhabitant relating that the roof appeared to be covered with a sort of heathery growth. This form of roofing explains how the Johnstones found it easy to fire the Kirk in 1593 when they burned out the Maxwells who had fled there for sanctuary after the Battle of Dryfe Sands. A minute of 9th July, 1782, contains a reference to the case of Jean Bell "in Cumleys," who, in the Court of Session, had won an action against certain of the magistrates "for not immediately incarserating the persons of John Graham of Corrielow and John Carruthers of Bogside, but allowing them to remain out for the three days of the charge." The

magistrates had wrongly allowed the privilege of "open doors," which cost the town somewhere about £120. The money had again to be borrowed, though there was always plenty of money available for a law plea. (Substitute for "the pictures?")

There are few references in these minutes to events outside the burgh, but the ferment of reform that was in evidence across the Channel seems to have reached Lochmaben in 1787. Here is the minute of 23rd April of that year: "The said day the Magistrates and Council, considering that last Saturday morning a few people in this burgh, calling themselves a Society of Reform, entered the several abodes of the said Magistrates and Council and there, in an arbitrary manner forced a number of imprudent Questions upon the members of Council with a view, if possible, to divide them in Sentiment with respect to the talked of Reform as to the Royall Burghs in Scotland and with a design to catch at anything that might fall from the members attacked separately which they would wrest by varying words to purposes of their own, and contrary to the many and determined resolutions of the Magistrates and Council to oppose any Reform Innovation or Alteration in the present tried and beneficial Constitution of the said Boroughs — and considering that the Reform proposed by such people is evidently intended to allow the present Council, which elective and annually changeable, to people and voters to be fixed by Inheritance, who may arbitrarily and unalterably rule at Pleasure, we are clearly of Opinion that such Reform would be of a most ruinous tendency to the Inhabitants of Boroughs, and would reduce the Boroughs to a state of extreme Danger and Insignificancy and expose them to many other Evils. We again most heartily and unanimously Resolve to oppose any intended reform or Alteration of the present Constitution of the Boroughs in Scotland and we order this to be published as our Resolution in Contradiction of what may be asserted by any other person or persons whether by form of Protest or otherwise whatever." Which is conclusive if not convincing.

The year 1790 seems to have been a stirring time in the burgh. The Provost, Robert Maxwell, who had also been Town or Common Clerk of the burgh for some time, had carried on a feud with John Dickson, late Provost and Town Clerk. The feud had lasted for many years and was connected with the last great division of the town lands, Dickson contending that the lands should bear a grassum or price moderately fixed at a guinea an acre, together with an annual feu-duty of sixpence an acre. Maxwell led the party in the Council who declared that the town revenues would suffer if the land were sold, preferring to pay an annual feu-duty of one shilling and sixpence per acre. Dickson failed to carry his point, though subsequent events proved that he had been right. A single acre of the land in question had to be sold because the holder to whom it had been allotted refused to take it up. Under free competition the plot yielded a price of £15 per Imperial acre. Anything like an equal price for the rest of the land would have set the burgh finances on a very firm basis.

Dickson was first forced on account of his age to consent to the appointment of a conjoint Town Clerk, Robert Maxwell, then he was got rid of as a councillor. Some of his family remained to carry on the feud, but Maxwell proved stronger than they, and was able to pack the Council to his liking.

By 1790 there were two parties in the Council of seven each. One man, William Wells, or, in the pronunciation of then and now, William Walls, was in the strong but unhappy position of being able to give victory to either side. At the meeting on 5th July, 1790, Provost Maxwell tried a new move. He brought a charge of accepting bribes against one of the opposing faction with a view to having him disqualified as a voter in the election then pending of a burgess to represent Lochmaben at Dumfries when a member of Parliament was to be chosen.

After many threats to go as far as the bar of the House of Commons with his charge, Provost Maxwell, seeing that the election must be held three days later, on the 8th of

July, either suggested or was forced into decisive measures. He meant to be elected delegate himself, and could count on seven votes but needed eight. Obviously the trimmer, William Wells, had to be got rid of. This was done. Wells was seized by force and carried off into England a sufficient distance to ensure that he would not turn up at the meeting. The Dickson party, recognising that they had lost this round, absented themselves from the meeting, and Maxwell was duly elected.

In September of the same year David Dickson, son of the late Provost, had charges of horning served on two members of the Maxwell party for a debt of £222 13s 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d with interest for ten years. The Provost got the Council to agree that these were town debts, and an action of suspension was ordered to be raised.

On the same day the Town Clerk, John Lindsay, who on the day of the kidnapping had been appointed Town Clerk for life (in place of Provost Maxwell), informs the Council "that he had endeavoured to the utmost of his power to discharge the duties of that office, but he was sensible on account of his other business and avocations and from indisposition and otherways he may be often prevented from the discharge of the important duty of Clerk to the burgh and he humbly craved that a colleague should be joined with him as Joint Common Town Clerk." The Council agreed to this petition—that is the seven of the Maxwell faction—and appointed the Provost Joint Town Clerk.

The sequel followed on 31st January of next year, when, before the Justiciary Court in Edinburgh, eight persons were tried for having been concerned in the kidnapping of Wells. Four of the accused did not appear, having removed out of the kingdom. The remaining four appeared and pleaded not guilty. Their names were: John Lindsay, the Town Clerk, John Lockerby, Peter Forrest, and James Thorburn. It was stated in their defence that Wells had promised his vote to both parties and had fallen upon the expedient of having himself kidnapped to save his honour. This plea was over-ruled, and the trial proceeded to conviction. The

sentences were as follows : John Lindsay to be imprisoned in the Canongate Gaol for three months, to pay a fine of £50 sterling, and to be afterwards banished from Scotland for seven years ; Lockerby, Forrest, and Thorburn to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for a period expiring on the 23rd February, on that day to be publicly whipped through the streets of that city by the hands of the common executioner, and then banished Scotland for seven years. Lindsay was allowed three months to put his affairs in order, the others were granted five weeks' grace before going into banishment. Later the part of the sentence relating to whipping was recalled.

The foregoing appears a victory for the Maxwell party though the actual tools had been punished. The result in the end was quite different. The seven members of the Dickson party record that they were prevented from attending the meeting on 8th July, 1790, "by a riotous, tumultuous and outrageous mob," which seized one of the magistrates, John Bryden, from the house of David Dickson, where the Dickson party had gathered on being prevented from attending the meeting in the Town House. The threats of the mob were so intimidating that the six members left betook themselves to Townfoot of Mouswald and there awaited the return of Bailie Bryden from Annan, whither he had been carried in a post-chaise. They held a meeting of their own, at which they appointed Thomas Dickson and Francis Shortt Joint Town Clerks and John M'Murdo the delegate to vote for the member of Parliament. The seal of the burgh being in the hands of Mr Lindsay, they appoint the seal of Mr Francis Shortt to be the temporary official seal of the burgh. They took steps to announce that they would not agree to any monetary transactions carried out by the Maxwell party. So for a time the town had two sets of clerks, two Councils, two burgh seals, and two delegates for choosing a Burgess to serve in Parliament. In September, when a new election of magistrates and councillors became due, David Dickson became Provost and Provost Maxwell was voted out of the

Council and disappears from local history. His final bid for power was to raise an action in the Court of Session to have the election of Dickson and his friends cancelled, but the Court declared against him and found him liable to David Dickson for £382 11s 3d sterling. There was some difficulty in securing the return of the town records and the seal, but those seem to have been recovered ultimately.

It seems strange that a man with legal training and holding a responsible position like the Town Clerkship should break the law in this particular manner. Further inquiry reveals that he was probably the son of William Lindsay, Officer of Excise in Lochmaben and for some time a Bailie in the town. There are hints in various bonds of caution that William Lindsay sometimes took the law into his own hands, and that he consorted with rough characters. He writes the most clerkly hand of all whose names appear in the 400 odd pages of the minute book from which I quote, and if anything can be deduced from handwriting I should say that he was temperamental.

In another bond of caution, dated 14th April, 1779, John Lindsay is mentioned as "apprentice to Mr Robert Maxwell in Lochmaben." Eleven years later the apprentice had become Town Clerk, but it is easy to see that he was completely dominated by the older man Maxwell. There is probably somewhere among musty files a "human document" which explains what hold Maxwell had on Lindsay, but we are not likely to discover it. There is some doubt whether the sentence of banishment was carried out, as John Lindsay appeared at a meeting of the Town Council on 27th August, 1791, which was after the three months of grace allowed him to put his affairs in order. He is not mentioned again in the town records.

If this paper is not to be of inordinate length I must confine myself to a brief mention of a few items of interest.

On 29th May, 1795, it is recorded that following a new Act of Parliament the town would have to find a man to serve in the Navy. The alternative provided by a wise legislature was the payment of a fine of £25. The magi-

strates gave warrants to the constables and officers within the burgh empowering them "to endeavour to procure and enlist a man who is willing and able to serve His Majesty in the Navy." They at the same time direct that the fine be collected at once. Evidently constables were exempt from serving, for a week later 28 new constables were appointed. No man was found willing to enlist, and the fine of £25 was paid.

On the 9th August, 1799, took place one of the last Ridings of the Marches recorded, when over sixty persons went over the ancient boundaries and listened to extracts from the Burgh Charter read at the points named in it.

On 22nd February, 1806, a minute bears that
 ' . . . the council being moved with sundry good intentions and especially with a view of advancing the revenue of the burgh and preserving the antient powers granted to it, hereby resolve to advance the rates of customs upon certain commodities and to continue the rates of customs on others and did and hereby do enact that the customs of this burgh shall in future be levied on the following principle :

" For every cart drawn by one or more horses and loaded with Victual of any description, the sum of one penny per sack.

For every cart loaded with hay or potatoes and drawn by one horse, the sum of twopence.

For each cart drawn by two horses with same commodities —3 pence.

For each cart loaded with any other commodity, manure and fuel excepted, and drawn by one horse, the sum of one penny, and with two horses, two pence.

For every load on horseback, one penny.

For every score of Black Cattle, one merk Scots.

For every score of sheep or swine, half a merk Scots.

For each horse going to or coming from sales, one penny.

And it is hereby specially provided that any number of cattle less than five shall pay one penny each; between five

and ten cattle one penny each, and the foregoing rates of customs are hereby declared to be chargeable from this date, reserving liberty to the council and our successors in office to advance the said rates as they may deem for the good of the Burgh."

On 17th November of the same year, 1806, the customs were let at £9 14s and the kirk seat at 6s 6d. Immediately preceding that entry is a note that on the 13th November the Honble. Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate of Scotland, had been admitted a Burgess of the burgh.

At the September election of 1809 Sir Charles Douglas was voted into the Council, and remained a member for some years. Two years later the Marquis of Queensberry was voted out.

As an example of the extremely low rates at which ground was feued in 1814 I quote two examples from the same page of the minute book. William Beck of Lochside was given a feu of a piece of ground opposite his house, size and boundaries unspecified, at a yearly feu-duty of sixpence, while the Provost, Robert Richardson, obtained a parcel of land on even easier terms—two pence yearly, if demanded.

There is an entry of date 22nd September, 1815, recording that William Mitchell, innkeeper and mason, was admitted a burgess, freeman, and Guild brother, and paid his dues. The last clause is obviously the most important and certainly the most unusual. Mitchell's admission is important, for he afterwards became Provost and proved to be one of the ablest the town ever had. In his time the meetings seemed to be held in his inn, especially the election meetings, when the expenses averaged three pounds a meeting. No details of the separate items are given.

On 2nd August, 1821, there is recorded the last appointment of Birleymen. John Graham, jun., John Richardson, and Joseph Clark were appointed to fill the vacant offices which in their day were beginning to be sinecures. The last previous appointment was on 4th January, 1800. The Birleymen seem to have been officials who acted as arbiters

in small disputes, settled questions as to trespassing of cattle, and so on. Earlier they had the duty of looking for the prevalent weed, the gild weed, which fouled many of the fields and spread rapidly if not checked.

By November, 1821, the magistrates were becoming alarmed at the state of the town's finances. It was ascertained that the burgh owed £2133, of which at least half had been due to the making of the Beattock and Annan roads. The Council had from time to time shouldered the burden of subscriptions towards these roads made by individual members of the Council. It seemed to be enough to plead that they had subscribed only for the good of the town to have their liabilities taken over.

Two months later it was resolved to lay the state of the town's finances before a meeting of creditors with a view to the appointment of a judicial factor. In 1824 the assets of the burgh were sequestrated to meet debts which by now had grown to over £3000. For a period of 14 years the town struggled on till the various debts were settled. The feu-duties were sold, which must have been a rude shock to the feuars who had usually contrived to evade payment. The largest individual purchaser of feu-duties was Mr Johnstone, the new owner of Halleaths, who paid 1000 guineas for half of them.

New legislation enforced a more careful system of accounting after 1822. From then onwards the annual accounts are given in the minutes, and are worth careful analysis if only to show what conditions were little more than a century ago.

It is remarkable that great national events like the victories at Trafalgar and Waterloo are not mentioned even indirectly. There is, however, a loyal address to the Queen (Victoria) on the birth of an heir to the throne, and an even warmer address to the Prince Consort.

The proposed main line of railway was at first intended to run through Lochmaben instead of through Lockerbie.

Had the plan been followed who knows how the town might have developed. One by one its ancient privileges have been lopped off until little remains but the reflection of a former glory. The burgh seal bears the motto, "Post nubilia Phoebus," which may be prophetic, for certainly Lochmaben has experienced the nubilia; let us hope that the sunshine is still to come.

As an interesting addendum to this paper I extract two bonds from the end of the minute book, which takes us up to 1790.

"I, James Fergusson, shoemaker in Lochmaben, do hereby enact myself in the Burgh Court Books of Lochmaben and bind and oblige me as cautioner and surety with and for Margaret Johnstone in Lochmaben, now a Prisoner in the Tolbooth thereof, for the offence of bad behaviour to the Magistrates, that the said Margaret Johnstone shall behave herself soberly, decently and honestly, and also inoffensively either with tongue or hand towards the Magistrates of Lochmaben so long as she shall reside in the said Borough or Liberties thereof, under the penalty of Ten Merks Scots for each offence by her against this bond and obligation. Witness my hand at Lochmaben the fifteenth day of March, seventeen hundred and eighty six, before these witnesses, John M'Culloch in Lochmaben and John Maxwell, there. Two words on the eleventh line being scored before signing. James Fergusson. John M'Culloch Witns."

The words scored were "whole inhabitants" but "Magistrates" was substituted, whether because Margaret could not restrain herself against the whole community or because the Magistrates were particularly touchy I do not know. The second runs:

"Lochmaben, 23rd Augt., 1805. I Janet Wilson from Sanquhar, presently in Lochmaben Jail for her having become drunken and using great Violence agt. the

Inhabitants of the said Burgh, do hereby as an attone-ment for my offence already mentioned and also for having expressed obscene language and blasphemous imprecations become bound forthwith to Banish myself from the Jurisdiction of this Burgh in all time coming, with Certification that if I am again found therein that I am to be Publicly Whipped through the Town and that so often as I am so found within the Jurisdiction, and I will also expose myself upon the Cross of the Burgh for such a space as the Magts. may think proper as an Example to other Evildoers in my situation in time coming." Janet Wilson.

The First Census of Annan (1801).

By W. CUTHBERTSON.

The census, or periodical counting of the population, as we now understand it, is of late origin. Before the nineteenth century the estimation of the population of these isles was a matter of guess work, and very rough it was at that. The first systematic and simultaneous enumeration took place in 1801, but, like most attempts, it was unsatisfactory. There was no system of registration under a Registrar-General, and the task in Scotland was entrusted to the parish schoolmasters. The schoolmaster in Annan was Mr Richard Forest, a worthy man, who lived on a small salary and rose to be senior bailie of the burgh. The results of his work are preserved in a manuscript enumeration book, originally belonging to the late Mr James Simpson, agent of the Commercial Bank, and now in the possession of Annan Public Library. It is an interesting document, carefully and legibly written, but shares in the want of accuracy in detail which seems to characterise most things of that age. Much valuable information which we might have expected as to the industrial and social and educational condi-

tion of the town is wanting. Occupations were evidently only inserted as the will moved Mr Forest, and even then in but vague and general terms. There is at the same time a good deal that is interesting regarding the local distribution of names, which was then more constant than it is now. In a small town like Annan the general body of the population remained from age to age much the same. Labour and capital were comparatively stationary. The free trade in names, as in everything else, which has arisen through the revolution of the means of communication, was then undreamt of. A feeling of solidarity, keener than often is the case at the beginning of the twentieth century, existed in communities, in the history and tradition of which each of the inhabitants had a personal and direct interest. Of course in a maritime town there was more likelihood of a floating and migratory body of the population than in an inland burgh or district where the only news of the outer world was brought by the rumbling stage coach and the jolting carrier's cart. Still we may believe that of the population of Annan in 1801 there were many whose names had stood on the roll of the citizens for generations. These are the "old Annan families" which are unhappily fewer and more scattered to-day.

The increase of Annan was, we may imagine, due more to natural processes than to any external cause, and it is not surprising to find that there are many families of the same stock. Irvings and Johnstones there have been doubtless as long as Annan itself has existed. One person in thirteen was at the time of which we are speaking an Irving, and one in fourteen a Johnstone. The head of the Irving clan resided then, as he does now, within the parish, and the best known of the Johnstones were the well-known families of Galabank and Gullielands. The Bells, the Farishes, and the Thomsons held the next place in the list, and were a long way in front of any others. Many names have disappeared in the course of a hundred years, some have grown

in numbers, others diminished, and many new names now figure in the list of Annan's citizens. These things are sufficient of themselves to show the extent to which Annan by its attractions and the circling changes of events has been moved by outside influence.

The table annexed shows the positions held by the names, of which there were 165, which comprised the community.

Irving, 100; Johnstone, 91; Bell, 48; Farish, 46; Thomson, 41; Dickson, 29; Davidson, 23; Forrest, 22; Henderson and Jarden, 21 each; Holiday, 19; Little, 18; Carruthers, Pool, and Richardson, 17 each; Scott, 16; Robison and Currie, 15 each; Young, Beattie, and Shannon, 14 each; Baxter, Wilkin, Rule, and Dalgliesh, 13 each; Hill, 12; Kerr, Smith, Achison, Waugh, Lawson, Jackson, Turner, and Hetherington, 11 each; Ferguson, Ker, Rome, Reid, Brown, and Elliot, 10 each; Walker, Burnet, and Thorburn, 9 each; Patterson, Lockerbie, Moffat, and Foot, 8 each; Lindsay, Claperton, Murray, Mundel, Oliver, Rogerson, and Byres, 7 each; Graham, Black, Ewart, M'Gowan, Williamson, Maltman, Blayloc, Hanna, Kenedy, Houghan, and Conchie, 6 each; Glendinning, Hodson, Beck, Rodic, Hopper, Rae, Hochan, Shaw, Gass, Adamson, Pott, Mendum, Harkness, Wilson, Dawkins, and Morton, 5 each; Palmer, Robertson, Williams, Kay, Davis, Cadenhead, Bryden, and Turnbull, 4 each; Saunderson, Anderson, Haddon, Kinlay, Nelson, Wightman, Craw, Kirkpatrick, Lorimer, Douglas, Paxton, Tennant, and Logan, 3 each; Glencross, M'George, Gowanlock, Farries, Lammas, Birrel, M'Clelland, Todd, Foster, Fisher, Jennings, Greenlaw, Broom, Welsh, Millar, Lawder, Crichton, Carson, Portous, Hope, Tait, and Haning, 2 each; Auldshot, Sutherland, Steel, Martin, Cuthbertson, Mariner, Walton, Wells, Meldrum, Laurie, Hush, Sharp, Weir, Saunders, Cuming, Morison, Patton, Gracie, Hutchison, Renwick, Carlile,

Downie, Dalrymple, Matthews, Parr, Frogget, Coupland, Allan, Atchison, Taylor, Hewit, Menzies, Niblikson, Linton, Pickering, Blake, Weild, Aldengton, Shewall, Telfair, and Garthwaite, 1 each.

Another point worthy of interest is the glimpse, however fleeting and obscure it is, of the lost trades of Annan. There is the weaver, the cotton spinner, the chandler, the cooper, the currier, and the clock-maker, all of whom have disappeared from the locality; some of whom elsewhere as here have been entirely superseded by mechanical contrivances. There is an apparent undue proportion of merchants for the size of the place. This is easily explained because Annan used to be the emporium and exchange for supplying a large district round, and townsmen were accustomed to traffic a good deal in cargos and large quantities of merchandise to meet these wants. No less than 51 are returned as following agriculture. The most of these, we suppose, were engaged in cultivating land which has since fallen into the hands of the builder, or which is still arable or pasturable, and in attending to the pasture of cattle on the common muir, which the poor used to regard as their special preserve. Under the general heading of those employed in manufacture we find 264. The population of the town is returned at 1351, of whom 619 are males and 732 females.

23rd February, 1934.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

The Humble Bee.

By ARTHUR DUNCAN.

Mr A. Duncan, Gilchristland, who has made an extensive study of this subject, gave a very interesting lecture on "The Humble Bee," illustrating his remarks by various specimens which he had brought with him. As the lecture was in general terms with no local application it is not printed here.

The Mansfield Manuscript:

AN OLD EDINBURGH COLLECTION OF SONGS AND BALLADS.

By FRANK MILLER, F.S.A.Scot.

I.

The Mansfield MS.; an important eighteenth century quarto collection of songs and poems which has not hitherto been thoroughly examined, derived its name from the fact that it was long in the possession of Thomas Mansfield, Chartered Accountant, Edinburgh, who died in 1868. Apart from the index, it consists of 319 closely written pages, containing about 200 songs, fragments of songs, versions of Scots ballads, and miscellaneous poems. The pieces are nearly all in the same handwriting; and no information is given as to their sources. A good many of them are not to be found in print.

Robert Chambers, David Laing and C. K. Sharpe had some acquaintance with the volume. Chambers transferred several lyrics from its pages to the collection of songs which he published in 1829. He says, "This song ['Forgive me if I thought your looks '] and the six songs and eight fragments which follow, are from a manuscript collection, made, during the decade of 1770-80, by a lady residing at Edinburgh. I am only permitted to mention that the compiler was an intimate friend of Mrs Catherine [sic] Cockburn, author of the later set of words to the tune of 'The Flowers of the Forest.'"¹ Laing had the use of the MS. whilst engaged upon his Notes for the 1839 edition of *The Scots Musical Museum*. He mentions that it was then "in the possession of Thomas Mansfield, Esq., of Scat-

¹ *The Scottish Songs*, Vol. II., p. 659. The following are the complete songs that were taken by Chambers from the MS.: "Forgive me if I thought your looks," "Have you any laws to mend?" (by Mrs Cockburn), "Dear and a-waly, hinnie," "Lord Binning," "There's a lad in this town has a fancy for me," "The Mason Laddie," and "Gala Water" ("Out ower yon moss, out ower yon muir").

well,"² and, quoting Chambers loosely, informs us that it was "written about the year 1780, 'by a Lady residing in Edinburgh, and an intimate friend of Mrs Cockburn.'"³ Sharpe, writing in 1839 at latest, describes the volume as "a 4to collection of songs in MS. made by a lady upwards of seventy years ago."⁴ The collection as a whole cannot have been formed quite so early as Sharpe supposed, for it includes "Auld Robin Gray," a song composed "soon after the close of the year 1771."⁵

For a long period the Manuscript could not be traced. Henley and Henderson made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to discover its whereabouts, and in their edition of Burns they referred to "the (vanished) Mansfield MS."⁶ When the Centenary Edition of Burns appeared, the quarto was at Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, in the possession of the representatives of Thomas Mansfield. At the sale of Mr Mansfield's library in Dowell's auction rooms on March 20, 1900, it was purchased by Mr William Macmath, Professor Child's gifted helper in the compilation of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.⁷ After the death of Mr Macmath, in January, 1922, the volume was acquired by the late Mr E. A. Hornel, and was placed by him in his great library at Kirkcudbright. A good many years ago

² *The Scottish Musical Museum*, 1839, Vol. VI. Additional Illustrations, p. 529. I am informed by Mr David M'Jarrow, Town Clerk of Lockerbie, that Mansfield was for ten years (1837-1847) the proprietor of Scatwell, an estate in Ross-shire, now owned by Sir William Coats Cross, Bart. Pasted on a blank leaf in the volume is an undated note by David Laing: "Quarto Manuscript Collection of Songs returned with the best thanks and compliments of D. Laing, Signet Library. Thomas Mansfield, Esq."

³ *The Scottish Musical Museum*, 1839, Vol. IV., p. 402.*

⁴ *The Scottish Musical Musuem*, 1839, Vol. VI., p. 526.

⁵ Letter from Lady Anne Barnard to Scott, dated July 8, 1823, in *Auld Robin Gray; a Ballad*, Bannatyne Club, 1825.

⁶ *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, Centenary Edition, Vol. III., p. 449.

⁷ The MS. is entered in Dowell's Catalogue of Mansfield's Library as "Item 525, Manuscript Collection of Songs (4to), hf. bd."

Mr Hornel kindly lent me the MS. for examination at my leisure, and gave me cordial permission to print extracts from it. The copies of texts which I have made for our *Transactions* are all exact. I have reproduced peculiarities of spelling, etc., and have left the pieces unpunctuated, as in the originals.

Probably the compiler of the volume was a lady named Elizabeth (or Bess) St. Clair. A stanza added to one of the songs is written upon an inserted slip of paper which originally formed part of the outside of a letter addressed to :

Miss St C /
at / (torn off here).

Mr Macmath inferred from this circumstance that the collection was made by a Miss St. Clair, and I find that Mrs Alison Cockburn had an intimate friend of that name—Elizabeth St. Clair, daughter of Charles St. Clair of Herdmanston, advocate, Edinburgh. “Bess” married Lieut. Col. James Dalrymple, third son of Sir James Dalrymple, Bart., of Hailes, in 1773, and died in 1811, at the age of 73. There are references to her and her relations in some of Mrs Cockburn’s lively epistles, and a Mansfield MS. poem on a Ridotto in Holyrood House, at which James, sixth Duke of Hamilton (died 1758), and his beautiful wife, Elizabeth Gunning, were present, contains these lines :

“Bess St Clair was there so charming & gay
As red as the morning & bright as the day.”⁸

I do not know when Mansfield became the owner of Elizabeth St. Clair’s collection. He appears to have been related to her husband, through his mother, Marion Dalrymple or Mansfield, third daughter of General Robert Dalrymple (afterwards Horn Elphinstone),⁹ and he died at Herdmanston.

⁸ MS., p. 200.

⁹ A compliment is paid to General Dalrymple (then Colonel Dalrymple) and his wife in a song by Mrs Cockburn embraced in the MS.:

“To the jolly Coll. and his spouse
Pray see a health go round,
For such a pair in any house
Is seldom to be found.”

II.

Among the numerous songs contained in the MS. are the two well-known versions of "The Flowers of the Forest"; "Adieu, ye streams that smoothly glide";¹⁰ "Saw ye Johnny coming quo' she?";¹¹ "The Mariner's Wife" ("There's nae luck about the house"); "Kind Robin lo'es me"; "O what can the matter be?"; and "There was a wee wife as I hear tell," a somewhat indecorous piece which doubtless suggested the well-known humorous song, "The Wee Wifukie."¹²

The Mansfield edition of "The Mariner's Wife" is probably older than the version known to Burns. It does not include the two lines which he pronounced to be "worthy of the first poet":

"The present moment is our ain,
The neist we never saw."

These lines occur in a stanza which, according to Mickle's biographer, the Rev. John Sim, was inserted in the song by Dr. James Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*.

The following is "The Mariner's Wife," as given (without a title) in the Mansfield Manuscript:

- 1 An is too sure the news is true an is too sure he's weel
Is this a time to speak o' wark ye jades lay by yr wheel
Is this a time to think o' thrift when Colins at the door
Reach down my cloak Ill to the key & see him safe ashore
For theres nae luck abt the house theres nae luck *ava*
Theres little pleasure in the house when my goodmans awa
- 2 Reach down to me my Bigonets my Bishop sattin gown
For I maun tell the Baillies wife that Colins in the town
My Turkey slippers shall gang on he sent them hame bren new
And a' to please our goodman for he's baith leal & true
For there's nae &c

¹⁰ Generally attributed to Anne Home (Mrs John Hunter), whose poems Dr Gregory recommended to Burns for imitation.

¹¹ As given in the MS., but not as printed by Herd, this song has an indelicate touch in the closing line.

¹² The last verse of the old "Wee Wife" runs thus:

When the wife went hame the night it was dark

The Dogie did nae see her & it begude to bark

The Dog begude to bark & the wife to flee

I was sure quo' the auld wife this is no me.—MS., p. 26.

- 3 Make haste sweep in the fireside put on the muckle pot
Gie little Kate her Cotten gown & jock his sundays coat
And make their shoes as Black as slaes, their Hose as white as
snaw
And a' to please our goodman for he's been lang awa
For there's nae &c
- 4 There is twa Hens up in the Bauks been fed this month & mair
Make haste & thraw their necks abt, that Colin well may fare
And let the Table be set out & see that it be braw
And a' to please our goodman for he's been lang awa
For there's nae &c
- 5 His skin is soft, his een are bright his breath like calour air
His very feet there's musick in when he comes up the stair
And will I see his bonny face & will I hear him speak
Im downright giddy wi' the thoughts in troth Im like to
greet
For there's nae &c¹³

As Elizabeth St. Clair's set of "Kind Robin lo'es me," a song that was very popular in the later eighteenth century, differs materially from the one preserved in Herd's Collection,¹⁴ I have transcribed it for our *Transactions*.

- 1 Heigh hey Robin quo' she
Heigh hey Robin now
Heigh hey Robin quo' she
Kind Robin lo'es me
Robin is my ain Dear Joe
Robin kens the way to woe [woo]
And to his suit I mean to bow
For Robin says he loes me
- 2 Heigh hey &c
My sister Mally says to me
That Robins love a jest wad be
And that I far o'er late wad see
That Robin Didnae loe me

¹³ MS., p. 282. The two copies of the song which were found among the papers of W. J. Mickle contain an additional verse:

"If Colin's weel, and weel content,
I hae nae mair to crave,
And gin I live to mak him sae
I'm blest aboon the lave."

¹⁴ See *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, 1776*, Vol. I., p. 311. In Herd's version the song begins, "Robin is my only joe."

- 3 Heigh hey &c
 But little ken'd she what had been
 My ain kind Rob & me between
 When walking late upon the green
 Where first he said he lo'ed me
- 4 Heigh hey &c
 She talks of Ribbons talks of rings
 She talks of gloves & kissing strings
 And mony other costly things
 And says they're signs wha loes us
- 5 Heigh hey &c
 But I'd prefer a kiss of Rob
 To gifts as lang's a plaiden wab
 Or flanders lace to make a mob
 For well I ken he loes me
- 6 Heigh hey &c
 O happy happy was the shower
 That drave me to the Birken Bower
 Where first of love I felt the power
 And heard that Robin lo'ed me
- 7 Heigh hey
 Robin's o'er the water gane
 On Saturday he will be hame
 On Sunday we'll gie up our name
 And on Monday we'll be married.¹⁵

“O, what can the matter be?” is given in a simple form. Stenhouse says that Johnson drew the version which he printed in the fifth volume of his great collection “from a single sheet, published by Messrs Stewart & Co., music-sellers, South Bridge, Edinburgh,” and that the song “appears to be an Anglo-Scottish production, not many years anterior to the publication of the Museum.”¹⁶ John Glen affirms that “The words and music are not much earlier than the Museum, 1797; at most a few years.”¹⁷ But the fact that the song has a place in the Mansfield MS. shows that it was in existence (though probably not in the shape known to Stenhouse) many years before 1797.

¹⁵ MS., pp. 48-9.

¹⁶ *Illustrations*, p. 434.

¹⁷ *Early Scottish Melodies*, 1900, p. 212.

- 1 O what can the matter me
And what can the matter be
O what can the matter be
Johnny bydes lang at the fair
- 2 He'll buy me a twopenny whistle
He'll buy me a threepenny fair
He'll buy me a Bunch o' Blue Ribbons
To tye up my bonny Broun Hair
- 3 O saw ye him coming
And saw ye him coming
O saw ye him coming
Hame frae the Newcastle fair¹⁸

Miss St. Clair did not despise even small fragments of songs. The three scraps which follow are not without interest.

1

Hey my Eppy & How my Eppy
And Hey Eppy my Eppy I tru
And Hey my Eppy & How my Eppy
And Hey my Eppy my Eppy I tru
The water was muckle the Boat wadna row
The water was &c
The water was &c
And I cannae win hame to my Eppy I tru^{18a}

Tune the Ruffians Rant

1

Will ye go wi' me Lassie
Will ye go wi' me Lassie
Will ye go into the Bass
The Solan goose to see Lassie
I winnae gae into the Bass
Nor yet into the Law Laddie
But I will gae into Craigleith
The bonniest Rock of a' Laddie¹⁹

Tune Highland Laddie

Where hae ye been a day
Bonny Laddie Highland Laddie
Up the Bank & down the brae
Seeking Maggy seeking Maggie

¹⁸ MS., pp. 41, 42. Newcastle is not mentioned in the later version of the song.

^{18a} MS., p. 104.

¹⁹ MS., p. 133.

Where hae ye been a day
 Bonny Laddie Highland Laddie
 Down the back o' Bells Wynd
 Courting Maggie courting Maggy²⁰

But the most interesting of the Mansfield song texts are "O tell me how to woo thee" ("If doughty deeds my lady please"), a lyric printed by Scott, in a slightly different form, nearly a quarter of a century after the Manuscript was compiled, and versions of a few of the old songs in the Scottish dialect which Burns revised, or from which he drew hints. Excepting "Gala Water" and "The deuks dang o'er my daddie," two of the pieces which specially claim the attention of readers of Burns, these texts have not hitherto been published, the few writers who had access to the Mansfield volume having overlooked them on its crowded pages, or failed to recognise their value to the serious student of Scottish verse. Chambers, indeed, includes in his *Scottish Songs* a copy of "O tell me how to woo thee," but the text he gives is word for word that of Sir Walter, and in a note appended to the verses he states that he took them "from the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, 1801" [*sic*].²¹

Scott's version of the song first appeared in the second volume of the original edition of his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. It is there prefaced by these words, "The following verses are taken down from recitation, and are averred to be of the age of Charles I."²² In the third, fourth, and fifth editions of the *Minstrelsy* the verses are thus introduced, "Since their publication in the first edition of this work, the Editor has been informed that they were composed by the late Mr Graham of Gartmore." In the

²⁰ MS., p. 137. The last four lines (with a slight change) are quoted in a note which Cromek says was written by Burns in an interleaved copy of the first four volumes of the *Museum*, but which seems to be spurious (see Dick's *Notes on Scottish Song by Robert Burns*, 1908, p. 123). Bell's Wynd is an alley in Edinburgh.

²¹ *Scottish Songs*, Vol. I., p. 122.

²² *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Kelso, 1802, Vol. II., p. 304.

posthumous edition with notes by Lockhart (1833) the word "informed" is displaced by the stronger word "assured."²³ Neither Scott nor Lockhart indicates the source of the information which led to the ascription of the stanzas to Graham. T. F. Henderson, in his edition of the *Border Minstrelsy*, writes: "Scott may have learned from Graham himself that he was the author";²⁴ but as the old laird died on December 4, 1797, about five years before the publication of the first edition of the *Minstrelsy* (where the lyric is assigned to the seventeenth century), he could not himself have been Sir Walter's informant. Certainly Robert Graham of Gartmore was what Burns calls "a poet at times," and some member of his family may have informed Scott that "O tell me how to woo thee" was one of the versatile laird's productions. Gartmore's descendant, Mr R. B. Cunninghame Graham, says that probably enough the verses were composed between 1780 and 1790,²⁵ but the discovery here recorded of a copy in the Mansfield MS. proves that they were in existence before 1780. Possibly the first draft was written by Graham early in the seventeenth century, soon after his return from Jamaica, where he had long resided. John Ross, the Aberdeen composer, printed the song in *A Select Collection of Ancient and Modern Scottish Airs*, a work conjecturally dated 1795 in the British Museum Music Catalogue. There is practically no difference between his copy and the one given in the *Minstrelsy*. Curiously enough, he states in the heading of the piece that it was "written by Mr Richardson," and in the table of contents, that it was "written by Jeffreys." I assume that when the *Select Collection* was published the writer whose name is prefixed by "Mr" was still living. By "Mr Richardson," Ross may have meant Graham's friend,

²³ *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, Vol. III., p. 315.

²⁴ *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 1902, Vol. III., p. 384.

²⁵ See Mr Cunninghame Graham's *Doughty Deeds*. 1925. p. 119.

William Richardson, Professor of Humanity at Glasgow University (died 1814), and by "Jeffreys," George Jeffreys (died 1755). I do not find the lyric among the published writings of either versifier, and indeed the fact that Ross ascribes it to two different authors renders his testimony valueless.

The copy of "O tell me how to woo thee" in the Manuscript is not in Miss St. Clair's own handwriting but in that of some other lady. It is headed "An Old Scots Ballad," and it has marks to indicate that a stanza—the third—is missing. The person who recited the amended version to the editor of the *Minstrelsy* probably considered the verses ancient, and Sir Walter told Lockhart that at first he believed them to have been the composition of the great Marquis of Montrose.²⁶

AN OLD SCOTS BALLAD

[MS., pp. 297-9]

CHORUS

Tell me how to woo my Love
 O tell me how to woo thee
 For thy dear sake, nae ease I'll take
 If ne'er anither trow me.

1. If doughty deeds my Lady please
 Right soon I'll mount my Steed
 & strong's his Arm, & fast his Seat
 That bears frae me the Meid:
 Thy Colours in my Cap I'll wear
 Thy Picture in my Heart
 & he that bends not to thine Eye
 Shall rue it to his smart

Chor: Tell me how to woo my Love &c

2. If saftest notes can win thine Ear,
 These Notes I'll try to snatch
 Thy Voice I'll steal to court thy sell
 That Voice that nane can catch.

²⁶ *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, Vol. III., p. 315.

If courtly Garb delight thine Eye,
 I'll cleid me in array
 I'll tend thy chamber a the night
 & squire thee a the day.

Chor: Tell me &c

3 * * * * *

4 But if true Love thy Heart can win
 I never broke a Vow—
 Nae Maiden lays her Skaith to me
 I never loved but you
 For you alane I ran the ring
 For you I wore the blue
 For you alane I try to sing
 O tell me how to woo.

Chor: Tell me how to woo my Love &c

III.

The songs of special interest to students of Burns which have not hitherto been extracted from the Mansfield MS. are: "Open the Door, some pity to show"; "Jenny's a' wet, poor Body"; "My Daddy forbade, my Minny forbade"; "Here's to the Dance of Dysart"; "Ca' the Ewes to the Knows"; and the Jacobite lay, "O now I'm in the Low Countrie."²⁷

A version of "Open the Door" was printed by George Thomson in his *Scottish Airs*, where it is described as a song "altered for this work by Burns."²⁸ According to Henley

²⁷ In addition to these texts, there is a verse from "Green grow the rashes":

Green grows the Rashes
 Green grows the Rashes
 A feather bed is no sae saft
 As a bed among the Rashes

This fragment differs but slightly from the first verse of David Herd's copy of the original song (see his *Scottish Songs*, ed. 1776, Vol. II., p. 224).

²⁸ *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, Vol. I., p. 21.

and Henderson, "It is doubtful how far Burns is indebted to an original; for none has ever been found."²⁹ There *was* an original—a lyric included in the Mansfield MS. and afterwards printed in *The Musical Miscellany*, Perth, 1786, and elsewhere. As given by Miss St. Clair, the song is entirely in standard English, and her copy is almost identical with the one preserved in the Perth volume.

- 1 Open the Door some pity to show
Its open the Door to me oh
Tho you have been false Ill always prove true
So open the Door to me oh
- 2 Cold is the Blast upon my pale cheek
But Colder your Love to me oh
Tho you have been false Ill always prove true
So open the Door to me oh
- 3 She opend the Door she opend it wide
She saw his pale Corps on the Ground oh
My true Love she cried then fell down by his side
Never never to rise again oh³⁰

Burns added to the song a verse containing two singularly beautiful lines:

"The wan Moon is setting behind the white wave,
And Time is setting with me, oh."

Quoting these lines, Mr W. B. Yeats says: "There are no lines with more melancholy beauty."³¹ They have indeed what Matthew Arnold calls the "sheer, inimitable Celtic note."

"Jenny's a' wet, poor Body," or some fragment very like it, doubtless suggested Burns's charming song, "Comin' thro' the Rye, poor body." In the Mansfield MS. the magical line, "Comin' thro' the rye," does not occur, its place being occupied by the commonplace words, "Coming frae the Kye."

²⁹ *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, Centenary Edition, Vol. III., p. 450.

³⁰ MS., pp. 313-14.

³¹ *Ideas of Good and Evil*, p. 241.

Tune—The Millers daughter

Jennys a' wet, poor Body
 Coming frae the Kye
 Jennys a' wet, poor Body
 Coming frae the Kye
 She draggled a' her petticoat
 She draggled a' her petticoat
 She draggled a' her petticoat
 And Jennys never dry³²

Stenhouse states that the song in the *Museum* called "Jumpin' John" ("Her Daddie forbad, her Minnie forbad") was "communicated by Burns," and that it "is a fragment of the old humorous ballad, with some verbal corrections."³³ Kirkpatrick Sharpe gives the following verse as "Burns's ground-work":

"Her daddy forbad, her minnie forbad,
 Forbidden she wadna be—
 The lang lad they ca' Jumpin' John
 Beguil'd our bonnie Bessie."³⁴

The Mansfield Manuscript has four lines evidently taken from some version of the "old humorous ballad" which differed widely from the version represented by Sharpe's fragment:

1

My Daddy forbade my Minny forbade
 Forbidden I wadnae be
 For lang Sandie the Sodger Laddie
 Has stowen my heart frae me.³⁵

"Here's to the Dance of Dysart" seems to be the original of "Hey, Ca' Thro'" ("Up wi' the carls of

³² MS., p. 36.

³³ *The Scottish Musical Museum*, ed. 1839, Vol. II., Illustrations, p. 129.

³⁴ *The Scottish Musical Museum*, ed. 1839, Vol. II., Illustrations, p. 206.*

³⁵ MS., p. 111.

Dysart ”), an unsigned piece in the *Scots Musical Museum*, which, according to Stenhouse, was received from Burns. Henley and Henderson conjectured that the *Museum* verses were based on some rhymes on the Fife coast towns, picked up by Burns in Edinburgh; but not having had access to the Mansfield MS., where alone “ Here’s to the Dance of Dysart ” could have been found, they had no acquaintance with the original song.

Tune—Auld Sir Symon the King

- 1 Heres to the Dance of Dysart
And the comers of Largo
And the brides of Buckhaven
And the Gossips of Leven
Hey ca’ through ca through
For we have muckle to do
And Hey ca’ through ca’ through
For we have muckle to do
- 2 And Johnnie Geordy rose
And he put on his clothes
When he bang’d up his trumps
The Lasses came in by the Lumps
And Hey ca’ &c
- 3 And they had muches & rails
And aprons wi’ peacock Tails
And a sic Busks sae bonny
Come dance wi’ our son Johnnie
And Hey &c
- 4 Maggie she kiss’d the piper
There could naeboddy wyte her
She had nae siller I tru
But she gae kisses anow
And Hey &c
- 5 We have sheets to shape
And we have Beds to make
And we have corn to shear
And we have Bairns to bear
And Hey &c.³⁶

³⁶ MS., pp. 106-7.

The version of "Ca' the Yowes to the Knowes" preserved in the Manuscript differs materially from the one taken down by Stephen Clarke from the singing of John Clunie, minister of Ewes, Dumfriesshire, and altered, with less than his usual skill, by Burns.

- 1 Ca' the Ewes to the Knows
Ca' them where the heather grow[s]
Ca' them up & upper mair
My bonny Dearie
- 2 Ye's get a maid baith stout & stark
To milk ye're kye & work your wark
And I will kiss you i' the dark
My bonny Dearie
- 3 Ca' the Ewes &c
- 4 Dear kind sir ye're sair to blame
Ye mak me think a Deal o' shame
Your flattering words I do disdain
I donnae like to hear ye
- 5 Ca' the Ewes &c ³⁷

Stenhouse declares that "The Highland Widow's Lament" ("Oh! I am come to the low countrie"), a Jacobite song which Johnson published in the fifth volume of his collection, "was *wholly* composed by Burns for the *Museum*, unless we except the exclamation: *Ochon, ochon, ochrie*,"³⁸ and Scott Douglas asserts that "this pathetic ballad is altogether the work of Burns."³⁹ The fact that the song has a place in the Mansfield quarto shows that these statements are erroneous. But though the "pathetic ballad" was not composed by Burns it underwent some revision at his hands.

³⁷ MS., p. 105. Stenhouse gives what he calls "the old verses" (presumably those sung by Clunie) in his *Illustrations*, p. 248.

³⁸ *Scottish Musical Museum*, ed. 1839, Vol. V., Illustrations, p. 436.

³⁹ *The Works of Robert Burns*, Vol. III., p. 192.

- 1 O now Im in the low countrie
oh ho oh hono hie
And ne'er a penny in my purse
To buy a meal to me
O ho Donald o, oh oh hono hie
Nae woman in the warld wide
Was happier than me
- 2 There I had a score o' kye
Oh &c
Feeding in a Glen near bye
And gieing milk to me
O ho Donald &c
- 3 There I had baith Lambs & Ewes
Feeding in yon bonny knows
And casting plaids to me
O ho Donald &c
- 4 I was the proudest o' a' our Clan
Sair sair may I repine
And Donald was the bravest man
And Donald he was mine
O ho Donald &c
- 5 But Charles Stewart when ye came
Sae far far to set us free
My Donalds arm was wanted then
For Scotland & for thee
O ho Donald &c
- 6 I need nae tell our waefu' fate
Right to the wrong did yield
Alas it was nae Donals wyte
He died upon the field
O ho Donald o, oh oh hono hie
Nae woman in the warld wide
Was happier than me⁴⁰

IV.

Prior to 1910, when a few stanzas taken from a version of "The Lochmaben Harper" in the Mansfield MS. were published by the present writer in his *Poets of Dumfriesshire*, the Manuscript was supposed by those who had not seen it to contain songs only. But it embraces poetical pieces of different kinds. Among its contents are no fewer

⁴⁰ MS., pp. 188-9.

than a score of popular ballads and fragments of popular ballads. The mere fact that they were written down not later than 1780—a date further back than any to which the majority of Scottish ballad manuscripts can be assigned—makes them valuable. If Mr Macmath had been in possession of the Mansfield MS. a few years earlier, Professor Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* would doubtless have been enriched with several additional texts. I subjoin a list of the popular ballads in the Manuscript, prepared by Mr Macmath. They have no titles in the volume.

- Richie Story "Richard Saunders," 2 stanzas.
 The Fair Flower of Northumberland, 15 stanzas, unprinted.
 Babylon, or, The B. Banks of Fordie, 23 stanzas, unprinted.
 The Grey Cock, 4 stanzas, almost same as already in print.
 Bonny Lizie Baillie, 9 stanzas.
 Willie Drowned in Yarrow, 7 stanzas, not printed in this form.
 The Gypsie Laddie, 11 stanzas, little if anything unprinted.
 The Twa Sisters. 22 stanzas, some unprinted.
 Young Beichan, 19 stanzas. A mixture of Johny Scott.
 Lord Thomas & Fair Annet, 28 stanzas.
 Nearly same as Child's A.
 Sir Patrick Spens, 8 stanzas. Practically Child's D.
 The Lochmaben Harper, 21 stanzas, unprinted.
 Addition to story.
 Thomas O Linn.
 Johny Armstrong, 18 stanzas. From print.
 Para Mara (Riddles), 10 stanzas.
 The Laidley Worm, 39 stanzas.
 Tam Lin, 7 stanzas, some unprinted.
 The Wee Wee Man, 8 stanzas.
 The Laidley Worm, 38 stanzas.
 The Wife Wrapt in Wether Skin, 8 stanzas.

The second piece on this list is a vulgar Scottish version of a widely circulated ballad of the English Border which can be traced back to the last decade of the sixteenth century.

"The Laidley Worm," a Northumbrian ballad (almost entirely modern), of which some variants were in circulation in the sixties and seventies of the eighteenth century, appears in two forms. One of these forms is almost identical with a set communicated by the Rev. Robert Lambe of Norham to William Hutchinson, and printed, though not

for the first time, in that writer's *View of Northumberland*, 1778, Vol. II., pp. 162-64.

Most of the ballad versions which I have selected for our *Transactions* are still unprinted, or have been printed in part only. "Sir Patrick Spens" and a fragment of "Bonny Lizie Baillie" were used by Professor Child; but it will be observed that he got them indirectly, and did not know that they came originally from the lost Mansfield Manuscript.

BABYLON, OR, THE BONNIE BANKS OF FORDIE.

MS., pp. 37-41.

Unprinted. To save space, I have omitted in the second verse, and in each of the verses which follow it, the second line (contracted in the MS. to "Annet &c"), and the fourth line (contracted to "And the &c").

- 1 There lived three Ladys in a Bower
Annet & Margret & Margerie
And they went forth for to pou a flower
And the dew lies on the wood gay ladie
- 2 They hadnae pou'd a flower but one
Till up there started a banish'd man
- 3 He took fair Annet by the hand
He turn'd her about and he bade her stand
- 4 Its will ye be call'd a Banishd mans wife
Or will ye be sticked by my penknife
- 5 I winnae be call'd a Banish'd mans wife
Ill rather be sticked by your penknife
- 6 O He's ta'en out his little penknife
And frae fair Annet he's ta'en the life
- 7 He's taen fair Margret by the hand
He's turn'd her about and he bade her stand
- 8 Its will ye be call'd a banishd man's wife
Or will ye be sticked by my penknife
- 9 I winnae be call'd a banishd mans wife
I'd rather be sticked by your penknife
- 10 O he's ta'en out his little penknife
And frae this fair Lady he's ta'en the life
- 11 He's ta'en the youngest by the hand
He's turn'd her about & he bade her stand

- 12 Its will ye be call'd a Banish'd man's wife
Or will ye be sticked by my penknife
- 13 I winnae be call'd a Banish'd mans wife
Nor will I be sticked by your penknife
- 14 If my three Brothers were at hame
I had nae seen my sisters lie slain
- 15 And what are your three Bretheren
That they wadnae seen their sisters lie slain
- 16 The Eldest o' them was a preacher fine
And mony a braw word he spoke in his time
- 17 The second o' them was the King of Spain
And the youngest o' them was a Banish'd man
- 18 Woe to the day that I came here
For I have kill'd my sisters Dear
- 19 He's ta'en out his little penknife
And he has ta'en his ain sweet life
- 20 She howcked a hole fornent the moon
And there she laid fair Annet down
- 21 She howked a hole fornent the Sun
And there she laid her Brother John
- 22 She howked a hole among the sand
And that is a' fair Margrets Land
- 23 She's ta'en out her little penknife
And she has ta'en her ain sweet life

BONNY LIZIE BAILLIE.

MS., pp. 65-67.

Stanzas 1-4¹ were communicated by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe to Johnson's *Museum* (ed. 1839, Vol. V., p. *451), and were taken by Child from the 1853 edition of that work. Being unacquainted with the Mansfield MS. (which had not yet been recovered by Macmath), the Professor could not give the complete ballad version, or add anything to Sharpe's statement that the fragment reprinted came originally from a "MS. copy of some antiquity." Sharpe states that "The heroine of this song was a daughter of Baillie of Castle Carey, and sister, as it is said, to the wife of Macfarlane of Gartartan." Maidment informs us

that the Baillies acquired their estate "at a comparatively recent date," and asserts that the ballad "cannot be older than the commencement of last [the eighteenth] century." (See his *Scottish Ballads and Songs*, 1859, pp. 13, 14.)

- 1 Twas in about the Martimass
When the leaves were fresh & green
Lizy Baillies to Gartartan gane
To see her sister Jean⁴¹
- 2 She was nae in Gartartan
But a little while
When luck & fortune happen'd her
And she gaed to the Isle⁴²
- 3 When she gaed to the bonny Isle
She met wi' Ducan Graham
Sae bravely as he courted her
And he convoyd her hame
- 4 My Bonny Lizy Baillie
Ill row ye in my plaidie
If ye awa wi' me will gang
Ill make ye a highland Ladie
- 5 If I awa wi' you wad gang
Theyd think I was nae wise Sir
For I can neither milk cow nor Ewe
Nor yet can I speak erse Sir
- 6 My bonny Lizy Baillie
Your mither cannae want ye
Let the troaker⁴³ gang his lane

⁴¹ Gartartan is in the south of Perthshire. The second line of the piece is nonsensical, but we may be glad that Miss St. Clair did not attempt to improve the rhymes she gathered.

⁴² Inchmahome, in the Lake of Monteith.

⁴³ A verse in one of Child's copies runs thus:

"My bonny Lizie Baillie
Your minny canna want you;
Sae let the trooper gang his lane,
And carry his ain portmanteau."

Child remarks that this verse "is not intelligible, and may have slipped in from some 'Trooper' ballad." The text I have given removes the obscurity. "Trooper" is a copyist's mistake for "troaker," or troker ("a deceiver, cheat; a rascal, rogue"—O.E.D.).

And carry His ain portmantie

- 7 She's put off the heigh heel'd shoon
 And she's put on the laigh anes
 And she's awa wi Duncan Graham
 To wade among the Brakens
- 8 And she's put of her cork heeld shoon
 Ware made o' gowden leather
 And she's put on the highland Brogues
 To skip among the heather
- 9 Foul fa the Loggerheads
 That Dwell in Castle Caree
 That let awa the bonny bonny Lass
 The highland man to marry

WILLIE DROWNED IN YARROW.

MS., pp. 67-68.

A curious mixture. Four of the verses (1, 3, 4 and 5) occur in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (second edition, 1733, II. 110), and form the well-known ballad called "Willy's rare, and Willy's fair." Verse 6 seems to belong to "The Braes o Yarrow." Scott was acquainted with verse 2, and was inclined to think that it came from some parody on "Willy's rare and Willy's fair" (see Memorandum by him in Sharpe's *Ballad Book*, ed. 1880, p. 151).

- 1 Willys rare & Willies fair
 And Willies wondrous bonny
 And Willie height to marry me
 If e'er he married ony
 And &c
- 2 O Willys to the hunting gane
 He said he wadnae tarry
 He's written a letter back again
 He was o'er young to marry
 He's &c
- 3 Yestreen I made my bed fu' braid
 The night I'll mak it narrow,
 For a' the livelank winter night
 I lie twin'd o' my marrow
 For &c
- 4 O came ye by yon Water side
 Pou'd ye the rose or lilly,
 Or came ye by yon meadow green
 Or saw ye my sweet Willy
 Or &c

- 5 She sought him east she sought him West
 She sought him braid & narrow
 Syne in the cleaving of a craig
 She found him drown'd in Yarrow
 Syne &c
- 6 O yellow yellow was her hair
 It was baith side⁴⁴ & yellow
 She row'd it round his white hause bane
 And she's pou'd him out of Yarrow
 She &c
- 7 And ay she sang & the words they rang
 Come back my bonny Willy
 And ay the tear stood in her e'e
 For the loss of Bonny Willy
 And &c

THE GYPSIE LADDIE.

MS., pp. 148-150.

This copy is interesting, for, though it contains very little unprinted matter, it seems to be the earliest extant Scottish copy in which Lady Cassillis is made the heroine of the ballad.

- 1 The Gypseys came to Lord Cassillis's gate
 And o but the[y] sang sweetly
 The[y] sang sae sweet & sae compleat
 That down came the fair Lady
- 2 She came triping down the stair
 And a' her maids before her
 As soon as they saw her wellfar'd face
 They coost the glamor o'er her
- 3 Gae tak frae me this gay mantell
 And bring to me my plaidie
 For in a' my kin had said & sworn
 I'll away wi' the Gypsy Laddies
- 4 Oft have I ridden this wan water
 And a' my maids beside me
 But now I maun wade & weet my feet
 What ever may betide me

⁴⁴ Long.

- 5 Last night I lay in a well made bed
 And my good Lord beside me
 The night I maun lie in a Tenants Barn
 Whatever may betide me
- 6 Come to your Bed to your ain johnny Faa
 Come to your bed to your Dearie
 For I vow & swear by the hilt of my sword
 Your Lord shall nae mair stir ye
- 7 Ill come to bed to my ain johnny faa
 Ill come to bed to my Dearie
 For I vow & swear by what passd yestreen
 My lord shall ne'er come near me
- 8 Ill make a hap for my Johnny Faa
 Ill make a hap for my Dearie
 And Ill gie him a' the coat gaes round
 For my lord shall nae mair stir me
- 9 When our good Lord came hame at E'en
 He spear'd for his fair Lady
 The taen they cried & the tother replyd
 She's away wi' the Gypsey Laddie
- 10 Gar saddle to me the black black steed
 Gar saddle & mak him ready
 For I will niether eat nor sleep
 Till I see my fair Ladie
- 11 We were fifeteen well made men
 Altho we were nae bonny
 And we were a' put down fair ane
 The Earle o Cassillis Lady

THE TWA SISTERS.

MS., pp. 171-176.

The second and fourth lines of the first verse are given in a contracted form in verses 2-21.

- 1 There lived three sisters in a Bower
 Heigh & a gay & a grounding
 There came a knight to court them there
 At the bonny bowes of London
- 2 He courted the Eldest with a knife
 But he loved the youngest as his life
- 3 The Eldest to the youngest said
 Will ye go our fathers ships to see

- 4 But when they came to the seaside
The Eldest she the youngest betray'd
- 5 O set your foot upon yon stone
And reach me up my gay gold ring
- 6 She's set her foot upon yon stone
And she gave her a shoot & she's faen in
- 7 O sister tak me by the hand
And ye's get a my fathers land
- 8 O sister tak me by the glove
And ye'se get William to be your love
- 9 I Will not tak ye by the hand
For I ken Ill be Heir of my fathers land
- 10 I will not tak ye by the glove
For I ken Ill get William to be my love
- 11 O aye she sank & aye she swam
Untill she came to yon Mill Dam
- 12 The millar came out wi' his lang Cleek
He thought to gripe her by the feet
- 13 He could nae gripe her by the feet
Her silken shoes they were sae weet
- 14 He gat her griped by & by
And he laid her on a Dyke to dry
- 15 Her fathers fidler coming by
She spake unto him & did say
- 16 Gie my service to my father King
And likewise to my mother Queen
- 17 Gie my service to my Brother John
And likewise to my true love William
- 18 Gie my service to my sister Ann
And gar burn my sister Alison
- 19 When he to the gates did come
The fiddle began to play its lane
- 20 Gie my service to my father King
And likewise to my mother Queen
- 21 Gie my service to my brother John
And likewise to my true love William
- 22 Gie my service to my sister Ann
Heigh & a gay & a grounding
But gar burn my sister Alison
At the bonny bowes of London

SIR PATRICK SPENS.

MS., pp. 222-3.

This text was communicated by Kirkpatrick Sharpe to William Motherwell; and Professor Child, who was unaware of its original source, took his Text D, which, as Mr Macmath says, is practically the Mansfield version, from the invaluable Motherwell MS. Text D is the only set given in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* in which the famous Sir Andrew Wood figures as captain of the vessel that was lost; but, as Child mentions, David Herd in the first edition of his *Scottish Songs* (1769) makes Wood the hero of the lay.

- 1 The King sits in Dumferling town
Drinking the Blood Red wine O
Where will I get a good skipper
To sail seven ships o mine O
Where will &c
- 2 O up then spake a bra' young man
And a Bra' young man was he O
Sir Andrew Wood is the best skipper
That ever saild the sea O
Sir Andrew &c
- 3 The King has written a Bra' letter
And seald it wi' his hand O
And ordered Sir Andrew Wood
To come at his command O
And ordered &c
- 4 O wha is this or wha is that
Has tald the King o' me O
For had he been a better man
He might ha' tald a lie O
For had he &c
- 5 As I came in by the inch inch inch
I heard an auld man weep O
Sir Andrew Wood & a his men
Are drowned in the deep O
Sir Andrew &c
- 6 O lang lang may yon Ladies stand
Their fans into their hands O
Before they see Sir Andrew Wood
Come sailing to dry land O
Before they &c

- 7 O laith laith were our Scottish lads
 To weet their cork heeld shoon O
 But 'ere that a the play was playd
 They wat their heads aboon O
 But 'ere &c
- 8 Noreeast norewest frae Aberdeen
 Is fifety fathom deep
 And there Lyes good Sir Andrew Wood
 And a' the Scottish fleet O
 And there &c

THE LOCHMABEN HARPER.

MS., pp. 244-8.

Apart from the stanzas given in my *Poets of Dumfriesshire* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1910, pp. 80-1) this early version of a famous ballad of the Western Border has remained unprinted. The selling of the "good English mare" and the "colt foal" is an addition to the story of the Harper as told in about eight versions known to us. Writing to me on June 5, 1909, Mr Macmath said: "My impression is that Professor Child would have held that the selling of the horses was an unauthorised addition to the story proper. . . . No doubt the writing down was earlier than that of any other of our copies, but that is by no means conclusive in its favour. To me it looks like an after-thought of somebody's."

- 1 Heard ye nae tell of a silly blind Harper
 That lived low down in Loch Maiban town
 And he is up through England gane
 To steal King Henrys Wanton Brown
 Sing Hey Don Dilladon Dilladon Dilladon
 Hey Don Delladin Dilladin Doo
 Sing hey Din' Delladin Delladin Dilladin
 Dilladin Dondle Dondle a Dow
- 2 Up bespoke his ain wife Meggy
 I think this thing it never will be
 Unless thou take e'en the good grey yad⁴⁵
 And leave the Colt foal at hame wi' me
 Sing &c

⁴⁵ Mare.

- 3 Take a guede halter now i' thy Hose
And of thy purpose see thou Dinnae fail
Slip it out o'er the wanton Brown's nose
And yank him fast to the Gray Mare's tale
Sing &c
- 4 He is up thro England gane
O e'en as fast as he could hie
Untill he has come to the court
And he's met with the good King Henry
Sing &c
- 5 O come awa thou silly blind Harper
Some o' thy Harping let me hear
Indeed good man quo the silly blind Harper
First I maun ha'e stabling for my mare
Sing &c
- 6 The King has look'd o'er his left shoulder
And he has call'd on his nethermost Groom
Gae take the silly auld Harper's Mare
And tye her up by the Wanton Brown
Sing &c
- 7 O he has Harpet & he has Harpet
Till a' the servants fell on the floor
They drank sae hard at the Beer & the Wine
They forgot the Key of the stable Door
Sing &c
- 8 O he has Harpet & he has Harpet
Till a' the nobles fell fast asleep
When he had Harpet & he had Harpet
Straight into the stable door he did creep
Sing &c
- 9 He has ta'en the Colt Halter out o his Hose
And of his purpose he dinnae fail
He's slippet it o'er the Wanton Brown's nose
And yanket him fast to the Gray Mare's tail
Sing &c
- 10 O he has Hundet them far frae the gate
O'er mony moss myre & hole
The Gray Mare let never the Wanton Brown stint
Till she had him in Scotland at her foal
Sing &c
- 11 They are come in at Langmaben town end
Wi' mony a niegher & trick & sneer

- Rise up Lidder⁴⁶ lass quo' the Harper's wife
 Let in thy Master & the grey mare
 Sing &c
- 12 The Lidder lass then she gat up
 And she looked out at a bore hole
 God be thankd quo' the Lidder lass
 Our mare has got a far better foal
 Sing &c
- 13 Had thy tongue thou Lidder lass
 Its but the moon shines in thine eye
 Ill lay my half years wage to a groat
 Its mair than e'er your foal will be
 Sing &c
- 14 The Harpers wife than she got up
 By this time it was growing day
 And she's wyled in the Wanton Brown
 And gi'en to him baith corn & Hay
 Sing &c
- 15 But the next morn when the grooms got up
 I vow it put a the court in a stear
 King Henrys Wanton Brown was stowen
 Sik like the silly blind Harpers Mare
 Sing &c
- 16 Ever & alake quo' the silly blind Harper
 I wate this skaith I cannae weel thole
 In England to lose a good gray mare
 In Scotland a far better Colt foal
 Sing &c
- 17 But my Blessing light on my wife Maggie
 In Scotland she's a dainty flower⁴⁷
 She learn'd me or I came hither
 To ken my ain mare by the yower
 Sing &c
- 18 Had thy tongue quo' the King to the Harper
 And of thy mourning let me be
 Thou's get a better mare than ever she was
 And a weel paid Colt foal thine shall be
 Sing &c

⁴⁶ Lidder—lazy.

⁴⁷ "Daily flower" in one of the Glenriddell versions of the ballad. Child defines "daily" as "beautiful, charming."

- 19 The Harper has mounted the Wanton Brown
 And sell'd him at Edinr on the Causeway stone
 Sic a Horse was never in Scotland seen
 Except King Jamie on him rides nane
 Sing &c
- 20 O he has sold his good English mare
 And sae has he his ain Colt foal
 Now he's o'ergane wi' goud & gear
 He has far mair money than he can thole
 Sing &c
- 21 The Harper he has a brown Lugged lass
 Theres nae sic a tocher in a our town
 And a' our young lads when they cowl the glass
 They drink to the Health of the Wanton Brown.
 Sing &c

TAM LIN.

MS., pp. 268, 269.

"An unspoiled fragment"—William Macmath.

- 1 O yes I am a Christian knight, & am by woman born
 My father is a high King my Mother a Queen sae Hie
 And I mysell their only son & sae weils the[y] liked me
 My uncle took me out to Hunt a Hawke upon a tree
- 2 A drowsieness did on me come & frae my horse I fell
 The Queen of fairys she came by s^d Tho's will ye wth us Dwell
 The fairy Lands a pleasant Land & pleasant for to Dwell
 But aye at every 7 years end the 10th part goes down to Hell
- 3 The night it is Hallow E'en the morn it is Hallow tide
 And they that wad their true love won at Bells port they
 maun bide
 O some Ride on a Black Lady, & some ride on a Bay
 But I ride on a milk white steed & am aye nearest the way
- 4 O first ye maun let the Black gae by & syne ye maun let
 the Brown
 But when ye see the milk white steed come & pou' yr true
 love down
 O first Ill turn into an ask⁴⁸ & then into an Ether⁴⁹
 But clap me close into yr Breast for I am yr Babys father

⁴⁸ Newt.⁴⁹ Adder.

- 5 O first she let the Black gae by & then she let the Broun
 But when she saw the milk white steed she pu'd her true love
 down
 O first he turnd into an Esk & then into an Ether
 But she clapt him close into her Breast for he was her Babys
 father
- 6 She row's her mantle him about to keep him frae the sun
 And up then spake the Queen of fairys out o' a bush of whins
 O wae worth ye ill woman & an ill dead may ye die
 For ye had plenty of lovers at hame & I had nane but he
- 7 But had I wisten yesternight before I came frae hame
 I wad have tore out his bonny black ee'n & put in twa o' bane
 O had I wisten yesterday night afore I came away
 I wad have tore out his false fair heart & put in ane o Clay

THE WEE WEE MAN.

MS., pp. 296-7.

Child says: "This extremely airy and sparkling little ballad varies but slightly in the half-dozen known copies." The Mansfield copy has no important variation.

- 1 As I went forth to take a walk
 Between the Water & the Wa'
 There I spied a wee wee Manie
 The wee'est man that e'er I saw
- 2 His legs they were baith thick and short
 Thick & strong baith was his knee
 Between his eyen a fie might gang
 And between his shoulders were inches three
- 3 He lifted up a muckle stane
 And flung it further than I could see
 Had I been a[s] stout as Wallace was
 I cd nae lifted it to my knee
- 4 Wow wee man but ye be strong
 And whar than may your Dwelling be
 Its down ayont yon Bonny Dean
 An ye dinnae trow me come & see
- 5 Up we gat & awa we sped
 Untill we came to yon bonny Dean
 And there we lighted & looked frae us
 And there we spied a Dainty Dame
- 6 Wi' four & twenty waiting on her
 And they were a clad up in green
 Had he been the King o' fair Scotland
 The warst o' them might a been his Queen.

- 7 The Castle was o the good Red Gold
 The Cieling o the Crestal clear
 The board was spread frae east to West
 And there was fouth o' sonsy chear
- 8 The Pipers play'd on ilka Wa'
 The Ladys Danced on ilka stair
 And e'er ye cd a' said what's that
 House & man was a' away

V.

The miscellaneous poems in the volume include accounts of Almanza and other eighteenth century battles; a Court of Session rhyme beginning, "The Bill charged upon was payable at sight";⁵⁰ an Address to John Home congratulating him on the success of *Douglas*; and some humorous verses on the exploits, as a toper, of "Jock Millar, the Justice Clerk's Brother."⁵¹ A piece entitled "A Clergy Mans advice to James Boswell Esqr when he appeared as Counsel for the patron against the Christian people in the cause of St Ninians at the Bar of the General Assembly 1776" has a certain attraction for readers interested in the life of the greatest of British biographers. The case to which it refers is that of David Thomson, who was presented to the Parish of St. Ninians, Stirling, in 1766, and was "admitted (after much litigation and opposition in the Church courts by parishioners, many of whom seceded and built a Relief meeting-house) 29th June, 1773."⁵² I am informed by the Rev. John Campbell, B.D., Librarian of the

⁵⁰ The witty rhyme of which this forms Part I. is given in full in Maidment's *Court of Session Garland* (pp. 64-68), where we are informed that "the *jeu d'esprit* was chiefly written by James Boswell, although Lord Dreghorn is supposed to have had a hand in the composition of it."

⁵¹ The judge referred to is Lord Glenlee. Burns praises him in "The Vision":

"An aged Judge, I saw him rove,
 Dispensing good."

⁵² *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, ed. Crockett and Grant, Vol. IV., p. 315.

Church of Scotland Library, Castlehill, Edinburgh, that the St. Ninians' case was before the Assembly every year from 1766 to 1773, and that Boswell's connection with it apparently began in 1770. Mr Campbell writes: "The case terminated 1773, the Presbytery at last being peremptorily dealt with. There is no mention of the case in the Records of 1776. I looked through them, in case there had been any repercussion of it."⁵³ Evidently the date given in the heading of the poetical address to Boswell is erroneous. Possibly the verses were *copied* in 1776.

- 1 Sure great was the folly
In him whom Paoli
His friendship permitted to share
To go for a Guinea
Dear Boswell what mean ye
To plead at so humble a Bar⁵⁴
- 2 The whole shire of Ayr Sir
Astonishd will stare Sir
And thus will indignant exclaim
Shall he make orations
To aid presentations
And sett a poor parish in flame
- 3 The Lords of the session
Will fall in a passion
And that you knows easily done
While all at Auchinleck⁵⁵ Sir
With hearts like to break Sir
Will call you unnatural son

⁵³ Letter dated 23rd May, 1934, enclosing jottings from the minutes of the General Assembly, at the points where the name of James Boswell occurs. Boswell appeared before the Bar of the Assembly in connection with the case on 29th May, 1770; 28th May, 1771; 27th May, 1772; and 25th May, 1773.

⁵⁴ Boswell despised the Bar of the General Assembly. Writing to Temple on June 3, 1775, he says: "The General Assembly is sitting; and I practise at its bar. There is *de facto* something low and coarse in such employment, though upon paper, it is a *Supreme Judicature*. But guineas must be had."—*Letters of James Boswell*, ed. Tinker, Vol. I., pp. 228-9.

⁵⁵ "Auchinleck" was pronounced Affleck.

- 4 The wicked & Godly
Here jumbled so oddly
Your pleading will join to deride
Saying all that James Boswel
By no means has chose well
Or rather mistaken his side
- 5 This cannot fail to be
A shock to John Stoby⁵⁶
And also your friend Sir John Dick⁵⁷
He gave you great Glory
For Corsica story
But patronage hates like old Nick
- 6 Your grave cousin Claud⁵⁸
When he hears you so loud
His Brows will contract in a rage
G—d d—n me says he
For double the fee
If I would against Christians engage
- 7 You'll Bluster & Hector
Without contradictor
Since all other Lawyers are gone
But softly who knows it
Good honest plain Joseph⁵⁹
With practising here is yet done
- 8 Then Boswel tis clear Sir
You'd better appear Sir
The elders unruly among
Be sure you stick close by
Your good friend St^t Crosby
Or else you'll be Damnably wrong⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Clerk to Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck.

⁵⁷ Sir John Dick, Bart. He is mentioned in Boswell's Will (printed in *Boswelliana*, Grampian Club, 1874).

⁵⁸ Claude James Boswell, afterwards Lord Balmuto. Mary Somerville, in her *Personal Recollections* (p. 55) says: "Lord Balmuto was a large coarse-looking man, with black hair and beetling eyebrows. Though not vulgar, he was passionate, and had a boisterous manner."

⁵⁹ Possibly Joseph Williamson, Senior.

⁶⁰ Andrew Crosbie, a reputed original of Paulus Pleydell in *Guy Mannering*. In the ecclesiastical controversies of the time he took the popular side. His legal acumen was great. In the words of John Mayne:

"Through kittle points he clearly saw,
Though sometimes mellow!"

—*The Siller Gun*, ed. 1836, p. 76.

23rd March, 1934.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Lantern Lecture by Dr. PRINGLE, of the Scottish Museum,
Edinburgh.

[Owing to Dr. Pringle's departure for London this lecture was postponed.]

Notes on the Metamorphosed Rocks Near New-Galloway.

By MAX. LAIDLAW.

On the previous occasion when I had the honour of addressing this Society we discussed Sedimentary Rocks—the Permian Rocks of the Carron Valley. Now I wish to say a little about that section of geological dynamics dealing with the beautiful metamorphic rocks to be found in this locality—near Knocknairling Burn, one to three miles W.N.-W. of New-Galloway; rocks very much different from the “ deposit ” Permian Rocks and of a perhaps even more interesting composition.

First of all I will give you Geikie's definition of metamorphic rocks: “ A metamorphosed rock is one which has suffered the following mineralogical rearrangements of its substance :

- (1) Temperature, from the lowest at which any change is possible up to that of complete fusion;
- (2) Pressure, the potency of the action of heat being, within certain limits, increased with increase of pressure;
- (3) Mechanical movements, which so often have induced molecular rearrangement in rocks;
- (4) Presence of water, usually containing various mineral solutions, whereby chemical changes can be effected which would not be possible in dry heat;

(5) Nature of the materials operated upon, some being much more susceptible of change than others."

Any rock capable of alteration (and all rocks must be so to some degree) will, when subjected to the required conditions, be metamorphosed.

The word "metamorphic" comes from two Greek words: *meta*, denoting change; and *morphē*, form—therefore we may say that metamorphic rocks are rocks that have changed form.

Now, we must ask ourselves, "How could rocks change? Are not rocks, if anything, the most constant of nature's creations?"

But nature is so potent that she could even change rocks thousands of years old.

Let us imagine a sedimentary rock, thousands of years old. There is a tremendous internal upheaval. Molten rock of a very high temperature forces its way from the very centre of the earth to the surface. This intensely hot liquid *must* have, *does* have, an important effect on the cold rock it pushes its way through. Chemical change takes place at the junction of the two—metamorphosed rock is formed.

A metamorphosed rock will, except in extreme, and few, cases, bear witness to the original character of the mass, that is to say, the sedimentary rock.

Now, there are two types of metamorphism, and are distinguished so: (1) thermal metamorphism, due to heat; and (2) dynamic metamorphism, due to stress.

We have not space to discuss the various chemical and mineralogical changes produced in rocks by reaction with the atmosphere and atmospheric waters under superficial conditions. These are in general metasomatic as well as metamorphic changes. Some of the more important of these, such as serpentinisation and dolomitisation, are to be experienced near Girvan and North Queensferry, but not in any great proportion locally. In the rocks under study both thermal and dynamic metamorphism are to be noticed. This makes the problem very complex indeed.

Metamorphic changes are in part mineralogical (in most

cases without any very important metasomatism), in part structural. These two lines of change are so connected that they cannot be considered separately; roughly we may say that mineralogical modifications are the more prominent in thermal metamorphism, and structural rearrangements in dynamic metamorphism.

The sedimentary rock in the district under study is Silurian. It is the sediment of a great ocean, the shores of which were somewhere in that part of Scotland we call the Highlands.

We will pause for a moment and discuss the Silurian rocks, so altered by metamorphism. Stretching for miles to the south and east of New-Galloway is moor upon moor of Galloway bog; in fact the only arable land is that in or near the Ken Valley. The rock of this great area is Silurian, Tarannon, and it stretches roughly from the Nith to the Cree. These Tarannon rocks may be arranged in three divisions: (1) Flags and shales with greywacke bands yielding forms characteristic of the *Monograptus turriculatus* zone; (2) massive (Queensberry grits and greywackes); (3) Hawick rocks or Ardwell beds.

The members of the first two groups stretch from Castle-Douglas to Dalry and New-Galloway, where they lie in synclinal folds, frequently inverted between these successive arches of the Birkhill shales. In the district under discussion we must refer to certain exposures of the Moffat series where the strata, having either not yielded graptolites at all or only indeterminable fragments, their horizon cannot be definitely determined by palæontological evidence. But as they occur within the area of the Tarannon rocks they may with probability be referred to the Birkhill group. One of these may be observed at the side of the road near Barlay, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles E.S.-E. of Balmaclellan. Others may be seen on the Bennan Hill, Knocknairling Burn, and Knocknairling Hill, all in the contact zone. Knocknairling Hill, by the way, lies just half a mile S.-W. of 2nd Cairn.

We must also discuss the granite which has such an important connection with our study to-night.

The granite of Loch Ken has much the same lithological character as that round Cairnsmore of Carsphairn, one of the highest hills in Galloway. The granite of the latter, however, is somewhat finer in grain than that near Loch Ken, which is mostly exceedingly coarse grained, though here and there it shades into bands of pink hornblende-porphry. The rock consists of white and pink orthoclase and plagioclase felspar, quartz, mica, some hornblende, with here and there a little iron pyrites. Over wide areas constant lithological varieties are to be met with, owing to the presence or absence of the respective minerals. Sometimes the quartz, which is usually very abundant, disappears almost entirely, and again the mica often gives place to hornblende.

Thousands of years after the Silurian sedimentary ooze had become rock — this by pressure — there was a great internal disturbance. Granite in molten form pushed its way from the centre of the earth.

As has already been explained, this has caused metamorphism. Along the margin of the granite the spotted schists, a form of metamorphosed rock, pass into perfect mica schists, and in some cases of extreme metamorphism gneiss is to be found. This is at 2nd Cairn.

As is seen in the Silurian beds of our specified area tonight, i.e., beds with ferruginous cement, the ferric oxide and hydrate are reduced to magnetite.

We will now talk about the constituents of our metamorphosed rock caused by thermal metamorphism.

The original rock, as already stated, was an impure sandstone. You must allow me to call the Silurian beds arenaceous, impure sandstone, as we are looking at the subject broadmindedly. This sandstone contains much aluminous and other substances; the product of metamorphism ceases to have any apparent resemblance to a quartzite; silicate of alumina, garnet, mica (micas especially near Waulkmill Farm), etc., may be extensively produced, and the metamorphosed rock assumes the aspect of a fine or even a coarse gneiss. This gneiss is to be seen in large quantities at 2nd

Cairn, N.N.-W. of Waulkmill Farm. Here the chief constituents are quartz, muscovite, a deep brown biotite, and red garnet (colourless in slices), felspar being only subordinate. Garnets, except at the margin of each crystal, are crowded with minute granular intrusions. Nearer to the granite the texture of the rock becomes coarser, and the muscovite and quartz are seen to be crowded with narrow needles of sillimanite up to .01 inch long. The same minerals as before are present, with a few crystals of plagioclase and rarely a little brown turmalite. At a hundred yards from the granite margin the texture is very coarse, the abundant white mica building plates half an inch in length and relatively thick. Dense matted aggregates of sillimanite needles occupy the interior of the quartz and muscovite, leaving the borders of the crystals clear. Some of the most altered rocks show bands or streaks rich in particular minerals, such as lenticular patches of garnet set in clear quartz or streaks composed essentially of muscovite and sillimanite.

Dr. Harker in his book on petrology states that *dark mica* is present in small quantities in such a rock; however, personally I have not been able to perceive any at all. "The New-Galloway sillimanite gneisses," writes Dr. Harker, "closely resemble others which are associated with crystalline schists in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire.

Important.—The sillimanite formed in such rocks in metamorphism of a high grade is probably a bye-product of the conversion of white mica to felspar.

Miss Gardiner in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society (1890) has written a very technical and interesting mineralogical analysis of these rocks.

In a grit containing more magnesian impurities, chlorite, etc., cordierite forms very readily, and in highly metamorphosed sediments gives rise to corierite-gneisses, composed principally of quartz, cordierite and mica. The distinctive mineral forms irregularly rounded grains or knots with many inclusions of quartz-granules and flakes of biotite.

Dynamic Metamorphism at New-Galloway.

The principal changes induced in rocks of various kinds

when subjected to powerful mechanical stress at low or moderate temperatures can be distinguished in two types, namely, equal or "hydrostatic" pressure and shearing stress; and the actual stress at any point within a rock mass can always be resolved into a super-position of these two types. Of the two shearing stress is by far the more important.

At 2nd Cairn the rocks run from east to west and lie roughly at an angle of 45 degrees. On the whole the strata is not badly contorted, although occasionally slight folds and waves may be observed. Two hundred feet north of the cairn a great mass of altered rock protrudes above the peat bog, and presents an excellent example of the treatment the Silurian rocks had at the hands of the molten granite.

20th April, 1934.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Note on Some Old Burgh Houses.

By T. A. HALLIDAY.

Mr Halliday spoke at some length on this subject, and these short notes comprise the gist of his address.

Many of the old houses have disappeared in the writer's day, some notable houses that once were occupied by prominent citizens or by members of the county families.

When Robert Burns resided in the town from 1791 to 1796 it is recorded that Dumfries was a gay and lively town, possessing a Theatre and Assembly Rooms. In the winter season the gentry left their country seats for their "town houses," and indulged in play-going, dancing, and social entertainments.

To-day amongst the newer buildings can be picked out here and there some quaint and dignified houses that attract the eye, indicate a past style of architecture, and invite the observer to speculate as to their age and history. A few of such old houses are here set down at random.

Mechanics' Institute, Nith Place.

Said to be the Town House of the Shambellie family.

Waterloo Place.

Two semi-detached houses, believed to be the Town Houses of the Cowhill and Dalswinton families.

The Girls' Club, Irish Street.

Formerly named "The Old House," and known as the Town House of the Speddoch family.

Premises occupied by the British Legion, Irish Street.

Till recently this was a dwelling-house named "Manoah," and was occupied by the late Mr John Symons, writer, and also by his father.

House, 6 Bank Street, adjoining National Bank.

There is a date, 1738, on the front drop-pipe.

Building, 95 Irish Street, occupies corner situation with Bank Street.

Lately occupied by Messrs Gordon & Moodycliffe, electrical engineers. Inscribed stone in the rear of the house—I.S. S.M.K. 1756.

County Hotel, Plainstones, High Street.

Temporary quarters of "The Pretender" in 1745.

Building, 4 Union Street, occupied by Messrs Hannavy & M'Munn.

Formerly the Council Chambers (prior to 1707), and later "The Rainbow Tavern."

Shop, 183 High Street, occupied by Messrs Wm. Byers & Son.

Said to have been the Town House of the Glenlair family.

48 English Street, owned by Messrs W. Dickie & Son.

On the wall in the rear of this building is inserted a stone bearing the inscription—Rebuilt 1856. H.P.R. 1579.

Sanquhar Kirk Session Records.

By Rev. W. M'MILLAN.

First Minute Book.

In 1911 a minute book containing the record of the proceedings of the Kirk Session of Sanquhar during part of Mr Shiels' ministry, as well as of a few meetings after his decease, came into the hands of Rev. J. R. Wood, then minister of the parish. The book is a small quarto volume bound in vellum, and contains in addition to the Session minutes a Register of Baptisms during part of Mr Shiels' ministry, as well as a Register of Proclamations and of Baptisms, in the time of his successor, Mr Gibsone. The book, which up to then was not known to be in existence, was sold in London at a public auction in the year mentioned. There happened to be a minister of the Church of Scotland present at the sale, and he, knowing the value attached to such an interesting document, purchased it, and thereafter offered it to the Kirk Session at the price which he himself had paid for it. After some little delay it became the property of the Session, the Register of Baptisms, etc., being, however, deposited in the Register House, Edinburgh, in accordance with law.

As will be seen from the pages which follow, the minute book contains much interesting historical information. It is now carefully preserved along with the later records belonging to the Session, and a complete transcript was made by the late Mr Tom Wilson.

The first minute in this old Session book is dated October 4th, 1696, which, it may be noted, was fully three years after Mr Shiels' legal settlement in the parish, so that there would probably be an earlier book relating to his ministry in the preceding three years, not to speak of the records which must have been drawn up, from the earliest days of the Reformed Church in the district. (The Kirk Session Records of St. Andrews, it may be said, actually date from before the Reformation.) From the date of the first meeting (October 4th, 1696) right on to February 1701 the minutes are most regular. The practice was for the Session to appoint its next

meeting before it rose, as is still done in the higher courts of the Church. The usual entry in the Sanquhar records concerning such adjournment is "Next Session yt (that) day 8 days," though sometimes the interval is 15, sometimes 20 days, these figures being equivalent to "this day fortnight" or "this day three weeks." Meetings were always held on the Lord's Day unless for some special reason. Sometimes, but not often, the court found when it met that there was no business to transact; and so we find such entries as: "May 15 1699. Session constituted by Prayer but the elders having no business to represent they adjourn to this day 20 days." "June 2 1700. Session constituted by Prayer. The Session finding no new thing tabled before them adjourns till this day 15 days." Occasionally the holding of the meeting was interfered with by the weather. "Sept 19. 1699. This day being tempestuous and the waters impassable the Session is adjourned to this day 8 days." (At this period there was only one substantial bridge in the parish, viz., Eliock Bridge, which had been completed in 1696. The bridge over the Nith at the washing green was in ruins, and that over Crawick was not built until 1706.)

The first minute bears evidence as to the existence of an earlier record, for it deals with matters in process of trial. It is possible that the earlier record was simply a "scroll," and that the intention was to copy its contents into a permanent record book at a later date. This seems to have been done with the Register of Baptisms, which starts fully three years before the Session Records, though both are found in the same book. The first minute reads as follows: "Oct 4. 1696. After Prayer sat the Minister and the elders. W—— P—— went on with his publict satisfaction for ye 2 diet. Comp(eared) Ja: Lockie and did faithfully promise to send A—— B—— to Crawfordjohn to give obedience to yt session; at least to keep her no longer within the bounds of Clackcleith. Next Session yt day 8 days." After the minute dated February 16th, 1701, the clerk has started to write another one, but only the date is given: "Sess. Mar 2. 1701." And the next entry tells of the death of the minister

about seven years later: "Rev Thomas Shiels Minister of Sanquhar, died 8th Feb 1708."

There are eight entries after this, but one is undated and one refers to 1707. After the death of Mr Shiels the meetings could only be held when there was a visiting minister, and this was not very often. The last dated minute is on "August 7th, 1709." This is followed by one somewhat longer than usual, which is undated, and it closes with the words: "The Session having ye poor's money to distribute, appoints a session tomorrow against eight oclock." Doubtless that meeting was held, but no minute of it remains.

Discipline.

Much of the time of the Kirk Session was taken up dealing with cases of discipline, the most of which referred to breaches of the seventh commandment, though none of them was of a very flagrant nature. They had occasion to deal with parties outside their own jurisdiction, for, as Kirkbride was vacant during the period covered by the first section of the minute book, defaulters from that parish had to (or at least did) appear before the Sanquhar Session. One such had to appear twice by order of the Presbytery, and after her second appearance she "had a certificate yrof under their clerk's hand in order to her reception at Kirkbryd," where she had to make a third appearance.

The members saw that each elder did his duty as was required. On April 18th, 1697, they enacted that the "Roll of ye elders be called at ye beginning of every session after prayer and the absents marked; and excused or censured accordingly at their next sederunt." The minutes which follow this entry show that this was done with regularity for some time afterwards; but on each occasion when a person had been absent he was able to give an excuse which was voted relevant.

While the members appear to have been keen to see that discipline was effectively exercised, there is ample evidence that they were not in any way harsh in dealing with those who came before them. Again and again in the records we find that the convenience of the delinquents was consulted

as to when they would stand their rebuke before the congregation. One person was excused on May 8th, 1698, because he was "at Glasgow for transporting of his familie oute of ye west to Sanqr." On September 8th, 1700, a woman was allowed to wait till harvest was over before "giving satisfaction," she "having engaged herself to shear near to Glasgow to win a fee." She had not returned by December, but her relations reported that "she being unhealthy could not travel till the winter was over." What the final upshot was is not recorded.

On another occasion when a man accused of a sin which he could not deny wished to be married the Session held a special meeting on a week-day, in order that the delinquent should have an opportunity of appearing and making acknowledgment of his transgression before them. This he did, and, as the minute informs us, "his marriage with ——— was allowed to proceed."

There is only one instance of an offender having attempted to defy the Session. W—— J—— appeared before the court in June, 1697, confessed his transgression, and was ordered to make his "publict acknowledgment," his partner in trouble having gone to Ireland. Instead of obeying the Session's behest he went "out of the countrie." Two months later the Session ordered him to appear at the bar of the Presbytery "for not entering to his publict acknowledgment." Even this did not make him obedient, and on September 26th they ordered him to be summoned to the Presbytery for the second time. This brought it home to him that the court was not to be trifled with, and on November 7th he appeared before the Session with "ane earnest desire that he might not be convened before the Presbyterie." The Session agreed to his request, and inflicted no additional penalty despite the trouble he had caused them. The court was careful about the reputation of its own members, and when John M—— in "Craikmiln" spoke "reproachfully of some of the elders" he speedily found that he could not do so with impunity. He confessed on December 31st,

1699, that he "had spoken rashly and unadvisedly in his passion, of some of the elders but had named none of them and expressed that he was heartily sorry for ye same." Apparently John had been accused of more than could be proved against him, for the minute proceeds: "The session not finding sufficient evidence alleadged as to the particular expression thought fit yt he should be sharply rebuked before ye session by ye minister and to be gravely exhorted to speak with greater deference as to any office-bearer of the house of God." Which having been done John was dismissed.

Interesting Cases.

In addition to the type of discipline case already mentioned there were others which came before the court which throw light on the superstitions which still lingered among the people. On June 20th, 1697, two women, Margaret M—— and Margaret G—— confessed that they went to the Dove Loch at the request of Janet A—— in Sanquhar "for a child of hers." From a subsequent minute it appears that Mrs A——'s child was sick, and that the mother had asked these two to go to this loch and leave there a part of the child's clothing in order that the child might be restored to health. The Dove or Dhu Loch was a small sheet of water situated in the parish of Penpont which was much frequented in cases such as this. It is on record that the Rev. James Murray, minister of Penpont, 1693-1735, always debarred from the Communion those who used the water of that loch as a charm against disease. The three women implicated in the Sanquhar case were all publicly rebuked before the congregation.

In some ways a more interesting case was that which came before the Session on April 18th, 1697, which we give in full: "Comp(eared) Margt —— the 3 wives in Craikmilne and Margt B—— and confesses she went about the corps of Margt Philip after she was stretched lying upon the middle of the floor uttering these words ' God be in this house and about it and keep us from the (cvil?) for thou got ony ane ill report in thy life time ' And

confest she had a lighted candle in he hand all the while, but affirmed that Jennet A—— had her go about yt duty and Jenet W—— lighted the candle to her quhich they both confessed but all alleged it was a custom they had seen often practised and never before discharged. The session after serious consideration of the matter find it to be full of ignorance and superstition and a sinfull ceremony to be banished from among Christians now in the clear sun shining of the Gospel as all such heathenish and idolatrous customs (and old wives freets as they call them) ought to be." The Session resolved that the women should be publicly rebuked before the congregation and to "engadg never to do the lick again for the futur and the people to be warned by the minister to hold this and such lik customs in abhorrency in all time coming." Margaret B—— asked that her "satisfaction" should be delayed as she wished to go to Edinburgh, to see a son that "was prest in going to Ireland, to be a soldier for Flanders, and was presently to be shipped at Leeth and some of the elders attesting the truth of her alleageance" the Session delayed the "satisfaction of all the 3 till this day twenty days."

On May 16 Agnes L—— was ordered to be summoned as "suspect of charming." Agnes was sick on the next two occasions on which the Session met, and was excused. Apparently the matter passed out of mind, as there is no further reference to it.

After the death of Mr Shiels there was in August, 1708, a case of a somewhat different kind, when "John B—— taylour in Sanqr (was) suspect of drunkenness on Sabbath the () of July he awakening out of his sleep in the church spake to the minister Mr Gilchrist (minister of Dunscore) in these words 'you are wrong sir.' He said he could not help it it being his ordinar to speak through his sleep but yet he acknowledged his offence and was willing to submit to the session their censure." The Session ordered him to receive a rebuke from an "actuall minister." Supply was then being given at intervals: hence the reason for the last words of the sentence.

This is the only case in which the "pillar" is mentioned. It may simply mean the "cutty stool" or "stool of repentance" which was to be found in most if not in all churches, but it may mean an actual erection in the church. We know that there were places where both "pillar" and "stool" were to be found, the former being used for the more flagrant offenders. The probability is that in this case the "pillar" was an actual erection in the church used as a special place of punishment, for at the same meeting of the court, John I——, who had been drinking with John B—— on the day on which the latter had disturbed public worship, was appointed "one publick rebuke before the congregation." There was, however, no mention of the "pillar" in his case. As his was the less heinous offence, it was evidently considered that a less severe sentence should be inflicted.

In a list of graves in Sanquhar Churchyard drawn up about the middle of the eighteenth century mention is made of the "Queer Pillar." This was the buttress which projected into the churchyard at the point where the nave of the old church joined the "Queer" or chancel. It is possible that the place in the interior called the "pillar" was the corresponding part of the church.

The longest drawn out case in the records was that in which Andrew H—— of G——, Kirkconnel, was implicated. It lasted from November 7th, 1697, to March 13th, 1698. It was taken to the Presbytery, and was finally decided in his favour. In spite of this, however, the Session asked the minister to "exhort him to pray for the sanctified use of yt scandal quhilk had been raised upon him and to take warning therefrom to be circumspect and wary in his conversation in all times coming." Evidently the Session regarded the Presbytery's acquittal as a verdict of "Not Proven" rather than one of "Not Guilty."

Sabbath Breaking.

As has been said in a former paper, the Session for some time appointed searchers each Lord's Day. The duty

of these searchers was to see that the day of rest was being observed as it should be; and from the reports which were duly made it would appear that Sabbath breaking was not very rife in the burgh. The searchers were instructed to search "ye toun" only.

The first appointment was made on February 28th, 1697, and it was not until May 2nd that any delinquents are named. On that day it was reported that Margaret W—— and Jean H—— had been found at home in "time of sermon," and two boys being "each above twelve years of age" had been found walking "idle up and down the street." The two females were summoned to the next meeting of Session and the two boys referred to the "magistrates for civil correctioun." Next Sunday Margaret appeared, but was excused "in respect that one of ye toun elders reported she was very sick upon Satturday at night." Her companion had to be summoned three times before she would appear, but when she did so "she promised to keep the kirk better in all time comeing and she being but a Lass of 11 or 12 years of age the session thought fit that she should be rebuked before them (instead of before the congregation) quhilk was accordingly done and she dismiss." The boys seem to have been more strictly dealt with; for Provost Hunter reported that the magistrates had threatened them (and one of them was a Bailie's son) with imprisonment; and that the boys had found bail to be orderly in all time coming.

Another delinquent, Janet H——, who had cut "4 or 5 stocks of kaill last Sabbath to their pott all the family except she and the young bairns being at the Kirk" was by a "plurality of vots" ordered to be rebuked before the Session, "she engadging never to do the like again."

In another case, in which John M—— and Jennet M——, his sister-in-law, were charged with Sabbath breaking, by "strikeing one anoyr and scolding upon anoyr . . . after Sermon," the man explained that Jennet had come to his house craving "him for some money upon ye Lord's Day and upbraiding him within his own

hous he shott her to ye door by ye shoulder." John was dismissed, but Jennet was publicly rebuked. It was not long until she was again in trouble, having to appear on two subsequent occasions; and the minutes come to an end before her last case had met a final settlement.

Another case concerned three young persons, whose names may be given. Cornelius Warfield, Margaret Lorimer, and Jennet Kirkwood (the last probably the granddaughter of the former curate) had gone to Connellbush on the Sunday morning and thereby had missed attendance at Divine Service. They pled that they had gone to see a sick friend, but the Session "not finding the excuse altogether relevant but considering it was their first offence that any of them had been challenged for, wer satisfied that they should only be rebuked sharply by the minister before the session." It is interesting to note that Cornelius and Margaret were afterwards married. On March 18th, 1717, we find the following entry in the Baptismal Register: "Agnes lawful daughter of Cornelius Warfield and Margaret Lorimer his spouse."

The last appointment of searchers was made on June 6th, 1697. At the next meeting both were absent and the "appointment continued upon them." After that no more is heard of "searching." Evidently the members did not think there was sufficient reason to justify its continuance.

The Poor.

The Kirk Session was the only body dealing with relief of the poor in those days. Their funds were limited, but doubtless they did as well as they could. On May 12, 1700, we learn that the Poor Roll was then revised, "some of the elders representing to the session that in regard yt ther wer severall poor persons in the congregation yt wer great objects of charity and wer not in the Poors Roll who got charity out of ye Box and ther being severall of those dead yt formerly wer in the Roll they desired that a new list might be made of such as were to get ordinarily support out of ye collectionns for ye poor." The Session "judging the motion most reasonable did condisend upon

the following list." Then follows a list of twenty names, five being men and the rest women. A list of "Poor Scholars" is dated September 27th, 1703. Four names are given, one being a boy. In the other three cases only the surnames are given, so that we cannot say whether they were boys or girls. In two cases they bear the same names as persons on the Poor Roll. These children would be educated at the Parochial School at the expense of the Session.

Almost the sole source of income was the collections, which were made at the church door every time there was a service. In addition there were the fines which were sometimes inflicted on delinquents, though there is little evidence of there being much revenue from that source at Sanquhar. A fee was charged in cases where a woman wanted to be married outside the parish, twelve shillings Scots or one shilling sterling being the amount payable. Under date June 25th, 1699, there is a reference to a fund for the poor of the parish of Sanquhar, which has entirely disappeared. On that date the Session appointed their clerk to acquaint "Robert Lorimer in Connelbush to bring the Dukes Mortification for the parochie of Sanqr a precept being drawn on him by the Chamberlain for the foresaid money that it may be distributed among the poor accordingly as has bine the custome formerly." The Duke who mortified this fund was evidently William, the first Duke of Queensberry, the first of the family to bear the ducal title. He was a good friend to Sanquhar, and was responsible for the building of Eliock Bridge.

On July 16th, 1699, the minister and the elders "appointed for receiving the Duke's Mortification made report" that they had received a "years rent of the same" and had distributed the money among the "poor of the Barony conform to a list of the poor produced by the clerk." There is unfortunately nothing to indicate what was the amount of the "years rent," and no trace of the mortification can now be found. Under date June 13th, 1704, there is an entry to the effect that £5 was paid out

of the box to " Archie Brown to () other of Sanquhar to be payd upon demand." Archie Brown seems to have been the treasurer of the Session, and evidently this is a reference to his receiving money to be paid to some beneficiaries.

Collections.

Only two collections are noted in the Session minutes, both being entered after Mr Shiel's death. After the entry regarding the meeting on May 29th, 1709, is the following :

June 19. Collection 01 : 07 : 00 per Mr Hunter (of Kirkbride)
 August 7. Collection 01 : 04 : 00 per Mr Riddle (of Tynron)

In the Baptismal Register there are also a few collections noted, these being headed thus : " Accompt of Collections for the poor the year 1709 " :

| | | |
|---------|-----------|--------------|
| Jan 15. | collected | 00 : 13 : 00 |
| | collected | 01 : 04 : 00 |
| Feb 20. | collected | 00 : 11 : 00 |
| Feb 26. | collected | 00 : 17 : 00 |
| Mar 6. | collected | 01 : 05 : 00 |
| Mar 7. | collected | 00 : 06 : 00 |

The amounts are almost certainly stated in Scots money, and this would indicate that the average collection at that period was between two shillings and half-a-crown sterling. Such figures show the terrible poverty that then existed.

We have, of course, to take into account that the church was vacant at the time these collections were entered and that in all likelihood the congregations would be smaller than when services were being held every week. In a large parish such as Sanquhar there must have been many who did not know when a visiting minister was to preach. It may be noted also that the record, short though it is, indicates that there were services held on week-days as well as on Sundays, though the smallness of the collections tends to show that these were not so well attended.

Despite the poverty of the people and their own immediate needs, it is worthy of note that the Session at times allowed collections for worthy objects outside the district. Thus on two Sabbaths in September, 1699, a

collection was taken for "Ancrum Bridge." The total amount, "Six Pund Scots," was delivered to Bailie Reid, Dumfries, who was the "collector of ye forsaid charity for the Presbyteries of Dumfries and Penpont." The raising of funds for the building of bridges by means of church collections was no new thing in Scotland. In 1661 the Scots Parliament allowed the Town Council of Sanquhar to get a collection made in all churches south of the Forth for the purpose of re-building the bridge over the Nith. So far as it known, however, this was never carried into effect, though eight years after the Collection was authorised there is a reference to it in the records of the Presbytery of Peebles.

More interesting, perhaps, is the offering which was made "for the building of a Protestant Church in Conigsberg in the Duke of Brandenburg's dominions." This was not only collected in the church, but elders were appointed "for ye severall quarters for bringing in ye same with yr best conveniency." Such success attended their efforts that on October 18th, 1697, it was reported that the amount collected was £21 Scots, which was afterwards "sent to Dumfries to a gentleman Mr () quho received it and gave a discharge yrof."

In a minute of August 1st, 1708, there is a reference to one of the elders, Crichton of Gairland, taking with him "the Bursar's money quhich was six pounds Scots to ye Presbyterie." There was an Act of Assembly as early as 1641, enjoining Presbyteries to subscribe for the provision of bursaries for Divinity Students. This Act fell into desuetude, but after the Revolution was revived in another form. A number of Synods were recommended by the Assembly of 1701 to maintain "bursars of theology having the Irish (Gaelic) language." Three years later this recommendation became an injunction, and collectors were appointed to receive the amounts raised by the different Synods. Evidently the Act was not too well obeyed, for in 1709 the Assembly again dealt with the matter. It is not stated in the Session records as to how the Sanquhar

quota had been raised, but probably in addition to the collection in church the elders would go round their "several quarters."

The Session's care for the property of the church property is further evidenced by the minute of May 3rd, 1708, when it is stated that "This day the Box and Communion Table Cloath was received from John Turnbull servitor to the deceased Mr Tho: Shiels and delivered to Archibald Brown in Sanqr." The Box was in all probability the Poor Box, in which the ordinary collections were kept. It has now disappeared. There is no reference to any other church property being delivered, so that it is a natural inference that there had been nothing more in the hands of the minister. There would be a basin for Baptisms, but that would be kept in the church. As to Communion vessels, we can only say that there is no evidence to show that Sanquhar possessed any at this period; but on the other hand there is no evidence that on the occasion of Communion they borrowed these from other parishes. It is possible that the vessels were kept by someone other than the minister.

Testimonials.

There are quite a number of references to persons being granted "Testimonials" or "Testificats" on the occasion of their leaving the district, and in several of the cases it is recorded that the parties were going to Ireland. These "Testimonials" appear to have been like our present day disjunction certificates, and to have indicated that the holders were in full communion with the Church, and were free from scandal. Another type of "Testimonial" was that given to a person belonging to another parish who had "satisfied the Kirk" in Sanquhar. At least one instance of this occurs in the minutes, and in another case the Session Clerk was ordered to give a woman a declaration of her innocence "in name of the session to be carried by the aforesaid Sara to Carsphairn for her vindication."

Another form of "Testimonial" was that given to

poor persons. Thus on April 18th, 1697, the Session ordered "Test: to be given to Barbara G—— and Jean M—— both dwelling in Sanqr poor and one to Agnes E—— also poor." These appear to have been really licenses to beg. They gave way a little later to Beggars' Badges which continued to be in use up to the forties of last century in Sanquhar.

Libels.

The court was occasionally approached by parishioners who considered themselves wronged by their neighbours. Thus Isabel B——, on 28th June, 1700, gave in a libel against Bailie Thomson and Margaret Fisher his wife for "slandering of her fame in saying that she had stolen some bread out of their house," and also a libel against Nicholas Smith, spouse of John Creichtoun, smith, in Sanqr, for slandering her likewise "with theft saying that she had stolen a hen from her." Isabel offered to prove her allegations (alleadgaunces in the original) by witness, and "yrupon consigned her money according to order" for apparently the session would not deal with such a case until a deposit had been made by the person bringing it, a salutary rule to check unnecessary litigation. Isabel adduced as witnesses Provost Hunter, John Brown in Gaitsyd and Helen Umphra in Sanquhar. Fifteen days later the case was tried, when, after evidence had been led in the first case and both parties charged had denied that ever they called Isabel a thief, she "past judicially from the lybel against them."

In the second case it appeared that two boys had "feld a hen off a corn stack in a yaird at the back" of Nicholas Smith's house, and that after Isabel had come to draw water from the well in the yard, the hen was missing. The boys naturally connected the disappearance of the hen with Isabel's presence, but on being interrogated by the Session it was found that no stress could be laid on what they said, and "likewise they wer both under age." Isabel's witnesses could only say that they never heard any one call her a thief, and so the result was that Isabel forfeited her

consignation money "and she to be admonished by the minister not to vex the Session afterward with such trivial libels and quhilk being done that affair ended."

Another case of similar kind started on March, 1697, when Robert Laign in Blagannoch gave in his libel against John Broadfoot in Gareland, alleging that the said John had slandered him and his sons by calling them thieves. At the next meeting Laign produced as witnesses Gairland and Ja : Creighton in Stoodfold, but Broadfoot objected to both, alleging that they both had malice towards him which he offered to prove if he got competent time. The Session thereupon allowed Broadfoot a month to do so. When the case was again called Laign was absent, and a fortnight later was still absent. At the next meeting it is minuted that "Ro : Laign never yet compears," and there the business seems to have ended.

Other Duties.

Not only did the Session attend to its own duties. Occasionally it dealt with duties which properly belonged to other bodies. Thus under date January 9th, 1698, we read, "This day Mr John Lockhart was admitted Schoolmaster to this parish he haveing bine approven by the Presbyterie." The appointment of the parochial schoolmaster was legally in the hands of the heritors, along with the minister of the parish, and the Session had no say in the appointment. In all probability, however, they would have the permission of the heritors to do as they did here. At the time Mr Lockhart (he was in all likelihood a university graduate : hence the "Mr ") was admitted schoolmaster, he was also appointed Precentor, these two offices being usually conjoined in Scotland in those days. The appointment of the Precentor was, of course, a matter for the Session. In appointing Mr Lockhart the court "renews ane old act upon the aforesaid Jan 9 that the Precentor Mr John Lockhart now shall have for each baptisme 8s Scots as it had bein used in former times." Mr Lockhart probably kept the Baptismal Register, and the fees which he received were considered part of his emoluments as Precentor.

The Session also looked after the churchyard, though this was no part of its duty. Thus in 1697 the "Grave-maker" was ordered to put to rights a part of the churchyard which it was thought had been interfered with, and the court informed him that if he broke the "foresaid ground without ane express order from the session . . . he shall be put from his office." When two years later some of the parishioners took it upon themselves to "make graves in the churchyard for burying their dead quherby not only the grave maker was prejudiced of his due but yt likewise the forsaid persones some of ym had engaged upon other persones buriall places," the Session not only enacted "that no persons in time coming shall presume to make graves in the church yaird by themselves," and further declared that if any contravened this act they would be "proceeded against according to law."

We have also a case in which the Kirk Session was asked to intervene with regard to rival claims to a seat in the church, though here again it might have been maintained that this was not a matter for the court at all. "Sess: Oct 11 1696 Comp(eared) Robert Carmichael late Provost of Sanqr and represented to the session that the last Lord's Day being this day 8 dayes Mr James Wilson of Spannock Yr, with his broyrr John had violently thrust him and his wife out of ye seat in ye kirk after ye saying of ye blessing after ye forenoon sermon they alleadging yt ye said Robert had built yt seat within ye bounds of yr property possessing ye same in ye afternoon. But yet notwithstanding to prevent all furrer debates anent ye said seat he is willing for his pairt to referr the whole matter unto ye decision of his Grace ye D—— of Queensberry and desired that his offerd submission might be recorded in ye register of yt session which was granted by ye session."

Magistrates.

Where, as at Sanquhar, there was a royal burgh in the parish, it was usual that some of the magistrates (sometimes them all) should be members of the Kirk Session

As we have seen, Provost Hunter was an elder, and it is interesting to note how on occasion church and state combined to punish offenders. Thus in the very last minute in the book, probably to be dated some time in 1709, a person guilty of a relapse in fornication was ordered to make his public satisfaction "in ye ordinary place ye next day quhen yre is an actual minister here and this intimate to him and ye Provost fyned him in four pund Scotcs and appointed him to pay it to Arch: Broun treasurer"; the latter being treasurer of the Session. It was then customary for such fines to be received by the Sessions. Wodrow laments the passing of a Bailie whose zeal in the direction of inflicting fines for uncleanness "meant five pound more to the session for fynes of vice than any others" (*Analecta*, IV., 77). On the same day as the above offender was fined by the Provost another defaulter was ordered to make his public satisfaction also "ye next Lord's day quhen yre is an actuall minister here . . . and ye meantime ye magistrates fynes him in ten groates." Why the Provost should have inflicted the penalty in the one case and the magistrates in the other does not appear. It is possible that although the minute is written as if it were that of a single meeting it may refer to more than one. There is nothing said in the second case as to who was to receive the fine.

Marriages.

It is a good old Scottish custom, which goes back to the days before the Reformation, that when a couple belonging to different parishes are married it is the bride's minister who performs the ceremony. The Session of Sanquhar was evidently determined to see that the old ways were adhered to, for in 1696 it was decided that "the bryd liveing in this parish shall not have a testimoniall for being married in any other kirk unless by paying 12s Scots in for the use of the poor." It will be noticed that marriage was to be at another kirk, for at that period no regular minister would marry a couple except "in the place

appointed for Public Worship," to quote the law on the subject.

The week following the passing of the above resolution the Session had to deal with Thomas O——, who had been referred to the court "for his disorderly marriage in going to Mr Hepburn at Orr for yt effect without applying the Presby: of Penpont or the Minister of Sanqr who wold not have refused yt benefit." Unfortunately it is not said by whom Thomas was referred to the Session. It is likely that he was not a parishioner of Sanquhar but of some other parish, probably of Kirkbride, which was vacant at that time. Mr Hepburn of Urr was at this period causing a great deal of trouble to his fellow-ministers. He insisted that he alone was a faithful minister of the Gospel, and while drawing his stipend as minister of Urr had no hesitation in going into other parishes and conducting services there whenever he felt inclined. As has always been the way in Scotland, he got a goodly following, and for some time was a veritable thorn in the flesh of the courts of the Church. Again and again he was brought before the courts of the Church, and promised to desist from his "divisive courses," but he had no difficulty in persuading himself and his followers that he was under no obligation to keep his word. There appear to have been a number of "Hebronites," as his followers were called, in the vicinity of Sanquhar, and O—— was evidently one of them. He did not, however, attempt to defy the Session, but acknowledged his offence and faithfully promised "to be orderly in all time coming," and so was dismissed. Let us hope that to him promises meant more than they did to the minister of Urr. (Hepburn's somewhat stormy career has been dealt with in the writer's *John Hepburn and the Hebronites*.)

(2) Baptismal Register.

The first baptismal Register extant belonging to Sanquhar is that commenced by Rev. Thomas Shiels immediately after his admission to the parish. The obligation of keeping such a document was enforced by Provincial Councils of the

Pre-Reformation Church as well as by General Assemblies of a later date.

Our oldest Register is headed thus: "RECORD OF THE BAPTISMS IN SANQr SINCE THE ADMISSION OF MR THO: SHIELS TO THE CHARGE YROF QUHICH WAS IN AU: 3. 1693."

The first two baptisms registered took place three days later, and the entries may be given here: "Margaret daughter lawfull to John Smith in Dalpeddar and Jannet Bailzie his spouse was baptised. Christian daughter lawfull of William Crichtoun in Crockroy and Elizabeth Crichtoun his spouse was baptised then." It may be noted that both these children came from other parishes, the first from Kirkbride and the second from Kirkconnel. The next baptism, the first of a Sanquhar child, took place a fortnight later, and in addition to the names of the parents the names of two witnesses are entered: "Agust 20. 1693 · Jennet daughter of John Henderson in Sanqr toune and Jenet Lorimer his spouse was baptised then. Witnesses Patrick Hair in Drumbow and William Lorimer, Quarters." And so long as Mr Shiels remained minister the names of the witnesses, usually two but sometimes three, are always given in the entry. These witnesses took the place of the God-Parents of the Pre-Reformation Church, and it may be noted that in Sanquhar (as seems to have been the case generally in Scotland) these were always men. God-Mothers had been in evidence during the early years of the Reformed Church in Scotland, but for some reason the practice of having such was departed from, and only God-Fathers remained. The Baptismal Register of the English Church at Geneva, of which John Knox was minister, has been preserved, and shows that on the occasion of a baptism there was always a God-Father present. The first to be mentioned is the great Reformer, John Calvin, while Knox filled the office on at least two occasions. In the case of Knox's own children, Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, and Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, were the God-Fathers. By the beginning of the 17th century God-Mothers were again to be found at baptisms, and indeed so many

were sometimes present that Kirk Sessions had to make regulations as to the number who were to be allowed to accompany the child. But as time went on the custom of having God-Mothers gradually fell off, and, as has been said, in Mr Shiels' time only male witnesses came to baptisms (or at least such are the only ones noted in the Register). In Sanquhar no witnesses are mentioned after 1709, but students of Burns will remember that when he was baptised there were two witnesses present, John Tennant (Gude Auld Glen) and James Young, and both names are entered in the Ayr Register of Baptisms.

The first entry at Sanquhar, as has been said, is dated August 6th, 1693. From then to January 2nd, 1698, the Register appears to have been kept with great accuracy. After the entry on the last date there is inserted a "Record of Children baptised by Mr Tho: Shiels minister of Sanqr to Mathew Wilson and Jean Wilson his spouse at Wanlockhead and Leadhill alias Hoptoun with the time place and witnesses as follows." The baptisms so recorded number five, of which one had already appeared in the Register; two are noted as having taken place on "Januae 8, 1687," which is certainly a mistake. The other two date from 1700 and 1704 respectively. Why these should have been entered separately does not appear, but it is possible that the reason is that they were the only ones not baptised in the Church. A number of other Wanlockhead baptisms are duly entered in the Register, but in these cases it may be taken that the children were carried to Sanquhar to receive the benefit of the Sacrament. After the entry regarding Matthew Wilson's children there are entered two baptisms by Mr Archibald Stewart, minister at "Cumbertrees," on January 9th, 1709, and these entries conclude the first part of the Register.

Between this section and that relating to the baptisms by the next minister there is inserted an account of the Collections for the Poor from January 3rd to March 7th, 1709. A new section of the Baptismal Register starts on June 19th, 1715, nearly eighteen months after Mr Mungo Gibson had been admitted as minister of the parish. The entries here

are much shorter. The first is as follows, and it may be taken as typical of the rest. "James, son lawfull of James Carmichael and Margaret Carmichael his spouse." This section has not been nearly so well kept as the first, and in quite a number of cases the name of the child or of one or other of the parents has been left out. The following entry under date October 7, 1716, conveys little information: "James, son lawfull of Thomas [] and []."

In this section there are what might be called three sub-sections, giving the names of children baptised at Wanlockhead. Probably an occasional "preaching" was held there, and the children baptised thereat. Thus on April 3, 1719, five children were baptised (and the names given to three of them are omitted) and after the entry are the words "the aforesaid 5 children all in Wanlockhead." Three times in this section we have the entry of the date of birth as well as of baptism. "May 3 (1719) John son lawfull of William Thomson and Janet Paterson his spouse was baptised yn (then) and born ye 1st of May on a Friday at or about twelve a clock of ye day." An even shorter interval between birth and baptism, occurs in the case of "Andrew son of Andrew Bizzard and Agenes Tympany baptised on Feb 3 1717 and born at 7 in ye morning." The last entry in the Register has also the two dates, "July 19 (1719) Isobel daughter lawfull of David Dalziel and Margaret M'Cleg baptised yn (then) but born on July 12 about 6 a clock on ye Sabbath morning." These entries indicate that the old rule that a child should be brought to baptism as soon as possible after birth still held good in Nithsdale. Robert Burns, it may be recalled, was baptised the day after his birth.

The entries quoted may be regarded as typical, though one occasionally comes across some of greater interest, as, for example, "Thomas son naturall of John Pagan and Marion Pagan in Durisdeer presenting a certificate from some of the elders there of their satisfaction." In another case in which the child was presented by "John Alison in Sanqhr "

the parents had not satisfied the Church, and so could not "hold up" their offspring for baptism. The benefit of the ordinance was not, however, denied to the infant, a proceeding at once much more Catholic and charitable than was in vogue in Sanquhar in more modern times.

Only one case of a posthumous child occurs. "Mary daughter to umquhile James Williamson in Drumbrainzine and Mary MckMillan his spouse." No indication is made as to whether anyone presented the child in the place of her deceased father, but the witnesses it may be said were both elders in the congregation; Alexr. Williamson in Burnfoot and John McKenrick in Oylieside. Mary Williamson was one of five children baptised that day, this being the largest number of baptisms in Sanquhar Church recorded on any single occasion in the Register. In another case the father did not appear. On April 30th, 1697, there was baptised "Charles son lawfull of Geo Lorimer in Gaitsyd and Mary Dumbreck his spouse; the child was presented by Robert Lorimer in Conelbush broyr (brother) to ye said Georg." Why George was not present is not stated. He may have been unwell or he may have been absent from home, though in such cases one might have expected that some mention would have been made of the reason. The Kirk Session minutes covering this period are still extant, and these show that George was not under discipline in any way, so that it is not likely that the minister would have refused to allow him to present his child had he wished to do so. It is possible that he belonged to one of the stricter sects of the time, such as the Cameronians or the Hebronites, and so refused to countenance the Church after the Revolution Settlement. It is interesting to note that a young man by name George Lorimer was arrested by Grierson of Lag in 1684 when the latter was on his way from Sanquhar to Carsphairn and imprisoned because he would not drink the king's health (Wodrow, *History*, IV., 174). This person escaped from prison at Dumfries and was alive after the Revolution. It is at least possible that he was the person whose child was baptised in Sanquhar in 1697.

The Rev. Robert Lorimer, LL.D. (Glasgow), who was born at Gateside, Kirkconnel, in 1765 and who was afterwards minister of First Charge, Haddington, was in all probability a great-grandson of the couple mentioned here, George Lorimer and Mary Dumbreck. In the possession of Dr. Lorimer's great-grandson, W. L. Lorimer, Reader in the University of St. Andrews, is a copy of the well-known Covenanting work, "Cloud of Witnesses" (2nd Edit., 1720), which is believed to have belonged to the George Lorimer whose son was baptised in 1697.

Between the section dealing with the baptisms by Mr Shiels and that dealing with those by Mr Gibson, a Marriage Proclamation entry has been inserted, and the would be bridegroom was also a George Lorimer. "Sanqr Feb 26. 1713. The said day George Lorimer came and gave his name to be proclaimed in order to marriage with Mary McCaull in ye paroch of Durisdeer James McCaull ye brides Boyr (brother) representing her." It would be interesting to know whether this was the same George.

Only in a few cases are the occupations of the fathers given, and this is somewhat to be regretted, as those which are recorded are more than usually interesting. In several cases the offices which the fathers filled have banished entirely. Thus on January 14th, 1694, David Reid, "Bailzie of ye Barronie," had a son William baptised. At that period the Duke of Queensberry had as Lord of Sanquhar a jurisdiction within the bounds of the Barony (a jurisdiction quite apart from that which he held as Sheriff of Nithsdale). He did not exercise the Baronial powers himself except in exceptional circumstances, but appointed a Baron-Bailie who dispensed justice in his name and by his authority. At the date in question David Reid filled that office. All such appointments came to an end with the passing of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act in 1747, though there was a Baron Officer in Sanquhar up to our own day. Then in 1694 "James son lawfull of Edward Bryce, Pyper, and Jennet McFerlin his spouse" was christened. He was probably the Burgh Piper, a functionary of some note in those days (see Wilson, *Folklore and*

Genealogies). It is interesting to add that the two witnesses on this occasion were Alexander Crichton and Robert Fisher, Bailies of Sanquhar. Another trade mentioned is that of tinker, then considered a somewhat more dignified occupation than it is to-day. Then Sanquhar at that time possessed a "Litster." One wonders how many people could tell what he did.

"Robert Park in Sanqr and Wm Kellock officer yr" witness a baptism on January 3rd, 1693. William was Burgh Officer, being assistant to his father, James Kellock. When the latter died in 1743, it was stated in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* that he was 111 years of age and had served the burgh for 96 years, while his son had served it for 70 years as Officer. Unfortunately these figures are not correct, but there is reason to believe that the father if not a centenarian at the time of his death was almost such. Robert Park is said by Brown (*History of Sanquhar. Appendix*) to have been Town Clerk of the burgh. He was Provost in 1703.

Another burgh official is probably noted under date October 5th, 1718, when "Ninian Cunningham ye herd" had a daughter baptised. He was in all probability the town herd who gathered the cows of the burghers every morning and took them by way of the Coe Wynd to pasture on the Burgh Moor. This entry is interesting in another way, in that it is one of the few cases where the baptisms of parent and child both appear in the Register. In October, 1696, "Ninian son lawfull to John Cunningham and Jean Kellock his spouse" was baptised, and twenty-two years later Ninian in turn brings his child for baptism.

In his book, *Evening Memories*, Sir Herbert Maxwell says that the custom of giving a child more than one Christian name ("Multiple Christening" he calls it) came in with the accession of George I. to the throne in 1714. This is hardly correct, for Charles I. bore the names Charles James; but an examination of the Sanquhar Register shows that in not a single case has a child been given more than one Christian name. Taking the first hundred names on the Register as being typical of all, we find that John was the favourite

name for a boy (20 times) and Janet (generally spelled Jennet) for a girl (11 times). William comes second for boys (12 times) and Mary for girls (7 times). The surnames recorded in the Register make an interesting study. We find, as is to be expected, many examples of names like Crichton, Stitt, McCririck, Laign (sic), Williamson, McKenrick, Broadfoot, which are still well represented in the district. There are others which, though now only sparsely represented, were much more numerous within recent memory, such as Hare, Cringan, McCall, Lorimer, Whigham, and Dalziel. No less than three if not four families of the name of McMillan are mentioned, as well as two spouses of that name, but not a single representative of these is now in the parish. There are other names which have vanished entirely from the district, as, for example, Colpis, Umphra, Moshin, Grosell, McCleg, Moselie, Bitchin, Brizzard, Warfield. Hook, still commemorated by "Heuklands," was a comparatively common name in those days but is not found in the parish now. Two names mentioned by Simpson in his *History of Sanquhar and Traditions of the Covenanters*, but otherwise, I think, forgotten, have each a place here. These are Good and Drips.

Perhaps it is only to be expected that as one generation comes and another goes that names once common will die out. But one does not expect the same thing to happen with place names, for, though the inhabitants pass away the ancient landmarks remain. There are many place names recorded in the Register, which, although altered in spelling, all can recognise, such as Drumbowie, Garland, Oyliesyde, Drumbrainzine. There are other places which, though no longer inhabited, are more or less known to the average citizen of mature years, e.g., Slunkford, Glenwhairn, Brig-end, Gavels, Cleughfoot. But how many in Sanquhar could tell where the following are situated: Burntlands, Burnhouse, Craighouse, Daikbank, Hurlbush, Craigbowie, Drysemark, Neyrhill. Yet all were well known when the Register was being formed.

The Sacrament of Baptism was never administered except

“ in the face of the Congregation in the place appointed for Public Worship ” as required by the Westminster Directory approved by the General Assembly. The great majority of the baptisms were performed on the Lord’s Day, though occasionally one finds an entry which shows that the ordinance had been dispensed on a week-day. At that time there were often lectures and sermons delivered in the church during the week, and doubtless it was at the gatherings for such that the children were christened. During Mr Shiels’ ministry it was not uncommon for three children to be baptised at one service, on three occasions there were four, and once there were five. During Mr Gibson’s ministry the greatest number baptised at Sanquhar at one time was three, though, as has been noted, there were five baptised on one occasion at Wanlockhead.

The total number baptised during Mr Shiels’ ministry between August 3rd, 1693, and January 2nd, 1698, was 193, divided as follows :

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1693 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 19 |
| 1694 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55 |
| 1695 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50 |
| 1696 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 36 |
| 1697 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 31 |
| 1698 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |

Of these, four were twins.

During the four years of Mr Gibson’s ministry the numbers were very much less. From June 19th, 1715, to July 19th, 1719, the total baptisms numbered 103, divided as follows :

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1715 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 |
| 1716 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 19 |
| 1717 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24 |
| 1718 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 26 |
| 1719 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 |

It has to be remembered that during the time covered by Mr Shiels’ ministry there was no minister in Kirkbride, while Kirkconnel was more or less regarded as being part of Sanquhar parish up to 1727. In consequence the number of children baptised comprised more than those born in the

parish of Sanquhar. The boundary between Sanquhar and Kirkbride was the Mennock, and on the other side of the Nith a considerable part of Eliock estate was in Kirkbride. Many of the inhabitants of that parish must therefore have found it much more convenient to attend Sanquhar Church than to attend their own. An examination of the baptisms registered between 1693 and the end of 1695 shows that 20 of those baptised belonged to "Sanqr Toun," 50 belonged to the landward part of the parish, 21 to what was then the Parish of Kirkbride, and 22 to Kirkconnel, while four had been brought from other parishes.

The reason for bringing children from other parishes is probably to be found in the vacancies in such parishes. After the Revolution it was no uncommon thing for a parish to be vacant for years before a minister was presented to the charge. This explains why William McKenrick in Burnmouth brought his daughter Bessie on May 14th, 1696, and William Hunter in Crairy brought his daughter Isobel on the same day. Both presented "testimonials" from the elders of Durisdeer, which had no minister at that time. There must, however, have been some other reason in the case of "John son lawfull of Wm Hare in the Parish of Bothwell and Elizabeth Lumsdale his spous," who was baptised on June 20th, 1695, for Bothwell was not vacant at that date. Probably William Hare was a native of Sanquhar.

Register of Proclamations.

Following the Register of Baptisms comes a section headed "Marriages Feb 18," followed by "John Carr in Durisdeer and Marion Laidli." It appears despite the heading to be not a Register of Marriages but one of Proclamations, for twice over there are references to the fees paid, while one entry reads: "David Moslie in this paroch and Janet Hair in the Paroch of Kirkconnell proclaimed Jan 10 1719." The last entry is "Alexr Jameson in ye paroch of Douglas and Katherine McCall in this paroch June." This indicates that the Register covers a period of about sixteen months. There are eighteen entries, of which it would appear that ten represent couples both living in this

“ paroch,” though in three cases no place of residence is mentioned. In eight cases one of the parties lived outwith Sanquhar.

Register of Baptisms, Marriages, Proclamations, and Burials.

A Register of Baptisms, Marriages, Proclamations, and Burials for the Parish of Sanquhar in the latter half of the 18th century and earlier part of the 19th is preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. It has been very badly kept, though some of the entries show that the session Clerk took pains over his penmanship. The Register of Baptisms starts in 1757 and ends in 1804; but there are lengthy periods during which few or no entries have been made. There are only two entries, for example, between December, 1762, and April, 1765. The first entry is on May 29th, 1757, and is as follows: “ Janet daughter to Joseph Hunter and Elizabeth Wilson in Sanquhar.” Of the next nine entries no less than six refer to Wanlockhead children, while other two refer to children from Auchingrouch and Glenim respectively. This state of things continues throughout the Register. Thus between March and August, 1759, there are 23 entries, and 15 of these are from Wanlockhead. From 1794 to 1804 there are only 12 baptisms registered, while some of the entries show that the baptisms of whole families were entered at one time. William Ranken, who was minister of Sanquhar from 1785 to 1820, states in the *Old Statistical Account*, written circa 1790, that the Register of Baptisms was begun after he came to the parish, and that it was kept by the schoolmaster, who got sixpence for every parent who came to obtain baptism for his child. He further tells us that as this was an innovation “ the multitude disliked it, on account of the sixpence, and many refused to register the names of their children for that reason.” However, he goes on to say that by persevering and pointing out the advantages of registration “ those of the Established Church now register universally. The Seceders, however, do not insert the names of their children in the public register.” But the Register does not contain anything like the number of entries of Baptisms that on any reasonable calculation were to be ex-

pected in Sanquhar at that period, when the population was nearly 2500. One is forced to the conclusion that there must have been another Register which is not now extant, and that the one preserved has simply been of the nature of a "scroll" book in which the Session Clerk put the first drafts of his entries. This theory finds support in the fact that the first entry is dated 17 years before Mr Ranken came to the parish, and, further, that it contains entries relating to Marriages, Proclamations, and Burials, of which the minister says nothing. One of the children has a list of names which, it may safely be said, has never been surpassed in Sanquhar: Caroline Amelia Eleanora Frances Culy Ferguson Gibson Tomlinson Thomson.

Marriages.

There are only three marriages registered, and no special reason is to be found why these should be given a place in the Record. It has been suggested that they were irregular marriages, and that as the parties had not been proclaimed this method was taken of keeping a record of the events, but I see no reason for thinking so. The three marriage entries are:

"1786 July 24. Mr John Barker of this parish and Margaret Battaley of the parish of Crawford were married this day." (The Misses Barker, who resided at High Street, Sanquhar, and the multitude of whose good deeds are still in the remembrance of many, were the granddaughters of this couple.)

"1818 July 7. Mr John Taylor Surgeon Royal Navy and Miss Mary Hamilton both of this parish were married this day." (The Bridegroom died eight years later at the age of 36. The bride was, I think, the daughter of Provost Hamilton.)

1807. Alexander Harvey and Janet McMillan were married this day." (The bridegroom was a watchmaker in the burgh. He entered the Town Council and became a Bailie. A son of this marriage, David Harvey, entered the Royal Navy as a surgeon, and died at the early age of 20.)

Proclamations.

There are quite a number of Proclamations entered, but here again there are many blanks. Thus between 1777 and 1812 there are only two entries. There are six entries for the period 1816-1823, and these are placed immediately following an entry of December, 1777. One entry of more than usual interest may be quoted: "1777. Feb. 2nd. This day the Revd Mr Andrew Thomson Minr of the Associate Congregation at Sanquhar and Miss Peggie Comrie in Alloa in the shire of Clackmannan were proclaimed for the first time in order to marriage." There is no reference to any subsequent proclamation of this couple. (Their grandson was Rev. Andrew Thomson, D.D., of Broughton Place U.P. Congregation, Edinburgh, and their great-grandson the well-known Sheriff Comrie Thomson.)

Burials.

Only ten burials are entered, nine of these being in 1768 and one in 1777. The page on which they have been written is badly torn. The first two entries are:

Ma)rion McKenrick spouse to John Milligan.
Jam)es Ker tenant in South Mains.

Carruchan and its Owners.

By Rev. Prebendary CLARK MAXWELL.

The small estate of Carruchan, now about 275 acres in extent, lies just two miles west of Dumfries Bridge. It anciently formed part of the Barony of Drumsleet, and as such of the possessions of Lincluden College; but whether it belonged to the endowment of the Nunnery founded at Lincluden by Uchtred of Galloway in the later part of the 12th century there seems to be no positive evidence to show; yet inasmuch as in 1296, long after the foundation of the Nunnery, the Lady Elena Zouche is found by an English Inquisition *post-mortem* to have owned one sixth part of

Troqueer and Drumsleit,¹ it is obvious that the *Barony* cannot have belonged to the Nuns. Indeed, I am informed by Mr R. C. Reid that no mention of Drumsleet as a Barony occurs before 1400. But some members of the Barony, such as Nunland, Nunwood, and Nunholm, show by their names that they must have been part of the endowment of the Nunnery.

This Elena Zouche was daughter and co-heir with her sisters, Margaret (who married William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby) and Isabel (wife of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan), of Helen, eldest daughter and co-heir of Alan, the last of the old Lords of Galloway, and wife of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. She would thus be niece to Devorgilla, wife of John Baliol and foundress of Sweetheart Abbey. She married Alan la Zouche, of Ashby, Co. Leicester, who died in 1269. Their son, Roger la Zouche, died in 1284, having married Ela, daughter of Stephen Longespe, Seneschal of Gasconey, and leaving a son, Alan, whom the Inquisition finds to be twenty-four years of age in 1296.² Besides lands in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, the deceased lady is found to have had property in Fife and the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh, the counties of Berwick, Ayr, Wigtown, and "Dumfries," *i.e.*, the Sheriffdom of Dumfries, which extended to the River Dee, following the old ecclesiastical division between the dioceses of Whithorn and Glasgow. Under this last head are specified: One-third part of Girtun (Girthon), the like of Saverayk (*i.e.*, Sanayk—Sennick, pa—Borgue), and one-sixth part of Troqueer and Drumsleet (Treuq^r and Drumslet), indicating that in this case, as elsewhere, she shared with her two sisters the part which had constituted her mother's inheritance in these lands. That all this is mentioned in an English Inquisition is accounted for by the fact that all this part of Scotland was at the time under the power of Edward I. of England.

¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions, post mortem*, Vol. III., No. 363 (p. 223), also *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* (Bain), Vol. II., 824.

² See also Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*, i., 371; and *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*, viii., 222.

In view of the foregoing facts it is therefore probable that Carruchan formed part not of Uchtred's endowment of the Nunnery but of the later endowment of Archibald Douglas the "Grim" (made Lord of Galloway by King David II. in 1368), when, after the suppression of the Nunnery in 1389 on account of the irregular lives of the sisters,³ he re-founded the house as a College, with Provost, Prebendars, and Bedesmen. We are not concerned now with the fortunes of the College, which belong to the wider history of the district and kingdom, but for our present purpose we are fortunate in possessing in its "Register Buik," now preserved in the General Register House in Edinburgh, a detailed survey of the possessions of the house in or about the year 1557.⁴ Roughly speaking, we may say that the endowment of the College consisted of the baronies of Cross-michael and Drumsleet, the former lying north of Castle-Douglas, and the latter covering most of the parish of Troqueer, and part of that of Terregles. The first entry under the heading of Drumsleit (and incidentally the most detailed of all the entries) is that of Carruchan, which is thus described :

CHRONICLES OF LINCLUDEN (*M'Dowall*), p. 111.

DRUMSLETE BARONY.

Corrouchane vj merkland payand yeirlie thre chalder of meill and ane chalder of corne of the samyn mesour or ellis . . . chalder of meill at my vill for the multure of the samyn and iiij lib [mair at] vitsunday and mertuyumes equalie and viij scoir of creillis of petis for ane . . . laid and ilk ane of the tenantes vnderwritten ar boundyn confindlie and seuerlie for the yeirlie payment of the services and dewtie abone expremit. Michaell Anderson aucht pairt / John Cammok aucht pairt / Ville Anderson aucht pairt / Cubbe Anderson aucht pairt / Johnc

³ See "Lincluden," by R. C. Reid, in the *Transactions of Berwickshire Nat. Hist. Society*, 1932.

⁴ Printed in *M'Dowall*, p. 111 ff.

Vrycht ane aucht pairt / Robin Pat . . . ane aucht pairt / Pate Anderson ane aucht pairt Habbe Anderson ane aucht pairt for Sturgeonnis Croft and John Cammokis lytill croft and ane xvj pairt occupiit be John Blakis vif payand yeirlie vij bollis tua peckis and or . . . to be allowit xvij peckis for John Cammokis croft in the said John Cammokis . . . swa depends yeirlie ane boll of meill of none payment of the aneth pairt quhilk Habbe Anderson occupiis Providan always that nane of the said tenentis bring in ony outtin townman in the mos of the said town under the p[ane] of forfating of their takkis and at nane of the said tenentis intromett mos delt and assignit to my self under the same pane / Item that na tenant of the said land hald sa mony sowmes apoun the tath of the said . . . efferend to his pairt and at nane of the said sowmes be haldin fra the . . . under the pane of half ane mark for ilk falt.

The foregoing may be modernised somewhat thus :

CARRUCHAN is a six merkland paying yearly three chalders of meal and one chaldar of corn of the same measure (*i.e.*, the 'great measure of Nith') or else . . . chaldar of meal at my will (as I choose) for the multure (or charge for grinding) of the same, and four pounds money-rent at Whitsunday and Martinmas equally, and eight score creels of peats or one . . . laid; and each of the tenants underwritten is bound conjointly and severally for the yearly payment of the services and duties above specified. Michael Anderson holds an eighth part; John Cammok an eighth part; Will Anderson an eighth part; Cubbe (*i.e.*, Cuthbert) Anderson an eighth part; John Wright an eighth part; Robin Pat[erson] an eighth part; Pate (Peter) Anderson an eighth part; Habbe (*i.e.*, Rob) Anderson an eighth part for Sturgeons croft and John Cammok's little croft, and a sixteenth part occupied by John Black's wife, paying yearly seven bolls and two pecks and or . . . to be allowed eighteen pecks for John Cammok's croft in the said John Cammok's [? lifetime].

So there depends (remains suspended) nearly one ball of meal of non-payment (unpaid) of the eighth part which Habbe Anderson occupies. Providing always that none of the said tenants bring in any man from outside the 'town' into the moss of the said town (*i.e.*, to cut peats) under penalty of forfeiting their agreement; and that none of the said tenants meddle with the [part of the] moss, which is assigned to me, under the same penalty; further, that no tenant of the said land shall have so many 'sowmes' (of sheep, five each) upon the 'tath' pasture of the said 'town' beyond what is in proportion to his share, and that none of the said 'sowmes'⁵ shall be sublet by the tenants, under the penalty of half a mark for such offence."

The impression, which I think remains after the study of this entry, is that the original six merkland had been subdivided into eight parts, five of which are held by Andersons, possibly descendants of a former tenant of the whole. The moss, in which the cutting of peats is so carefully regulated, is still a characteristic feature of the property, though it is many years since peat was last cut there; but where the arable land lay, and where the common pasture, it is now impossible to say. It is interesting to note that the uncommon name of Cammock occurs as that of tenants in Carruchan, as late as 1750, in documents preserved at Carruchan.

From the "Register Buik" we further learn that Robert Douglas, the last Provost of Lincluden, had attempted to lease Carruchan with other lands to Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, who became 4th Lord Herries in right of his wife, but that the Prebendars refused to give the necessary consent.⁶

In 1587 the Crown "resumed" the patrimony of the

⁵ Jamieson gives as the meaning of "sowm": "as much land as will pasture one cow or five sheep;" also "a soum of sheep, five sheep, in some places ten." The context seems to make that latter sense preferable here. The same authority explains "tath," which literally means the dung of animals, as "the luxuriant grass arising from the application of manure."

⁶ M'Dowall, p. 135.

College, amongst the other Church lands, and in 1588 the lands, including Carruchan, were granted to James Douglas of Baitford, though this can only have been a grant in reversion, as Provost Douglas was to enjoy the income of the Provostry during his lifetime, which lasted till 1609. In 1610 William Douglas, called of Pinzerie, son of James Douglas of Baitford, to whom his father had made over his newly erected Barony of Crossmichael, which included the six merkland of "Crochane," and other parts of Drumsleet Barony, was condemned for treason, murder and other crimes, and his lands were forfeited to the Crown.

In June, 1617, Carruchan, with the rest of the Barony of Drumsleet, was granted to Sir John Murray of Lochmaben, afterwards created successively Viscount Annand and Earl of Annandale.⁷

In 1641 James, second Earl of Annandale, succeeded his father, and had retour of Crechan *alias* Caruchan in that year.⁸

In 1657 he sold Carruchan to Hairie (Henry) Lindsay of Rascarrel.⁹

Lindsay, who as an anti-Covenanter was in considerable trouble in 1641 with the War Committee of Kirkcudbright (see the Proceedings of that body), married Bessie Geddes, and died in December, 1673. By her he had issue Agnes and Marion, of whom the former married Edward Maxwell of Woodhead, and brought Carruchan to her husband. This Edward Maxwell was grandson to Alexander Maxwell of Logan, who is said to have been descended from a natural son of Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, who died about 1546. The issue of this marriage was George Maxwell of Carruchan, who is mentioned, under the name of Coracon, Corouckan, Corockan, Corochan, Ca—ch, or Corrochan, by Lady Nithsdale in her letters between 1716 and 1725, as supervising the management of the Nithsdale estates during the years of

⁷ M'Dowall, p. 196 f.

⁸ M'Kerlie, *Lands and Their Owners in Galloway*, v., 258.

⁹ This and subsequent statements in these notes are vouched by original writs at Carruchan, except where otherwise stated.

enforced absence after the Earl's escape from the Tower; and about the latter date seems to have been succeeded in this position by his son Robert, for in a letter to her sister, Mary, Countess of Traquair, written from Rome on March 7th [1725], after announcing the birth of a second prince (Henry, afterwards Cardinal York), Lady Nithsdale goes on to say: "I doe not doubt but that Corrochan will doe very well. He is one I ever had a very good opinion of, and I doe not doubt but will do what ever he can for the advantage of the family, and think a better could not be pitch'd upon."¹⁰

George Maxwell married Margaret, only daughter of Archibald Stewart of Shambellie (marriage contract dated 29 November, 1694), and had besides his son Robert, mentioned above, a daughter, Agnes, who, as his second wife, about the year 1737 married Captain William Maxwell, eldest son of Alexander Maxwell of Park and Terraughty, by his second wife Janet, daughter of John Irving, Provost of Dumfries.

Robert Maxwell, in his will, dated November 1, 1738, names his sister Agnes and her husband as executors, and states that the sum of £116 stg. is due to him as factor to the estate of Nithsdale from William, Lord Maxwell, designed William Maxwell of Nithsdale.

Robert Maxwell seems to have died unmarried, and he was succeeded in Carruchan by his sister Agnes, who thus brought the property to her husband.

Captain William Maxwell joined the rising in support of Prince Charles Edward, and was "out in the '45." His adventures in that campaign, and his escape from Carruchan, when the house was searched by the English dragoons, have been recorded by the present writer in the *Gallovidian Annual* for 1932, under the title, "A Galloway Laird of the '45." Captain William Maxwell died in May, 1772, aged 83 years; his wife had predeceased him in 1771. For their descendants see W. Fraser, *Book of Carlaverock* i., p. 589, whence the following statement is condensed:

¹⁰ Fraser, *Book of Carlaverock*, ii., 356.

W. FRASER, BOOK OF CARLAVEROCK, Vol. 1, p. 589.

Captain William Maxwell of Carruchan, eldest son of the second marriage of Alexander Maxwell of Park and Terraughty [who was a grandson of John, sixth Lord Herries] and Janet, daughter of John Irvine, Provost of Dumfries, born in 1689, was with Prince Charles Edward at the battle of Culloden, 1746. Prisoner in Carlisle Castle. Married 1st Barbara, youngest daughter of George Maxwell of Munches by whom he had an only child, Anna.

2nd, Agnes Maxwell of Carruchan, who died in January, 1771, and by her had one son and two daughters.
Died 16th May, 1772, aged 83 years.

George Maxwell of Carruchan, born 1738. He married 9th April, 1771, Henrietta Carruthers by whom he had three sons. She survived him. In 1815 he became heir male to the Maxwell family. Died 20th November, 1822, aged 84.

Anna.

Marion Agnes.

William, born 16th February, 1773. Paymaster 8th Dragoons. Died 1800, s.p.

James, born 16th June, 1775. Died in Jamaica 1800, s.p.

George Maxwell of Carruchan, Lt.-Col. Galloway Militia. Married (1) Janet, daughter of John Clark of Dromore. Predeceased his father in France, 1821, leaving four sons.

George Walker Maxwell, born 17th March, 1805. Succ. 20th Nov., 1822; Carruchan 1823. Drowned while bathing in the river Nith, 4th August, 1827. Unmarried.

John, born 10th May, 1806. Died at sea on his way to India as cadet on A.E.I.C. service, 24th June, 1824. Unmarried.

William Maxwell of Carruchan, born May, 1867. Married (1) Janet, daughter of John T. Clementina Maxwell of Munches; (2) Mary, daughter of Dr John Clark of Speddoch. Died 21st May, 1863, s.p.

Alexander, born 1808; died 1834. Unmarried.

Jane Christiana, died 1861. Unmarried.

At two periods alterations have been made in the boundaries of the property. In 1817 or 1818 George Maxwell (the elder) sold the farm known as Townfoot of Carruchan to William Stothert of Cargen, thereby reducing the property by about one-half. This farm now forms part of the Mabie estate. Again, about 1837, William Maxwell acquired Cargenbridge Croft, with some half dozen cottages on it. Two of these were subsequently re-built, and there may be seen, built into the front wall, a stone taken from some older building, with the lower half of the Maxwell saltire upon it and the date 1641; but this cannot have come from the old house of Carruchan, which had not at that time passed to the Maxwells.

The present mansion-house (properly Mains of Carruchan) still retains the greater part of that which was standing in 1745, but which cannot, I think, be much older than that date. It was a plain building with slightly projecting wings, constructed of dark red brick, probably of local manufacture. Various additions were made during the next hundred years, but the body of the house was still substantially unaltered in 1863, when after the death of William Maxwell, who had held the office of Chamberlain on the Duke of Buccleuch's Drumlanrig estates, his widow came to live at Carruchan, and greatly enlarged and altered it. It still, however, retains, practically in its original state, the bedroom (now known as the Oak Room) from which Captain Maxwell made his escape; and a recent stripping of the walls in order to renew the harling has made it clear that on the south-west face at any rate the 18th century brickwork still remains almost in its entirety.

In 1863, William Maxwell, knowing himself to be the last of his line, directed that Carruchan should be inherited by the second son, if such should be born, of his brother-in-law, John Gilchrist Clark of Speddoch, who was son of John Clark, M.D., of Speddoch, and brother of Mary Clark, second wife of William Maxwell. By his birth in 1865 the writer of these notes fulfilled the condition specified; and on the death of his aunt, Mrs Maxwell, in 1897, assumed by Deed Poll the name

of Maxwell in addition to that of Clark, though sharing only in a very small measure, through the marriage of an ancestor, in the Maxwell blood. He trusts, however, that he has complied with the intention of his uncle (by marriage), which was that the property of Carruchan should, so far as he could secure it, remain distinct, and be held by one of the name which has been associated with it for more than two centuries and a half.

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1933.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May. | June. | July. | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | TOTAL |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|-------|
| DUMFRIESSHIRE. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ruthwell (Comlongon Castle) .. | 4.53 | 2.25 | 1.47 | 1.20 | 3.05 | 2.32 | 3.99 | 1.51 | 1.09 | 2.17 | 1.42 | .76 | 25.71 |
| " (Hotland) .. | 5.41 | 2.98 | 1.64 | 1.76 | 3.23 | 2.62 | 5.13 | 1.86 | .83 | 2.61 | 1.95 | .79 | 50.71 |
| Monswald (Schoolhouse) .. | 4.72 | 3.21 | 1.34 | 1.73 | 3.22 | 2.83 | 4.26 | 1.77 | 1.59 | 2.27 | 2.03 | .83 | 29.80 |
| Dumfries (Crichton Royal Inst.) .. | 5.33 | 2.54 | 1.98 | 1.69 | 3.02 | 2.45 | 3.37 | 1.58 | 1.16 | 2.50 | 2.04 | .56 | 28.22 |
| Blackwood .. | 6.43 | 3.55 | 2.51 | 2.11 | 3.54 | 2.56 | 5.45 | 2.00 | 1.15 | 2.76 | 2.05 | 1.14 | 35.31 |
| Montaive (Glencroshi) .. | 7.23 | 5.36 | 4.02 | 2.73 | 3.69 | 3.11 | 6.54 | 2.43 | 1.22 | 3.64 | 2.49 | 1.86 | 41.32 |
| Maxwellton House .. | 7.25 | 4.22 | 2.87 | 2.45 | 3.61 | 2.28 | 5.97 | 1.99 | 1.53 | 2.63 | 2.34 | 1.47 | 38.99 |
| Durisddeer (Drumlanrig) .. | 6.69 | 4.47 | 2.87 | 1.91 | 3.25 | 2.07 | 5.30 | 2.60 | 1.76 | 3.43 | 2.26 | 1.57 | 38.18 |
| Dalton (Whitecroft) .. | 5.65 | 3.00 | 1.58 | 1.86 | 3.21 | 2.72 | 4.90 | 2.01 | .67 | 2.37 | 2.27 | 1.16 | 31.40 |
| " (Kirkwood) .. | 5.01 | 3.54 | 1.90 | 2.42 | 3.16 | 3.12 | 5.66 | 2.38 | .95 | 3.19 | 2.12 | 1.35 | 34.80 |
| Lockerbie (Thorn Bank) .. | 4.84 | 4.01 | 1.88 | 2.67 | 5.13 | 3.32 | 4.81 | 2.05 | 1.07 | 2.98 | 2.18 | 1.33 | 35.41 |
| Gubhill School .. | 6.52 | 3.48 | 2.76 | 2.46 | 3.07 | 2.80 | 6.74 | 2.59 | 1.42 | 2.98 | 1.74 | 1.44 | 38.55 |
| Evan Water School .. | 3.94 | 4.28 | 2.93 | 2.24 | 4.00 | 2.34 | 6.33 | 3.00 | 1.42 | 3.42 | 1.84 | 1.37 | 42.16 |
| Eaglesfield (Springkeil Gardens) .. | 3.69 | 3.77 | 1.68 | 2.43 | 2.74 | 3.37 | 5.20 | 2.88 | .85 | 2.83 | 1.50 | 1.11 | 31.95 |
| Canonbie (Irvine House) .. | 4.65 | 3.76 | 2.54 | 2.83 | 2.49 | 2.41 | 4.98 | 3.71 | .37 | 3.03 | 1.13 | 1.21 | 33.11 |
| Langholm (Drove Road) .. | 6.16 | 4.22 | 2.73 | 3.01 | 2.90 | 2.67 | 6.80 | 3.66 | .68 | 3.55 | 1.49 | 1.31 | 39.18 |
| " (Ewes) .. | 6.50 | 4.45 | 3.05 | 2.90 | 2.31 | 2.40 | 6.69 | 3.62 | .68 | 3.54 | 1.82 | 1.10 | 39.54 |
| Eskdalemuir (Observatory) .. | 3.91 | 5.76 | 3.67 | 3.04 | 2.52 | 2.21 | 6.84 | 2.86 | 1.04 | 3.70 | 2.07 | 1.48 | 44.10 |

(These data should be taken as provisional).

134 RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES.

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May | June. | July. | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | TOTAL |
|---|-------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|-------|
| KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Borquo (Corseyard) | 3.89 | 5.56 | 2.45 | 1.88 | 2.35 | 2.26 | 2.53 | 2.11 | 1.02 | 2.67 | 2.27 | 1.85 | 30.84 |
| Threave | 5.73 | 4.75 | 3.51 | 2.31 | 3.44 | 3.45 | 4.23 | 2.86 | 1.46 | 2.84 | 2.77 | 1.57 | 32.72 |
| Mossdale (Hensol) | 6.42 | 4.32 | 3.36 | 2.87 | 3.33 | 3.92 | 5.96 | 2.72 | 1.32 | 3.25 | 2.94 | 2.84 | 43.38 |
| Daly (Barney Water) | 5.43 | 4.38 | 4.40 | 3.02 | 2.72 | 3.34 | 5.19 | 2.89 | 1.87 | 3.52 | 2.85 | 2.84 | 42.88 |
| " (Glendarroch) | 7.29 | 6.08 | 3.78 | 2.28 | 4.34 | 2.61 | 6.60 | 2.35 | .89 | 3.69 | 2.55 | 2.02 | 41.19 |
| " (Garroch) | 8.51 | 5.13 | 4.54 | 2.86 | 3.26 | 3.08 | 6.34 | 2.85 | 1.84 | 4.24 | 2.74 | 2.24 | 47.36 |
| " (Forrest Lodge) | 10.12 | 7.72 | 5.45 | 3.32 | 3.69 | 3.42 | 6.58 | 1.99 | 1.83 | 5.76 | 3.08 | 3.71 | 50.50 |
| Carsphairn (Shiel) | 6.59 | 5.52 | 3.78 | 2.38 | 3.78 | 4.11 | 7.17 | 3.93 | 1.83 | 5.91 | 3.53 | 2.29 | 39.12 |
| " (Knoockgray) | 5.34 | 4.48 | 2.65 | 1.99 | 3.58 | 3.52 | 5.91 | 2.86 | 1.83 | 4.09 | 2.63 | 1.80 | 44.75 |
| Auchencairn (Torr House) | 6.37 | 4.25 | 3.32 | 1.92 | 4.72 | 2.63 | 4.75 | 1.96 | 1.07 | 2.82 | 2.56 | 2.05 | 34.89 |
| Dalbeattie (Kirkennan) | 6.11 | 3.75 | 2.71 | 1.94 | 3.17 | 3.25 | 4.80 | 2.42 | 1.47 | 2.69 | 2.47 | 1.51 | 36.29 |
| " (Drumstinchall) | 4.40 | 2.44 | 2.48 | 1.87 | 4.21 | 3.99 | 3.85 | 2.37 | .77 | 2.92 | 1.97 | 1.16 | 32.32 |
| Chipperkyle | 6.27 | 3.50 | 2.88 | 2.31 | 3.51 | 2.66 | 5.27 | 2.42 | 1.02 | 2.95 | 2.45 | .93 | 36.09 |
| Lochrutton | 6.13 | 3.46 | 2.46 | 2.12 | 3.86 | 2.53 | 4.12 | 1.94 | 1.14 | 2.77 | 2.27 | .77 | 33.57 |
| Carruchan | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WIGTOWNSHIRE. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Castle Kennedy (Loch Inch) | 3.83 | 3.87 | 3.61 | 2.47 | 2.62 | 3.25 | 2.85 | 3.16 | .62 | 4.14 | 3.23 | 2.72 | 36.27 |
| Logan House | 2.63 | 3.51 | 3.42 | 1.46 | 2.49 | 2.29 | 2.30 | 1.85 | .73 | 3.16 | 3.28 | 2.50 | 29.62 |
| Corsewall Lighthouse | 2.23 | 2.46 | 2.08 | 1.20 | 1.63 | 1.69 | 2.48 | 3.26 | .51 | 3.72 | 3.69 | 2.45 | 26.40 |
| Whithorn (Physegill) | 3.59 | 3.38 | 2.14 | 1.40 | 1.97 | 2.34 | 3.66 | 1.88 | .55 | 2.51 | 2.26 | 1.66 | 27.24 |
| " (Glaserton) | 4.15 | 3.65 | 2.54 | 1.44 | 2.12 | 2.52 | 3.85 | 2.09 | .61 | 2.58 | 2.31 | 1.71 | 29.60 |
| Port William (Monreith) | 3.65 | 3.96 | 1.92 | 1.48 | 2.01 | 2.50 | 3.02 | 1.93 | .62 | 2.55 | 2.49 | 1.87 | 28.00 |
| Stoneykirk (Ardwell House) | 2.92 | 3.62 | 3.34 | 1.48 | 2.40 | 2.71 | 2.78 | 2.27 | .21 | 3.82 | 3.00 | 2.22 | 30.77 |
| New Luce (Public School) | 2.96 | 3.85 | 3.13 | 2.11 | 2.79 | 3.22 | 3.12 | 3.43 | .50 | 4.16 | 3.22 | 2.79 | 35.23 |
| Garlieston (Galloway House) | 3.76 | 4.05 | 2.71 | 1.97 | 1.97 | 2.82 | 3.08 | 2.24 | .78 | 2.52 | 2.19 | 1.96 | 30.08 |
| " (Culderry) | 4.19 | 4.15 | 2.87 | 1.96 | 1.93 | 3.26 | 3.41 | 2.58 | .84 | 2.76 | 2.28 | 2.27 | 32.18 |
| Kirkcowan (Craiglaw) | 3.94 | 3.90 | 3.52 | 2.06 | 2.71 | 3.26 | 3.12 | 3.07 | .73 | 3.72 | 3.40 | 2.86 | 36.29 |
| Newton-Stewart (Little Barraer) | 3.91 | 4.22 | 3.57 | 1.72 | 1.91 | 3.06 | 4.37 | 3.14 | .83 | 3.14 | 2.52 | 2.37 | 34.76 |
| " (Dunree) | 3.62 | 3.32 | 3.90 | 2.05 | 1.90 | 2.89 | 4.83 | 2.53 | 1.08 | 3.71 | 2.58 | 2.22 | 34.67 |

(These data should be taken as provisional).

FIELD MEETINGS.

30th JUNE, 1934.

The first Field Meeting of the season was held on Saturday, June 30th, when a party of 40 left the Ewart Library at 10.30 a.m. for Carscreuch Castle, via Newton-Stewart, being joined on the way by a number of Galloway members. After an *al fresco* lunch, Mr A. S. Morton of Newton-Stewart read a paper on the Castle, giving a history of its successive owners and occupiers, and a description of the building itself. This paper will be found appended.

Leaving here, the party next reached Glenluce Abbey, where the speaker was Mr Turner, of the Board of Works, who is in charge of the excavations and repairs at present being made. Mr Turner acted as guide over the Abbey, explaining very carefully and lucidly what is being done to strengthen the remains of the old fabric, and showing the results which had been already attained by clearing away the accumulations of rubbish and by the excavation of portions of the structure. Mr Wright, Edinburgh, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr Turner, referred to the excavations already undertaken in 1884. Mr Turner has kindly contributed a note on the work, which will be found hereunder.

Carscreuch Castle.

By A. S. MORTON.

Nothing definite is known of Carscreuch prior to the founding of Luce Abbey in 1190. It then became part of the abbey-lands, and for centuries its history is merged in that of the Abbey.

When Robert the Bruce secured the freedom of Scotland he granted a new Charter to the Abbey, confirming the former rights, and David II. granted a similar Charter.

Nothing noteworthy occurs till near the middle of the sixteenth century, when Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, asserted

a right to hold courts and administer justice in the Abbey domains. This was opposed by the Abbot, aided and abetted by his kinsmen, the Gordons of Lochinvar, and then Sir Andrew Agnew, hereditary Sheriff of Wigtownshire, stepped in, and for a time occupied the Abbey. The dispute came before the Lords of Council, who left matters pretty much as they were.

In 1557 Abbot James Gordon granted a Feu Charter of the abbey-lands to Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar. Two years later, on the death of Abbot James Gordon, Queen Mary and her husband Francis wrote to the Pope in favour of Thomas Hay, of the family of Hay of Dalgetty, Aberdeenshire, to have him preferred as Abbot to the Monastery of Glenluce, and at the same time requested that an annual pension of £100 Scots be granted out of the revenue of the Monastery to Patrick Vaus, clerk. Accordingly, in 1559, a Bull was issued by Pope Pius IV., appointing Thomas Hay the Abbot of Glenluce, and Patrick Vaus got his pension. The Instrument of Hay's Institution, dated 29th September, 1560, is attested by James Ross. The Gordons refused to quit, and quartered soldiers in the Abbey to oppose any attempt by the Hays to get entry. Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassillis, invited Hay and his monks to take up residence in Maybole, and there supplied them with food and raiment and other necessaries. He had no intention of keeping them for nothing, however, and within a few weeks he had obtained from Abbot Hay and his monks various deeds conveying the abbey-lands to himself and his heirs male. In these deeds, dated 1560, the lands of Carscreuch are specifically mentioned. The Gordons still retained possession of the Abbey, and the matter was referred to Lord James Stewart Moray, afterwards the Regent Moray, who decided against the Gordons. On 17th April, 1572, Cassillis obtained a new Charter signed by Thomas Hay, now Commendator, and twelve monks, of all the lands in the previous Charter, with additional lands and fishings, and with the teinds, and in this the lands of Carscreuch are again specifically mentioned.

A Castle of Importance.

Patrick Vaus married in 1560 Elizabeth, daughter of Hew Kennedy of Girvan Mains, and they took up their residence at Carscreuch. Patrick Vaus is referred to as "of Carscreuch" in a contract in 1562 between him and Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, for the purchase of Arthfield in the same parish. It is not known when, or by whom, Carscreuch House was built, but it must have been a place of considerable importance in those days.

Alexander Vaus of Barnbarroch, brother of Patrick Vaus, died in 1567, leaving an only child, Helen, who came to reside with her uncle's family at Carscreuch. She was heiress to the lands of Drumjargon, in Kirkinner parish, and also, of course, to her father's personal property. She was under age, and a ward of the Crown, and the gift of her ward and marriage was given by the Regent to John Ballenden of Auchnowl, Justice Clerk, who was her uncle's brother-in-law. Under the Feudal System he had the right of offering her the choice of a suitable husband agreeable to the Superior. If she accepted he was entitled to receive, as representing the Crown, two years' free rental of the lands she heired, and if she refused the amount was increased to three years' free rental.

Helen was then only eleven years of age, but Sir Archibald M'Kie of Myrton, Penninghame, in desperate straits for an estate for his second son, Alexander, resolved to seize her and have her married to him. He persuaded some of his neighbours to join him, and on the night of 31st July, 1568, during the absence of Sir Patrick Vaus, an armed band of M'Kies and others forced an entrance to Carscreuch House, breaking down no less than seven boarded doors, and carried off Helen and all the valuables they could put hands on, including "gold and silver ware, the sum of 8000 merks, together with gold and silver works, jewels and others to the value of £3000." She was conveyed to Lochwood, the Johnstones' stronghold in Dumfriesshire, and there she was immediately married to young M'Kie.

Then Sir John Ballenden sent his procurator to Lochwood to offer her the choice of a husband, which, of course, she refused, and an instrument was taken in the following terms :

“ At Lochwood, the 6th day of September, 1568, and of our Sovereign Lord's reign the first year ; whereas Sir John Bellenden of Auchinvole, Kyncht, was Donator, and had by gift of our Sovereign Lord the ward of all and hail the lands of Drumjargane within the parish of Kirkyner, and Sheriffdom of Wigtoun, pertaining to umquhile Alexander Waus of Barnbarroch and now, through his decease, pertaining to our said Sovereign until the lawful entry of heir of the said Alexander being of lawful age . . . together with the marriage of Helene Vaus, with power to the Donator to dispose there-upon at his pleasure.

“ James M'Clellan, procurator for Sir John Bellenden, passed to the personal presence of Helen Waus, and gave the said Helen to chose whether she would marry one of these four persons underwritten, equal to her in living and blood—that is to say—

Uchtred M'Dowall, son and apparent heir to William M'Dowall of Garthland.

Andro Agnew, son and apparent heir to Patrick Agnew, Sheriff of Galloway.

William M'Culloch, son and apparent heir to Symon M'Culloch of Mertoun.

John M'Culloch, son and apparent heir to John M'Culloch of Torhouse.

Ye quhilk personis ye said Helene refusit to tak ony of them in marriage. Quheirfoir, ye said procurator protested in the Donator's name for the double and trible of her marriage.”

The witnesses to the Protest are John Johnston of that ilk, James Johnston of Corry, John Johnston of Gretno, David Johnston in Clairquhite, Herbert Johnston, servant to Mr Patrick Waux of Carscrew, and Duncan M'Kee.

Castle Re-built by Lord Stair.

Meanwhile, on 11th August, the M'Kies and their abettors had been put to the horn, and warrants for their arrest were sent to the Sheriffs of Ayr, Galloway, and Dumfries.

Proclamation was made at the Market Cross of Wigtown warning the lieges against buying or in any way dealing with the spoils from Carscreuch.

The country, however, was in an unsettled state, and nothing further seems to have been done against the delinquents.

Alexander M'Kie, in whose interest the crime had been committed, afterwards wrote Patrick Vaus apologising, and a peace was patched up.

In 1572 Elizabeth, wife of Patrick Vaus, died, and the following year he married Katherine, daughter of the Earl of Cassillis. The very first subjects dealt with in the Marriage Contract are the five pund land of Carscreuch, the tower, fortalice, and mansion place, yards, and orchards thereof, thus giving us some idea of its importance.

James Ross, who, as already mentioned, was Notary in the execution of the Instrument of Institution of Thomas Hay as Abbot, was probably legal adviser to the Earl of Cassillis, and it is likely that the Earl, after acquiring the abbey-lands, gave him a Holding in recognition of his services. Clients do occasionally reward the efforts of their lawyers. At any rate two brothers, John and James Ross, who soon afterwards settled in the parish, are supposed to have belonged to the same family, and a descendant, James Ross, who had acquired Balneil, in New Luce parish, purchased the lands of Carscreuch. His daughter, Margaret, in 1643 married Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards President of the Court of Session, and first Viscount Stair, and they came into Carscreuch. They resided for some time at Balneil, till Lord Stair, about 1668, re-built the Castle of Carscreuch, and here he resided with his family during the Court of Session vacations. Here in 1669 took place the marriage of his daughter, Janet, to young Dunbar of Bal-

doon, with which I dealt fully on our visit to Baldoon Castle two years ago. You will remember that the incidents said to be connected with the marriage formed the ground-work of Scott's "Bride of Lammermoor." Here also Lord Stair wrote his famous "Institutions of the Law of Scotland," still quoted as of the highest authority in the Scottish Law Courts.

When the religious controversy convulsed Scotland, and the famous Test became law in 1681, he was unable to subscribe to it, and being deprived of his office he retired to Carscreuch, hoping to be allowed to remain here in peace till the storm passed. After some months, however, he received a private hint from Sir George MacKenzie, the Lord Advocate, that he could no longer ensure his safety and freedom from imprisonment, so in the autumn of 1682 he quietly left Carscreuch, and retired to Leyden in Holland.

A Distressing Occurrence.

In April, 1682, a distressing affair occurred at Carscreuch, where some of Sir John Dalrymple's young family were residing. A visitor had arrived, and, as usual, had left his pistols on the hall table. The two eldest boys, James and John, had been outside, and coming in lifted the pistols to play with them, and John, the younger, aged eight, inadvertently shot his brother dead.

Towards the end of 1682 Sir John was subjected to persecution by the Government of the day, the chief agent against him being Graham of Claverhouse, who had superseded Agnew as Sheriff of Wigtownshire, when the latter refused to take the Test. In December Claverhouse made complaint to the Privy Council that Sir John Dalrymple, under pretence of his preferable jurisdiction as Bailie of Glenluce, had weakened the hands of the Government in Galloway by traversing and opposing the commission which the Council had given to the complainer, and had exacted fines too low from his own and his father's tenants for attending Conventicles. Dalrymple replied that the people of Galloway had become orderly and regular, to which

Claverhouse retorted that there were as many elephants and crocodiles in Galloway as regular persons. Sir John was fined £500, the Council considering such rigour necessary to discourage opposition to their military commissions.

A Castle of Tragic Memories.

Eventful changes followed quickly, and in February, 1687, he became King's Advocate, and in 1688 Lord Justice Clerk. The same year he purchased from John, Lord Bargany, the magnificent estate of Castle Kennedy. Here he was resident in the month of September, a few weeks prior to the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay. The part he played in the eventful months that followed is outside my subject. The Viscount Stair returned with the Prince of Orange, with whom he found great favour. He died on 23rd November, 1695, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a great lawyer and a great statesman, and few realise how much Scotland owes to him. After his death Carscreuch Castle, with its tragic memories, was abandoned, and the Stair family continued to occupy Castle Kennedy till it was destroyed by fire in 1716. Carscreuch was allowed to go to ruin, till we find it in its present state.

A Note on Preliminary Work at Glenluce Abbey by the Ancient Monuments Department.

Contributed by ROBERT TURNER.

The following is a short detail of the work that has been done since the Ancient Monuments Department started operations of restoration in October, 1933.

The dormitories were covered with vegetation and debris. Large trees were growing all over the nave and north and south aisles of the Abbey.

The large trees, 25 in number and growing to a height of 80 feet, have been cut down and removed from the site, which has improved the amenity of the Abbey.

The north and south transepts were cleared of vegetation and loose debris.

The vaults under the south end of the east dormitory have been cleared of debris, showing the original whinstone rubble floor.

Excavations were carried out along the east wall of the dormitory, exposing the base of the east wall of the chapter house, also the jambs of the doors into the vaults.

When removing the debris we exposed a rear chute in the centre of the east wall of the south vault, with outlet towards the east; we also came upon the wall at the south-east corner of above vaults, showing even the clay stair which gave access to the first floor of the east dormitory.

The first floor of the east dormitory has been cleared of debris and vegetation, and in doing so we came upon part of the original tile floor.

The tops of these vaults have been covered with cement, forming the first floor of the dormitory, and the original red tiles re-set in their position to show the original floor had been tiled.

The sacristy and library were cleared of debris and stones down to the floor level. A few red square tiles were exposed, showing the original floor had been in $6\frac{1}{2}$ inch and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inch red tiles.

A recess for books was also exposed in the west wall of the library; also the holes in the sides of the recess, showing where the shelves had been. The arch over the library is lower by eighteen inches than the arch that formed the roof of the sacristy, so as to give head room for the access from the dormitory into the south transept and down the night stair for night mass. The east window of the sacristy was also found.

The parlour between the sacristy and the chapter house has also been cleared of debris down to the floor level. Here again we came upon the original red tile floor. Octagon red tiles run down the sides and square red tiles down the centre, with the angles of the tiles pointing to the entrance. This is the best floor that has been exposed up to the present.

The vaults on the west side of the cloister, which supported the first floor of the west dormitory or laymen's quarter, have all been cleared out, seven apartments and one

passage from cloister garth. The original floors have been exposed, some of them paved with whinstone rubble, others with cobbles from the River Luce, which is at hand.

Some of these vaults were completely covered with vegetation and debris; others were filled up with debris to the soffit of the arches which support the first floor of the dormitory above. Three of the vaults have had tile floors above, and the remainder wood floors above.

The vault on the north, next to the nave, has a fireplace in the south wall, and the fourth one seems to have had a large fireplace, as the kerb made of six inch pieces of sandstone; only half of the kerb is left. One jamb against the east wall is partly in position; the other one on the west side has been removed. The south end vault has also got a small fireplace, which is still in position.

A large amount of excavations have still to be carried out before the entrance to the nave, the pillars, and the floor of nave and aisles come to light.

I do not know if ever the steps to the altar and the sedilia will be exposed, as they are at present covered by the Hayes' burial ground.

The buildings on the south side of the cloister are also all under the surface, and will require to be carefully examined and traced to show the foundations of these outer buildings.

The next stop was at the Old Place of Mochrum in order to see the restoration of the ancient buildings undertaken by the Marquis of Bute, who was to have acted as cicerone, but was unexpectedly called to Edinburgh that morning. In his absence Mr R. C. Reid gave an account of the various owners, and the members had an opportunity of inspecting the dwelling and grounds. Mr Adam Birrell, Creetown, gave a short address on bird life of the nearby loch.

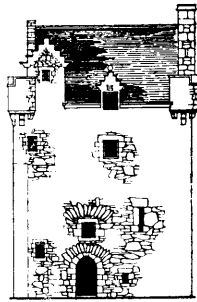
The Old Place of Mochrum.

By R. C. REID.

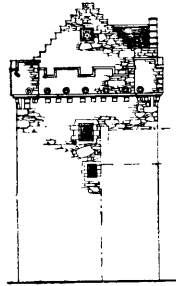
The Old Place of Mochrum is one of the best examples known to us of the restoration of a ruin that combines all the essential characteristics and most of the details of the original with careful adaptation to modern uses of the more ruined portions. Every care has been taken to renew or restore what was in existence and to re-build the fallen parts as they must once have been. As a result we have a minor architectural gem in which ancient and modern are perfectly harmonised.

This site is peculiar in that it possesses two towers of different periods, standing side by side. When in olden times some modernisation was required, the tower was sometimes pulled down and re-built, sometimes added to by means of an L wing (as at Frenchland), new and larger windows inserted, or even an extra floor sometimes added. But at Mochrum the old tower has been deserted or at least put to ignoble uses, and a new tower built alongside. The western tower is the oldest part of the whole building, and dates from about 1500. It probably stood alone without any stone courtyard surround. On entering it, in order to reach the wheel stair one passes through a passage in the thickness of the wall, a sure indication of its date. Its entrance seemingly has always been at ground level, thus placing it late in the 15th century. The ground floor and the hall above are both vaulted and ill lit. The uppermost part has been re-built, though sufficient remained of the superstructure to enable a true restoration. Each angle has been crowned with a round turret finished with a cape-house in the south-east angle, from which the corbelled parapet walk has passed round three sides of the tower. It has been clearly built for defence, rather than comfort.

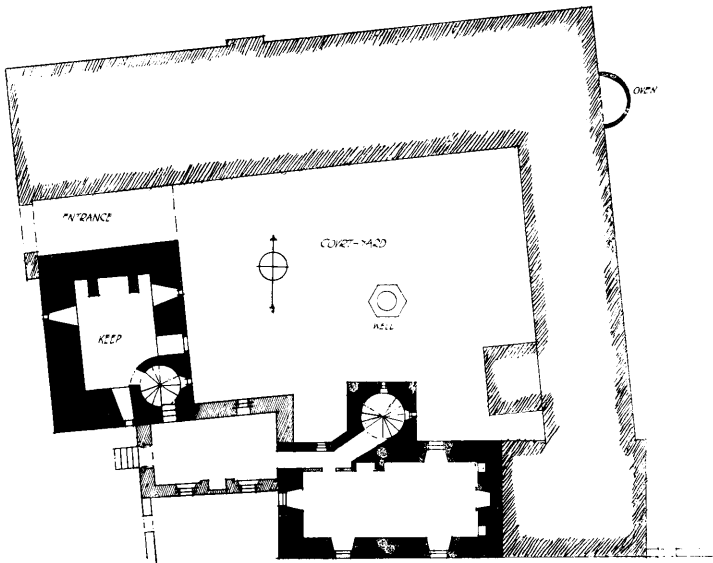
Now turn to the eastern tower and you will realise that here is a tower of later date, designed primarily for comfort and only secondarily for defence. This is in the form of a long



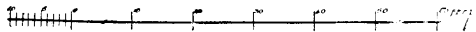
WEST-ELEVATION OF KEEP.



SOUTH ELEVATION OF KEEP.



PLAN



PLAN OF OLD PLACE OF MOCHRUM.

By permission of Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

rectangle, with a square tower projecting on its north side, containing the wheel staircase. Its walls are only 4 feet thick as compared with the 5 ft. 6 in. of the older tower. It has no angle turrets, no parapet walks, no vaulting. There has been considerable internal alteration, and some windows may have been enlarged. In the case of this tower, too, the superstructure has been partly restored, but in both towers the crow-stepped gabling has been carefully retained, being of the form peculiar to Galloway — built of small stones, the upper surface of which is covered with a single slate. The date of this eastern tower must be about 1580.

The building connecting the two towers is a modern restoration, but there were sufficient remains to show that there had been a connecting passage between the two towers. There was nothing to indicate its date, but it was probably co-eval with the later tower. The rest of the courtyard is purely a restoration, though the restorers found enough to guide them in their design. The whole of the northern range was a huge fallen mass. Careful excavation revealed the foundations and a large part of the outer wall 9 ft. high. The restorers were thus able to follow the original plan. At the eastern end of the northern range is the kitchen, a great part of which has survived. Its restoration is probably an exact counterpart of the original, and in it can be contrasted ancient and modern culinary methods side by side. There are indications that after abandonment of the site the kitchen was used as a byre. To the west of the kitchen and at a higher level is the dining hall. One decayed corbel supporting the upper floor was still *in situ* and enabled the restorers to get to work. A feature of that restoration is the modern corbels to the upper floor, the northern ones being emblazoned with the arms of the various families connected with this site, the southern ones with the arms of their wives. This northern range may have been of later date than the eastern tower.

The gateway is a restoration, but the courtyard must always have been entered through a pend at this point—a pend less lofty, perhaps, than the present one.

The earliest owners of this site were the Dunbars, who obtained possession in 1368. If the western and oldest tower only dates from 1500, where, for over a century, did the Dunbars live? One looks round in vain for a neighbouring mote hill. It is possible they may have had an island home. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away from this site, on an island in a loch called the Castle Loch, lay a large jumble of stones from which protruded the foundations of several oblong buildings, with walls about 2 ft. thick and built of dry stone masonry. The Marquess of Bute excavated this island in 1911, and the other day took me to see the result.

Unfortunately we discovered that a bird life photographer was busy at his work hidden in an observation tent on the island. I could not, therefore, land and examine it.

Excavation was followed by restoration, which, viewed from a boat, shows an islet fortified by a dry stone wall rising from the waters edge, within which are buildings of an indeterminate age, with no semblance to what we are accustomed to call a castle. Indeed, it has almost the appearance of an ecclesiastical establishment.

A number of finds were made and carefully preserved, but it would require an expert to analyse them and establish a date. I fancy, however, that the island's occupation period was an extended one. Amongst these finds was a rectangular piece of slate-like substance, some 12 by 18 inches in size, the four corners of which were incised with five crosses expanded at their terminations. It is, of course, an emblem of Christian worship, and is known as an altar stone. Its date is speculative. Exactly the same type of incised cross is to be found in Ninian's Cave,¹ but it would be highly dangerous to accept that dating, for we have no evidence to show when those crosses were incised on the walls of that cave. This altar stone may well be mediæval, of the type mentioned in Papal indults granting the privilege of a portable altar, and may conceivably be such an altar of the early Dunbars. If so, the first residence of the family was on

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com., Wigtownshire*, p. 7, figure 11.

that island to which later times has given the later nomenclature of "castle."²

The story of this old Scottish house, so happily and skilfully restored, is the history of the family of Dunbar through four centuries of strife and struggle, rendered all the more precarious by the constant failure of heirs male. Few families can show such a persistent and successful attempt to preserve not only the estate but also the name. Again and again it failed in heirs male. But the heiress was not allowed to marry outside the family. Where once the proud Dunbar had ruled there must the name persist. So the heiress must marry a Dunbar cousin. No member of a neighbouring family, however desirable a match, was ever allowed to wed her, only someone bearing the name and arms of Dunbar. Males of the family could marry whom they liked, but a female heiress had no such choice. For them the blood must be kept pure at all costs. Centuries before the modern doctrine of an Aryan genealogy became repugnant in the eyes of the world, a kindred but modified doctrine prevailed at Mochrum. Thus the name still survives in direct descent, though no longer associated with this house.

The earliest documented notice of Mochrum is a grant of six pounds of wax yearly to light the altar of St. Ninian at Whithorn by Edward Brus, who was killed in 1318, upliftable from the lands of Mochrum.³ In 1341 Sir Malcolm Fleming was created Earl of Wigtown,⁴ and Mochrum must have been included in his grant, for in 1343 he surrendered Mochrum to the Crown in exchange for the lands of Laudernes () in Galloway.⁵ When, therefore, in 1371 Fleming's son sold all his Wigtownshire lands to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Galloway, Mochrum was not included in the transfer. A few years earlier, 1368/9, King David II. had granted the lands

² Mr Graham Callander says that this stone is a super-altar, a very rare find in Scotland. It would, of course, be consecrated, and could be carried about by a priest, who would use it in officiating where there was no consecrated altar.

³ *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, app. i., 20.

⁴ *Scots Peerage*, viii., 521.

⁵ *Wigtown Charter Chest*, No. 226.

of Cumnok (Ayrshire), Blantyre (Lanarkshire), and Mochrum to George of Dunbar, who a few days before had succeeded Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and March, his second cousin, as 10th Earl of Dunbar.⁶ Mochrum therefore was always held direct from the Crown. Six years later Earl George resigned these vast estates (the barony of Cumnok alone embraced 50,000 acres) to Sir David Dunbar of Cumnok, who is believed to have been his brother.⁷ Three generations succeeded each other as Lords of Cumnok and of Mochrum, Sir Patrick, Sir John, and Patrick, who failed in heirs male, but had three daughters, for whom the policy of preservation was first adopted. Euphemia, the eldest, married Sir James Dunbar of Westfield, and took to her husband the barony of Cumnok. Margaret, the second daughter, married John Dunbar, brother of the above Sir James,⁸ and obtained Mochrum. Janet, the third daughter, married Patrick Dunbar of Kilconquhar, great-grandson of George 11th and last Earl of Dunbar.⁹ So the name continued through the female line.

Margaret, the heiress of Mochrum, was dead by 1483, and her husband married again.¹⁰ In 1498 he was acting as Sheriff of Wigtown under Royal grant, and successfully repelled a claim to that office by Uchtred M'Dowall of Garthland as curator to the deceased Sheriff, Quentin Agnew of Salchary.¹¹ In 1502 he was steward of Kirkcudbright and

⁶ *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, 291.

⁷ *Scots Peerage*, iii., 261. The argument is not conclusive, but is borne out by the heraldic stones at Mochrum.

⁸ They were sons of Sir Alex Dunbar of Westfield, who was son of James Dunbar, last Earl of Moray, by his handfasted "wife," Isobel Innes (*Scots Peerage*, vi., 306).

⁹ *Scots Peerage*, iii., 261.

¹⁰ His second wife was Janet Stewart, mother of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar. She seems to have married again James Dunbar of Cumnok (*R.S.S.*, ii., 1737).

¹¹ *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 311. It was also stated that he had been appointed Deputy Sheriff by the Earl of Angus (*ibid.*, 320). Quentin Agnew of Lochnew, 3rd Hereditary Sheriff (1484-98), owing to disease, was under curators before his death.

keeper of Threave Castle.¹² The same year he was again Sheriff of Wigtown in succession to Sir Alexander M'Culloch of Myreton,¹³ and for some time had been deputy Chamberlain of Galloway.¹⁴ It was probably during his lifetime that the western and older tower was built.

John Dunbar was murdered in 1503 by John Gordon of Lochinvar and his sons, Sir Alexander Gordon of Kenmure and Robert Gordon of Glen.¹⁵ His slayers ultimately received remission for the crime, in one case as late as 1511. His son, another John Dunbar, had as a young man given a good deal of trouble to the Bishop of Galloway. In 1500 that prelate, George Vaus, accused Dunbar of stealing from the Episcopal house at Penninghame a box containing 300 merks of gold and silver, as well as a chain of gold. Dunbar did not deny it, but pleaded that the chain had been given to him by Elizabeth, daughter to John, Lord Kennedy, for whom the Bishop held it. The value was assessed, and Dunbar had to pay the Bishop £43 scots.¹⁶

Yet, in spite of this pilfering, in 1506 he was made joint Chamberlain of Galloway with his brother-in-law, William M'Clellan of Bombie.¹⁷ He fell at Flodden in 1513, where also perished his younger son, Sir Patrick Dunbar of Clugston, and his half-brother, Sir James Dunbar of Blackcraig, ancestor of Baldoon.¹⁸

¹² M'Kerlie, i., 259, and *R.S.S.*, i., 873.

¹³ *Ex. R.*, xi., 338*. This was only the Deputy Sheriffship.

¹⁴ *Ex. R.*, xi., 327.

¹⁵ *R.S.S.*, i. 1723, 2626, 2322. With them were John Boyd in Carslo (*ibid.*, 1321), and Mathew Maknaught of Dungeuch (*ibid.*, 2626).

¹⁶ *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 366, 429. Curiously enough, Dunbar did not plead the remission he had received for the same offence a few years earlier (*R.S.S.*, i., 321).

¹⁷ *R.S.S.*, i., 1382. He had shared the office in 1503 with his half-brother, Sir James (*Ex. R.*, xi., 249).

¹⁸ *Ex. R.*, xiv., 483, 479. Sir James left a son, Alexander, alive in 1529 (*Ex. R.*, xv., 577). Douglas in his *Baronage*, followed by M'Kerlie and Sir Andrew Agnew, omits Sir James, but the evidence is clear (see *Ex. R.*, xii., 656; xiii., 605; xiv., 483, 484).

Another John Dunbar succeeded to Mochrum, an 85 merkland, followed by yet another.¹⁹ A third of the same name, Sir John Dunbar, was a well-known man in his day, and, like the Laird of Garlies, became an "eques auratus." Special powers of justiciary within the barony were conferred on him, and he became Coroner of Wigtownshire. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Kentigern Mure of Rowallan, and left no male issue, and for a second time the family was left with three female heirs. True to the family tradition, the eldest one was married to a Dunbar, a very distant cousin, Alex. Dunbar of Conzie, whose descendants carried on the line. On Alexander's death she married again—perhaps where her heart led her—Alexander Cunynghame of Craigends.²⁰ Her father, Sir John Dunbar, died on 10th December, 1578. His testament is recorded, and reveals a new side to Sir John's character. He seems to have had large dealings in liquor, as a great many of his neighbours owed him money for wine supplied. This he must either have imported or smuggled into the country, and when one reads that Patrick M'Gown, provost of Whithorn, was indebted for nineteen puncheons of wine, one wonders whether after its receipt he was in a position to conduct a Town Council meeting. Amongst Sir John's effects was a lot of cash—36 old Edward Angel nobles, worth £3 each, 10 four guinea pieces of gold of the "Duikis cunze," a £3 piece of gold, a Portuguese ducat worth £24, a rose noble worth £5 10s, and other curious and almost forgotten coins.²¹ It is quite clear that these represented Sir John

¹⁹ *Ex. R.*, xiv., 527. Douglas's *Baronage*, which is followed here, may have misplaced or misdated a generation, for in 1529 there was a gift of the ward of the son of the late John Dunbar of Mochrum to Robert Lord Maxwell, and on the same day a similar gift to Archbishop Gavin Dunbar (*R.S.S.*, ii., 292, 296).

²⁰ She died in December, 1583. In her testament, recorded at Edinburgh, she is described as Grizzel Dunbar, lady Mochrum younger, which indicates that her mother was then alive. Her unnamed daughter was married to Uchtred M'Dowell in [].

²¹ Sir John Dunbar's testament was recorded at Edinburgh.

Dunbar's foreign exchange, inseparable from the business of a wine importer.

The other point that emerges from this testament is of a different interest. Amongst the tenants who owed rent to Sir John was Michael M'Teir, tenant in Disblair. It is not without interest that 350 years after Sir John's death there should still be a tenant of that name on the estate in the person of Mr M'Teir, tenant of Carelton, who is, I believe, present with us to-day.

To this Sir John Dunbar, who for nigh 40 years was laird of Mochrum, I have no hesitation in ascribing the later of these two towers. His initials and coat-of-arms are still on the walls of this building. The old tower was built for defence—small, cramped, and dark within. The later tower is obviously the handiwork of someone of position and wealth, seeking the modern comforts of those times. Sir John had the position; we now know where his wealth came from. Indeed we may with some certainty declare that this later tower was built by means of the liquor trade. And why not? Many a better building has been erected by that means. Even the first Greyfriars' Church in Dumfries was built by means of a Twopenny Tax on Ale.

Several more generations passed away, and in 1656 the family for a third time failed once more in heirs male—as well as female—and a third cousin, Alex. Dunbar of Penkill, inherited. His great-grandson became a baronet in 1694, and is the object of an amusing story recounted by M'Kerlie.²² Of colossal proportions, full of humour, and fond of claret, he died here in 1718, and it is said that his coffin was so large and heavy that it could not be brought downstairs or even pushed through a window; so a hole had to be broken through a wall for its removal. The second Baronet sold the last of the estate, including this building, to Colonel William Dalrymple of Glenmuir, husband of Penelope Crichton, Countess of Dumfries, from whom it has descended to the present Marquess of Bute.

²² M'Kerlie, i., 267.

When the Dunbars left, these buildings were allowed to decay. The Earls of Dumfries were building for themselves noble palaces of the period of Blenheim and Malplaquet. But the whirligig of time has turned full circle. The Palaces of Blenheim are deserted, and this crumbling ruin has arisen restored, as a Phoenix from its ashes. Some thirty years ago, fired perhaps by the example of his father in restoring ancient abbeys, the present Marquess, at, I believe, the early age of seventeen, conceived and carried out, largely unaided by skilled experts, the restoration of this building, an achievement that few of us of maturer age would venture to attempt. Its complete success is due to the careful preservation of every surviving feature, to the restoration of missing parts only where there was substantial evidence of their previous existence and to a strict adherence to the architectural concepts of the periods represented in the building. The result must fill every antiquary with an envious joy, and one cannot be surprised that of all his fine seats this one situated in the lonely moors of Wigtownshire should be the favourite summer retreat of its owner.

The last point of interest was a visit to the " Standing Stones " of Torhouse. Here the speaker was Mr G. W. Shirley, who referred to the popular belief in the Druidical connection with such stone circles, and gave a very interesting account of the early legends and known historical facts of this part of the country. Both Mr Reid's and Mr Shirley's papers follow here. Votes of thanks to the speakers of the day were proposed by Mr R. C. Reid, and a start was then made for Dumfries, which was reached about 9.30 p.m.

The Standing Stones of Torhouse and Others.

By G. W. SHIRLEY.

I cannot, I think, make a better start than by quoting the earliest reference we have to this circle of rough standing stones :

“ In the parish [of Wigton] there are no considerable edifices except one, viz., Torhouse, situated on the north side of the river of Blainoch, and belongs to George McCulloch of Torhouse, not far from whose house, in the highway betwixt Wigton and Portpatrick, about three miles westward of Wigton, is a plaine call'd the Moor ; or Standing Stones of Torhouse, in which is a monument of three large whin-stones, call'd King Galdus's tomb, surrounded at about twenty foot distance, with nineteen considerable great stones (but none so great as the three first mentioned), erected in circumference. In this Moor and not far from the tomb are great heaps of small hand-stones, which the country-people called Cairnes, suppos'd by them to be the buriall places of the common soldiers. As also at severall places distant from the monument, are here and there great high stones erected, which are also suppos'd to be the buriall places of his commanders and men of note. But herein I determine nothing, only I think fit to add, that, at severall places in this country, there are many great heaps of hand-stones, call'd Cairnes, and those heaps, or Cairnes of stones are very seldom single, but many times there are two of them, and sometimes more, not far distant from each other.”

That was written in 1684 by the Rev. Andrew Symson, a curate of the Scottish Episcopal Church, who served at Kirkinner for upwards of 20 years. He composed poetical epitaphs and other pieces, and after the Revolution Settlement set up as a printer at Edinburgh.

John MacTaggart in his *Gallovidian Encyclopedia* makes an addition and a variation :

“ On the farm of Cairnholly in the parish of Kirk-

mabrick stands a rarity, the large stone coffin which held the body of a King, which tradition calls ' King Galders.' Around the tomb are many stones of various lengths on end."

He then refers to Symson's description, and comments: " The two Kings must be one and how it comes he has two tombs, I cannot say; the two places are many miles distant."

M'Kerlie adds nothing of substance to our knowledge, but, true to his time, speculates about the Druids.

The Ancient Monuments Commissioners add that this is the only complete stone circle in Wigtownshire, and point out that there is within the circle an arrangement of peculiar character not observed elsewhere: they refer to the low C-shaped bank, the ends of which rest on the outer ends of the two outer of the three central stones.

They also refer to other two fragmentary circles, one 200 yards N.-W. of this one, another 130 yards east of it, and to a standing stone 80 feet to the south, while there is another standing stone at 20 and a half feet to the S.-W.

Those of you who were present at Cairnholly in the summer of 1926 and heard our President's paper then, or who have since read it in our *Transactions*, will realise how greatly that brilliant and amusing debunking of the history of King Galdus has relieved me. Mr Reid, you will remember, declared that King Galdus was not a treasured tradition but a brazen legend. He showed that no mention is made of him in any of the Chronicles or Histories until Boethius published his *History of Scotland* in 1526 and introduced him for the first time to a bewildered world. He showed that Boethius also annexed as Scottish Kings Caractacus and the warlike Carausius as well as the Queen of the Icenæ, Boadicea, in his laudable object of rendering our history brighter to the reader. Corbredus Galdus he makes a nephew of Caractacus and so first cousin of Boadicea.

He is presented as a figure in the heroic mould of chivalry, raising a force of 50,000 to repel the Romans, and

after defeat is crowned King of the Picts and Scots, and again raising a vast force of Danes and Irish takes part in the battle of Mons Graupius. He is again defeated, but Agricola retires, and Galdus succeeds in repelling all adversaries, vanquishing them at the Wood of Caledon and taking up residence at Epiake, the principal city in Scotland, where he died in his bed in 131 A.D. "Mony huge pillaris war raisit about his Sepulchre to testify to his precellent virtue and glory of chivalry," translates Bellenden.

Then George Buchanan took up the tale and identified Galdus with Galgacus, the British Chieftain mentioned by Tacitus, and Hollinshed follows suit, placing Epiake in Galloway. Finally an eulogist of Patrick Hannay of Kirkdale, a Mr John Marshall, among his compliments refers to the tomb of King Galdus as being on the lands of Kirkdale.

So Mr Reid concluded: "Galdus was invented by Boethius, was identified with Galgacus by Buchanan, located in Galloway by Hollinshed, and buried here"—that is at Cairnholy, for Mr Reid will have none of Torhouse—"by John Marshall. Principal, grammarian, chronicler and poetaster have all had a hand at his creation until King Galdus is almost believed in in the countryside."

We are all indebted to Mr Reid for thus blowing the gaff on Galdus, but do not let us be altogether dazzled—there still remain a few things, it seems to me, unsolved by his acumen. Thus why did Hollinshed fix on Galloway? Is Mr Reid so confident that the natives here and by Cairnholy from whom Symson got the name and locus in 1684 and Marshall in 1662 had read Boethius or Buchanan or even Patrick Hannay? Has he not in his honest enthusiasm transposed the occurrence of hen and egg? Whatever Boethius or Buchanan made of Galdus, is it not likelier that they expanded and decorated a legend already existing rather than created a new invention? Is it not possible that Hollinshed had some hint of Galdus's fame in these parts and that Marshall and Symson wrote only what ancient folk-tradition asserted? Nor is the case lessened, it is strengthened, by the claim of two districts to the remains

of the legendary hero. Only very famous figures—King Arthur and Queen Guenevere, and such as they — have more than one tomb. To sum up I am unconvinced that King Galdus is purely a literary invention. Is, rather, like many another name enshrined in altered form in our place names: Lewerch Og in Carlaverock, King Guendelou in Kinderloch, King Drust in Trusty's Hill, a dim figure, of perhaps the shadowy post-Roman 5th-6th centuries, but with some, however obscure and confused, historic reality in it, discerned faintly emerging from the mist of the past. Thus Gwallawg ap Lleenawg, relating to whom there is a whole class of poems in the *Four Ancient Books* (vi., p. 336 *et seq.*) associated with Galloway. I hope, at any rate, that King Galdus will long divide his shade between this stone circle and Cairnholy.

At any rate Mr Reid will agree with the local tradition to this extent, that this was a tomb. The folk here were never led away by the notion that it was a Druid Temple. That idea, which spread over the whole country, re-naming all such structures Druid's Altars, Druid Circles, Temples, Druidical Remains, was truly begotten of no little but yet not enough learning.

There were no certainly designated Druid place names prior to the middle of the 18th century. The first to suggest that Stonehenge might be a Druid Temple was that entertaining antiquary, John Aubrey, and his opinion was published in the 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*. A Dr. Plot of Staffordshire followed him, and John Toland passed on the torch into the eager hands of the Rev. William Stukeley, whose once-famous works on Stonehenge and Avebury appeared in 1740 and 1743. He was a wholehearted protagonist. From then onwards this solution spread rapidly and filled the minds of men and remained almost unquestioned for a century, and it still lingers, and is, even to-day, popular archæology. During these years, just as every camp, every old bridge, was Roman, every artificial mound a Saxon mote-hill, so was every megalithic structure a Druid's altar and every Stone-circle a Druid's temple.

I cannot here enlarge upon the Druids, fascinating topic though they be. They were not a myth. But all knowledge of them had passed away in Britain long before they were re-discovered in the course of the Revival of Learning in the works of Greek and Latin writers. There are some 34 references to them between 52 B.C, when Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, and about 385 A.D., when Ausonius refers to them in his Odes.

The classical scholar seized upon certain features of these descriptions, and these circles of stones, frequently with table-like structures in the centre, seemed to cry aloud for sacrificial rites. There is time only to note that the Druid is never stated to have fancied the stone circle for his temple, but performed his rites in groves of oak, and it is difficult to imagine a sacrifice of the following kind being suitably accommodated in such a structure as this. It is described both by Cæsar and by Strabo. "Others," says Cæsar, "use figures of immense size, whose limbs, woven out of twigs, they fill with living men and set on fire, and the men perish in a sheet of flame."

To the earlier enquirers stone circles looked all much alike. They might be large or small, consist of one or two rings, frequently there were three or four large stones in the centre, and sometimes one of these stones was on the top of the others. These latter were also found without any encirclement. Sometimes parallel lines of stones seemed to make an approach, and frequently there was a single, sometimes two or three outlying stones in a line beyond the circle.

On these features all the speculations regarding the function of the stones have been based, and although many thousands of examples have been measured and compared, and hundreds excavated, the speculations cannot be dismissed, though their applicability must be limited. But digging and comparison have added to the number of proved or possible purposes. Generalisation has, as is usual with generalisations, disappeared under closer examination.

The severest blow that the Druidical theory received was the discovery of the extent of the occurrence of such

remains. The Druids were Kelts, but not all of the Kelts; their religion was known only in Gaul and Britain. There is no proof of their presence in Scotland. Stone circles and altars are found in Denmark, Spain, Norway, throughout Europe, far beyond the area of the Druid or the Kelt; they are not even confined to Europe, but have been discovered in Egypt, India, Africa, the Pacific Islands, and Japan.

Followed closer observation and the spade. The altars are more easily dealt with than the circles, for they are, practically without exception, found to be, when discovered in an undisturbed condition, not altars but tombs containing human remains, either skeletal or incinerated, with, frequently, urns, shells, implements. Generally speaking the skeletal remains are in larger tombs, the burned in the smaller. And some of the former were very large, the actual tomb being only a small structure in an oblong, or cone-shaped, or horned mound, sometimes constructed with large stones at the sides, more frequently without. And in those very large graves or barrows implements of stone only have been found.

The stone circles, on the other hand, cannot all be regarded as tombs. I suppose, when they were such, the perfect type, fully completed and preserved, might be as that at Ford, Northumberland, where the stones set in a circle around a central cist were almost entirely covered by the soil and small stones that had been heaped on the top. Denudation, removal of the central stones, partial completion of the mound, removal of several of the ring stones, and we would find reproduced the present condition of many of our stone circles and standing stones. More primitive still may be the earthen rings in Wiltshire, called disc-barrows.

Circles are also known in which the ring is not of separated but of contiguous stones like a retaining wall, or revetment, for the tumulus. And one of these in Devon is clearly not a tomb but the wall of a hut 30 feet in diameter. This occurrence indeed suggests that all these structures may be based on the hut idea, to provide a shelter, a home for the dead, and that such an idea is the root-one

growing and flowering in the course of time and the expansion of invention, into Temple, Pyramid, Mosque, and Gothic Cathedral.

An instructive example of a different purpose is found on Eskdale Moor, Cumberland. There five tumuli, each with its encircling stones, are surrounded by stone circles enclosing the whole. Thus the circle figures also as a graveyard enclosure. The larger structures generally reveal nothing but stone implements with the skeletons, but in the smaller bronze articles are found, and the cist of the earlier type yields to the cinerary urn, which is not, properly speaking, an urn to contain, but a cover for, the burnt bones. We describe such urns, when found *in situ*, as "inverted," but in doing so are ourselves committing an inversion, for the larger pieces were obviously made and designed to stand mouth downwards. In Egypt, from the latter end of the pre-dynastic period to the Third Dynasty, burials were made under large inverted bowls. It is a more economical carrying out, doubtless under the pressure of some prehistoric depression, with consequent application of scientific invention, of the same hut idea.

Yet there are numbers of circles in which no trace of sepulchre has been found. Avebury, the grandest in England, is one of these. In some, Bronze Age relics were found, but at Avebury there were Neolithic relics which must go back at least to the earliest Bronze period. But other sepulchral circles are clearly of the Iron Age, and one standing stone was found propped up with Roman tiles.

It is credible that these unsepulchral large circles were temples, not necessarily Druidic, but serving that general body of primitive belief and rite, out of which the Druids emerged as an organised religious hierarchy. We have no knowledge of when that took place, nor any justification, it seems to me, for the assumption that it was only a few hundred years before Cæsar landed in 52 B.C. That general body of primitive belief has left a vast residue of superstitious practice explored by Sir James Fraser, and which is understandable when it is conceived as nature worship,

imitative and propitiatory, concerned with the seasonal fortunes not so much of the arable as of the pastoral year and having its chief festivals in May and November. Worship of the sun would induce observation of the heavens, and Sir Norman Lockyer sought to explain Stonehenge and other circles as observatories. The outlying stones, so often a feature, he aligned with natural objects, gaps or points of hills, and observed the rising of the sun directly above them at the quarters of the agricultural year. He further observed the rising of a particular star nearby, and calculating the discrepancy between its present position and its exact alignment arrived at the date of the erection of the Stone Circle. By this means he dated Stonehenge as having been built in 1700 B.C. The Keswick Circle by the same method was dated 1400 B.C. The Girdle Stones in Eskdale, Dumfriesshire, were similarly calculated as having been erected in 1290 B.C.

These methods and conclusions applied to particular circles are not to be dismissed with such facile phrases, as "it is unlikely that in our cold and misty climate people ever indulged in such shivery practices," or that "there is no ethnographical warrant that primitive man of the culture level represented by the circles was capable of elaborate astronomical observations of this kind." We simply do not know his astronomical abilities, and there is less reason to be surprised at his hardihood in making observations than at his engineering feats in making many of these circles.

Stonehenge, it may be noted, presents two special developments not known elsewhere, the stones are dressed and squared, but more, there is employed a device new in megalithic structures — the superincumbent trilithons are secured on the uprights by a peg-and-socket lock. These features appear to indicate late construction and some familiarity with the technique of Greek and Roman temple building. It is not, in fact, beyond consideration, because of these features and late date, that Stonehenge may have been a temple in which Druidical rites were performed.

Finally there is another purpose for which some stone circles may have been erected. They may have been folk-moots, that is, ceremonial places of debate. I need say little about this, for it is well known that primitive men even at the present day frequent stone circles for solemn conferences.

The only sculpturing sometimes found on stone circles, though more frequently on the cists, are cup-and-rings. They may be of subsequent date to the circles, but if contemporaneous they show, whatever be the meaning of these symbols, fascination with the same design as the constructions themselves, the circle. Symbol of an enclosure, a shelter, continuing to the dead an essential of life, something of the protection of the cave, earth-dwelling or hut. Even to-day houselessness is terrible.

In conclusion, this particular circle by analogy with others which have been excavated would appear to be a burial of the Bronze Age long prior to any King Galdus. But let us note that those who made this his tomb were doing exactly what the Druid-struck did some centuries later. They were attaching to it a name which served as an explanation. And that is a supremely satisfying achievement. I recognise that in this severely compressed résumé of a large subject I have succeeded only in giving several names instead of one.

But following the good example of the Rev. Andrew Symson "herein I determine nothing."

1st SEPTEMBER, 1934.

The second Field Meeting was an afternoon excursion into Annandale, this being a joint meeting with Lockerbie Literary Society. Mr Reid, President of this Society, was accompanied by Mr Eric Eaglesham, President, and Mr D. Cormack, Secretary of the Lockerbie Society, and there was a company of about 50 or 60 members of each body.

The first place visited was Repentance Tower, where Mr A. Robertson, M.A., Headmaster of Hoddum Public School, gave a racy and interesting account of the Tower,

which, by the kindness of Captain E. Brook of Kinmount, was opened to the visitors, many of whom climbed to the top, whence a glorious view was obtained of the rolling Border country. A vote of thanks to Mr Robertson was proposed by Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, and thereafter a visit was paid to the ancient Kirk and Kirkyard of St. Mungo, where the speaker was Mr John Rafferty, formerly Headmaster of St. Mungo Public School. Mr Rafferty gave an account of what was known and conjectured as to the history of the Church, of which very little is known, and this was supplemented by Mr R. C. Reid. Mr Rafferty was cordially thanked on the motion of Mr A. Cameron Smith, and the members then left for Castlemilk, where they were received by Sir John and Lady Buchanan Jardine, who had generously provided tea. An opportunity was given of seeing the house and grounds, and afterwards Mr Reid gave some account of the various families who had owned the property, and particularly of the Maxwells. Mr Eric Eaglesham, of the Lockerbie Society, moved a hearty vote of thanks to Sir John and Lady Buchanan Jardine for their generous hospitality, and also to Mr Reid for his interesting address.

The papers of Mr Robertson, Mr Rafferty, and Mr Reid are printed in this number of the *Transactions*.

Repentance Tower.

By A. ROBERTSON.

In the long unsettlement called Scottish History, the sixteenth century seems to the general reader more unsettled than the others. It was the golden age of the Border Reiver. The record of these years is enlivened with raid and counter-raid, and the bale fires must often have carried their dread message from one end of the Scottish marches to the other. To us who know that the country was soon to pass into quieter waters, these blood-stained pages read like one last glorious orgy of killing. The reasons for this unrest are not far to seek. They are at once internal and external to the Scottish story. In the first place, the good

government of Scotland was hampered by two minorities in its reigning monarch — circumstances which always allowed lawlessness to raise its head. In the second place, the country was torn between two widely dissenting religious factions. Would Scotland maintain its auld alliance with France and cling to the ancient ways of Roman Catholicism? Or would it desert its long allegiance for a new and apparently unnatural friendship with the traditional foe on the other side of the debatable land and embrace the new Protestant doctrines, fresh from Wittenberg and Geneva? Finally the English throne was occupied by the masterful and dominant Tudors, one of whom, Henry VIII., beneath a surface bluffness and spirit of camaraderie, was certainly the most realistic King since the days of Edward the Hammer. He was out for an alliance by marriage with Scotland, and, there being no Scottish princess of suitable age to satisfy his well-known weakness for diversity in wedlock, he conceived the idea of uniting his infant son to an infant princess of Scottish birth. For all these reasons unrest in Scotland was widespread and faction was rife. Against a background of bloodshed and hatred, chicanery and secret dealing, there rises the tall and commanding tower under whose shadow we now stand.

This commanding position, which speaks to us

“Of ancient deeds so long forgot,
Of feuds whose memory was not,
Of forests, now laid waste and bare,
Of towers which harbour now the hare,”

determines the use to which Repentance Tower was put. Look around and see the wide landscape that it commands on every side. The incomparable arrangement of sky and sea, upland and pasture, wood and stream that one can see from the Tower justifies the opinion of many that it is the finest view in Dumfriesshire. To the south lie the long line of the Strath, the sleeve of the Solway, and the coasts of Cumberland. Westward the great mass of Criffel cuts out the further view, and in the other directions can be seen the undulating land stretching away to the hills in the east

and north. Before ever Repentance Tower was built, this hill in the old parish of Trailtrow was used as a site of a beacon in the chain of such fires to flash the tidings of war to the West Marches. It can be seen from a wide area. You can pick out Wardlaw Hill with its wooded crest from where you stand; Birrenswark with its Roman camp; the hills of Wamphray; and I have read that on a day when visibility is good it can be seen from Holme Cultrum's lofty nave where, in his father's grave, dark Musgrave was laid after his death in single combat with Cranstoun of Teviotside.

Trailtrow Hill is three hundred and fifty feet high. In the actual structure of the Tower there is nothing to determine its date. It stands in an ancient burial-ground, and is almost square in shape, being twenty-three feet nine inches by twenty-one feet six inches. The walls, five feet six inches in diameter, are loopholed on all sides. The strength of the walls lend colour to the view that in a last resort it could be used for defence, but more probably it was an observation tower and beacon turret, though the possibility of fighting round its walls must not be excluded. Unlike the peels in the Border, there are no fireplaces—from which it may be deduced that it was not intended for a place of residence. The roof is of stone, and in the centre is the turret where the beacon was lit. There is a little angle cupboard in one corner.

All these facts, however, become of secondary interest when one examines the strong double door that is the entrance to the Tower and which approximately faces north. The stairway which leads up to the door is a comparatively modern addition. It is the door lintel which rivets attention, for, carved on it in mixed Roman and Gothic letters is the single word "Repentance," the space available being completed by a rough carving of a bird at one end and a scroll, considered by some antiquarians to be a rude carving of a serpent, at the other. It is this single word that gives the Tower not only its name but its strangely human interest. Thanks to the labours of many antiquarians and particularly Dr. George Neilson, there comes to us

across the troubled years a story of passion and ambition, of treachery and remorse.

Many legends have become entwined with the application and interpretation of this word, but all of them have this factor in common—the word “repentance” must be taken literally; that this tower represents in a practical and patriotic way remorse for a deed of shame, penance for treachery in a way that would be helpful to people who had suffered by that treachery. Another common element is that the Tower was built by a Lord Herries.

According to one story, Trailltrow Chapel was pillaged to build Hoddom Castle, and the Baron who did so condoned at the same time his sacrilege by building this tower, with the word “Repentance” carved upon it. Again, it is stated that the Tower was built for a beacon by a Lord Herries, an enemy of Queen Mary, who subsequently repented and turned Roman Catholic. Still another story has it that a Lord Herries built it as an expiation of the murder of prisoners whose lives had been guaranteed. John the Reif had made a raid into England and was re-crossing the Channel of the Solway with a boat load of prisoners. A storm blew up the Firth, and, to compass his own safety, the Baron, with a directness characteristic of the age, quietly despatched several prisoners and dropped his victims into the stormy waters. Remorse overtook him in his later life, and this Tower is a monument to his repentance.

The generally accepted story is, however, a much longer and more involved one than the three I have mentioned. It has all the elements of high tragedy—love, broken vows, patriotism, ambition, remorse—and has been worked out with scholarly and loving care by Dr. George Neilson, in whose fascinating pages it reads like the scenario of a modern film drama. Let me try to tell you as briefly as possible the oft-told tale.

In 1543, during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots, the country was being governed by the Earl of Arran as Regent, and in that year there died Lord Herries, who at that time owned the broad acres of Hoddom. He had no

male issue, and his lands fell to be divided among his three daughters — Agnes, Janet, and Catherine — the right of selecting husbands for these three far from tocherless daughters being within the jurisdiction of Arran, acting for the Crown. Agnes, who succeeded to the title, was the biggest prize in the matrimonial lucky-bag, and for her hand there were two suitors — Lord John Hamilton, son of the Earl of Arran, and John Maxwell, second son of Lord Maxwell. Of the former we know little, but John Maxwell quite clearly must have been a man of courage and ambition, and something of an opportunist. The unhappy state of Scotland to which I referred at the outset reached an acute stage about the middle of the century, and the death of Henry VIII. did nothing to relieve the situation. His soul went marching on. The English soldiery overran Dumfriesshire, and its inhabitants became “assured” Scots. They swore allegiance to the English king, and gave hostages as security. One of these assured Scots was John Maxwell, whose hostages were fifteen of his younger relatives. Wearing the Red Cross of St. George, he and a thousand of his followers were enrolled in a band commanded by the Earl of Lennox.

The scene now shifts to Nithsdale. Wharton, the English Lord of the West Marches, arranged to meet John Maxwell and his followers at Dumfries in 1548: a raid of some sort was doubtlessly intended. The Scottish Lords were, however, busy behind the scenes to check the growing power and influence of the English, and on the eve of the gathering of forces, John Maxwell met his uncle, Douglas of Drumlanrig, in Keir Chapel. There Drumlanrig made a definite offer to the young man, and made it with the concurrence of the Regent Arran. If he double-crossed the English, he would get the hand of Agnes Herries. The young man was placed in a difficult position. Life was cheap in those days and younger relatives often troublesome. Possibly he was in love with the fair Agnes. And certainly to the landless second son, the broad acres of Hoddom beckoned alluringly. At any rate, as the short

February day darkened in Keir Chapel, John Maxwell swore to break his oath and leave his hostages to the tender mercies of an infuriated Warden.

The next day, Englishmen and assured Scots marched side by side up the lovely valley of the Nith till they reached Durisdeer. Douglas and his forces were in view and the motley band of English and Scots prepared to meet them. Suddenly a black flag was hoisted and John Maxwell had broken his pledged word. Much confused fighting followed, and it is said that John Maxwell escaped only with great difficulty. Nemesis quickly followed the breaking of his oath, for of the fifteen hostages Wharton at once hanged fourteen, George Herries of Terraughtie escaping on account of his youth. John Maxwell challenged Wharton to single combat, and received the only answer he could expect. His broken faith and perjured oath were dangled in front of him, and he was curtly advised to ask God's mercy and the pardon of the King's Majesty.

In due course John Maxwell married Agnes Herries, entered into possession of one-third of the lands of Hoddom, and became John, Lord Herries. The other two-thirds of the estate went to his rival in love, Lord John Hamilton, son of the Earl of Arran, and in 1561 these were sold to Lord Herries. The lands of Hoddom did not, however, include the site of Repentance Tower. The Trailtrow lands came to him through his own family. His elder brother died in 1562, and Lord Herries became the guardian of two nephews. In his capacity of guardian of his elder nephew, he obtained a charter in his favour of a considerable extent of land in Trailtrow. There he built Hoddom Castle, which according to old maps is precedent in point of time to Repentance Tower. There is no mention of Repentance Tower until 1562, though Trailtrow Hill is mentioned in the Lincluden Border Ordinance (1548) as being the site of a bale fire. The preceptor of Trailtrow, Alexander Menzies, states quite definitely that Trailtrow Chapel was destroyed and its lands seized. This lends support to the theory that

the Tower stands on the site of Trailtrow Chapel and explains the surrounding burial ground.

In his capacity as Warden of the West Marches Lord Herries had a lively interest in the chain of beacons that spread the news of raid and counter-raid. It seems probable, therefore, that he built this solid Tower, which would be a source of help and safety to all the country round. He saw that it was maintained in good repair, and continued his interest in it even after he sold it to his nephew, Lord Maxwell. The age was bloodthirsty and cruel, and, as I read and re-read the story, I find it increasingly difficult to believe that a man so callous and mercenary as Lord Herries was troubled by feelings of remorse. Perhaps the word "Repentance" was carved on the lintel in a whimsical mood that passed as swiftly as Solway's tide. Or does a subtle irony underlie the word? Wharton had long ago counselled him to seek the mercy of God. In his able and scheming mind, did he see his form of "Repentance" as being a continual source of trouble to the perfidious English and a vexation to the soul of Wharton? And yet other thoughts prevail. Often he must have stood where we stand now—with all this variously coloured county spread out before him; and as the winds of autumn swept up the Solway and beat upon his face, or as the tender beauty of spring's awakening touched even his realistic spirit, or as he saw the broad countryside pearled in August's haze, remorse smote him. He recalled these fourteen young souls cut off at Hairibee in their morn's quickening, and deprived, through his treachery, of all these lovely things. In that mood he reared this stately monument as an expiation of his cancelled faith.

The Kirk and Parish of St. Mungo.

By J. RAFFERTY.

When the company arrived at St. Mungo Churchyard an address was given by Mr John Rafferty. He said they were now standing before the ruins of the old Parish Church

dedicated to St Mungo. Although the date on the lintel of what was the chancel door did not show that the ruin was of any great age, it was not the date of the original church, but of a reconstruction of the southern wall. There was abundant evidence to satisfy anyone that there had been a place of worship there from very early times, the evidence of foundation coins, and of place names—Kirkwood, Kirkbank, and Kirkbankhead. There was no other ecclesiastical ruin and no other churchyard in the parish. All round them lay the dust of many generations of parishioners—laird and loon, priest and presbyter, golden lads and girls. No one had written the story of the parish, and he could not on a bright summer afternoon call on any modern witch of Endor to raise up for his own and their enlightenment “shades” to tell them of the past. Could this be done there would be no need of a learned society such as theirs, which, by patient investigation and reasoned inference, was able to reveal to them the secrets of a bygone age.

If the past were all certitude there would be no Gray's elegies, no haunting quatrains :

“ Will no one tell me what she sings?
 Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow,
 For old unhappy far-off things,
 And battles long ago.”

But he thought that there was enough to be found in old documents for his purpose that day. It was very probable that the church was always called St. Mungo, for all that district at one time was part of the See of Glasgow founded by St. Kentigern, better known perhaps as St. Mungo. They heard of the parish as early as the time of David I., “the Sair Saint.” He appointed a body of wise men to hold an “inquisitio” with a view to restoring lands of which the Church had been deprived, probably by baronial spoliation. In a list of parishes coming under the survey of this commission there were about a score of names still legible, and among these names were Drumsdale, Abermilk, and Hoddholm. Now the name of Abermilk, coming between what were now Dryfesdale and Hoddom, could only represent that

parish in which they were. It was quite a good name for the parish, for the Water of Milk ran through the parish and had its confluence with the Annan about a mile farther south.

At a later date they found another reference to the parish. All that district was formerly the domain of the Bruces, who were Lords of Annandale. The second Bruce to hold those lands granted to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, *pro salute suae animae*, churches in Moffat, Dryfesdale, Castlemilk, and Hoddom. Here they had the same parish under a new name, but still in the company of its good neighbours, Lockerbie and Ecclefechan.

Why did the parish change its name to St. Mungo? A former minister had suggested that the people did not want the name of their parish to remind them of some proud feudal lord, with his exactions and corvées. All the grain had to be ground at the mill at Castlemilk, and it was well known that in Dumfriesshire the severity of the exactions for this service were only equalled in Scotland by those of Ross-shire. And so the minister concluded that the people preferred that their parish should be named after the good and kindly saint rather than after the domain of their feudal lord. That was the suggestion of a minister; he may not, as he was a man of great personality, have been getting on too well with his heritors at the time of recording his views. But the speaker would suggest that the real explanation was simply that the people of the parish were following a custom. Let them consider the number of parishes either named after a Saint or that had names compounded with Kil, Kirk, Eccles or Eagles (*église*).

Most of the civic history of the parish centred round Castlemilk. Their president was to deal with that. He would return to the ruined church before which they were. The Statistical Account showed that it was cruciform in shape, and if they walked round what was left they would see that the ruin itself was only a part of the original edifice. At the chancel door—recently built up—there had been the gorgets, an iron ring with a hinge that locked round the neck of a culprit. And there in sackcloth during

the hours of service stood the sinner—rebellious, perhaps, rather than penitent. He would leave to their imagination the feelings this spectacle of degradation aroused and the “din and clatter” created in a country parish where everybody was known and where there could be few interests at that time but God and their neighbours. He was glad to be able to tell them that the gorgets were stolen about 1754, and they were perhaps still lying in the Rotchel or the depths of the manse pool. Did the speaker know what particular turf covered the dust of him who had the hardihood to remove this instrument of ecclesiastical torture, he would steal away and gather wild flowers for his grave, for such punishments, even if deterrent, were seldom redemptive: nor was the justice of Kirk Sessions always even-handed!

There was a record of the collection taken in the church before them for the widows and orphans after Waterloo, and the minister calls Bonaparte “that arch fiend of hell, the Emperor Napoleon,” and there is a record of the last collection taken there, and given to one of the elders to take to an aged parishioner “fast ripening for glory.”

In 1841 a new church was built near the centre of the parish—very convenient for the parishioners, but a long way from the manse. Crosses were put on the corners of the church, but were broken off, and the spheres on which the crosses were mounted could still be seen. Communion tokens with crosses on them were also moulded. He did not think these tokens were ever used, and they still remained the property of the Kirk Session. That church was now the school, and the present beautiful church—the gift to the parish of the first Sir Robert Jardine—they would see when they crossed Nutholmhill ridge and looked down into the neighbouring valley. As there was little time left to him to say more, the company would, he was sure, prefer to spend it in wandering round that beautiful last resting place of those who had lived, “toiling, rejoicing, and sorrowing” in that secluded, lovely vale of the Water of Milk.

Castlemilk.

By R. C. REID.

If we turn to the Report of the Historical Monuments Commission for Dumfriesshire for its observations of this site we will be sadly disillusioned. It merely states that the Ordnance Survey indicates a site at Castlemilk.¹ That is not very helpful; but it must be admitted that there are some grounds for hesitation on the part of the experts of the Commission. Nevertheless I think there is justification for putting forward some tentative suggestions.

From the earliest historical times there must have been some defensive erection at this spot. The site is a typical one, of immense defensive strength. It is situated at the very end of a peninsula of land just where its two very lofty and precipitous sides meet at an apex. We have only to walk along the footpath that skirts its edge to realise that in the days of the sword and battleaxe it must have been nigh impregnable to assault on these two sides. Anyone who essayed the scaling of these banks would even to-day be an easy victim to a defender awaiting him upon the summit. On two sides, then, there is an ideal defence. The third side alone, namely, the approach across the sunk rose garden, is vulnerable. But it may not always have been so. It is incredible to suggest aught else. The usual practice must have been followed here, and a wide and deep fosse must have cut off the apex of this site and completed the defences. That it has entirely disappeared we must ascribe to the fact that this site has been in constant occupation probably since the 13th century. There must have been a series of forgotten Castlemilks, the precursors of the present stately edifice that adjoins this site. Of the first we can only hazard a conjecture. Of the second we have contemporary illustration; of the third a passing reference. The fourth disappeared in 1796 to make way for the present Castle; and there may have been others of which we know nothing.

The ancient manor of Castlemilk, which was probably coterminous with the modern parish, was part of the huge

¹ No. 546.

grant of Annandale to the first Brus. But that family does not seem to have granted it to any of their followers. At any rate prior to the mid-14th century there is no record of any other family in possession. Chalmers asserts that the Brus family built a castle here in the 12th century.² This is most probable, and, if correct, we should expect a mote on this site. Now the recognised definition of a mote is an artificial (or partly artificial) mound surrounded by a ditch and surmounted by a wooden tower within a palisade. The mound varies in size and height, and often an entrenched bailey or courtyard is adjoined. If we accept this lowly mound that still stands here, as the mote, we have still to explain the absence of surrounding ditch and adjoining bailey. Nevertheless I suggest that here stood the original Mote of the Brus. At one time it must have been five times as high, and may well have had a surrounding ditch. Later edifices on this spot had no use for the ditch, which was filled up by truncating the mound. The bailey, if ever existent, obviously must have been placed between the mound and the outer fosse, which equally must have formed the base of this triangular site. The disappearance of a bailey is not an uncommon event, but the absence of an outer fosse needs more explanation. I would suggest, with some hesitation, that the fosse is now represented by the sunk garden, though how wide and deep it was no one can say.

That wooden tower upon a mound, the first castle, must have lasted till the manor passed to the Stewart family, the first member of which connected with Castlemilk was Sir John Stewart, Lord of Castlemilk in 1387, who on the death of his father became Sir John Stewart of Darnley. It has been said, with little plausibility and no proof, that the Stewarts of Darnley inherited Castlemilk through the marriage of Walter, 6th High Stewart of Scotland, with Lady Marjory Brus. But the Stewarts of Darnley are descended from a younger son of Alexander, 4th High Stewart. All, therefore, that we can say is that at the end

² *Caledonia* (1889), v., 187. He gives no evidence.

of the 14th century Castlemilk was owned by the Stewarts of Darnley, who later became Earls of Lennox.

The Earls of Lennox never lived here. Instead they feued the estate, retaining the superiority. The Castlemilk estate at that time was a 60 merk land. Two-thirds of it, which have ever since been known as the "twa pairtis," were feued to Sir William Stewart of Jedworth and of Castlemilk, who was killed in France in 1402. The remaining third, known as "the thrid of Castlemilk" or Middleshaw, may also have been his, but was shortly afterwards in the hands of another branch of the Stewart family. The history of these sections of the property and their various Stewart owners, sometimes bearing the same Christian name, is so involved and complex that I will only give an outline to-day.

Sir William Stewart of the "twa pairtis" of Castlemilk was one of the greatest warriors of his age, serving with his brother, Sir John Stewart of Darnley, in the Scottish forces in France. In every battlefield of France he figured prominently, and centuries after his death there still raged a battle round his memory, in which every genealogist of the house of Stewart entered the lists. To this day it cannot be proved that he was brother to Sir John Stewart of Darnley. From his eldest son is descended the Earl of Galloway, who, if the missing evidence was forthcoming, would be the undoubted head of the Royal House of Stewart, since the death of Henry Stewart, Cardinal of York, in 1807.

Sir William Stewart's younger son, also a Sir William, succeeded to Castlemilk, and his younger son, Mathew, acquired the lands of Cassiltoun in Lanarkshire before he succeeded his nephew. Thereafter Cassiltoun was their main seat.

Six generations later, in 1578, Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk feued the "twa pairtis" of Castlemilk, including the Tower, to John, Lord Maxwell, at a feu duty of 40 merks, undertaking to obtain a charter of confirmation from the Earl of Lennox as superior.³ In this way the property and possession of the "twa pairtis" or 40 merk-

³ *Andrew Stuart*, pp. 365 and 367.

land of Castlemilk passed from the Stewarts to the Maxwells, the Stewarts retiring to Cassiltoun, which they re-named Castlemilk. They are now represented by the Shaw-Stewarts of Greenock.

It will be noticed that the Tower was included in the feu to Lord Maxwell. A contemporary drawing still exists of that Tower.⁴ It was a sketch, made by some unnamed English spy about the year 1566, accompanied by a full report on the Scottish Western March in view of a contemplated English invasion. The draughtsmanship of this and other sketches of Scottish castles may be good, but their accuracy can easily be impugned. The sketch of Cardoness is unrecognisable; Caerlaverock is recognisable, but its triangular lay-out has been turned into a rectangle. The report itself shows plenty of local knowledge, but it refers to persons as living who had been long since dead. It is probably a report compiled by some clerk from information received from spies. To that extent its reliability may not always stand the test. The sketch shows a tower of two storeys entered by a door in the upper floor, to which access is had by means of a ladder, a feature indicating a 15th century structure. The text of the Report says very little of Castlemilk, only mentioning that its walls were 11 feet thick. The drawing shows this Tower standing on a mound, which cannot, of course, be this mound. Indeed, I assume that the mound of the drawing is merely an attempt to depict the precipitous sides of this peninsular site. We may, I think, look for the position of that tower as lying between the present mound and the sunk garden. The present Laird of Castlemilk can inform us that the well-kept turf on this area was dug up during the war, when many indications of masonry were brought to light. That is all we know about the second castle on this site.

In 1608 John, 9th Lord Maxwell, slew Johnstone of Lochwood near Trailflat. His lands were forfeited, and in January, 1610, the Crown granted Castlemilk to Sir Thomas

⁴ *Bruce Armstrong*, app. lxx. A block from the drawing is given in the *Dumfriesshire Report of Hist. Monuments Com.*

Hamilton of Bynney.⁵ Within six months Hamilton resigned the property in favour of Mr John Johnstone, advocate, a well-known man in his day, son of a wealthy Edinburgh merchant, James Johnstone of Kellobanks. The new owner of the "twa pairtis" of Castlemilk had been for a time Commendator of Sauseat Abbey, and also Commendator of Holywood. In 1611 he supplanted John Carruthers of Holmains in the office of Steward of Annandale. Holmains had not been active in his duties as collector of taxation. Indeed there were arrears as far back as 1597.⁶ It was whilst he was engaged on these duties that the advocate met his death when attempting to cross the Water of Milk whilst in flood. We derive our knowledge of his fate from a complaint of the Presbytery of Lochmaben against a heritor who was opposing their efforts to build a bridge over the Milk in 1630.⁷ The advocate's son, Thomas Johnstone of Castlemilk, squandered all his patrimony. He sold Castlemilk in 1623 and went abroad, being last heard of in 1625 as a Captain in the Army of Gustavus Adolphus. The purchaser was John Murray, Earl of Annandale, who, however, was only acting as a substitute for Robert Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale, and promptly assigned the Twa Pairtis of Castlemilk to Nithsdale, who sold the lands to John Maxwell of Castlemilk, a notorious character of his day.⁸ About the same time Murray acquired the remaining "thrid of Castlemilk" from William Maxwell of Kirkhouse.

The old Tower of Castlemilk in its day must have seen many distinguished personages within its walls. Just before the Rout at Solway Moss James V. himself was at Castlemilk. In 1542 Wharton wrote to Hertford that "the King of Scottis is repared on this Thurrisdaye at night, as he (John Musgrave of Bewcastle) seith, to the Castell of Mylke which is not xx myle from Carlile."⁹ Again, on 25th October,

⁵ *R.M.S.*, 1608-20, 221.

⁶ *Records of Carruthers Family*, p. 96.

⁷ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, iii., 477.

⁸ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, viii., f. 55.

⁹ *Hamilton Papers*, I., lxxx.

1569, the Regent Murray held Court at Castlemilk and afterwards at Dumfries.¹⁰ Thus "at the Camp by Water of Milk" the Laird of Lochwood became "surety for John Johnstone of Howgill as pledge of the auld gang of Wamphray."¹¹

Two other references to the Tower or Castle of Castlemilk deserve brief allusion, though considerable historical research is needed before they can be accepted. In a footnote to the Statistical Account of 1841, which contains several demonstrable errors, it is stated that the Castle was besieged by the Duke of Somerset during the minority of Edward VI. (1547-1553). Somerset, of course, invaded Scotland by the East Coast. But Lord Wharton was busy in Dumfriesshire, and captured Castlemilk.¹²

On 16th September, 1547, the renegade Lennox and Wharton wrote to Somerset as follows: "On Saturday we marched to Castlemilk sixteen miles and summoned the Captain—'Jamys Stewerd'—to surrender, who answered that if he might see the Earl of Lennox's face he would deliver the 'hold' to him, and requested that he would send him his gloves as a token that he was there. Whereat he delivered the keys to the Earl of Lennox. We encamped there that night and put in one Fergus Graham with 20 foot (12 of them hagbutters) to keep it; his pay as Captain was 2/- and his men 6d a day, a month's wage being paid in advance."¹³

Again in 1588, when Lord Maxwell was in arms on behalf of a Spanish invasion of England, James VI. entered Dumfriesshire with an army, took Lochmaben Castle, and burned Castlemilk.¹⁴ Lastly, during the Commonwealth, it is stated to have stood a long siege by Cromwell.¹⁵ Cromwell, as far as we know, was never in Dumfriesshire, but

¹⁰ *Annandale Book*, I., lxvii.

¹¹ *Annandale Book*.

¹² *Caledonia* (1824), v., 97.

¹³ *Cal. of Scottish Papers*, I., p. 19.

¹⁴ *Caledonia* (1824), vi., 110.

¹⁵ *Statistical Account*, 1841, p. 211.

his forces under Colonel Home bombarded and took Car-laverock, and may well have done the same to Castlemilk. That may be the reason why not a stone of Castlemilk Tower remains.

About the year 1740 a new proprietor of Castlemilk appears in the person of John Lidderdale, who after his sale of the estate of St. Mary's Isle, which his family had acquired by marriage shortly after the Reformation, bought the "Twa Pairtis" from the last Maxwell of Castlemilk. His son, Captain Thomas Lidderdale, sold it to a Liverpool merchant named George Armstrong, who had made a fortune in the East, and was a friend of Andrew Johnstone of Halleaths. He lived in a house of the Lidderdales which stood where now is the sunk garden. I understand that a picture of that house still survives. On Armstrong's death the estate was purchased in 1854 for Joseph Jardine, a brother of the founder of the great Jardine Matheson firm. Joseph died in 1861, and was succeeded by his youngest brother, Sir Robert Jardine, whose grandson is the present owner and our host to-day.

Boreland Mote, Kirkcowan.

By R. C. REID.

The Mote of Boreland takes us back to the beginning of documented history, when Anglo-Norman feudal ideas and institutions were being introduced into Galloway. No precise date can be assigned to it, but its distance from the sea may perhaps indicate that it belonged to the earlier period, when Fergus was introducing from the south both settlers and Churchmen, rather than to the time when Roland with a fresh band of Southerners was winning back his principality with the sword.

All that we can be sure of is that some Anglo-Norman

was given a grant of land in Kirkcowan, and, finding this long ridge of gravel lapped as it then was by the Bladenoch, proceeded to throw up an earthen mote on the highest point of the ridge, to surround it with a ditch some 20 feet in width and still some 5 feet 6 inches in depth, and to crown the summit with a wooden palisade within which was his wooden tower or house, the site of which is to this day still marked by a slight depression.

Of the size of his territorial holding we have no indication, though originally it may have included the whole parish. In later times it amounted to a 38 merkland,¹ roughly equivalent to a £20 land which in England was considered the approximate unit for a Knight's fee.² But though we know that the English feudal system was adopted in Scotland, we have no evidence that Knights' fees were known in Galloway, though they were adopted in Annandale.

Of the name of this settler we are ignorant, but we may be sure that he took his name from his newly acquired lands; and when at a later date we find mention of a de Cloggestone family who developed into Clugston of Clugston or of that Ilk we may be sure that we have his descendants. For this Mote of Boreland should more properly be called the Mote of Clugston, as it stands on the farm that was formerly known as Boreland of Clugston.³

The family of Clugston never attained any importance, though through it Kirkcowan was represented at the battles of Dunbar and Flodden. Only one of the family figures on the national canvas.

After the Battle of Dunbar Edward I. took a large number of Scottish prisoners in Dunbar Castle. Amongst them was Sir John de Cloggestone, who was committed to Kenilworth Castle in 1296.⁴ He did not stay there long, for on 4th September, 1297, he was set at liberty and his lands in

¹ *Ex. R.*, xv., 675.

² Round's *Feudal England*, 232.

³ *R.M.S.*, 1424/1513, 2520.

⁴ *Bain*, ii., 177.

Scotland restored to him.⁵ From the fact that he does not again figure on record we may assume either that he did not again take up arms or else died soon after.

Nearly two centuries elapse before we hear of the Clugstons again, when in 1471 John Clugston paid his feudal dues for relief and received sasine in his lands.⁶ In 1493 Patrick Clugston, his son, had sasine,⁷ but must have been under age, for in 1497 the gift of his marriage was granted to John Dunbar of Mochrum.⁸ Now that was a very valuable feudal casualty, for it meant that Dunbar had to choose and provide the bride, which could be made a source of considerable financial pickings for himself. It is true that Dunbar had by law to provide a lady of the same social status as the bridegroom. A peasant's daughter could have been legally declined by Patrick Clugston. But subject to that provision Dunbar's obvious choice would be a lady whose family was anxious to get her married and was willing to pay something to Dunbar for that privilege. Furthermore, when the question of dower came to be considered, it was invariably found that the bridegroom saw but little of the tocher, the bulk of which had a habit of sticking to the fingers of the person who had the gift of the marriage. So Dunbar was in clover. After all, he was only following the practice of the age, and though he had secured the gift from the Crown he had had to pay the Crown handsomely for it.

The lady he produced was his niece, Elizabeth, daughter of the deceased Alexander Dunbar, his brother. Elizabeth Dunbar may not have been a good looker—she may have been consumptive or had a squint or even a lurid past—but whatever was the reason, Patrick would not have her and refused to accept her as his wife. He thereby incurred the

⁵ *Rot. Scot.*, i., 49a.

⁶ *Ex. R.*, viii., xix., 675.

⁷ *Ex. R.*, xi., 461.

⁸ *R.S.S.*, i., 107.

feudal penalty known as the "single avail" of the marriage.⁹ He had not married anyone else, for then he would have incurred the "double avail," which no doubt would have suited Dunbar even better. But he certainly did not marry Elizabeth, for Dunbar sued Patrick and obtained judgment in £100 for the single avail and 10 merks for expenses.¹⁰

What happened to Elizabeth is not known, but we may be sure that Dunbar's enmity pursued Patrick for the insult to his niece. Within a twelvemonth Patrick had to resign in favour of Dunbar about half his lands, obtaining a new Crown charter for himself of the rest, which included the 4 merkland of Boreland,¹¹ and early in the following year (1500) sold even that rest to Dunbar.¹²

Patrick Clugston of that Ilk thus disappeared from history and record, and John Dunbar of Mochrum reigned in his stead. When Dunbar was killed a few years later he left all the Clugstone estates to his younger son, Sir Patrick Dunbar, in whose favour they were erected into the barony of Clugstone.¹³ The baron apparently perished at Flodden, for when in 1528 his daughter and heiress, Margaret Dunbar, was infeft, it is stated that the 38 merkland of Clugstoun had been in the hands of the Crown for 15 years.¹⁴ Margaret married, as his second wife, Sir Alexander Stewart, 6th of Garlies,¹⁵ carrying the barony of Clugston into that family, where it remained till recent times.

I have been asked, when was this mote last inhabited?

⁹ Avail (or value) was the sum payable to a superior by the heir of a deceased vassal, on becoming marriageable. In 1674 it was fixed at three years' rent of the vassal's estate. "Double avail" was due where the superior offered a wife of equal social status who had publicly declared her readiness to marry the heir, but whom the heir not only refused to marry but actually married another.

¹⁰ *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 334.

¹¹ *R.M.S.*, 1424/1513, 2521 and 2520.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2578.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 3294.

¹⁴ *Ex. R.*, xv., 675.

¹⁵ *Scots Peerage*, iv., 155.

We have reason to believe that some of them were inhabited well into the 15th century. There is no tower or other known site of a building on these lands. It is therefore possible that the last Clugston of that Ilk may have lived here. But long after its residential character had ceased it would be used as a court hill and gathering place. As such it was used in July, 1580, when Lochinvar, in justice to his friend Sandy Campbell, called on the Laird of Barnbarroch to meet him at "the moit of Clugstoun in weirlyke manner" in order to harry the lairds of Bargany and Garthland.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Barnbarroch Papers*, p. 228.

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EDITORIAL.

Members working on local Natural History or Archæological Subjects are asked to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, who will be glad to have papers submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

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

Exchanges, Presentations and Exhibits should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Mr J. Egarr, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

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

SESSION 1934-35.

26th October, 1934.

Annual General Meeting.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on above date in the Ewart Library.

The minutes of last Annual General Meeting were read and unanimously approved.

The Secretary read the annual report, from which it appears that the membership now stands at 233: 11 members have died and 6 resigned.

Mention was also made of the transfer of the Society's local material to the new Municipal Museum at the Observatory. An agreement was drawn up between this Society and the Town Council regarding the loan and care of these exhibits. (A copy will be found appended.) The Society was much indebted for the help of Mr R. D. Maxwell, solicitor, in this. The Observatory Building had been put in a proper state of repair and a curator and assistant curator appointed.

At the conclusion of the session the resignation of the Secretary was accepted and Mr J. Egarr of the Dumfriesshire Libraries appointed, Mrs Shirley continuing meantime as Editor of *Transactions*.

The Treasurer's report was submitted by Miss Rafferty, and a statement of accounts will be found at the end of the present volume.

Mr Reid suggested that the office-bearers should be elected *en bloc*, and this was agreed to with one exception. Owing to the death of Mr G. F. Scott Elliot, a vacancy occurred in the list of Vice-Presidents. Mr Reid proposed that Mr H. S. Gladstone, Capenoch, a former President of the Society, should be elected, and this was agreed to.

The Secretary pointed out that owing to an oversight last session, Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, F.S.A.(Scot.), who had been Treasurer for many years and President for the last three, had not been elected an office-bearer, and so much of his valuable experience and help had been lost to them. Mr Reid proposed that Mr M'Kerrow should be elected an additional Vice-President, and this was unanimously approved.

A letter was read from Mr H. Truckell, Dumfries, calling attention to the condition of St. Queran's Well, in the near neighbourhood of the town, and Mr Reid undertook to enquire into the matter and report.

Mr Reid referred to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mr G. F. Scott Elliot, a former President, and paid a warm tribute to his work both as President and as a contributor to the *Transactions*.

The Secretary announced the presentation by Dr. Mac-Millan, Dunfermline, of a copy of his recently published book, "John Hepburn of Urr."

Mr T. A. Halliday exhibited a silver medal struck in honour of the opening of Dumfries Observatory Museum in 1935.

The following new members were proposed and agreed to: Mrs G. F. Scott Elliot, Glasserton, Wigtown; Mr Grant, Postmaster, Dumfries; Miss J. J. Murray, New Abbey Road, Maxwelltown; Dr. G. H. Sinclair, M.B., Ch.B., The Green, Lockerbie; Provost J. Jardine, Fernbank, Lockerbie; Dr. W. J. Raitt, M.B., Ch.B., Assistant Physician, C.R.I., Dumfries; Mr and Mrs Gaskell, Auchinbrack, Thornhill; Mr W. R. Morton, Huntly Lodge, Moffat; Mr O. J. Pullen, The Highway, Closeburn; Rev. Dr. King, Greyfriars' Manse, Dumfries; Mr E. Fyfe, New Abbey

Road, Maxwelltown; Mr A. Kennedy, Ardvoulin, Ayr; Miss Drysdale, St. Michael Street School, Dumfries.

This concluded the business.

Mr Reid then delivered his Presidential Address on "John Maxwell of Castlemilk," which will be found below.

John Maxwell of Castlemilk.

By R. C. REID.

When this year the Society was entertained so regally at Castlemilk time admitted of only an outline of its history being given. The Maxwells of Castlemilk were merely mentioned as amongst its lairds. No attempt was made to give any account of them. Yet enough material survives to enable this sketch of the best known of those lairds—John Maxwell of Castlemilk—to be compiled.

Though his pedigree contained a bar sinister, yet John Maxwell came of ennobled stock. Such a defect in the age in which he lived imposed no slur upon its bearer, and though in certain circumstances, such as intestacy, there was a legal disability, it had no apparent effect of a social or any other nature. In the early 17th century life was a very primitive affair. A few lairds were still unable to inscribe their signature, and the majority of those who could were almost incapable of writing a coherent letter. The amenities of life were few; sanitation was unknown; food was frequently scarce. Amusements were confined to the local Fairs, or a law suit, and almost the only variety in life was when a neighbouring minister preached in the pulpit. For a Calvinism, austere and dreary, brooded over the land.

In these modern days, when life is full of infinite variety, when religion no longer attempts to stifle individual character but rests content with guiding rather than forcing it along the path of righteousness, parents take the keenest interest in the free development of character in their children. They take a pride in every new trait that they display, and en-

courage them to develop. Parents are no longer content to say of a boy, "How like his father." They want him to be something different—better, in fact, than his father. But in the early 17th century that was impossible; with a strictly limited horizon and a terribly circumscribed environment, new traits of character were hard to develop. They were not encouraged, rather suppressed. In that age "like father, like son" was the rule rather than the exception.

If, therefore, we wish to get some understanding of the character of John Maxwell of Castlemilk, it is necessary to take a brief glimpse at what is known of his father, Robert Maxwell.

Robert Maxwell, the first of that family to be associated with the lands of Castlemilk, was a natural son of Robert, 6th Lord Maxwell, and therefore a brother of that John, 8th Lord Maxwell, who till his death at Dryfesands in 1593, was Earl of Morton. The circumstances of his birth and the fact that he was a landless dependant on his brother rendered him a suitable tool in any act of aggression or of violence undertaken by Lord Maxwell. In consequence he is found taking an active part in the long-drawn feud between the Maxwell family and the Johnstone clan. In 1579 he was called on by the Privy Council to answer such things (unspecified) as be laid to his charge.¹ He, of course, did not appear and was put to the horn,² which, however, did not prevent him figuring in an affray in Dumfries, where he assaulted Robert Johnston of Carnsalloch "to the effusione of his bluid in gret quantitie."³ In consequence he must have been lodged in Dumbarton Castle, for at the close of the year 1579 Lord Maxwell found caution in £1000 that if released from Dumbarton Robert would keep ward in Edinburgh.⁴ It must have been after his return from this detention that Robert Maxwell's interest in Castlemilk commenced, for as Robert Maxwell of Castlemilk he witnessed in 1582

¹ *R.P.C.*, III., 134.

² *Ibid.*, 163.

³ *R.P.C.*, III., 265.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 273.

Morton's feu of the lands of Turmoir, Mantarig, and Robert-hill to the Johnstones of Lockerbie.⁵ When in 1585 the grant of the Earldom of Morton was revoked in consequence of Lord Maxwell's burning of the house of Lochwood, slaying its occupants or transporting them to England, a proclamation was issued that no one assist or inter-commune with Lord Maxwell or Robert Maxwell, his natural brother, or even to assist their wives and families with "meit, drink, hous, or harbery."⁶ Clearly Robert Maxwell was regarded by the Crown as a leader in the Maxwell disturbances.

In 1587 Robert Maxwell of Castlemilk witnessed a bond by Sir Robert Maxwell of Dinwiddie and other Maxwells that they would do nothing "to prejudice of the trew and christeane religioun presentlie authorizit and professit within this realme."⁷

In 1588 Lord Maxwell in the Catholic interest raised a rebellion in the south-west, and Robert was once more in the thick of it. The public were again ordered not to inter-commune with him for assisting Lord Maxwell in the rebellion.⁸ In the eyes of the Crown he was "the principal inventair, devysare, houndar and steirare up" of all troubles, and the rebellion in particular. Being unable to deal with him, the Privy Council offered a reward of £2000 to any loyal subject who produced him dead or alive, and even rebels and fugitives from the law were offered free pardon and £1000 cash to bring him alive to the King or his head if slain.⁹ But these offers were of no avail. Neither Robert nor his head were forthcoming; and in the following year, as the King had gone awooing in Denmark, Lord Hamilton as Governor of the Marches decided to try another policy. If Robert Maxwell could not be brought to heel by force or guile, his turbulence might yet be turned to account by enlisting his restless activity in the cause of law and order.

⁵ *R.M.S.*, 1593/1608, 2005.

⁶ *R.P.C.*, III., 734.

⁷ *R.P.C.*, IV., 181.

⁸ *R.P.C.*, IV., 287.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 291.

The manslaughterer might turn policeman. A conference of the nobility and barons of the Western March called by Hamilton even recommended that he be made bailie of the Debateable Land.¹⁰ We have no clear evidence that the appointment was ever made, but Robert certainly seems to have reformed his ways, for a few years later (1596), with Lord Herries and Sir Robert Maxwell of Spottes, the man who a few years before had had a price upon his head was called on to give good advice on the pacification of the Border.¹¹ It is true that his colleague, Lord Herries, also a Maxwell, felt none too sure about him, for when he gave an assurance to Dunszellie to be answerable for all his clan, the name of Robert Maxwell of Castlemilk was significantly excepted.¹² Nevertheless the Crown made good use of him, for after the Johnstone-Crichton affray, recorded in the ballad known as "The Lads of Wamphray," Robert Maxwell is specially mentioned in a bond to execute the Royal Commission against Dunszellie.¹³

If we may trust an English report in the year 1592, Robert Maxwell was at that time Deputy Warden to Lord Maxwell and Captain of Langholm Castle.¹⁴ That October he had a close escape from being slain by some English Grahams who were lying in ambush for him at the Moit of Rockhall.¹⁵

At some unknown date, but doubtless as a reward for his services, Robert Maxwell received from Lord Maxwell a feu of the 6 merkland of Knokmeikill or Meikleknock, in the parish of Buittle, which his son, as will be seen, disposed of in 1629.¹⁶ It is strange that Robert is nowhere designated as of Meikleknock, of which he was definitely a feuar, whereas he is usually described as of Castlemilk, in which

¹⁰ *R.P.C.*, IV., 327.

¹¹ *R.P.C.*, V., 300.

¹² *Ibid.*, 280.

¹³ *Book of Caerlaverock*, I., 289, and *Raehills Papers*, p. 35.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Border Papers*, I., 395.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 422.

¹⁶ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, III., f. 36.

he does not seem to have had any other interest than that of tenant. In one reference he is clearly described as Robert Maxwell in Castlemilk,¹⁷ and in another "called of Castlemilk."¹⁸ In view of his son's acquisition of the Twa Pairtis of Castlemilk in 1623, it seems that Robert's interest in that estate was one of tenantry.

No light can be thrown on the date of Robert's death or when he married. He was certainly dead by 1616.¹⁹ The names of only three sons are recorded—John, the eldest; James Maxwell, of whom nothing else is known;²⁰ and Alexander.

John Maxwell, the eldest son, first appears in history in September, 1616, when, with his brother James, he was charged with falling upon Gavin Henderson in Balgray, and with drawn swords wounding him in the head at Applegarth. They were put to the horn, and, being still unrelaxed in February, 1617, the Captain of the Guard was ordered to apprehend them, seize their houses and inventory their goods and effects.²¹

In 1619, as heir to his father, he infest Robert Gordon, son and heir to Alex. Gordon in Lochans, in an annual rent out of Meikleknock,²² whilst he raised another loan from Edward Forrester, Commissary of Kirkcudbright, on similar security.²³ That same year he took a foremost part in the riotous struggles in Dumfries between the Sheriff and the Provost about their respective rights, but which in essence was a struggle between the family of MacBair, once and for long provosts and now sheriff deputes, and the family of Corsane, which had annexed to itself the office of Provost for several generations.²⁴ In February, 1622, he was again in

¹⁷ *R.P.C.*, X., 661.

¹⁸ *R.P.C.*, XII., 102.

¹⁹ *R.P.C.*, X., 661.

²⁰ *Ibid.* In 1598 there is mention of John Maxwell, natural son of Robert Maxwell of Castlemilk (*R.P.C.*, V., 702).

²¹ *R.P.C.*, XI., 38.

²² *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, I., 251.

²³ *Ibid.*, I., 254.

²⁴ *R.P.C.*, XII., 98 and 102.

trouble, leading a concourse of Maxwells against the home of Wm. Irving, elder of Kirkconnel (Ecclefechan), for which he was fined for wearing pistols and breaking into Irving's house on 25th January.²⁵

These two episodes must have made a considerable stir at the time, and certainly perturbed the authorities. For prior to 1621 there had been a lull in the storm centre of the Borders. The Crown, actuated by motives of economy, rashly concluded that such was the state of quietness that maintenance of the armed Border Guard was no longer necessary. Accordingly in November, 1621, the King's Guard, a company of armed horse police, was disbanded. At once there was a recrudescence of disturbance, of which the above two episodes were but fair examples. The Border outlaws began again their raiding practices. The armed rising of the Maxwells to assert their claim to the Tower of Kirkconnell was a warning that could not be disregarded. The Privy Council at once called into consultation the principal noblemen and lairds, who advised the appointment of a Triumvirate, the Earls of Nithsdale and Buccleuch and John Murray of Lochmaben, to work with the Border Commission and maintain order. Each Triumvir was to be authorised to nominate ten gentlemen to employ as agents with power of fire, sword, and seige, for the pursuit and apprehension of criminals on the Border. The Crown adopted these recommendations, and a formidable list of 30 Bulldogs or Dragoons was prepared. Amongst the Earl of Nithsdale's nominees were John Maxwell of Castlemilk and Robert Maxwell of Dinwiddie.²⁶ Such a job was just suited to Maxwell's turbulent nature, and we shall see how he conducted himself. But there is something almost comic in his appointment as a Bulldog—the new substitute for the Guard—for only two years before, in the Sheriff versus Provost riots, he had almost killed Alexander

²⁵ *R.P.C.*, XII., 645.

²⁶ *R.P.C.*, XII., xliii.

Hamilton, a member of the now disbanded His Majesty's Guard.²⁷

Whatever may have been the nature of his father's rights to Castlemilk, John Maxwell took steps to obtain actual possession of the property. On 25th September, 1623, he entered into a contract with Robert, Earl of Nithsdale, whereby for 12,000 merks he purchased the "Twa Pairtis of Castlemilk" under burden of an annual rent of 1200 merks till the purchase price was paid.²⁸ In substance it was a feu, and as such John Maxwell at a later date is described as feuar of Castlemilk. Two of his obligations were to serve the Earl on horseback when required and to relieve the Earl of the feu duties to the Crown, who was the Earl's superior. This last obligation was not always adequately fulfilled, for in 1633, a time when he was in financial difficulties, he is named as having failed to pay the Exchequer the dues to the Crown.²⁹

The acquisition of Castlemilk was a severe financial drain, and entailed the disposal of Meikleknock. In 1629 he obtained himself served heir to his father in Meikleknock to establish title,³⁰ and disposed it to Robert Maxwell of Dinwoodie, James Maxwell of Tinwald, and Mr Robert Corsane equally,³¹ from whom Corsane in 1642 acquired the whole.³²

"Like father, like son" has been mentioned. Crown employment to maintain order was common to both. The father had been used by the Crown to repress the Johnstones; the son was determined to carry on the good work! So in Dumfries on market day he shot a servant of the Laird of Wamphray (*of course* a Johnstone) through the thigh. He was riding with some friends down the Lochmaben Street (English Street) when in the narrow vennel they met

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 98 and 102.

²⁸ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, VIII., f. 55.

²⁹ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, V., 573.

³⁰ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, III., f. 36.

³¹ *Ibid.*, III., f. 183.

³² *Ibid.*, V., f. 58 and 114.

some of Wamphray's servants. The Bulldog, we may be sure, wanted plenty of room and the crown of the causeway. Some words passed, blows followed. At once Maxwell leapt from his horse and drew his sword, and there were "schottis and straykis on ayther syde." He had also been very high-handed in his first appearance as a Bulldog. He had been informed that a fugitive named Hunter was being harboured in the house of William Johnstone, of Lockerbie; so he went there under cover of night and commanded the yettis to be opened to him for a domiciliary visit. A man named Harkness, either through fright or a bad conscience, bolted out and made off, and Maxwell in the pursuit grievously wounded him. Though Harkness was laid out, Hunter was not found, but Maxwell went home with the satisfaction of knowing that in the first exercise of his new office he had made the Laird of Lockerbie extremely uncomfortable and wrathful. Even if he had failed to catch his quarry, what did it matter—a Harkness was as good as a Hunter—in the bag!³³

These happenings occurred in the spring of 1623. It was impossible that matters should end there, and they were followed by an explosion in November upon the lands of Beckettoun, now the outskirts of Lockerbie. We have both sides of the story, and in each the complainer is depicted as an outraged saint, whilst the defender is steeped in iniquity. But seeing that the Privy Council went fully into the whole matter in November, 1624, and again in July, 1625, there can be no question but that Castlemilk was the aggressor.

On 11th November, 1624, Mungo Johnstone, son of William Johnstone of Gimmenbie, together with John Johnstone, son of the late Francis Johnstone of Lockerbie, were taking their recreation and pastime in the fields of Beckettoun when there appeared riding towards them over the fields John Maxwell of Castlemilk; Alexander, his brother; George Roy in Brotschaw, of whom we will hear again; and others—all armed. Seeing Mungo and John alone and without

³³ *Melrose Papers*, II., 510.

weapons (this is the Johnstone case), Maxwell seized the glorious opportunity and with his friends charged down on them, firing off at them the contents of 9 or 10 pistols, which punctured Mungo's body in four places, and shot John through the thigh. Mungo, thus wounded, surrendered and was taken and lodged in Dumfries jail. John, in spite of his thigh wound, fled to a moss nearby and so escaped. That was the official case as propounded in court by the Johnstones. It is, of course, an *ex parte* statement and scarcely credible in view of the fact that at the first hearing Castlemilk was unable to appear owing to the severe wounds he had incurred at Beckettoun at the hands of these two so-called defenceless men—unless we are to believe that in the excitement he shot himself. Fortunately the case for Castlemilk has also survived. It runs as follows, and is equally incredible.

Maxwell's version was that, accompanied by a single servant, he was returning from the lands of Tundergarth, where he had been holding a court, and was passing through Beckettoun on his way to Dumfries when they were ambushed by the Johnstones in force. His Majesty's Bulldog thereupon called on them to deliver their hacquebutts, which, instead, they discharged, wounding Maxwell in the knee, thigh, and other parts "with sextene postis of cuttit lead" (16 leaden slugs). They fell on his servant with swords and cut off his finger, and would have killed him had not a number of passing friends rescued them and driven the Johnstones off.

In the evidence Mungo Johnstone (who had been unarmed) admitted firing a hacquebut in self-defence, and John Johnstone confessed he had one but denied firing it. Most of the supporters on both sides were let off for lack of evidence. Mungo and John were fined £100 each, not for wounding Maxwell or for firing their hacquebutts, but for wearing firearms.³⁴

Maxwell's story was clearly not believed, for he was landed with a double fine of 200 merks to the Crown, and,

³⁴ *R.P.C.*, XIII., 654, and 2nd series, I., 130.

more galling, 300 merks to the Johnstones by way of compensation. Such, indeed, was the faith of the Privy Council in their swashbuckling Bulldog that he was committed to Edinburgh Tolbooth till the fines were paid.³⁵ The experiences of a Border policeman in the 17th century were very varied.

It could not be expected that the hereditary trouble between Castlemilk and Lockerbie should come to a sudden end, and for some years to come the bickering went on.

Thus in July, 1628, William Johnstone of Gimmenbie sent his servant, Archibald Corrie, with letters to certain advocates in Edinburgh. Corrie, returning with their answer, met John Maxwell on the highway near Drumelzear. Maxwell at once seized him, kidnapped him, and detained him all night at Broughton. His excuse was that Corrie had removed sheep from off his ground, but one suspects that he wanted to see the contents of the letters. The Privy Council found, however, that he had done wrong, and once again committed him to ward in Edinburgh Tolbooth.³⁶

Next month the Johnstones retaliated.

There was some common grazing at a place named Cowdoun, where, past memory of man, Maxwell and his predecessors had pastured their beasts. This was the spot selected by the Johnstones for reprisals. Wm. Johnstone in Gimmenbie, called Mungo's Willie, accompanied by Mungo, Archibald Johnstone in Blackfoord, and Walter and Archibald Corrie, his servants, suitably armed, swooped down on the common and "cruellie and shamefullie strake, dang and stobbit" his cattle and cut their tails off, rendering them neither profitable nor any longer serviceable to Maxwell. We may be sure that the kidnapped Archibald Corrie enjoyed this form of retaliation. Corrie and his master appeared before the Privy Council, but were dismissed on giving their oath of verity that the charge was not true.³⁷

³⁵ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, I., 109.

³⁶ *R.P.C.*, XII., 406.

³⁷ *R.P.C.*, XII., 428.

On the same day the Privy Council dealt with the counter-charge, when William Hoip, servitor to Andrew Johnstone of Turnmour, complained that in the previous September (1627), whilst he was peacefully attending his master's cattle on the lands of Lockerbie, John Maxwell of Castlemilk personally assaulted him, tied him up with his dog's leash, and carried him off to Castlemilk, where he was detained without lawful cause. As in the previous charge, so in the counter-charge, Maxwell denied it on oath and was assolizied.³⁸

Either the litigants must have been hardened and reckless liars, or the hand of the law very nerveless and timid.

In 1627 John Maxwell's moral conduct brought him into collision with the Kirk. He may have had Papistical leanings, though that is nowhere definitely brought against him. The family tradition in the ancient faith can scarcely have died out, but he may have had to conform to the new order for political reasons. But whatever may have been his religious views, he was a thorn in the side of Mr David Roger, minister of the temporarily conjoined parishes of St. Mungo and Tundergarth. In the performance of his parochial duties the minister may not have been a tactful man, but he had courage and a clear sense of duty. For it may well have been that a display of tact was quite useless in dealing with a hardened case like that of the Laird of Castlemilk. Words and protests were of no avail. Vigorous action alone was required when dealing with a Border Bulldog.

It must have been common knowledge that the Laird was fond of the ladies, and no doubt the minister turned a blind eye on his continuous amours. But kirk discipline would weaken within the parish and the minister's position be undermined if nothing were done to deal with the offender. The minister apparently decided that single-handed he was not equal to the task, and that it was a job for the Presbytery of Lochmaben, to every member of which the delinquent

³⁸ *R.P.C.*, XII., 429.

must have been only too familiar. So they cited John Maxwell to appear before them to answer two charges, which, we may be sure, had been carefully selected.

They charged him, firstly, with fornication with Jean Irving, and, secondly, with the more serious offence of adultery with Janet Chalmers, spouse to John Park. Castlemilk, of course, refused to appear. Had he merely failed to appear, it is possible that the charges may not have been pressed. Such ecclesiastical processes were often allowed to linger unheard, either in hopes of reformation of the delinquent or because the Presbytery did not quite relish the job on hand. But Castlemilk gave them no opportunity of resiling from their position, and characteristically carried the war into the enemy's camp with a direct counter attack that took the form of prohibiting all the tenants of Castlemilk from repairing to kirk. His officer, or baron-bailie, in Castlemilk—one George Roy—was instructed to fine any person going to kirk to the preaching and hearing of the Word £10, and to compel some of his tenants—no doubt the most godly ones and those who loyally supported the minister—to profane the Sabbath by working under pain of £5 for each of them. Such fines could have been collected—though illegally—in his baron court.

The Presbytery's hand was now forced. The issue had to be joined. The ministers began with the ordinary censures of the Church, and formal admonitions were sent to the laird. In the kirk of Tundergarth, and perhaps the other churches of the Presbytery, there were offered up "publict prayeris maid to God for reclameing of him from his obstinacie and contempt." These formalities completed, the process was submitted to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who approved. The last stage of the process had now been reached, and Mr David Roger, who was to figure in the lime-light, might well have been a little nervous. On 27th May, 1627, the parishioners of Tundergarth must have had a thrill, for from the pulpit of their kirk their minister lawfully and orderly excommunicated both the laird and his minion, George Roy.

But all the "ordinar solemnities of excommunication" must have felt a hollow form to the reverend Mr David Roger when he saw the burly form of George Roy smiling at him from the body of the kirk. Acting on his master's orders, Roy had come to demonstrate against the minister. The long-drawn and dreaded fulminations of excommunication had hardly ceased, the voice of the minister was scarcely hushed, when the strident notes of George Roy broke the silence and dissolved the spell: "As ye haif gevin over my maister in the handis of the devill, so I doe you, for I haif als grite power to doe the one as you haif to doe the other." This breath of fresh air provided an anti-climax and gave "grite offence to all who wes present."

A few days later the Presbytery met to consider the next step, when John Maxwell himself burst in upon them, and "in face of oure Presbiterie abused all of us who wer present, blaspheming the name of God." We may be sure that he told the ministers what he thought of them, for as he departed he is said to have declared: "By Goddis woundis, wer not the Kingis lawis, he sould be revengit."

A month later the Presbytery had to admit a stalemate, for, though Maxwell still lay "under the fearful sentence of excommunication," yet not one of his tenants was attending kirk.

Perhaps it was in despair that the Presbytery supplicated the Privy Council to summon and deal with the laird and his servant. The supplication is endorsed in the hand of the Chancellor — fiat ut petitur — but no trace of any further proceedings have come to light.³⁹

Such a fracas with the kirk, however it may have ended, can only have left in the mind of John Maxwell an abiding animosity for the minister. So whenever the Rev. David Roger attempted any undertaking for the public benefit he was sure to find arrayed against him the opposition and active hostility of the laird. A bridge was badly needed over the Water of Nith "which lies on the hie way betwixt

³⁹ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, VIII., 394.

Edinburgh and London"—a curiously circuitous route. The Presbytery took the matter in hand, and Mr David Roger showed his public spirit by collecting money for that purpose. The Earl of Annandale favoured the project, as one end of the bridge was to be on his ground. Maxwell was the other riparian owner, and the fact that the minister was behind the scheme was enough to damn it in his eyes. He refused consent in 1630, and threatened to prevent its erection in every possible way. The Presbytery once more appealed to the Privy Council, who, approving the scheme, sent the Master of Herries and Sir Robert Greir of Lag to choose a site, assess any damage to Maxwell, and generally to effect a settlement.⁴⁰ They must have mollified the laird, for the bridge was built, though only its abutments now survive.

Three years after the bridge episode John Maxwell again appeared before the Privy Council for disorderly behaviour at the ingathering of the Castlemilk teinds. The Earl of Annandale was tacksman of the Castlemilk teinds, and as such was a most unpopular person with all agriculturalists who were due to deliver teind sheaves to his representative. During the harvest of 1633 he sent his bailie to Castlemilk to ingather the teind sheaves or their value from the tenants. The first tenant approached by the bailie expressed his willingness to comply, and the bailie led two or three cartfuls away. Hearing of this, John Maxwell prohibited the bailie from proceeding, and, further, in company with William Irving, son of the good man of Bonshaw, armed with swords, hagbutts, and pistols, lay in wait for the bailie, who was coming from Gretna with his master's money. Whilst awaiting his arrival they spent a considerable time in "ane oastler hous in the hie way," where, no doubt, they regaled themselves. Thus fortified, they sallied forth and followed the bailie for half a mile to the house of Alexander Rae which the bailie had entered. There they put violent hands on him, Maxwell "with fearful execrations crying unto him :

⁴⁰ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, III., 477.

Thow ar ane priests sone; thow led my teinds; the priest is not heir with his gowne to save thee; thow must now wait my leisure till we try thee."

The bailie may have struggled, for Castlemilk and Irving held the points of their drawn swords to his belly. He asked whether they were in earnest, and Maxwell with a great oath bade him take it as he found it. The bailie then declared it was a shame for four of them to set on a single man, to which Maxwell replied: "I have now my tyme; tak thow thyne, when thow can gett it. I will let thee see my pistolls; come but I have bullets in my pocket." He then sent for his powder horn and charged his pistols, saying to the bailie: "Jonas will go forth with me and we sall try ourselffes."

Jonas—the bailie's real name was John Henderson—does not seem to have been actually hurt, though he must have been very frightened. When the good man of the house, Alexander Rae, put in a word in his favour, Maxwell turned upon him and "pulled up ane stap and kust at his face" (stap—stave), so that Rae hastily left his own house.⁴¹ For three hours this baiting, tormenting, and threatening of the bailie went on, and then with the help of some women he escaped and leapt on to horseback.

The Privy Council held full enquiry, though the delinquents failed to appear. Witnesses, however, substantiated the story with some variations. The Lords may have thought that as no real damage had been done none might have been intended, and so contented themselves with ordering Maxwell and Irving to enter ward in Edinburgh Tolbooth.⁴²

Such charges were no doubt sometimes exaggerated, and Castlemilk on at least one occasion was completely exonerated. On 30th March, 1634, Gilbert Tailzeour, messenger, in pursuit of his normal duties, charged John Maxwell at the kirk door to find surety for David Halliday in Roberthill. Maxwell, as we have seen, was no church-

⁴¹ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, V., p. 160.

⁴² *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, V., 161.

goer, so he could not plead this disturbance of his devotions, but he seems to have regarded any legal process as an insult, for with Robert Maxwell of Dinwoodie he pursued the messenger for his life, dealing out to him with his whinger several bloody wounds on the head. Curiously enough, only Dinwoodie and his servant were charged with the assault, and they, having given their oath of verity that the complaint was untrue, were discharged.⁴³ Such a finding in these days would stamp the messenger as an incorrigible liar, but in the seventeenth century merely indicated that the court was unable to decide which party was the most polished prevaricator.

With all these boisterous activities Maxwell was unable to keep himself out of debt. He had contracted a loan from Elspeth Maisson, the daughter of an Edinburgh merchant, who had sued him on the bond. He had been put to the horn but disregarded it till he found it was in his interest to attend an arbitration in Edinburgh. To appear there was to risk arrest, from which he was fairly safe at Castlemilk. So he supplicated the Privy Council for a protection so that he might be free of arrest in Edinburgh. This was granted.⁴⁴ But as soon as his visit was over the suspension of the horn-ing ceased, and he was charged to render up his house of Castlemilk and enter ward at Blakness Castle.⁴⁵ There is no evidence that Blakness ever saw him, but perhaps his period of detention may have been lengthy enough to admit of reflection on his past actions, and to effect some reformation of his character. For he no longer appears as a disturber of the peace, and in consequence we lose all further notice of him. Of the peaceful citizen who went about his lawful business, history has practically nothing to chronicle. But of the forceful character who led a tumultuous life of lawlessness much may be recorded from the dusty archives of the past.

John Maxwell contracted on 2nd February, 1627, to

⁴³ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, V., 245.

⁴⁴ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, V., 601.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 347.

marry Elizabeth Charteris, daughter of Sir John Charteris of Amisfield by his wife Agnes Maxwell, and relict of John Jardine of Applegarth; and infeft her in liferent of the £5 lands called the Mains of Castlemilk, including the Tower.⁴⁶

He died between 1667 and January, 1670, leaving issue :

- (1) Robert Maxwell, his eldest son, of whom hereafter.
- (2) William Maxwell, who was infeft in the 15s lands of Courtoun and others in 1663.⁴⁷
- (3) Alexander Maxwell, infeft in 2 merkland of Mellintaehead and others in 1663.⁴⁸ He married Margaret Murray, apparently of the Murraythwaite family,⁴⁹ and d.s.p., his nephew, John of Castlemilk, succeeding in 1709.⁵⁰
- (4) Agnes Maxwell, wife of Mr Thomas Henderson, minister of Lochmaben, may have been a daughter.⁵¹

Robert Maxwell, the eldest son, never succeeded to Castlemilk, predeceasing his father. He had married Susanna, daughter of John Maxwell, younger of Collignaw and heir to her grandfather, John Maxwell of Collignaw,⁵² and was dead by 1671, leaving only two recorded sons—John, who succeeded; and Robert, mentioned in 1684.⁵³

John Maxwell, the last of Castlemilk, a minor, was at first under the care of his tutor testamentar, Alex. Jardine of Applegarth. His father, in view of his approaching end, had put his papers all in order in the family charter chest. The minor's uncle, Alex. Maxwell of Mellintaehead, at once took possession of the house of Castlemilk and the charter chest, and refused all access to the papers. Both minor and tutor appealed to the Privy Council, who ordered the Earl of

⁴⁶ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, II., 224b.

⁴⁷ *Gen. Reg. Sas.*, 1663, May 29., VI., f. 126.

⁴⁸ *Gen. Reg. Sas.*, VI., f. 124.

⁴⁹ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, 2nd series, I., p. 159.

⁵⁰ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, VII., p. 443a.

⁵¹ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, VII., f. 117, and *Reg. of Deeds* (Mack), XXIII., f. 125.

⁵² *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, X., f. 5 (1722, June 1), and *Gen. Reg. Sas.*, VI., f. 128 (1663, May 29). For an account of Robert's assault on the Sheriff in 1687, see *Records of the Carruthers Family*, p. 129.

⁵³ *R.P.C.*, 3rd series, IX., 648.

Annandale as Stewart, or his depute, to open the chest and inventory, the papers, and to secure them all safely.⁵⁴ It is possible that this dispute arose out of the lease of the Mains of Castlemilk granted by the tutors to Alexander on 8th January, 1670.⁵⁵ By 1688 financial difficulties came to a head, and John Maxwell had to agree to his rents and lands being placed in the hands of Lady Mary Maxwell, sister to the Earl of Nithsdale, and Robert Maxwell of Carnsalloch, who had petitioned the Lords of Council and Session to that effect.⁵⁶ Adjudication followed, and in 1697 Carnsalloch disposed the appraised lands to William Douglas of Dornock, who received infeftment in 1704.⁵⁷ All that was left to Maxwell was his wife's liferent infeftment in Brocklerig and an annuity out of Norcroft.⁵⁸ He himself entered the King's Life Guards, but his commission has not been traced.⁵⁹ He died abroad in June, 1740.⁶⁰ He had been twice married—firstly, in 1668 (M/C dated 26th September), to Janet Jardine, youngest daughter to Alexander Jardine of Applegarth;⁶¹ and, secondly, to Agnes Ross, who survived him.⁶²

By his first wife he had issue :

- (1) John Maxwell, died abroad, s.p.
- (2) James Maxwell, d.s.p. abroad.
- (3) Herbert Maxwell, d.s.p. abroad.
- (4) Janet, spouse to Edward Jossie, late of West Pauns, writer in Edinburgh. Janet died in 1741, and her two daughters, Janet and Christian, became heirs to the annuity under the bond to their grandfather in 1708 by Wm. Douglas of Dornock.⁶³

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III., 318.

⁵⁵ *Reg. of Deeds* (Mack), XXIX., f. 199.

⁵⁶ *R.P.C.*, 3rd series, XIII., p. 318.

⁵⁷ *Dumfries Reg. Sas.*, VII., f. 15a (1704, Ap. 4).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VII., f. 269.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, VII., f. 443.

⁶⁰ See his Testament (Dumfries, 12th July, 1743).

⁶¹ *Gen. Reg. Sas.*, XXI., 42 (1668, Dec. 18).

⁶² See his Test.

⁶³ See Janet Maxwell's Testament (Edinburgh, 1741, June 25).

16th November, 1934.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Lantern Lecture.

By R. K. FERGUSON, Secretary of the Society for the Preservation of Rural Scotland.

[Mr Ferguson gave illustrations of many mistakes made in Municipal and other Housing Schemes, and also of instances where new buildings had been suited to the surrounding landscape, and urged that trained architects should always be consulted in these matters. He also recounted how very many objects of natural beauty and others of antiquarian interest had been preserved for the people of this country, as well as the amenities of towns and villages, through the action of his Society. Lantern illustrations of many of these were shown.]

14th December, 1934.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Bi-Centenary of Dr. Thomas Blacklock.

By J. ROBISON, F.S.A., Scot.

What student of Burns, be he of whatever nationality, does not admit the debt of Scotland to the memory of Dr. Thomas Blacklock, the blind preacher, who saved the Ploughman Poet to Scotland? It was in 1786 that Burns resolved to emigrate to Jamaica to try his fortune as an assistant overseer to a planter in that island. His passage was taken, when a strange chain of circumstances brought about the abandonment of his project. In the autumn of that year he published a small volume of his verses containing several pieces which are now cherished national possessions. The book was well received from the first, and the proceeds helped the Poet in his financial difficulties. A letter came from Dr. Blacklock to a friend of Burns, which entirely changed the views of the Poet in regard to his Jamaican adventure, and encouraged him to try his fortune

in Edinburgh. With his after career this article does not deal, but rather with the blind preacher who had, unknown to himself, conferred such an honour on Scotland by keeping her Poet in his native land.

Dr. Thomas Blacklock was the son of a bricklayer in Dumfries, and was born at Annan on 10th November, 1721. He lost his sight from an attack of smallpox before he was six months old, was ordained to the church and parish of Kirkcudbright on 22nd April, 1762, demitted his charge in December, 1764, and retired to Edinburgh. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, Aberdeen, 4th May, 1767; died 7th July, 1791, and was buried in Buccleuch Churchyard, Edinburgh. Of his early struggles and his preparations for the ministry we know but little, but they give a clue to the man's grim determination of character. His calamity, says Henry Grey Graham in his delightful "Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century," was softened by the tenderness and teaching of parents who must for their time and station have been singularly refined; and schoolmates read to him as he grew older the works of English poets." The same writer says, "His mind became full of the rhymes and images of the authors he loved best, and, strange to say, these were descriptive poets like Thomson, who delighted him with their pictures of nature which he was never to see with the bodily eye." When the young poet was only nineteen his father was killed by falling into a malt-kiln, and he was left to the charge of relations too poor to support him. Through the good offices of Dr. Stevenson, Edinburgh, a classical education was put within his reach, first at school and then at college in the Scottish metropolis, going through the six years' course as a prospective minister. He came within the orbit of David Hume, and the philosopher proved a staunch friend, presenting the blind poet with his salary of £40 as keeper of the Advocates' Library. Blacklock was at length licensed to preach.

It was on 22nd April, 1762, that he was presented to the charge of Kirkcudbright town and parish, by the

Earl of Selkirk, and from the very first intimation of his presentation there was the most determined opposition. More than two years before the Town Council of Kirkcudbright had met, and had appointed a committee of their number to wait upon Lord Selkirk to represent to him that it was the town's desire that a minister might be soon settled in succession to the Rev. George Gartshore, who had died recently. The community was determined to take no step in the matter without his Lordship's concurrence, he being by far the largest heritor, and they recommended his Lordship to take such steps as he deemed proper. The Earl in return assured the deputation that he would do nothing in the matter without the concurrence of the community, and that he would use his interest so that no presentation to the charge would be made without their mutual knowledge. The next act in the drama is a memorial, dated July, 1760, which shows that Dr. Blacklock had been presented in the interval. The memorial states that the right of patronage being in the Crown, "the Earl of Selkirk had procured a presentation in favour of Mr Thomas Blacklock, a licensed preacher, and to whose moral character there lyes no objection, but he is totally blind, and hath been so from his infancy. Mr Blacklock being disagreeable to almost the whole parish, and as it is apprehended that he must be absolutely incapable to perform the necessary duties of his office, the Magistrates of the Burgh of Kirkcudbright, for themselves and as representing the community, not thinking themselves at liberty to sit with their hands Across when an affair that concerns their spiritual well-fair so nearly is a-carrying on, have resolved from a principle of conscience to do all in their power to prevent the Settlement." A representation containing their objections was sent to Mr Blacklock, and from that day forward till he demitted his charge there was no peace in the local Israel. Opinion of counsel was taken on the form of the memorial, Mr Joseph Williamson, Edinburgh, being consulted. Mr Williamson admitted that the case was a most difficult one, and being "so new and singular," it was

difficult to say what might be the consequence on supposal of the Church's finally rejecting a presentee labouring under so great a defect as blindness. He was persuaded that had that been properly and timeously represented to His Majesty and Ministry no presentation would have been granted to Mr Blacklock to so important a charge; but taking the whole circumstances together, he could not take it upon him to say how far the town and parish had reason to expect success in their opposition to the presentee's settlement as this must depend upon the apprehension of the powers of the Judges. He concludes by giving directions as to how the memorialists should proceed in connection with their appeal to the Presbytery, and, if necessary, to the Synod and Assembly. The case, which, from its novel features, aroused immense interest all over the country, came before the Presbytery on June 10th, 1761, and the proceedings there show that, during the interval, the case had reached the Assembly, which ordained the Presbytery to moderate in a call to Mr Blacklock. The Presbytery on their part appointed Mr Blacklock to preach before the Presbytery at their next ordinary meeting at Dalry on the first Wednesday of the following August. The next entry in the minute book of the Presbytery, dated November 4, 1761, bears that the Presbytery proceeded to moderate in a call to Mr Blacklock. The call was subscribed by four heritors, one of whom was also an elder, and by nine heads of families. The Presbytery agreed to write to Mr Blacklock "the real state of this day's transactions," and also to transmit an account of the whole procedure of the Presbytery in the affair since last General Assembly to the first meeting of Commission in November for their advice and direction. In the meantime they appointed Mr Blacklock to deliver at their next meeting "an exercise and addition." A protest was lodged against this procedure, in respect that such delay was injurious to the patron and the parish. The Presbytery minutes, dated January 7, 1762, show that the Presbytery had received an answer from Mr Blacklock declaring his resolve to be present and undergo his trials. But there had been no direction

from the Commission. Mr John Aitken, writer in Dumfries, procurator for the Crown, appeared and stated that Mr Blacklock was ready for his trials, which he accordingly delivered, and the Presbytery prescribed a lecture and popular sermon, which he delivered on March 2, it being agreed to delay the remaining part of the trials till the following day. In reading these minutes one cannot but come to the conclusion that the Presbytery, Micawber-like, was playing for time in the hope that something would turn up to relieve them of a dilemma. Trials were at length completed, but again the Presbytery delayed the ordination. At length the Commission ordered them to proceed with the ordination, and this was carried out on 22nd April, 1762. No objections were lodged, and Mr Blacklock "was set apart for the work of the ministry by prayer and imposition of the hands of the Presbytery. Appointed Mr Blacklock to be enrolled as a member of this Presbytery and the date of his ordination to be inserted in the separate register, and that he was married the day of this current Aprile to Mrs Sarah Johnston." Mr Blacklock had been ordained to the charge, but it had been well for his peace of mind had he declined it. The controversy was not confined to Kirkcudbright, but was the occasion of a campaign of pamphlets, many of which were personally addressed to Mr Blacklock. In justice to the community, it should be stated that they gave no ungrudging testimony to Mr Blacklock's moral qualities. Their sole objection was his blindness, which they held debarred him from office in the holy ministry, and also pastoral visitation, which was considered indispensable.

What Mr Blacklock was as a preacher we have little means of knowing, but we seem to get a clue to his character in reply to the protest by the Town Council. He wrote returning thanks for sympathy with him in his blind infirmity, "not inflicted on me for the crimes of my ancestors, not the result of any bad conduct in myself, but my misfortune, and mine alone. How far this incapacitates, or leaves me qualified for the pastoral office, if the considerations which common-sense and humanity suggest, are

not heard, time and experience can alone determine. Meanwhile, if I would be useful to mankind in general, if I would endeavour to exert my being, and its advantages, to the glory of that God who gave them, every principle of honour, duty, and conscience appear to dictate the sentiments and measure which I have embraced, in accepting the presentation; and from principles like these it may be expected that every man of resolution will act *determinedly*." And he concludes on a lofty strain: "I heartily pray for the people who form this opposition; if they are to oppose, may they be conducted and animated by such motives as will support them in that day, when all our principles, and all our behaviour, will obtain their true character and their real estimate." As to his abilities as a preacher we probably get one fleeting glimpse. In that entertaining book, "The Kirk and its Worthies," it is related by the genial author that when Mr Blacklock was delivering his first discourse after being presented to the parish, an old wife asked another if she thought the new minister was a *reader*. "He canna be a reader, woman, for he's blind." "I'm glad to hear't," replied the other; "I wish they were a' blind!"

With his settlement the opposition had hardened, and the blind minister was subjected to disgraceful treatment on the part of a small section. About three weeks before he demitted his charge we find the Town Council considering a petition which stated that since spring, 1761, when Mr Blacklock was settled minister of the town and parish, the petitioners had been convinced by experience "that the accumulated labours of a charge so extensive are too many and difficult to be performed by him, and that from his blindness and tender state of health." It appears that the members of session persisted in refusing to exercise any part of their office under Mr Blacklock, whereby the petitioners had been, and were still likely to be, deprived of the benefit of the "great and necessary Institution of our Most Holy Religion." Nothing could give them greater satisfaction than to understand that Mr Blacklock was willing to resign his office upon having a yearly annuity of fifty pounds

sterling from the time of his demission, and that Mr William Crombie, his present assistant, "one well qualified for the pastoral office, and universally agreeable to every person both in town and parish, is willing, not only to undertake the charge, but to contribute towards the said annuity." Apparently the harassed minister had had enough of his charge, as the petitioners proceed to say that they understood Mr Blacklock was ready to resign immediately if his annuity was once properly secured to him, which the inhabitants of the town and parish and the Incorporated Trades were willing to do instantly, the Corporation to contribute a sum of sixteen pounds ten shillings annually. Eventually this was agreed to, and the minutes of the Town Council and the Incorporated Trades contain many references to the payment of the annuity up till the time of Dr. Blacklock's death in 1791, justly mourned as one of Scotland's most worthy sons. He, however, was subjected to gross injustice and worse before he left Kirkcudbright. In February previous to his demission of office he was the recipient of a letter threatening to shoot him for all the trouble he had brought upon the parish, and warning him of what would happen if he did not agree quickly with the town. It is satisfactory to know that the miscreant who made such a diabolical threat was brought to book and kept prisoner for a considerable time in the Tolbooth before being banished from the town.

The lapse of time brings some curious changes, and of late several suggestions have been made to erect a memorial to the National Bard, who was so often in Kirkcudbright, and also to his friends, Lord Daer and Dr. Blacklock. That the descendants of those who so strenuously fought to exclude Dr. Blacklock from the parish should now propose to commemorate him is indeed an example of how far we have progressed in toleration.

Notes on the Family of Maxwell of Stroquhan.

By JAMES GOURLAY.

In 1615, Stroquhan was owned by John, Elizabeth, Rosina and Margaret Kirko, *inter alia* heiresses of Over and Nether Stroquhan.¹

About this time, however, the property was purchased by Edward Maxwell (1st). What he paid for it is unknown, but following the practice of the time he raised part of the price by borrowing on a wadset or bond over the land from Alex. Greirson of Lochurr.

Maxwell was probably in early middle life when he bought the property, indeed the error would not be a great one if we assume that he was born about 1575. He appears as a heritor in a valuation of the teinds of the Parish of Dunscore dated 21st March, 1634,² but in the Testament of John Maxwell of Middlebie who died in December, 1639, amongst the debtors to the defunct were Robert Maxwell of Stroquhan, and Robert his son, for annual interest on 660 merks, one year being unpaid. Middlebie was the feudal superior of Stroquhan, and this sum may have been feu duty or interest on a loan. Robert Maxwell, Senr., mentioned in this testament, was the son of Edward (1st) and succeeded him. Edward (1st) must therefore have been dead prior to 1639.³

Robert repaid the loan contracted by his father.

Edward Maxwell of Streaquhen. 20 Nov., 1645. Registered as above at Dumfries of a discharge of a bond granted to Alex. Greir of Lochyr by Edward Maxwell of Streaquhen for 600 merks (£33 6s 6d stg.) conform to a charter of disposition under reversion between these two 6 June, 1614, registered books of Council & Session 2 Aug. 1623 of an annual rent of £40 out of the 20s (lands?) of Over Streaquhen: and seeing that Robert Maxwell, lawful son of the said umple Edward, has payit to said Alex. Grier of Lochyr

sometime in Fleuchlargis, the said 600 merks, therefore discharges the bond, and surrenders the lands.

Witnessed by James Smith, Notary at Dumfries, 13 June 1645. Witnesses, Thomas Smith in Skailston; Thomas McBurnie, son to umquhill William McBurnie, burgess of Dumfries; William McKynnell, son to Thomas McKynnell, burgess of the said burgh; and Wm. Tait, son to James Tait, burgess of the said burgh.

Signed, " Alex. Greirson with my hand at the pen led by the notar because I cannot wryt myself." ⁴

" Greir " is probably merely a contraction for " Greirson." His inability to sign his name may have been due to age and not illiteracy.

The following entry appears to refer to the year 1644, or perhaps a year or two later :

Mair 16 sh each merk of rent for 70 lib Robert Maxwell of Straghon and John Cachliesone yat for yair outstreatching yair selves to - trouperis in Steinhouse troupe 16 - - - 9 lib. 12 sh. ⁵

This expenditure was no doubt in connection with the army of the Covenant which marched South, and was defeated and destroyed at Preston in August, 1648.

Robert must have died prior to 1656, for in that year we find Edward (2nd), presumably his son, in possession.

Rosina Makmillane spouse of Edward Maxwell of Straquhen (in rubric Rosina McKinnell - with the word " error " added). 16 December 1656. Sasines registered as above given 21 Oct. 1656 by Edward Maxwell of Straquhen her next of kin. In fulfilment of a matrimonial contract between said Edward and Robert Makmillane in Netherbar taking burden for the said Rosina Makmillane his sister, dated 1 October last bypast for marriage between Edward and Rosina; in life rent of 4 score merks, secured out of the 20 shilling lands of over Straquhen, parish of Dunscoir, barronie of Holywood and Sheriffdom of Dumfries.

by deliverance of earth and sand (stone) and one penny money.

Witness to Sasine. Robert MacMillane in Netherbar, Thomas and James Malconcher's in Neuk, and Thomas Smith, Yr.⁶

The following statements appear to refer to Edward (2nd):

1666. Edward Maxwell of Strachan as a heritor of the parish of Dunscore complains (with others) of a charge of maintenance imposed upon them by Captain John Paterson, one of his Majesty's Life Guards.⁷

1668 May 14. Edward Maxwell of Strachan grants Bond to Captain John Paterson.⁸

Edward (2nd) if married in 1656 would probably be then about 23 years of age, and therefore born about 1633, though he may have been a year or two older. In apparently handing over his property in security for a life rent payment to his wife Maxwell must have provided that in the event of her predeceasing him he should be able to recover the ownership. This seems actually to have occurred, for, as will be seen in the sasine given below, he obtained a precept of Clare Constat from his feudal superior, John Maxwell of Middlebie, to enable him to make up his title and got sasine of his lands.

Sasine, dated 29th December, 1693, given by John McFadzean, in Straquhane, as bailie, in favour of Edward Maxwell of Straquhane, of the 20s lands of Over Straquhane of old extent from the top of the place called the Corbin to the Green Stone and thence to the Gordane Know, lying in the Parish of Dunscoir, barony of Holywood, and Sheriffdom of Dumfries; following on a precept of Clare Constat granted by John Maxwell of Midelbie, as Superior of said lands, dated at Edinburgh 21st December, 1693, in favour of said Edward Maxwell as son and heir of deceased Robert Maxwell of Straquhan. The precept is written by William Riddell, Writer in Edinburgh, and the witnesses to it are Alexander Kirk, Writer in Edinburgh, and John Mulligane, servitor to said John

Maxwell. Witnesses to the Sasine are Robert Morrein of Birkbusse, William Miller in Chapell, John Pattoun, Alexander Grycie at Glesland Mill, and William Rorisone, miller there. The Notary is William Laurie, of the diocese of Glasgow.⁹

Edward (2nd) probably died shortly after 1693, but the exact date is unknown; his son, who succeeded to the property, was in possession by 1699.

Of the union of Edward Maxwell (2nd) and Rosina Mac-Millan, there was born, presumably about 1657, a son Edward (3rd), who appears to have been famous throughout Dumfriesshire and Galloway for his skill and daring as a hunter, but very little else is known of him. He had been following this sport in November, 1699, near Gatehouse. It was a stormy night, but though pressed to remain till the morning he insisted on going home. Riding along the bank of the Fleet river his horse stumbled, and both horse and rider were thrown into the stream, then in flood, and were drowned. The story is told in a ballad, apparently contemporaneous, entitled "Death of Maxwell of Strawhan."¹⁰

Edward (3rd) would appear to have added to the property, according to the following deed, now given though rather out of its proper chronological setting :

Sasine, dated 29th June, 1728, narrating that compeared Gilbert Rorison in Gleslandmiln, as bailie in terms of precept in Charter aftermentioned, as also personally compeared Gilbert Maxwell of Straquhan having in his hands a Charter of adjudication granted by deceased John Maxwell of Middlebie, superior of the lands, in favour of said Gilbert Maxwell, by which Charter said deceased John Maxwell granted, disposed, and confirmed to the said Gilbert Maxwell the 40s lands of Over Straquhan, in the Parish of Dunscore, which lands were duly and lawfully adjudged from deceased Edward Maxwell of Straquhan, father of Gilbert Maxwell now of Straquhan, by decret of adjudication pronounced by the Lords of Council and Session on 16th July 1696 at the instance of said John

Maxwell for payment to him and his heirs of £772 over and above expenses of infeftment, as also said deceased John Maxwell, superior, by said Charter ratified, approved, and confirmed a Disposition of said lands by himself in favour of said Gilbert Maxwell and his heirs dated 4th February 1713 and said Charter being produced by said Gilbert Maxwell sasine was accordingly given to him. Charter dated at Dumfries 10th January, 1724.¹¹

What was formerly described as "20s land" is now "40s land." Edward seems to have borrowed from Middlebie on the security of his property, and Gilbert is now paying off the loan, and re-entering as free holder of the property, at the same time enabling himself to make up a fresh title after he had overcome the serious troubles which he encountered.

It would appear that Gilbert had obtained a precept of Clare Constat in 1713. If his father was drowned in 1699, it seems a long period to elapse, but if Gilbert was born about 1683 he would attain his majority in 1704, which reduces the time slightly.

If Edward (3rd) was born about 1657, he might well be married about 1682 and his eldest son, Gilbert, born in 1683.

Gilbert married Jean McMin, as shown by his Testament-dative, and his eldest son, Edward (4th), was born about 1703, if, as his father stated in the course of the legal proceedings now to be related, he was 18 years of age in 1721.

Gilbert's sister had married John Kennedy, yr. of Bankend, and "Between the Watters" in Lanarkshire. She had died prior to 1715, in which year, in the month of May, her husband had died also, leaving an only child, Grizzell, born on 20th August, 1711.¹² Kennedy was a relative, probably a cousin, of Gilbert Kennedy of Auchtyfardell, near Lesmahagow. The properties of Bankend and "Between the Watters" were valuable, not only as agricultural lands but also by reason of their extensive deposits of coal and lime. The child Grizzell was placed under the tutory of her uncle,

Gilbert Maxwell, in June, 1716, and boarded in Lanark, but in June, 1718, he removed her to his own house of Straquhan, where she remained till about September, 1721, when she disappeared, being just a month or so over ten years of age. Strangely enough, Gilbert's son, Edward (4th), a youth of about 18 years of age, disappeared also. It was learned later that they had been married at some place unknown.

Before entering on a relation of what followed on these reckless proceedings, it may be of interest to interpose a few particulars of the families of whom Grizzell Kennedy was a member, the Kennedys of Bankend and of Auchtyfardell.

The Kennedys were incomers to Lanarkshire. In his application in 1752 for a grant of Arms, Robert Kennedy stated that he belonged to the ancient family of Kennedy of Bargany.¹³

The family appear to have early settled at Folkarton Mill, not now so marked, but on the Douglas Water, south of Broken Cross Moor. From there they gradually extended along the Douglas Water until they ultimately owned a considerable area, separating gradually into various branches of the family, of which Auchtyfardell and Bankend, near Coalburn, Lanarkshire, were the most important territorial designations.¹⁴

The estate of Auchtyfardell is situated about one mile from Lesmahagow, and is of small extent, the land from which the family drew their resources being about six miles away and extending for some distance along the left bank of the Douglas Water. The mansion-house, originally a square, plain structure, was considerably enlarged by the family of Mossman, who succeeded the Kennedys as owners.¹⁵

Prior to the Reformation the property belonged to the Abbey of Lesmahagow.

Later it was held by the family of Weir, from whom it was acquired by William Kennedy. In 1642 David Weir deponed to certain facts before the Presbytery, in 1648 other depositions before the same body were made by William Kennedy of Auchtyfardell, so that the change of ownership must have taken place between these dates.¹⁶

Gilbert Kennedy, served heir to his father in 1711, was an advocate in Edinburgh, and in the course of an altercation with one Houston in the vicinity of the Cross, thrust his sword through the body of his opponent, and so killed him; the incident took place in 1705. In later life he became an elder in Lesmahagow parish, and noted for piety. Woodrow, in his "Analecta," gives him high praise, and narrates how in 1730 he and his family were nearly murdered by a servant girl whom he had reproved, and who in revenge attempted to poison them. He appears to have occupied a leading position in the county as a Justice of the Peace.¹⁷

The Kennedys of Bankend were closely related to those of Auchtyfardell, though the exact connection can only be surmised.

As soon as the Kennedy family learned of the elopement they lodged a complaint with the Court of Session, the signatories being Grizzell and Jean Kennedy, sisters german to the deceased John Kennedy of Bankend, the culprit's father, that is, her aunts and John, James, and Elijah Williamson, and Jonathan and Torkwell Lattamore, their lawful children, also Gilbert Kennedy of Auchtyfardell, and William, George, and Hugh Kennedy, his brothers german. In their petition they stated that Maxwell had neglected to make up proper inventories as executor dative on the deceased's estate, that he and his cautioner, Maxwell, elder of Middlebie, were bordering on insolvency, that having settled Grizzell at school in Lanark he had removed her to Stroquhan in June, 1718, where he had ever since kept her, without any suitable education or aliment, and "to crown all these wrongs" he had about the month of August last (i.e., in 1721), caused a pretended marriage to be solemnised betwixt the said infant, "then not above 10 years old, and ——— Maxwell, his son, a boy of 14 or 15, that though this marriage be in law void, yet it awakened in the petitioners a just concern for the abused infant and constrained them to sue for redress."

To this formidable indictment Maxwell replied that Grizzell's mother was his sister, and therefore as none of her

father's relatives were inclined to take charge of her he did so as next-of-kin.

Finding that she had not been baptised, her father having been a Quaker and her relatives still endeavouring to "prevent her from the Christian religion," he had persuaded her to have this done. While his inventories might be legally defective in trifling details, they were in fact accurate statements, that he had paid off debts due by the deceased amounting to 7000 merks, and that the rent from the property, formerly 800 merks yearly, was now increased by £80, while he regarded the reference to his own and his cautioner's financial position as untrue and calumnious. As touching the marriage, he stated that it had taken place on the English side of the Border after the form of the Church of England, a dispensation having been obtained from the Bishop of the place, that his son was 18 years of age, and he knew nothing further about it, except that it was properly solemnised and duly consummated, and that, while admittedly the bride was under the age of consent, in Scots Law there was exception made when she was *viripotens*. He therefore suggested a jury of matrons to examine her physical condition.

He was ordered under penalty to appear personally on 10th February next (1722) and bring Grizzell with him, and a summons was served for his son at Stroquhan, but he could not be found, to all of which none of the three paid any attention. Thereafter for many months there followed a steady stream from both sides of complaints, petitions, supplications, replies, and answers too numerous to detail. Manifestly Maxwell was delaying matters till Grizzell reached 12 years, the Kennedys struggling to get her into their hands, no doubt hoping to bring pressure to bear on her to repudiate the whole business, or, as they said, to separate the young couple "till the child that has been injured shall have time to forget the suggar plumbs and coxing," and be advised by her friends what was truly her interest. They did succeed in getting Maxwell dismissed from his factoring of the estate. He continued to assert that he knew nothing of the whereabouts of the runaways, and during the next

year or so spent months in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, with an occasional period of liberty on bail. By November, 1722, he appeared in person before the Court and was interrogated; the Kennedys had seemingly got further information by this time. Amongst other questions he was asked whether he had not "transacted with the Sheriff Depute or Substitute of Dumfries for that irregular marriage, and whether he had not the Sheriff's discharge of the fine," to which he replied that he "did not transact with the Sheriff depute of Dumfries for the irregular marriage," an answer which certainly leaves much of the question unanswered. The form in which the question is put refers probably to the Act of Charles II., under which a heavy fine was payable in respect of any irregular or clandestine marriage. Maxwell's replies were prevarications from beginning to end, and the Lords sent him back to the Tolbooth, doubtless in the belief, which will be shared by anyone reading the evidence, that he was a most accomplished liar. It is possible, however, from this examination to follow what was in all likelihood the course of events. The young couple having taken two horses from Stroquhan, which were out at grazing, and convoyed by two drovers in Gilbert Maxwell's employment, who were no doubt to act as witnesses, and were commissioned to finance them, made their way over the Border, where they were safe from effective legal action, and were married there at some place not now discoverable. After an absence of about a week they returned to Stroquhan as married persons, remaining there till the legal proceedings made it advisable to seek a more secure hiding place.

Returning to Gilbert Maxwell, languishing in the Tolbooth, according to his own story he was now suffering so severely from fever and ague that he was like to die if not soon given his freedom, a statement quite possibly true; the Tolbooth was hardly a health resort. In addition his trade in black cattle, in which he was a large dealer, was being ruined, and if he was brought to bankruptcy, where then could his opponents look for payment of any fine or expenses. At the suggestion of the Court it was agreed to offer a

reward of £50 for the arrest of Grizzell Kennedy if found in Scotland, increased to £100 if in England. And in March, 1723, this was advertised in the *Edinburgh Courant*, but all that was discovered was that the young couple were now with friends in a remote part of Galloway, where it would be necessary to employ force to capture them, and the probability was that on any attempt being made to approach them they would escape to England, as they easily could by sea, and thus be beyond the Court's jurisdiction. It seemed also that Stroquhan's wife was certainly sympathetic, possibly the active agent behind the scenes. By the end of 1723 the Lords of Council and Session were getting rather tired of the case, no progress was being made, and Grizzell was now over 12 years of age, and so they finally sentenced Maxwell to six months' imprisonment and a fine of £150, the payment thereof being secured by disposing his estates to Sir John Dalrymple, one of the Clerks of Session in trust.¹⁸ Here the documentary evidence ends, except for the under-noted sasines, but it seems certain that as Grizzell and her husband could now surrender themselves with reasonable expectation that they would not suffer unduly, the tradition is probably accurate that they did so, and on her asserting that it was she who was the responsible party, were admonished and dismissed, the Court expressing the view that she seemed quite capable of it; evidently a masterful young woman. There is no entry in the Diocesan records of Carlisle of any Dispensation by the Bishop as alleged by Maxwell, nor do the marriage registers of the only two churches in that city which existed in 1721, contain any information which supports the suggestion that the marriage took place there. The records of the Sheriff Court in Dumfries are equally unproductive. That the marriage was valid except on the possible ground of age seems certain. Had the Kennedys been able to discover any reason for having it annulled other than that on which they did attack it, they would certainly have availed themselves of it.

Sasine dated 13th January, 1724, narrating that compeared upon the 40s land of Over Stroquhan,

William McQuire, in Maill of Kirkpatrick, as bailie for John Maxwell of Midlebie, superior of said lands, in virtue of precept of sasine contained in Charter aftermentioned, and there also compeared Nathaniel Gordon of Carletoun for himself and as attorney for John Lindsay of Mains, having in his hands the writs aftermentioned, viz., said Charter granted by said John Maxwell of Midlebie in favour of Gilbert Maxwell of Stroquhan of the said 40s land of Over Stroquhan, in the parish of Dunscore, barony of Holywood, and Sheriffdom of Dumfries, and Bond of Relief bearing infeftment made and granted by the said Gilbert Maxwell to said Nathaniel Gordon and John Lindsay, dated 10th January, 1724, whereby he acknowledged that he as principal and said Nathaniel Gordon, and John Lindsay, as cautioners for him, were decerned to pay to Sir John Dalrymple, one of the Clerks of Session, £150 stg. as a fine imposed on him upon a complaint against him before The Lords of Session at the instance of the friends of Grizell Kennedy, daughter-in-law of said Gilbert, therefore he for his said cautioner's relief of said fine and that they be secured in his estate for payment thereof, obliged himself to relieve said Nathaniel Gordon and John Lindsay of said payment and to infest them in said land under reversion, and sasine was accordingly given.

The Charter was dated at Dumfries, 10th January, 1724. Witnesses, James Pagan, merchant in Dumfries, and Alexander Mean, writer in Dumfries. Witnesses to Sasine, John Burgess, in Bearcroft, and Gilbert Rorrison, miller at Glenesland Mill.¹⁹

Sasine, dated 24th January, 1724, narrating that upon the lands of Upper Stroquhan pertaining to Gilbert Maxwell compeared William Douglas, son of William Douglas in Nether Stroquhan, with Samuel Edgar in Gateside of Irongray, where said Samuel was procurator for Sir John Dalrymple, one of the Clerks of Session, and to the process at the instance of

Gilbert Kennedy of Auchtyfardell and other relations of Grizell Kennedy of Bankend, before the Lords of Council and Session, against the said Gilbert Maxwell of Stroquhan, exhibited to said William Douglas, as bailie for said Gilbert mentioned in the precept of sasine contained in the Disposition granted by him to the said Sir John, by which Disposition said Gilbert in obedience to the interlocutor and in corroboration of his personal obligation in said process and for relief of his cautioners herein named sold and disposed to said Sir John Dalrymple in trust his lands of Strawhan, in the parish of Dunscore, and sheriffdom of Dumfries, and all other lands pertaining to him wherever they may lie, and obliged himself to infeft the said Sir John Dalrymple in the same in trust, which was accordingly done.

The Disposition was dated at Edinburgh, 15th July, 1723, before these witnesses, John Alexander, servitor to Robert Dalrymple, younger, Writer to the Signet, Thomas Young, Watchmaker in Edinburgh, and Robert Maxwell, Writer in Edinburgh. Witnesses to Sasine, said William Douglas, elder, in Nether Stroquhan, James Edgar, in Kirkland of Irongray, John Fullertoun, Merchant in Dumfries, and Robert Edgar, son of Thomas Edgar, in Inglestoun.²⁰

The alienation of the lands did not last very long. The sum required to pay the fine was raised, possibly Grizzell Kennedy's money assisted, for Gilbert was evidently in possession again, four years later.

Gilbert Maxwell disposed his lands to Edward (4th) in 1728, subject to an annual payment to his father and mother and the longest liver of them of 50 merks. Gilbert died in 1757, and the following testament shows how Edward (4th) fulfilled his obligation :

Testament dative of Gilbert Maxwell of Stroquhan deceased June 1757, given up by John Maxwell in Todholes lawful son, and by Mary Maxwell, widow of John Hutchison in Bridgend of Dumfries, lawful daughter and executors dative. By disposition bear-

ing date the third day of October in the year One thousand seven hundred and twenty eight Gilbert disponed the lands of Stroquhan to Edward Maxwell now of Stroquhan, provided Edward shall yearly pay to Gilbert and his spouse Jean McMin or the longest liver of them 50 merks Scots. At the decease there was owing 1000 merks, being annuity unpaid from Whitsunday 1737 to Whitsunday 1757.²¹

John and Mary Maxwell were given authority by the Court to recover the debt if they could. Apparently there was little else in the estate. This application was made to the Court when the will was registered on 25th July, 1767, ten years after the death of the testator; most probably his wife had survived up till then. There must have been some further consideration paid for Stroquhan besides the annuity, but for the Inventory of the will, only the annuity counted as being a debt.

Why Edward Maxwell should have failed for twenty years to pay this annuity is unknown, but it does not add to his credit.

Of the union of Grizzell Kennedy and Edward Maxwell there were born, Edward (5th), born in 1727, who later emigrated to Jamaica. Grizzell, born 1737, married Samuel Moffat, and died 7 July, 1807, being buried in Dunscore Churchyard; Elizabeth, of whom nothing but the name is known; and Benjamin, the youngest. The fact that no children were born or at least survived between 1727 and 1737 is curious, but no explanation has been discovered.

In 1732 the lands of Bankend were the subject of an arrangement between Grizzell Kennedy and her husband as related in the following deeds :

“ A disposition by Grizall Kennedy daughter of decd. John Kennedy called of Bankend, and grand daughter of decd. John Kennedy in Burnfoot of Lesmahagow, heritable proprietrix and standing infett in the lands and others underwritten, and now spouse to Edward Maxwell younger of Straquhan . . . for as much as there was no Contract of Marriage or

Marriage Settlement made or entered into betwixt us at the time of our marriage, . . .” The deed disposes “all and hail her 40s land of old extent of Nether-common and the 3 pd. 5s land of old extent commonly called ‘Betwixt the Waters,’ all sometime possessed by Andrew Symingtoun and his tennants,” in favour of her husband and herself and the longest liver of them in liferent, and to their “only lawful son now on life his heirs and assigneys whomsoever in fee.”

The deed is too lengthy to transcribe in full, but provides for re-marriage of either party and other contingencies. It is dated at Dumfries 20th Sept. 1732.²² Sasine was given on 3rd November, 1732.

Instrument of Sasine, dated 3rd November, 1732, narrating sasine given by William McWharrie, elder, in Bankend, as bailie, to William Thomsone of South Cumberhead, as Attorney for Edward Maxwell, younger, of Straqwhan, and Grissell Kennedy his spouse, and survivor in liferent, and Edward Maxwell, their only lawful son now in life, in fee, of the 40s land of Nethercummer, with houses etc. and the £3 5s lands commonly called “Betwixt the Watters,” with houses, etc. all some time possessed by Andrew Symingtoun, and his tenants, and lying within the barony and Parish of Lesmahagow, under reservation of power to said Edward Maxwell, younger of Straqwhan, to contract debts thereupon and to make provisions therefrom for younger children, if any be, and to deal with the property as fully as if the fee had not been granted to their son, and also under the condition that, if said Grissell Kennedy survive her husband, and their son or other heir succeed to the lands, and she marry a second husband, then her liferent shall be restricted to the half of said lands. The sasine proceeds on a precept in a Disposition granted by said Grissell Kennedy, daughter of deceased John Kennedy, called of Bankend, and granddaughter of

deceased John Kennedy, in Burnfoot of Lesmahagow, with consent of said Edward Maxwell, her spouse. The Disposition was written by Christopher Carruthers, servitor to John Carlyle, of Lymekills, writer in Edinburgh, and signed at Dumfries 20th September, 1732, before these witnesses, said John Carlyle and Christopher Carruthers, and James Walker, multerer of the Mill of Alva. Witnesses to the Sasine, James Hunter, sheriff officer in Lanark, and Robert Burnlie, servitor to Richard Dick, Notary.²³

The image shows four handwritten signatures in cursive script. At the top left is 'Ed Maxwell'. Below it is 'John Carlyle' with a small 'p' above the 'o'. To the right is 'Grizzell Kennedy'. At the bottom is 'Chris: Carruthers witness' with a small 'p' above the 'C'. The signatures are written in dark ink on a light background.

The date of the death of Grizzell Kennedy is uncertain. She was almost certainly buried in Dunscore. Her youngest child, Benjamin, cannot have been born earlier than 1739 or 1740. When in 1763 Edward Maxwell (4th) reserved for his lifetime the use of the house and garden of Stroquhan, had she been alive he would most probably have arranged this to be in favour of himself and his wife, and the longest liver of them, but she is not mentioned. Such evidence as exists, though slender, suggests that she died comparatively young, sometime between 1740 and 1763.

In 1763, Edward Maxwell (4th) sold Stroquhan to his son-in-law, Samuel Moffat, who had married his daughter Grizzell, for £800 and a life rent occupancy of the house in favour of himself for a rental of £2 10s. Samuel Moffat then offered it at the same price to his brother-in-law in Jamaica, but he declined it as he did not anticipate he would ever return to Scotland.

Disposition by Edward Maxwell to Samuel Moffat dated 13 April, 1763. Edward Maxwell disposed lands of Over Stróquhan by disposition dated 13 April 1763 to Samuel Moffat for £800 and for implement of this granted a bond over the lands with Alexander Copland of Colliestoun, who failing by death Wm. Copland, Yr. of Colliestoun as cautioners. Edward Maxwell reserved however for his life-time the liberty to continue in and to occupy "the mansion house and garden and the other land presently in his natural possession" but paying for same annually to Samuel Moffat the sum of £2 10s as rent, and public burdens.²⁵

At Dumfries the thirtieth day of April one thousand seven hundred and sixty three years betwixt the hours of eleven and twelve before-noon Sasine in favours of Samuel Moffat of Shillingland of all and hail the Twenty shilling land of Over Stroquhan of old extent with the houses, biggings, yards, orch-yards, woods, mosses, muris, meadows, tofts, crofts, annexes, connexes, parts, pendicles and pertinents of the same lying within the parish of Dunscore, Barony of Holywood and Sheriffdom of Dumfries with and under the Reservation therein mentioned. Dated the eighteenth day of April instant. Proceeding upon a disposition by Edward Maxwell of Stroquhan. Presented by John Coltart, Writer in Dumfries.²⁶

Sgd. Jn. Clark. Sgd. John Coltart.

On the death of Edward Maxwell (4th) in 1788, at Bankend, he was buried in Dunscore, but no stone now exists. Elizabeth was served heir to her brother Benjamin, who had apparently died some time before, and she and her sister Grizzell as co-heirs to their father.²⁷

It would almost appear as if the father had been life-rented in the son's estate.

Edward (5th) who emigrated to Jamaica and lived at Salt-Savannah, Vere parish, married, but the surname of his wife is unknown, though her Christian name was Milbury. He died there on 26th January, 1790. Of this union there

were born Henry, born 14 December 1775, George, and a daughter, of whom nothing is known. The above mentioned Henry was the claimant in an inquest held in Dumfries on 13 December, 1828, craving to be served heir general to his grandfather.

Henry and his brother George are believed to have died unmarried in London, and with them the direct male line became extinct.

The family had held the property for close on 150 years.

NOTES.

The various documents quoted are not in all cases given verbatim; in many instances they have been condensed, and a few have been summarised in order to make them more intelligible.

The spelling of names of persons and places has been given uncorrected and unaltered.

¹ Thomson's *Retours*, 3rd Oct., 1615.

² "Early Ecclesiastical History of Dunscore," by Sir Philip J. Hamilton Grierson.—These *Transactions*, 3rd Series, Vol. IV.

³ *Reg. of Testaments*—Test. of John Maxwell of Middlebie, Commiss. of Dumfries, 14th Nov., 1640.

⁴ *Part. Reg. of Sasines, Dumfries*. Register House (*P.R.S.*—*Df. R.H.*), Vol. 5, p. 144.

⁵ "A Covenanter's Narrative," by Sir Philip J. Hamilton Grierson.—These *Transactions*, 3rd Series, Vol. I., p. 136.

⁶ *P.R.S.—Df.,—R.H.*, Vol. 7, p. 1.

⁷ *Reg. of Privy Council*, Series III., II., p. 152.

⁸ *Index to Reg. of Deeds*, 1668.

⁹ *P.R.S.—Df. R.H.*, Vol. 5, p. 1.

¹⁰ This ballad is printed at the end of J. M. M'Culloch's *Rivers of Galloway and Dumfriesshire*, published about 1820. The author states that he received it from Joseph Train, who had taken it down from the recitation of a country lad in a public-house in Castle-Douglas on a Fair day. An inferior and obviously corrupt form is printed in Nicholson's *Historical and Traditional Tales*, 1843, where Strawhan is printed Troquhane, a property never owned by the family of Maxwell. In addition, many of the lines do not scan or rhyme. The *Rivers of Galloway and Dumfriesshire* is now unknown in any public library as originally published by J. M. M'Culloch. A reprint seems to have been issued, not dated, and bearing the imprint: Printed by J.

Nicholson, Kirkcudbright, but this is exceedingly scarce. The ballad, "Buchan Forest as we heard," from the M'Math manuscript deals with Maxwell's skill as a huntsman.—These *Transactions*, 3rd Series, Vol XII.

¹¹ *P.R.S.—Df. R.H.*, Vol. 10, p. 2.

¹² *Reg. of Acts and Decreeets* (Dal.), R.H., Vol. 214, 12th Dec., 1723. The Records of the Society of Friends give the date of her birth as 20th June.

¹³ Correspondence in Office of Lyon King of Arms.

¹⁴ Greenshield's *Annals of Lesmahagow*, pp. 48 and 183.

¹⁵ Greenshield's *Annals of Lesmahagow* gives a list of farms held by the family in 1695; *vide* also Irving and Murray's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, Vol. II., pp. 175-219-222, and *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, art. "Lesmahagow."

¹⁶ Greenshield's *Annals*, pp. 152 and 155.

¹⁷ *Old and New Edinburgh*, by James Grant; also "Minutes of J.P.'s of Lanarkshire" (Scot. Hist. Soc.).

¹⁸ *Reg. of Acts and Decreeets* (Dal.), R.H., Vol. 214.

¹⁹ *P.R.S.—Df. R.H.*, Vol. 10, part 1, p. 97.

²⁰ *P.R.S.—Df.*, Vol. 10, part 1.

²¹ *Reg. of Tests.—commis. of Df.—R.H.* Registered 25th July, 1767.

²² Disposition by Grizzell Maxwell or Kennedy, subscribed 20th Sept., 1732 (*Records, Sheriff Court, Dumfries*). Andrew Symingtoun, who died in 1644, was the great-great-grandfather of Grizzell Kennedy. His daughter, Grissell Symontoun, married John Kennedy, and so brought Bankend into the Kennedy family—they seem always to have married where money was.

²³ *P.R.S.—Lanark, R.H.*, Vol. 14, part 1.

²⁴ *P.R.S.—Df.*, R.H., Vol. 19, item 162.

²⁵ *P.R.S.—Df.*, R.H., Vol. 19, item 162.

²⁶ *P.R.S.—Df.*, R.H., Vol. 6, item 161. The description is now "20s land," and not "40s land." Samuel Moffat seems only to have bought a part of the property.

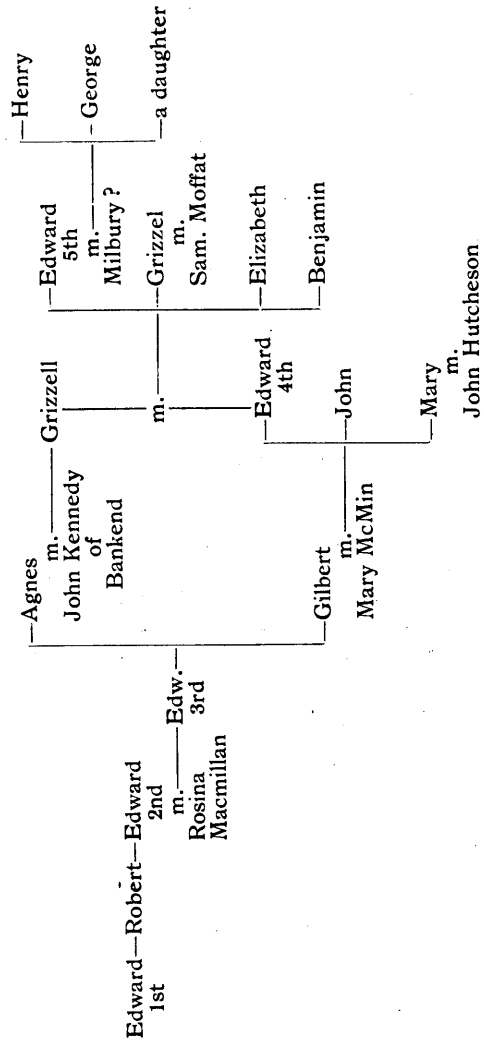
²⁷ *Index to Service of Heirs*, 18th July, 1789.

²⁸ *Records, Sheriff Court, Df.*

²⁹ *Register of Deaths, Jamaica.*

I am indebted to the Sheriff-Clerk of Dumfriesshire for the photographs of the signatures, as also for copies of several deeds from his records. His valuable assistance and kindness I gratefully acknowledge.

GENELOGICAL TABLE.



11th January, 1935.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The Levellers of Galloway.

By A. S. MORTON.

No part of Scotland suffered more than Galloway in the religious struggles of the seventeenth century. The land lay desolate; and trade was at a standstill. The Revolution Settlement brought a peace more apparent than real, and the country was slow to settle down. Gradually conditions did improve, but a set-back came with the 1715 Rebellion. When this was disposed of the country began to take stock. Galloway was in a backward condition, roads and bridges were almost unknown, and there were only a few bridle paths across the country. The boundaries of most landed estates were marked out by the course of a stream, a hill cairn, a set stone, or the flow of a peat moss.

The farmers usually cultivated a small portion of ground near the farmhouses, or followed the run-rig system, and had a right of pasturage in common with the other tenants over the whole of the estate. There were no fences, and many people had to be employed as herds. This had been the custom from time immemorial, and farmers and cottars seemed contented with their lot, and never dreamt of improvement. Many of the landlords reared large herds of cattle and sent them to the English markets. Andrew Symson, in his *Large Description of Galloway* (1684), tells us that in Kirkinner parish Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon had a park more than two miles long and more than one mile broad, which could keep, winter and summer, about a thousand cattle. These he sold to drovers at home, or sent to England. This trade was now opening up more than ever and becoming more profitable, and the lairds, who received little or nothing for their land under the existing conditions, prepared to take advantage of it. They decided to build farm dykes, which rendered herding unnecessary, to have less tillage, and to join unprofitable small-holdings into one large farm.

These movements meant the doom of the herds, cottars, and small tenants. Many of them got notice to remove at Whitsunday, 1723, and there were several instances where five, seven, and even sixteen families on an estate had to remove from their homes and the homes of their forefathers to make room for one occupant whose superior skill or wealth enabled him to take at an increased rent the whole ground vacated.

Several of those ejected emigrated, but many from age and poverty had to remain here utterly destitute. Brooding over their grievances the sufferers and their supporters met at Kelton Hill Fair to consider what should be done. There was a large gathering of representatives from all parts of the Stewartry and from the Machars of Wigtownshire, and here was first suggested the levelling of the dykes.

The first move seems to have been started by a man Robertson, a tenant in a substantial position under Gordon of Earlston, who had already started erecting dykes.

Robertson declined to be held responsible for the broken sub-tenants under him, or to take in others for whom he could answer. He was accordingly to be ejected. A tenant of Lady Kenmure was in the same position. The two met in a Change House in January or February, 1724, and entered into a bond to stand by one another and continue in their holdings no matter what happened. Many were got secretly to sign the bond, and, when their numbers were considered sufficient, they demolished first the dykes recently erected by Lady Kenmure and then those erected by Gordon on Airds. At this time they carried gavelocks and other instruments. Herds and young boys first threw down the head and loose stones, then women with their hands and shoulders pushed over the dyke, and the men turned up the foundation. Scores of others joined them, and they banded themselves together in their separate parishes under a chosen Captain. The parishes of Twynholm, Tongland, Kelton, and Crossmichael were said to be the first to take the field. At the beginning they conducted their operations under cloud of night, but their situation evoked considerable sym-

pathy, and they soon felt bold enough to tackle their work in broad daylight. They ranged themselves in companies of about forty alongside the fated dyke, each man carrying a strong kent or stick from six to eight feet long. The kent was placed into the dyke at the approved distance from the foundation, and when all were ready the captain shouted "ower wi' it, boys," and ower it went accordingly, with a shout that might have been heard a mile away.

Their custom was to assemble on Tuesday, work together till Thursday, and then separate.

In April, 1724, some of the Levellers fixed a manifesto on the church doors of Tongland, Borgue, Twynholm, and others declaring that they who had lately risen to suppress the insupportable cruelty and oppression of several gentlemen in Galloway were all well affected to the Government and loyal subjects of His Majesty and had risen only to defend themselves and families, many of whom did not know where to go or what to do by reason of the frequent parking and enclosing of ground, the gentlemen having put out, some sixty, some thirty and twenty families and put in black cattle, and were like to depopulate the whole country. "Therefore in order to prevent such a chain of miseries as are likely to be the consequences of this unhappy parking we earnestly entreat the assistance and aid of you the loyal parish of Borgue in order to suppress these calamities and that we may either live or die in this land of our nativity. We beg your assistance which will tend to your own advantage in order to which we desire you would meet at David Low's in Woodhead of Tongland where we expect the concurrence of Tongland and Twynholm upon Tuesday morning an hour after the sun rise which will gratify us and oblige yourselves. Farewell.

Cl—p k."

Sometimes they met with opposition, and occasionally a fierce struggle took place between them and those anxious to save the dykes, and not always was victory on the same side. Two or three of the ministers sympathized with them, and in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 27th April, 1724, it is

reported that a certain mountain preacher in a discourse a few days previously bitterly inveighed against the heritors and others for enclosing, etc., and that "next morning several hundred armed devotees, big with the ancient levelling tenet, in a few hours rid themselves of that grievance, to the great detriment of the gentlemen in that neighbourhood."

The Rev. James Monteith of Borgue parish was particularly outspoken, and some of the lairds proposed that he and two other ministers, Messrs Telford and Falconer, should be arrested as instigators of the movement, but the proposal was not carried out.

It is difficult to follow the sequence of events with the scattered and scanty records available, especially as separate bands were sometimes operating, and two or three visits were made to the same place

One raid started near Rhonehouse, and when they had levelled the dykes in that neighbourhood they proceeded towards Kirkcudbright, where they published a manifesto expressing their loyalty to the government, but upholding their own position, discharging tenants from leaving their holdings and ordering all who had debates to come to them and they would determine. Two or three of the lairds addressed them, and Basil Hamilton, some of whose dykes had been downed, offered them land at Cumstoun and elsewhere if security was found for the rent. This and other offers were refused. The civil authority at this time was not able to cope with them, and there was a large accession to their ranks. They numbered 1100, of whom, however, the majority were women and boys. They proceeded along the shore, destroying dykes as they went, and made in the direction of Kirkbean. Then they turned up country to Furbar liggate, about a mile south of where now Castle-Douglas stands, intending to demolish a recently built dyke which separated the estate of Kelton on the south and east from the adjoining property. They were met at Gallows Slot by Captain Robert Johnstone, the laird, and the Rev. William Falconer who had brought with them a sleigh loaded with barrels of ale, and bread and cheese. Mr Fal-

coner told the men that the dyke had not been put up for the purpose of dividing the estate, but only as a march fence from the public road; that no one had been put out of Mr Johnstone's estate, and that everyone on it would continue to have his house, yard or garden, with the usual quantity of corn sown and every privilege then possessed. Mr Johnstone himself assured them that no change would be made as long as he lived, and then he invited them to partake of the ale, bread and cheese, which they did heartily. They left the dyke standing and went off, cheering Mr Johnstone for his hospitality. They proceeded towards Tongland, levelling other dykes before they dispersed.

In the end of April one of the Levellers named David Rain or Rainey was arrested and lodged in Dumfries Prison. Shortly afterwards he was committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh by order of the Lord Justice Clerk. The warrant for this is rather an interesting document, as showing the procedure then adopted for the conveyance of a prisoner from one part of the country to another. It is in the following terms: "Whereas I am informed that David Rain, now prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dumfries, is highly guilty with the tumultuous meeting and convocation of His Majesty's lieges in the Stewartry of Galloway, as likeas for levying money for the support of the said illegal convocation, and it appearing highly proper that the said David may be brought to condign punishment, he be transported from the Prison of Dumfries to the Prison of Edinburgh; These are therefore requiring the Sheriff Depute of Dumfries to receive from the Magistrates of the said Burgh the person of the said David Rain, who are hereby ordered to deliver him to the Sheriff Depute who is to transport him under a sure guard to the next Sheriff or his Depute, (due advertisement being given to each Sheriff), and so from Sheriff to Sheriff always under a sure guard till he be delivered to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, whom, and the keepers of their Tolbooth are hereby ordained to receive and detain him in sure prison, Aye, and while he be thence liberate by due course of law; for doing whereof this shall be a sufficient

warrant. Given under my hand at Biggar the third day of May, 1724 years. To all concerned. A. D. Cockburne."

Rain was kept in prison for several months, and the *Caledonian Mercury* of 13th October, 1724, reports his liberation, referring to him as "one of the Levellers and Tax-gatherers for that Society." These are the only references I have found to the levying of money by the Levellers in support of their movement. The Levellers resented the arrest of Rain, and were almost successful in capturing Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness as a reprisal. They were very active at this time, and John M'Dowall, the Stewart Depute, who was believed to be sympathetic towards them, was spurred to action, and issued an Order which was intimated at the kirk doors on Sunday, requiring all heritors, liferenters, wadsetters, and free-holders to assemble at a stated time at the Steps of Tarff with their best horses, arms, and ammunition in order to proceed against the Levellers. The latter were in no way dismayed. They issued instructions to their supporters to come armed to the other side of the Tarff. Hundreds answered the call, armed with guns, pistols, swords, bludgeons, hay forks, flails, graips, etc. Swelling the ranks of the Levellers was a contingent of eighty men from Irongray, mounted on horses and armed with guns and swords. The forces of the Levellers were not only far superior to those of their opponents, but they had among them several old soldiers whose military experience enabled them to select the most favourable positions for an encounter. The gentlemen, seeing the numbers against them, were divided in their views. Some urged that the Levellers should be at once attacked, but others, more discreet, pled for milder measures, and pointed out that an engagement might have disastrous effects for them. Heron of Kirroughtree was the leader of this section. He had been in the army, and he assured his colleagues that he was satisfied from the dispositions of the Levellers that their leaders must be men of experience and ability. Several ministers hurried through the ranks of both sides, pleading with them for God's sake not to shed innocent blood. At

length Heron, unattended and hat in hand, approached the Levellers and addressed them. He said the gentlemen had not come to fight with the country people, but were anxious to restore peace in the neighbourhood and were ready and willing to redress their grievances. He proposed that the parties should meet on an early fixed date and try to settle their differences. It is said that as Heron was speaking, a hot-headed youth among the Levellers tried to shoot him but the pistol mis-fired. The Levellers accepted Heron's proposal to meet and adjust matters, and both sides dispersed. Among the leaders of the Levellers was the famous Billy Marshall, who had served with the army in Flanders, and who is said to have drilled the Levellers for nights beforehand.

When the news spread of this great gathering of the Levellers there were rumours that in their ranks were strangers of note with an ulterior motive. These rumours were wholly unfounded. Wodrow states that there were no men of note among them save Mr Cluny, a deposed curate, who drew their papers. Each side occasionally dubbed the other "Jacobite," but the struggle was not at all political.

When the appointed day arrived the Levellers found that there were to be no negotiations. A large number of them gathered on Bombie Moor, and, still hoping that the gentlemen would come and discuss terms, they engaged in wrestling and other amusements. The other side did not appear, and, enraged at this, the Levellers demolished more dykes and seized some sixty cattle on the pretence that they were Irish cattle, some of which they killed and cooked at Auchencairn, and the remainder at the Old Abbey of Dundrennan. They were slaughtered by a blacksmith named M'Minn, from which arose the saying that "M'Minn's forehammer was more deadly than the butcher's knife."

The explanation of the lairds' changed tactics was that they had decided to have more of the military called in so that they could crush the Levellers. Lord Creighton had arrived with two troops to be under the orders of the Justices, but the latter considered two troops insufficient,

and were not willing to have the odium of giving orders, and so nothing was done.

In the course of their operations the Levellers went over a wide extent of country. Dr. Frew, in his *History of the Parish of Urr*, states that among the first places visited by them were Barncaillzie and Munches, and John Maxwell of Munches, then a young boy, saw them with pitchforks, gavelocks, and spades, level the park dykes there. They passed by Dalbeattie and Buittle and did the same on the estates of Netherlaw, Dunrod, and Kilquhandy, from which Laird Murdoch had turned out sixteen families. The proprietors, with their servants and dependents, assembled, but were not of sufficient strength to quell them.

A company of Levellers met at Doon of Enrick, a short distance from Gatehouse, and the proprietors, intending to oppose them, assembled at Barngaber, a hill opposite. Shots were fired, and a fight seemed imminent, but Gordon of Knockbrenx approached the Levellers and persuaded them to disperse.

There were several meetings of the Levellers at Lagan, in the parish of Girthon, and at night they threw down the dykes built during the day.

The dykes of the parks belonging to Broughton were similarly treated. A man named Murray took part in the work, and on the way home slipped into Cally and told Alexander Murray, the laird, all about it, and he was ever afterwards held in detestation by his neighbours.

Almost every parish in which dykes were built was visited at some time by the Levellers, and even the dykes at Kirroughtree, near Newton-Stewart, were not spared, though at the extreme west of the Stewartry. The dykes at Palgowan escaped because they were so far away.

Sometimes an effort was made to overawe the Levellers and get them to disperse by reading the Proclamation under the Riot Act. By this Act (1 George 1 C.5), where persons are riotously and tumultuously assembled for any purpose to the number of twelve, a Proclamation is to be made ordering them to disperse, and if they continue

to the number of twelve or more for the space of one hour thereafter, they are liable to the statutory penalty of death. Seldom had this any effect, and on some occasions the Levellers replied by reading the Solemn League and Covenant.

The matter came before the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright, and the result of their deliberations is shown in the following record :

At Clachanpluck, May 6, 1724.

The Presbytery of Kirkcudbright, taking to their serious consideration the grievous and extensive inclosures that hath been made in the bounds to the straitning of several families, and that upon this account the people in the bounds having their spirits fermented have fallen upon irregular and illegal practices contrair to all law in convening themselves in arms and other weapons in a tumultous way throwing down the inclosure in the bounds at their own hands without making any previous representation of their grievances to the Competent for affording redress of the samen, and thereby have exposed themselves to the penalties of the civil law, which may be afflicted upon their persons and goods, the means of their subsistance, and that this practice strikes against the institution of heaven and tends to sap and overthrow magistracy contrair to the word of God, and to destroy liberty and property, therefore the Presbytery do unanimously judge it their duty to warn and admonish these gentlemen to desist from their offensive and grievous practice in prejudging the interest of the people; and also to exhort and obtest the people as they tender the glory of God the good of their precious souls and their civil interest and the peace of the Corner that they would speedily desist from such illegal practices as they would not have an active hand in bringing on ruin on themselves and their families which would be most grievous and afflicting to the Presbytery who have a very tender regard both to your spiritual and civil interest.

The Presbytery ordains this to be intimate by an Act of this Presbytery from their respective pulpits next Lord's day, being the 10th of this month instant, and where there is no sermon, the next Lord's day thereafter.

At the General Assembly at Edinburgh on Tuesday, 26th May, 1724, there was brought in an overture concern-

ing the tumults in Galloway. The following Commissioners were present from the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright: Mr William Falconer, Minister at Keltoun; Mr James Monteith, Minister at Borge; Mr Patrick Johnston, Minister at Girton; Samuel McClelland of Barklay, Ruling Elder; Presbytery of Wigtown — Mr John McCaul, Minister at Whithern; Mr James McClellan, Minister at Kirkcowan; John Martine of Airies, Ruling Elder; Presbytery of Dumfries—Mr Robert Paton, Minister at Dumfrees; Mr James Hill, Minister at Kirkpatrick Durham; Mr John Campbell, Minister at Kirkbeem; Joseph Currie, Writer in Dunfrees, Ruling Elder; Burgh of Dumfries—Harbert Kennedy, Merchant in Dumfrees. The Assembly remitted to Masters William Mitchell and John Stirling, Ministers, and His Majesty's Advocate, to consider said overture and prepare the same to be lodged before the Committee for Overtures at their next meeting. William Mitchell was minister at the High Kirk of St. Giles. He was Moderator of the General Assembly five times, and was the chief figure in the Church after the death of Carstares, whom he succeeded at St. Giles. John Stirling was Principal of the University of Glasgow, and was Moderator of the Assembly in 1707. Robert Dundas, younger of Arniston, was his Majesty's Advocate, and sat in the Assembly as Ruling Elder from the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

The following day there was an Act of General Assembly in these terms :

“ Upon the occasion of the tumultuous meetings of several people about Kirkcudbright and their illegal throwing down several enclosures the Assembly warned these people of the sinfulness and danger of such courses and exhorted them speedily to desist therefrom, and required all ministers near to the places where they are assembled, particularly in the bounds of the Synods of Drumfries and Galloway, in the most serious manner, from their pulpits to warn the people of the sinfulness and danger of such actings, and to exhort and obtest them as they have regard to the commands of God, the eternal salvation of their souls as well as the safety of their bodies and families, that they desist from such practices in time coming, and

live quietly and orderly in submission to the laws of the land and to their rulers, who are the ordinance of God, and particularly in loyalty and obedience to our Protestant Sovereign King George; And recommended it to all ministers in these bounds in their sermons, prayers, or private conversation to beware of any expression that may seem in the least to justify such practices or to alleviate the guilt of them or that might be interpreted to import that any sufficient ground or occasion had been given to commit such abuses; and 'tis recommended to the gentlemen who have been injured in these irregular practices to use the greatest tenderness towards a poor misled people in order to the reducing them to their duty. And the said Act is appointed to be published from the respective pulpits in these bounds with suitable exhortations to enforce the design thereof."

Kirkcudbright Presbytery Records contain no specific reference to this Act, but Wigtown Presbytery, on June 16th, 1724, appointed the Act to be intimated from the several pulpits within the bounds of the Presbytery next Lord's Day. Many of the ministers in the Stewartry refused to read it.

In the *Caledonian Mercury* of 2nd June, 1724, it is reported that "six troops of Dragoons have been sent to the west, the better to level the Levellers," and the hope is expressed that they will be able soon to give a good account of themselves, having already sent off a detachment to reconnoitre. They were under the command of Major Du Cary, a French Protestant and an able soldier.

One of the first steps was the arrest of Robertson and three or four of the ringleaders, who were taken in their beds by some of the soldiers and Justices' Officers and committed to prison.

In the end of May the Levellers sent notices throughout the whole of the Stewartry ordaining men, women, and children to meet at three places on Tuesday, 2nd June, with arms to stand in their defence, and complaining of the severity of the soldiers on the women. It was expected that the largest gathering they had ever had would be at Parton Church. Major Du Cary hurried fifty soldiers to the meeting-place and they were accompanied by some of the

Lairds and Justices. This movement had a depressing effect on the Levellers, and it was after mid-day before any of them appeared. Then some thirty gathered on the other side of the water, drank the King's health, and confusion to the enclosures, etc. The Justices and gentlemen with their servants crossed the river, and without any violence took about the half of them prisoners. As they were coming back across the river, however, some men and women made a half-hearted effort at rescue, and threw stones among them. A man with a pitch-fork or long pole attacked one of the Justices and wounded his horse in an attempt to throw him. He himself was slightly wounded, and was taken prisoner. A woman got injured by a horse tramping on her, but no other injuries were sustained, and the prisoners were taken to Kirkcudbright and committed to prison.

Following this there was a secession of both houghing and levelling, and the *Caledonian Mercury* of 9th June, 1724, states: "It is now taken for granted that the Galloway Levellers are reduced to their marrow bones."

Occasionally small parties came into contact. When half-a-dozen dragoons were proceeding towards Ringford they met some Levellers from Balmaghie going to Kirkcudbright. A struggle ensued, and one of the Levellers named M'Crabbin knocked down two dragoons and then bolted. He was pursued, and one of the dragoons named Andrew Gemmil, the prototype of Eddie Ochiltree, cut off his ear with a sword. The Levellers were taken to Kirkcudbright and M'Crabbin was kept in prison till the following year.

The Levellers published "An Account of the Reasons of Some People in Galloway, their Meetings anent Public Grievances through Inclosures." There are at least two printings of it in entirely different type. After declaring their loyalty and readiness to defend his Majesty's person, government, and authority, with their goods, bodies, and lives, the writers state that the just and true causes of assembling are that these several years bygone there have been very many parks and de-populating enclosures made

which have not a little weakened the commonality of Galloway, for some have turned out fifty or sixty families and made their habitations a barren wilderness, and what is not parked many of the proprietors have racked their rents to a third more than what was formerly, and some to a half more, which has broken a great many of the farmers. After referring to the importation of Irish cattle contrary to law, causing the Galloway cattle to yield no just prices, the document continues: "To complete our ruin they have now proceeded beyond all the bounds of former years from the sense of the greatness of their gain to add to their former enclosures. They this year have warned a very great number of families to remove at Whitsunday, the 15th of May, 1724, viz. : upwards of sixty in some parishes and more than thirty in others, and scarce any other places can be found out for their relief, so that we expected nothing but the open fields for ourselves, wives and little ones, and our substance to be dispersed and wasted; and thus almost distracted by hearing the doleful cries and lamentations of our wives and children we did arise in a considerable body, without any arms or ammunition, until we were necessitate for our self-preservation in respect of a Order publicly intimated at the Kirk doors upon a Lord's Day that all heritors, life-renters, wadsetters and free holders were to appear with their best horses, arms, and ammunition to make an engagement upon us; but they seeing our numbers very far to exceed theirs, did not adventure, and ever since we have kept some small quantity of arms for our own defence lest at any time we should be surprised by them; but our far greater number have nothing but staves or clubs to drive the Irish cattle, of which we have seized upon and slaughtered fifty-three, and likeas secured twelve barrels of run brandy which we delivered to the King's Officers and is now in the Custom House at Kirkcudbright. We have thrown down some of these de-populating inclosures which have been made contrary to all the precepts and commands contained in the Word of God. . . . We would be willing to take the lands which were parked as

they were set formerly, and further to pay the interest of the money laid out in enclosing ground; likeas from the example of our superiors, our very equals have undertaken to add fuel unto our oppression, for some country tenants, or rather drovers, have taken all the grounds they can get and stockt the same with black cattle and sheep by which many an honest man is straitened as well as by the gentlemen's parks themselves. . . . And lately the said Mr Basil Hamilton hath cast out thirteen families upon the 22nd day of May instant who are lying by the dykesides. Neither will he suffer them to erect any shelter or covering at the dykesides to preserve their little ones from the injury of the cold, which cruelty is very like the accomplishment of that threatening of the Jacobites at the late rebellion, that they would make Galloway a hunting field, because of our public appearance for his Majesty King George at Drumfries, and our opposition against them at that time in their wicked designs. . . ."

The document states that the Levellers never had any intention of violating the law, but acted from ignorance and the straits they were reduced to, and asks that extreme and violent measures be not taken against a poor, distressed and destitute people.

Although published anonymously, it made a great impression, and requests for it were so numerous that, as mentioned, it had to be set up and printed again.

Immediately following on it there appeared "News from Galloway, or the Poor Man's Plea against his Landlord, in a letter to a friend." The writer argues that the turning of arable land into enclosures for the sake of pasturage only can never contribute to the happiness of the nation, for the land, instead of being improved and producing greater profits, yieldeth less. He does not defend the actings of the Levellers, but observes that "oppression makes a wise man mad." To the claim that landlords may improve and dispose of their land as they please, he replies that this has several limitations and that all private improvement ought to be for the glory of God and the greater good of human

society, and that whatever is not consistent with these ends is not to be done though there be no particular and express human law against it. He argues that though a landlord may have an undoubted property in land which no man hath right to invade, yet he cannot dispose of it at his pleasure so as either to turn it waste for a considerable time or prefer a small profit arising from pasturage of cattle to the maintenance of a number of poor families who have no other way of living—in a word he cannot improve his land to the prejudice or ruin of his fellow-creatures. . . . He elaborates his argument at great length with many references to Scripture. He details the grievances of the people dispossessed and says that the practice against which he pleads is prejudicial to the Government which is deprived of the assistance of many well affected, loyal subjects who have with zeal and forwardness appeared on all occasions for the defence of the Government as now established. An open door is now made for the enemy, and if he had not known that our gentlemen are generally well affected he would conclude that this method of theirs was a Jacobitish plot in prosecution of a proposal made by the Queen of England in the reign of James VII., namely: That Scotland would never be in peace till the southern parts were made a hunting park, for what King Charles II. and King James VII. could not accomplish by iniquitous laws and force of arms the landlords do it effectually by turning out their tenants. He goes on to defend the ministers, and says he has discussed with some, and has letters from other ministers wherein they declare that neither they nor for anything they know any of their brethren had the least hand in instigating or countenancing the people's rising and demolishing park dykes, but on the contrary those who are most blamed did from their pulpits declaim against the management of the present undertaking and declared against everything the people either had done or should do contrary to laws divine or human. This lengthy letter is dated June 6th, 1724.

The Justices in the Stewartry on seeing it made an Act discharging all written and printed papers on the subject.

A pamphlet of over twenty pages appeared shortly afterwards, entitled "Opinion of Sir Thomas More, Lord High Chancellor of England concerning enclosures, in answer to a letter from Galloway." It, too, is in the form of a letter, and it is signed "Philadelphus," Edinburgh, July 1, 1724. The writer acknowledges receipt of "News from Galloway," and assures his correspondent that it had a general approbation as a well connected paper containing arguments both clear and strong, and as there are many living witnesses of the most judicious who are willing to join with him in bearing testimony against oppressing poor people by excluding them from such possession of the earth as is necessary for the subsistence of their families, so there have been not a few great men, both lawyers and divines, in former days who have left their sentiments on that subject upon record in very strong terms agreeing with his correspondent. He condemns the Levellers for taking it into their own hands to redress their grievances, but remarks that their cause was very clamant. He quotes from an English lawyer, Robert Powel of Wells, one of the Society of New Inn, who in 1636 wrote a book, entitled "De-Population arraigned, convicted, and condemned by the laws of God and Man." Arguments are advanced similar to those already quoted in "News from Galloway," urging that the necessity of the common weal hath such power over the actions and estates of man that no one must abuse or misemploy the talent of his means, that no man must do that in his own property or possession as may hurt another man. The question is not whether a landlord can remove insolvent tenants and put in others who can pay the rent—nobody disputes that; nor is it whether a proprietor can improve by pasturage such a proportion of his estate as cannot be prejudicial to the body of the common people—that is not doubted either. But the question is, if all proprietors have a power to turn their grounds into pasturage to the exclusion or oppression of the body of the moveable tenants who have a claim by the law of God and nature to be subsisted by the products of the earth. One would think

that both Religion and Reason might afford a plain and ready answer without producing authorities from divines or lawyers, but if the opinion of a great man be wanted he offers the judgment of Sir Thomas More, the Lord High Chancellor of England in the time of Henry VIII., on a parallel case about lands being taken for the rearing of sheep. This judge expresses himself against the increase of pasturage and the enclosing of many acres by which the people are cast out and rendered destitute and the whole country made to suffer. He makes the remarkable statement that "Since the increase of pasturage God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep which has destroyed vast numbers of them, but had been more justly laid on the owners themselves."

This pamphlet caused considerable alarm among the authorities in Edinburgh, and the Lord Advocate went personally to the bookseller to demand the name of the author. An attempt was made to stop the sale of it, but the result was a greater demand for it than before.

Shortly after Major Du Cary (sometimes named Duquary and McWharrie) came to the Stewartry with his dragoons the Levellers sent him an anonymous paper setting forth their grievances.

This is a most important document, and must be quoted at some length :

"To the Right Hon. Major Augustus Duquary,
Commander of His Majesty's Troops at Kirkcudbright.

The Representation of the poor, distressed tenants
of Galloway.

Humbly Sheweth

That the heritors, our masters, for several years past having inclosed yearly great tracts of their land and turned out the tenants, and this growing evil having been most manifest this year by Mr Basil Hamilton warning all the tenants of four or five townlands, Mr Murdoch warning all the tenants of two townlands, Mr Murray of Cavens warning about thirty families, and Broughton is warning all the tenants of ——— townlands, being the vast and large tract of land besides what he formerly had inclosed, all which tenants being to be driven out in order to inclose the ground, their grievous cries who did not

know where to put their heads or what to do with their stocks, together with the fear of others of us who expect the same fate in a short time, did alarm us so that we have thought it our duty by the laws of God and self-preservation to do what we could to show to the world not only our own present distressed state but the dangerous consequences of this manner of inclosing the lands and turning out the inhabitants. We therefore judged that the best way of declaring our grievances was to assemble ourselves in a body together, by which means we could have an opportunity to declare first to the gentlemen themselves our great grievances, and if they refused, to lay the same before the Commander of the Troops whom we expected to be sent here, and we do all of us as one man express our great satisfaction that Your Honour is sent to this country to command the Troops, being a gentleman whose honour, integrity, and real affection to His Majesty's person and government was never stained. Upon this concert of assembling ourselves the first appearance we made was of a few of us going to Kirkcudbright, where, after declaring our grievances to some of the gentlemen who were at the time there present we drunk His Majesty's health and peaceably went off without having satisfaction from the gentlemen there present. The next public appearance we made was at the house of Edmund Brown, where we assembled ourselves to concert what was to be done in our present dangerous and lamentable circumstances, where we neither did nor intended mischief to anybody, but alas, the gentlemen foreseeing that our appearances after this manner might be the means to cause the Government notice our grievances, and might in event produce a new law to stop their making so large inclosures and turning out the inhabitants, fell on ways and means, knowing us to be ignorant of the laws as they are prescribed, to have us all thereby either banished or hanged, which politick at once will satisfy all their intentions of turning the country into a desert. They therefore pitched on David Colthard, a most notorious villain and capable to swear any man's life away whether guilty or innocent. Him they made constable and sent His Majesty's proclamation concerning riots and tumults to be read to us, and he accordingly came and brought along with him some of Mr Hamilton's domestic servants to witness, as we afterwards were informed. This David Colthard, whom we did not know to be any constable, read a paper to us which few of us heard or none of us knew or understood the meaning or

danger thereof, and thus we were ensnared, and many of us continued together after the proclamation was read, the said David Colthard taking care to conceal the danger of not separating ourselves, and the gentlemen taking care that no Justice of peace should be there to communicate any knowledge. This politick, we are persuaded, our just judges will easily see through and prevent. The next meeting we had was at Boat of the Ronn, and after various consultations it was resolved that an order to procure the government to take notice of our grievances since that remarkable was to be done though it should be to the danger of our worldly means and death itself, and though we should be made victims, our lives or worldly means was not thought of to be put in competition with anything that would probably put a stop to our children's misery and the ruin and depopulation of our country. And therefore we unanimously agreed to throw down Mr Murdoch's dykes which inclosed the whole Barony of Airds out of which two or three years ago great multitudes of good and sufficient tenants were driven away, and also the same Mr Murdoch's dykes which were abuilding about the lands of Kilwhannadie and Marcartnay, likewise great tracts of lands out of which tenants were immediately to be turned out. There were indeed some other dykes thrown down, but that was the effect of the people's rage, which in general we did not approve of. The next remarkable meeting we had was at the Stepps of Tarff, when the whole gentlemen and their servants were summoned to appear. We judged this meeting a good opportunity to lay before them our grievances in the humblest manner, hoping that the Lord might touch their hard hearts, wherefor we sent account of our grievances and certain requests we made for making the country easy, but alas, they were deaf to our humblest requests and gave no ear to our grievances, so the conference ended without any effects, and the gentlemen came up to us and read His Majesty's proclamation. We then knew the danger of keeping together, and were accordingly resolved to separate, but alas, the woeful plots and wicked politicks of the gentlemen was a second time the cause of our being ensnared and staying together an hour after the proclamation was read, for no sooner was it read but they entered into a new communion and interchanging of articles. We were decoyed to continue together for that hour for no other reason that we can judge but that we should incur the pain of death or banishment, which now seems undeniable, there being warrants against many of

us for not separating at that very time, and further, to show the gentlemen's intention to be for cutting one way or another, the very same day when we were separating we were followed by Colonel Maxwell of Cardoness and Laird Heron and others, and we did agree with them that we should live peaceably and throw down no man's dykes, and they, on the other hand, did agree to three requests which made and promised the same should be extended on stamped paper, we therefore sent eight of our number to get this promise performed, and the rest of us went quickly home. These two gentlemen came to a little alehouse about a mile off, as likewise did the said eight persons of our number, where a great many of the other gentlemen were present, four whereof were justices of the peace, with the Stewart Depute. The conditions were repeated by both parties, and all things were in a fair way of accommodation, and a scroll of the articles was made up, but alas, the wicked politicks of these gentlemen, who, as it will appear afterwards, had only a design to deceive and enrage us, that we might be more exposed to the law, for they came to our people after they had been consulting and working about two hours, and told a fair story that they could not get there any paper so formally drawn up as at Kirkcudbright, and therefore entreated our men to cause intimate to the several parishes to send two out of each parish to see the agreement duly perfected, and all the gentlemen, justices of the peace, and others, did promise upon honour that the same should be solemnly performed and effected the seventh of May the day that the Commissioners of Supply met at Kirkcudbright for perfecting the same. Never doubting of the gentlemen's perform, we sent our commissioners from each parish as desired, but these, to their great misfortune, had their eyes opened and saw the deceit, for they were so far from performing their honourable promise that they destroyed the very scroll of it. Being thus disappointed, after sending a letter to Colonel Maxwell of Cardoness showing our ill-usage, for which indeed he was very sorrowful, being willing to fulfil his promise, they went quietly home and told their constituents the whole matter of fact, which so much enraged us that a great number met on Bombie Muir and then did demolish a great deal of the dykes which otherwise we would have been most loath to have done; and also understanding that there were a considerable number of Irish cattle in the Parks of Netherlaw, we did, in obedience to the law, legally seize and slaughter them to deter the gentlemen

from the like practice of importing or bringing Irish cattle, to the great loss of this poor country as well as the breeders in England, too much the practice of the gentlemen here.

Since the troops came to the country we have had several little meetings to consult about our safety, and at last resolved to have a meeting at the Boat of the Ronn, but that only a few should come there to represent our grievances to your honour, whom we did expect to meet at that place, but being falsely informed that your honour would have fallen on us with the troops without hearing our grievances, none of us durst appear at the foresaid place, and some few of our people having got the length of Parton Church, designing to return home, some gentlemen with their servants attacked them on the King's road, though they were neither doing nor tending harm to any person, and though the said gentlemen had no warrant against any of them nor did so much as know their names or if they had done anything against law, yet such was their arbitrary and illegal proceedings that they forced them to be their prisoners, threatening their lives in case they made any resistance. The poor men, unwilling to make any resistance, yielded themselves prisoners and went peaceably alongst, although it was in their power to get themselves rescued by great numbers who came for that end. . . . Your petitioners beg that the most speedy methods may be taken for the trial of those poor innocent prisoners.

Every year several tenants are exposed to the mountains, and know not where to get any place; nay it is notourly known some years ago that some of these poor distressed people have, from despair, put hands in themselves and have been found hanged in their own house about the term time when they were obliged to go away and did not know where to go, and in a short time no inhabitants will be in all this country; we cannot fail to judge thus if we reason of what is to come, by what is already; a few examples whereof let your Honour consider and examine the truth. Let Mr Heron, Yr. and elder of that ilk, let Mr McKie of Palgown, Mr Murdoch of Cumloden, Mr Dunbar of Machermore, all gentlemen of good estates, tell themselves what number of tenants they have on their land, the answer must be that they have not one, and the very little town of Minnigaff belonging to Mr Heron is only a nest of beggars since he inclosed all the ground about it, nay they, together with Mr Blair

of Dunrod, Mr MacJore of Cocklick, Mr MacJore of Kirkland, have not only inclosed all their own, but have taken great leases of other gentlemen's ground whereon they likewise have not one tenant; this growing evil, which must have the woeful effect of depopulating this country in a very short time, carries these miserable consequences in its bosom, the burghs, trades, and corporations which depend on the people of the country, go inevitably to ruin, the parish churches, where the voice of the gospel used to be in purity preached, instead of a numerous auditory, will be left with bare walls, and his Majesty's troops, who ought to be recruited out of the best and most loyal subjects, can expect none out of this country, and we humbly think that the turning a country desolate will be no small encouragement to foreign enemies landing if there should happen a rebellion to bring in to Britain, as was some years ago, as God forbid, there will not be such an appearance from Galloway as there was at the last rebellion, the country being now greatly depopulated through the grievous and extensive inclosures. We may boldly say it was not our Parkers that kept the rebels out of Dumfries, but his Majesty King George, his true and loyal subjects in Galloway and Nithsdale.

We therefore beg your Honour to take in consideration our deplorable state and circumstances, and lay our miserable condition before his Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, which, with your Honour's hearty endeavours, may one way or other be brought to the ears of the Government, who can only help us, and your petitioners shall ever pray,

your Honour's most obedient servants,
The poor distressed tenants in Galloway."

This document was transmitted to Major Du Cary by Provost Kilpatrick, Kirkcudbright, and when the Justices learned this they called him before them and threatened him with imprisonment unless he disclosed all he knew about it. They reported his part in it to the Lord Advocate, but nothing seems to have followed on this. After a time the Levellers were answered by the Lairds with "A Short Account How Far the Facts Set Forth in an Anonymous and False Paper Delivered to Major D'Query Concerning the Pretended Hardships of the Tenants in Galloway are Disproven by the Examinations Taken Before the Justices of the Peace of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in Obedience to

His Majesty's Commands." This document traverses the assertions made by the Levellers and denies the complaints brought against Basil Hamilton, Murdoch of Cumloden, Murray of Cavens, Murray of Broughton, the Herons of Kirroughtree, Blair of Dunrod, MacJoar of Kirkland, MacJoar of Cocklick, McKie of Palgown, and Dunbar of Machermore, and it is stated that there was no scarcity of leases to be got the previous year, and that many lands were lying waste and not inclosed for no other reason than want of tenants. The Levellers' explanations as to some of their actings were also answered, and what else was contained in the Grievances was stated to be false and groundless.

Each document set forth the aspects most favourable to those submitting it, but neither told the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

A doggerel ballad, entitled "The Levellers' Lines," which was written by James Charters, Kirkland of Dalry, but appeared anonymously, became very popular. It was circulated at first in manuscript, but was afterwards printed by James Duncan in Glasgow. The Magistrates of Kirkcudbright seized all the copies they could get and had them publicly burned by the Burgh Officer at the Market Cross. Copies are accordingly difficult to get, but the following verses are given in Mackenzie's *History of Galloway* :

"A generation like to this
Did never man behold,
I mean our great and mighty men
Who covetous are of gold.
Solomon could not well approve
The practice of their lives,
To oppress and to keep down the poor,
Their actions cut like knives.

Among great men where shall ye find
A godly man like Job,
He made the widows' heart to sing,
But our lairds make them sob.
It is the duty of great men
The poor folks to defend,
But worldly interest moves our lairds,
They mind another end.

They from the hungry take the sheaf
 And of them corn do crave,
 They turn them out to ly in fields
 Nor house nor shelter have.
 The word says rob ye not the poor
 Nor widow in distress,
 Or else your wives shall widows be,
 Your children fatherless.

For they that strain the poor man's right
 Of either lands or food,
 The lord says he'll debar their souls
 From any spiritual good.
 They are more forward to thrust out
 Poor people from their land,
 Than Israel was the heathen folks
 When Moses did command.

The lords and lairds they drive us out
 From maillings where we dwell,
 The poor man says 'Where shall we go?'
 The rich says 'Go to hell.'
 These words they spoke in jest and mocks,
 But by their works we know,
 That if they have their herds and flocks,
 They care not where we go.

Against the poor they still prevail
 With all their wicked works,
 And will enclose both moor and dale
 And turn corn fields to parks."

In July there was a renewal of the levelling, and the *Caledonian Mercury* of 20th July reports that David Rae and William Falconer have been committed to Edinburgh Prison by warrant of H.M. Advocate, charged with having unlawfully convocated themselves with other accomplices, demolished several enclosures in the Stewartry, and continued to the number of twelve or more in a riotous manner after Proclamation against riots had been read to them.

In the end of July, Major Du Cary, who had been ill for some time, died on his way to Glasgow, and a fantastic story of his death gained currency in Galloway. This was to the effect that the lairds were offended for his having reported to the Government after he came to Galloway that

he found a poor suffering and oppressed people, and that they resolved to remove him by fair means or foul. He was invited to a supper and ball at one of their residences, and, as a highly honoured guest, to him the butler first presented the wine glasses on a tray, and he accepted a glass, lifted, drank, and replaced it. The butler then deliberately stumbled and dropped the tray so that all the other glasses were either emptied or broken. In a short time Du Cary became unwell, and, suspecting that he had been poisoned, hurriedly left, mounted his horse and galloped off to seek medical attention at Dumfries, but died on the way.

The disturbances gave rise to other fantastic stories, but one is sufficient.

Du Cary was succeeded in command of the Black Horse by Major Gardiner, afterwards the celebrated Colonel Gardiner.

Following on representations by the Levellers, a Commission was granted to the Lord Advocate to inquire into their grievances. Accordingly depositions were taken by John McDowall, the Stewart Depute, but he was suspect of levelling sympathies, and some of the lairds complained of his procedure to the Marquis of Annandale, Stewart Principal, and a lively correspondence followed between the two, some of which may be seen in the Hornel Library, Kirkcudbright.

In answer to a letter of 17th August, 1724, from the Stewart Principal, McDowall explains that he proceeded to examine in open Court eight or ten men from each parish certified by Minister or Magistrate as of good reputation, and he intimated to the lairds that when the examination was over they would have an opportunity of answering anything alleged against them. The Stewart Principal replied that things might be done in open Court and the parties concerned not advertised, which made it a very private Court to them. Besides, when the depositions were once taken, the parties hurt by them, having had no opportunity of objecting to the evidence and putting questions, were unjustly dealt with, for it was then that they ought to be

heard and not afterwards. The testimony of the ministers of the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright concerning the reputation of the witnesses could be of no great account, since, according to the opinion of the late General Assembly, they thought them very partial to the common people, and they had been generally looked on as fomenters and encouragers of those disorders. If any are touched by the depositions taken in their absence, the witnesses should be re-examined if desired, and advertisement given to the persons concerned to be present. McDowall replied that he did fairly and publicly advertise all concerned, that he was going upon these examinations in the Tolbooth, that so they might have an opportunity of sending in witnesses to be examined and to object against or question others.

Annandale was meeting and getting his information from Basil Hamilton, and sent him copies of his letters to McDowall, and also copies of certain depositions. In one of his letters to McDowall he states: "It is insinuated that one reason that obliges you to favour those disorderly people so much is that many of them are joined to you in driving a trade of running of goods." McDowall replied that he would send the journal of his proceedings, which would clearly show that he never did nor had a thought of countenancing the mad distracted acts of the rioters, and defied all his enemies to condescend on any fact of his tending that way. On the contrary, he could prove that his zeal had been hearty for bringing the country to peace and quiet.

In a letter to Basil Hamilton, dated 14th Sept., 1724, Annandale states that as McDowall insinuates that the reports are to be received by the Lords of Session he thinks it will be needless for them to meddle any further in it till that time.

The movement spread from the Stewartry to Wigtownshire, not, as some writers state, from Wigtownshire to the Stewartry. Sir Alexander Maxwell of Monreith enclosed the Fell of Barhullion in Glasserton parish, and in the autumn of 1724 a band of several hundred Levellers gathered from different quarters and overthrew a thousand roods of the

dyke in one night. They used a machine like a battering-ram, with which they could overthrow a rood at one blow.

The tenants in parties relieved one another in patrolling the grounds of Monreith every night, but, notwithstanding this, seven of the cattle were found houghed in their enclosures without any clue to the culprits.

The Levellers fixed a manifesto on the kirk door at Sorbie, in which it was stated that a thousand persons in Wigtownshire had had their bread taken from them. The minister ordered the beadle to pull it down, and the following night his own yard dyke was levelled.

The tenant of Balsier, Sorbie parish, enclosed a particular field, but the dyke was levelled during the night. He re-built the dyke, but it soon met the same fate. A third time he built it, and resolved to defend it at all costs. When the Levellers next appeared he had his force ready to oppose them, and a fierce struggle ensued, the Levellers being driven from the field with one of their leaders fatally injured. Some of them were brought to trial at Wigtown and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Wodrow states that the soldiers were called in, but Sir Andrew Agnew in *The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway* says that the Sheriff with the officials at his command was able to cope with the rising without calling in Stair's Dragoons, then stationed at Innermessan, near Stranraer.

An Order was read from the pulpits in all the parishes around "threatening death and damnation" to all who would henceforth be found destroying their neighbour's property, and this seems to have had the desired effect in putting an end to the levelling in the Machars.

The last stand of the Stewartry Levellers was made at Duchrae, in the parish of Balmaghie, in the autumn of 1724. Here beside the Black Water of Dee a large force gathered and waited the attack which they believed to be coming. Many of them were there with little enthusiasm for the job, and only the younger and more reckless spirits were eager for the fray and confident of victory. Some of the older men indeed hinted at surrender, but their advice was flouted

and the position was strengthened for greater resistance. The attack came on a bleak October day, but even before the struggle began a few of the Levellers had left the camp, forded the water and made off. The fight was not long in progress till the soldiers gained the upper hand. The Commander ordered them not to use their arms except when necessary and in self-defence, and throughout they behaved with the greatest leniency. The casualties were remarkably few, but two hundred of the Levellers were taken prisoners, among them being Billy Marshall. They were marched towards Kirkcudbright, but on the way many of them were allowed to escape, Marshall among them, through the good offices of Andrew Gemmell, already mentioned. When Kirkcudbright was reached less than a score of prisoners remained to be committed to prison. This was the death-blow of the movement, but for months afterwards the courts were engaged hearing cases arising out of the disturbances.

One regrettable feature of the after proceedings was the great difficulty that the Levellers had in getting procurators of court to appear for them. This is shown in a deposition by John Milligan, writer in Kirkcudbright, who, on 1st September, 1724, in presence of Alexander McKie, Stewart Substitute, depones that two men from Rerrick parish, whose names he did not know, approached him to present on behalf of the tenants a petition to the Justices asking that as they were about to make inquiry into the state of the Stewartry by virtue of the Lord Advocate's orders and the tenants could not be present at the examination of witnesses to see a true state taken and objection made to incompetent witnesses, the deponent should be allowed to represent them to that end. He told them he was not inclined to be concerned in the affair, for he knew, at least thought, the Justices would refuse the petition, they having formerly refused another which he presented on behalf of prisoners desiring liberty of a procurator to appear for them, and if he concerned himself more with that affair he would disoblige the gentlemen, so he declined to act. They informed him that Bailie Gordon, another procurator, had

also refused. The local lawyers were unwilling to act for them, fearing to offend the lairds, with whom they were mostly connected by family ties.

Justice was not always pure and uncorrupt. John Maxwell of Munches, in a letter dated February 8th, 1811, relates that a respectable man named McClacherty, who lived at Clachanpluck, in the parish of Balmaghie, was involved with the Levellers, and on being brought to trial one of the Justices admired a handsome Galloway cob which he rode, and told him if he gave him the cob he would effect his acquittal. McClacherty agreed to this, and was acquitted accordingly.

In addition to the prosecutions in which some of the Levellers were fined, imprisoned, and banished, there were several actions for damages. At a court held in the Tolbooth of Kirkcudbright on 27th January, 1725, the following Justices being on the bench—Thomas Gordon of Earlston, David Lidderdale of Torrs, Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, John Gordon of Largmore, Robert Gordon of Garvarie, Nathaniel Gordon of Carlton, and John Maxwell, Provost of Kirkcudbright, with Colonel Maxwell presiding—the Hon. Basil Hamilton brought a complaint at the instance of Lady Mary Hamilton of Baldoon, and himself as her factor, against Thomas Moire of Beoch; Grisel Grierson, his spouse; John Walker of Cotland, Robert McMorrان in Orroland, John Shennan in Kirkcarswell, William Shennan there, John Cogan in Gribty, John Bean there, Thomas Milligane there, Thomas Richardson there, James Robeson in Merks, John Donaldson in Bombie, John Cairns in Laigh Lochfergus, Alexander M'Clune at Nethermilns, William Shennan there, James Wilson in Greenlane croft; John Cultane, younger, in Bombie; John Martin in Lochdougan, Robert Herries at Auchleandmiln, George Hyslop in Mullock, Robert Hyslop there, John Hyslop there, and John McKnaught in Meadowisles, that on the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, or 16th days of May last, 1724, they did in a most riotous, tumultous, and illegal way assemble and convene themselves, with some hundred other rioters, mostly all

armed with guns, swords, pistols, clubs, batons, pitchforks, and other offensive weapons, on the lands of Bombie called Bombie Muir, in the parish of Kirkcudbright and Stewartry thereof, and marched to the lands of Galtways, belonging to the complainer, and demolished five hundred and eighty roods of dykes, each rood of which cost eight shillings Scots in building, equal to £19 6s 8d, in consequence of which the complainer was damnified in her stock of 400 black cattle kept at grassing within the said inclosure, amounting to £50 by the loss of mercats; the fences being pulled down, obliged the complainer to herd them in the day time, and drive them to some remote place within the grounds before sunset each night and watch them all night to keep them from straying, which hindered their being fattened and in good order for mercats, for which the sum of £50 was claimed, as also for neighbouring cattle daily and nightly passing upon and eating up complainer's grass, and from complainer's cattle breaking away from the keepers and eating up and destroying other people's corn, with which the complainer is chargeable, together with the sum of £500 sterling as damages sustained by complainer through being obliged to dig up new ground along each side of the dykes for re-building the same. The defenders were all present except Grisel Grierson, John McKnaught, and John Walker, and the following defenders — Thomas Moire, Alexander McClune, John Donaldson, Thomas Milligan, John Cairns, Robert McMorrans; John Cultane, younger; John Cogan, Thomas Richardson, John Bean; George, John, and Robert Hyslop; and John Martin—presented a petition expressing their sorrow for the loss and damage pursuers had sustained, and for the circumstances that then happened in the country through people's madness and ignorance, and the petitioners submitted to their honours the determination of the said libel, expenses and damages, praying that consideration might be taken of the indigent circumstances of many of them. The Justices accepted this as a judicial confession, and remitted to Colonel Maxwell, Thomas Gordon, Nathaniel Gordon, and Archibald Cutlar of Orroland, or any honest and discreet

men they might appoint, to visit and measure the dykes and take information concerning the consequential damages, and report to the next quarter sessions. For this purpose these four appointed William McMillan of Barwhinnak, Francis Rogerson of Rascarrel, John Culton of Knabine, and John Johnstone in Airds. On 2nd March, 1725, a report was presented that the number of roods of dykes thrown down was $498\frac{1}{2}$, that the ground dug up amounted to two acres, twelve roods and a half, which they judged in six years would bear grass. They valued the ground at £13 Scots yearly for six years. On 3rd March David Sloan and Andrew McWhinnie in Galtway gave evidence that dykes were thrown down upon the marches of Milntoun of Dunrod, Ring, Castell, Overlaw, and Bombie, about the middle of May, and that there were corns upon all the said marches, from which cattle were daily herded, and that notwithstanding all the endeavours of the herds there was damage done to the corn belonging to Samuel McClelland in Ring, Samuel Kissock and John McCaig in Milntoun. The Justices found that the damage sustained by the pursuers through dykes being demolished and the tirling of new ground to re-build them amounted to £277 4s Scots money, that the damages sustained by the cattle through being driven and hounded amounted to £400 Scots money, and restricted the haill other damages, with consent of the Hon. Basil Hamilton, to £100 Scots, and decerned the whole of the defenders who had subscribed the judicial submission to make payment, conjointly and severally, of the sum of £777 4s Scots.

This was an enormous sum in those days, and the paying of it, though spread over many more than those brought into court, was a very heavy punishment.

The appeals, opinions, and inquiries previously mentioned had little effect in staying the improvements being introduced by the lairds. The one unassailable fact was that, as the law then stood, they were within their rights in doing as they did. In several cases they acted harshly and without consideration for the people under them. Many of the Levellers were good tenants, virtuous and religious men,

driven to despair by being turned out of their farms and unable to support their families in any other way, but it is equally true that many of them were lazy, thriftless, and heavily in arrear with their rents. The old order had to give place to the new, and in the process many innocent people suffered, as often happens.

With the suppression of the Levellers dyking became very general, and it was not confined to private individuals, for we find that in 1725 the Magistrates and Council of the Royal Burgh of Wigtown considered that the burgh lands "might be better set in parcels for improving the same by fencible dykes. They all unanimously agree that the same should be set out in parcels and enclosed, and allows a fifteen years' tack, and the tenants to have allowance of the last year's rent for dykeing the same."

Legislature has since recognized that the unlimited power of the laird to do with his land as he likes was not for the good of the country, and now we have Agricultural Holdings Acts, Compensation for Improvements, Compensation for Disturbance, and so on, and the rising of the Levellers was the first step towards securing these benefits for the agricultural tenant.

At least two well-known novels have been written around the Levellers—"The Dark o' the Moon," by S. R. Crockett; and "The Levellers," by Andrew J. Armstrong—in both of which fact and fiction are blended in the most entertaining manner. Crockett in "Raiderland" sums up the matter thus: "Few movements were more foolish, more hopeless, and at the same time more eminently Scottish and sympathetic than this. It was the up-rising of the helpless Many against the strong Few, and, though defeated and well-nigh forgotten, it contains the root matter of many a modern and world-wide problem."

Habits and Haunts of the Lobster and Crab in the Solway.

By CHARLES MAGUIRE.

Until recently I was afraid to say one word about what I have seen and studied in the sea life, through my not being a scholar. My friend, Mr Birrell, told me one day that if fishermen would look at things from another angle than that of the money side they would get more out of their work. These words made me think, and now I say, if only we could explain what we do know others would benefit.

I will tell you now of the little I know about the sea around our coast. The law of the sea is kill and be killed, eat and be eaten. We may think that this is the work of destruction, but when we look deeper we see it is the work of creation. The oceans around the globe are full of health, wealth, and beauty, and ours—the Solway—is rich in all these good things. The coast of Wigtownshire, on which I have lived all my life, is one of great interest. Its rugged shores and strong tides make it a great haunt of the crustacean family. From Garlieston in Wigtown Bay to Stairhaven in Luce Bay we have splendid lobster and crab ground. Although there are thousands of these creatures taken off this stretch of coast every year, the community seems to take little or no interest in the industry. On the east side of the Burrowhead the rough ground is very narrow; in some parts it is only about 50 yards wide. This ground is very rough with rock and tangle; outside is mud and clay. It is poor spawning ground, but in July lobster come in on it in abundance. From the Burrowhead west we have one of the best lengths of spawning ground possible to find. The rough ground is much wider than to the east; at some points it is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

From April 1st until September 19th, 1933, two boats with four men took off the length from Burrowhead to Monreith Bay 25,000 lobsters and as many crabs. The Isle of Whithorn Bay, which is a narrow inlet, is one of the finest spots on our coast in which to study sea life. If we start at

half tide ebb and follow the water back we can find something like 200 different kinds of sea life. Here any of us can get great pleasure by only looking at the different grubs, crabs, anemones, and various small fish which I only know by local names, such as "Miller's Thumbs," "Tams," and "Cadalick," the latter being the only one of any value—it is used for bait.

I am not going to say much about these just now. But let us look at the common green crab, the one that the children go after. Look at the lovely markings it has; its back is green, speckled with yellow. Look at the crown-shaped mark, black in colour. Watch how it fights, how it will put up its claws in defence, and I am sure that you will agree with me in saying these are interesting little creatures.

The green crab never goes outside low water mark more than 100 yards. Its favourite ground is stony and sandy patches. The sex and features are much the same as that of the common crab, which I will describe later.

We also find inside low water mark at different times of the year larvæ of different species. In July we find the larva, in its first stage, of the crab and lobster; these are an interesting study. During the summer months a fine berried-lobster or a nice dressed crab are enjoyed by most persons. Their delicate flavour, also the fact that the flesh is rich in phospherine and iodine, make them to be sought after as an article of diet.

Not many are aware, however, of the uncertain but none the less interesting life of the crab and lobster in the sea, or the dangers that beset the young before they attain a size capable of defending themselves against the many enemies constantly threatening their lives. When it is explained that out of every 5000 eggs hatched only one or two of the larvæ survive, it can be well understood why the young lobster and crab are so often called "children of chance."

Habits of the Lobster.

On our coast the lobsters come in from the deep water late in March. These are a fine class of hen or berried

lobsters, the average weight being about 2 lbs., and they command a good price. The lobsters come inshore in batches at different times of the year; we term these batches "runs." The first run is the one mentioned above; it is the fertile or brood. These lobsters come in to prepare for the hatching of the eggs.

The ground just outside low-water mark is a mixture of tangle and shingle; this is the hatching ground proper. The tangle offers good cover for protection, while the shingle or sandy patch is clear for the lobster to gather her food. When she has taken up her position she does not move far but hides at the edge of the tangle, and watches for other fish, which will come over the clear patch. Then she will spring out and grip her prey. The berried lobster is quick and savage. She is very particular about her food; it must be clean and fresh; she does not eat much at this period.

The lobster is long in shape, the head coming to a hard point or spike. On each side of the spike there are feelers, about the length of the body. The eyes are set on moveable stalks which give it power to see all around. The eyes are situated between the feelers and the spike on the head. The feelers are red in colour. It is interesting to watch the lobster on a good day; she will come out of the tangle to a bit of fish put down on the clear ground, and will sneak round the edge of the tangle to the nearest point, and then she will come with the feelers over the back until she is quite close. Forward come the feelers to touch the fish, and as soon as she is sure it is all right, she will bring round the nipper claw, and in an instant fish and lobster disappear into the tangle.

The lobster's body is in two sections; the forward part we term the body, the back part the tail. The legs are attached to the body section. It has eight legs: these are different from those of the crab, as each one has a small nipper, while that of the crab has a spiked end. The lobster has two nipper claws. One is broad and round. This claw is very strong, and is used to hold on with. The other claw is narrow and its nipper is very sharp. This nipper is

set with a saw-like row of teeth; this claw can cut like a knife. We cannot describe the claws as the left being the light one and the right one being the heavy one, as they vary.

The lobster has two short legs forward of its claws. These are attached to the body under the mouth. These legs are very interesting as they are used for holding the food to the mouth. They have a row of strong teeth on the thigh part which goes up each side of the mouth. When they are extended they can hold a good sized piece of fish. When not used for this purpose they are folded down, and so form a protection to the mouth and gills.

The tail part of the lobster is in six sections, the tail proper is in five, eleven in all. The five leaf-like sections are fringed at the end with a hard hairy substance. Each section of the tail is telescopic on the top. The under part is covered with a skin which is pliable and strong. The forward four sections have a narrow, round shell across the under part of each one with a short spike in the centre. On each of these bridge-like shells there are two feather-like fingers called swimmers to which the spawn is attached.

The hen lobster carries up to 25,000 berries according to size. The berries (spawn) are black in colour, turning later to dark brown, and finally to light brown. The back of the lobster is blue-black in colour. The under part of the back is a speckly grey, the under centre being a yellowish white. The claws are fringed with red.

The lobster carries its spawn for about nine months. The eggs when ready to hatch are a light brown. Two or three days before hatching takes place the eggs hang quite loose like short strings of beads. When in this condition we do not take her.

The lobster is never at this stage except in June and the first week of July. Hatching lasts for several hours, and is assisted by the tail being worked straight out and then brought in under the body quickly. At the same time the hard, feathery end of the tail brushes the swimmers.

When the eggs of the lobster are hatched out the larvæ are very active, and, attracted by the light, swim up to the surface of the water and are carried about by tide and weather. The larva when first escaping from the egg is not like a lobster at all. Moulting soon takes place, however, and the larvæ pass into the first (zoea) stage. There are five zoea stages, lasting over a period of about nine weeks, each successive moult showing new development, and then the first young lobster is reached.

We leave the inshore ground early in June, as it would not pay to take these lobsters at this time. We go out to the edge of the ground, as the crabs are plentiful at this period. There we fish crab and wait for the second run of lobsters.

The second run of lobsters comes in from the 12th to the 16th of July. I have never seen this run fail. These lobsters are one and two years old; 75 per cent. are under size. The lobster must be eight inches in length from the end of the spike at the head to the tail before it can be taken. The penalty for taking lobsters less than eight inches is £5 per fish. I think this is really a very good law, as lobsters under eight inches are of little money value, and after the next moult they are quite nice fish.

After the second run has come in they increase in size and numbers every day. By the second week in August we have the main run. This run is a fine class of lobsters; they are three and four years old, weighing from 1½ lbs up. The August run stay on the ground for about six weeks, but this is governed by the abundance of food and the warmth of the water. During this time we work from the edge of the ground into low water mark as the weather will allow. When the lobsters come in on the ground they settle in the tangle, and do not move far. Therefore we have to move our pots about every third or fourth day.

This ground is soon reclaimed by the lobsters, and so we come back in a few days, and there we find them again.

The lobsters start to migrate in the first or second week of October, according to the state of the weather. I have

seen them leave in one night, but they usually go off gradually to the edge of the ground. They come in with a storm in March and leave with a storm in October. There are generally a few left on the ground, which we call natives. These are a hardy lobster, and are dark in colour. The sex of the lobster is more difficult to distinguish than the sex of the crab.

The hen lobster is more broad in the body than the cock or male. She carries her width right to the tail; her claws are much lighter in weight. The male lobster's back is a little more rounded and its tail is tapered in very small. His claws are broad, the two claws often weighing heavier than the body. 75 per cent. are females.

Moulting.

The process of moulting takes place in autumn. It is not so complete as that of the crab. When about to moult the shell opens at a seam-like joint along the body. This can be easily seen in the full-grown lobster. This seam opens, and the body, legs, and tail are withdrawn. This is so complete that even the covering of the eyes and the feelers are cast off.

The lobster does not cast off the shell of the claws at this period. These are kept hard and strong to protect the body while in this soft condition. The body takes about four months to harden; then the shell is cast off from the claws.

The cock lobster hangs about the edge of the ground until the female comes off. Then they go away together. Breeding takes place in the deep water, and the eggs are hatched out next June. A lobster reaches maturity in the fifth year.

Habits of the Crab.

The common or edible crab, which is one of the most interesting members of the crustacean family, is well known, and was esteemed a delicacy by our ancestors. I have been told that it was also described in the ancient writings of Aristotle, Ovid, Pliny, and was doubtless the species known to the Romans by the name of "Carabus."

Our coast is one of the best in Scotland for crabs. Although larger crabs are caught further north, they do not come up to the food value of the Solway crab. The common crab is in season all the year round. They come in from the deep water in April, and are in best condition in April, May, and June. They are most abundant during that time.

The crab is a shy and cunning creature, with a keen sense of smell and touch, and its sight is good. Its main food is the flesh of clean fresh fish. The crab will not eat anything tainted or salt. It will not eat any of its own family. The crab's keen sense of smell and voracious habits make them gather into the pots very quickly. As the crab is of less value than the lobster we try to keep them out. To do this we take the claws and legs of the crab, put a hole in the back and bait the pots with it. The crab is the main food of the lobster. The crab prefers flesh or coloured fish, such as red mullat, gurnet, and the gills of cod, etc.

In July the crab comes in on the rocks to prepare for moulting. This is an interesting period. If we go down on the rocks at low water at any part of our coast we should find all the holes and crevices occupied by crabs. It is interesting to watch them at this time. The hen crab always comes in on the rocks a tide sooner than the cock. As the holes are full of weed and gravel she comes to clean the new home out, and when she has it cleaned she hides as far back as possible. The cock crab comes with the following tide. I have located a hen crab in a crevice, and then watched the cock crab come up with the next flood. It is interesting to see how he will climb over the rocks and crevices until he finds her; then he will take up his position. Here he will protect and feed her until after she moults.

Moulting.

The moulting of the hen crab usually takes place about the cock crab moult, although we often get him soft. The moulting is so complete that not only the outer covering of the body is shed, but every limb is drawn out of it. The hard sheath and the delicate feelers and gills and the thin outer coat of the stomach are cast off. The crab is always

larger than the shell from which it has withdrawn. The latter is as perfect and unbroken as ever, and looks like a dull, live crab.

When about to shed, the shell opens on each side at a seam-like joint. This line is plainly seen in the full-grown crab. The shell acts like a lid lifted up, and there is a gap between it and the abdomen, which is the first part to be withdrawn, followed by the legs. After moulting it is called a "soft crab," and appears as a plump purple-coloured mass, later changing to light brick red, with under surface milky white. The flesh is soft and flabby, and rapidly increases in size owing to the absorption of water.

At this stage the blood is much increased in bulk, while the solid flesh is proportionally reduced. Breeding takes place while the hen crab is in this condition. Crabs three to four inches in size moult once a year, and usually during the months of July, August, and September. The very large crabs do not always moult yearly.

I have got oysters two and three years old attached to their backs. The soft crab hides itself during this period. It is in a feeble and defenceless condition, and most liable to be attacked by its enemies.

The crab will remain for two or three months in a comparatively soft condition. The newly formed shell gradually hardens by the deposit of lime salts, but it takes four or five months before the shell is really hard. A crab may live as long as twelve years, and moults seven times. When it becomes too old to moult and breed it is called a "collie." We regard it as of little value, and we use it only for bait.

Migratory Habits.

The migratory habits of the crab are governed by the abundance of food and the warmth of the water. In the spring and summer they frequent the shallow, inshore waters. In autumn and winter they retire to deeper off-shore waters. A crab one inch across the back passes into the beach group, and when two inches leaves the beach for the stony or rocky ground, just beyond low-water mark.

At four inches it joins the nature group, and takes part in the great seasonal migrations.

Sex of Crabs.

The sex of crabs can be easily determined. The male or cock has larger claws in proportion to the body. The apron or flap is narrow, hairless, and lies close to the body. The female or hen has a broad flap or apron, more rounded and fringed with hair and it does not lie close to the body. The shell is more rounded than that of the male which is nearly flat. On the under-side of the apron of the female crab are a series of moveable finger-like parts which we call "swimmers" and which are trimmed on each side with a delicate, feathery, hair-like substance. It is to the inner branches of the swimmers that the eggs are attached. When floating in the water these appear like short strings of beads. A crab carries eight bunches of eggs called the "coral." These may number over one million according to her size and during this period she is called a berried crab. She eats little and is sometimes nearly covered over with sand.

Hatching.

Previous to spawning the eggs are carried in or immediately under the shell for about nine months, after which period they are extracted and become attached to the swimmers. In this position they are constantly washed by the sea water. The newly-spawned globe-shaped egg is orange in colour, later changing to turkey red, and about the size of a small pin-head. Spawning takes place in the deep water in winter, and the eggs are hatched in the following summer, in the inshore waters which provide warmth and food for the crab larvæ. The eggs when ready to hatch out turn a dirty grey colour, and the black eyes of the embryos can easily be seen.

The process of hatching lasts several hours, and is assisted by the crab moving the abdomen slowly backwards and forwards, the last pair of legs also being used for detaching the larvæ. The larvæ of the crab are not like the parent at all. They are very active and, attracted by

the light, swim towards the surface of the water. This stage is called the *prezœa*. Moulting, however, soon takes place and the larvæ pass into the first *zœa* stage. There are five *zœa* stages lasting over a period of two months, each successive moult showing new development, and then a final larvæ existence before the first young crab is reached. In the first stage the body is half rounded, and the back is prolonged upwards into a horn-like appearance.

The *zœa* is orange to reddish in colour and has large black eyes marked with yellow and orange. A long beak projects from the lower surface of the head. It feeds on living grubs of small marine animals and at all the various stages it is exposed to many dangers. Its fairly large size makes it an easy prey for a lot of enemies which includes the herring, mackerel, and small dog-fish, etc.

In the final grub stage it takes a different shape. The eyes become stalk-like, the tail flat, and there is the full complement of legs and claws. It, however, has still its swimming powers; at this stage we get the grub inside low water. We can lift them in handfuls. It soon loses its swimming abilities, moults and commences the first young crab stage. It is an interesting fact that the small crab has a wonderful trick of feigning death when in difficulties and will continue in this state for some time.

The crab imitates its surroundings, the colour blending with the weed and sand, and it is very difficult to distinguish the one from the other. It is mainly a night feeder, and standing in the shadow of a rock with claws extended grips at all comers or buries itself in the sand, with the exception of its eyes and tips of its nippers, and lies in wait for wandering plaice, dabs, etc. Not being very nimble in its movements its captures are achieved more by cunning than by activity.

When travelling over the sea bottom it walks quickly, very like an insect, on the tips of its slender legs, with the nippers folded close under the shell. As each leg is a spike it can climb among rocks with a good speed, and, if frightened, usually runs backwards with claws extended

The colour of the common crab is reddish brown, legs redder, and the nippers of the large claws black. The body and limbs are encased in a strong, stony, shell-like armour, which really consists of three layers, pierced by delicate channels and possessing all the necessary conditions of true skin. Hairs growing on various parts of the body, especially near the head, are connected with the nervous system.

This armour, which is called *Chitin* and hardened by salt of lime, is thin and soft at the joints, allowing free movements of the parts. The large rough shell gives support to the internal organs and also affords points of attachments for the muscles by means of which the creature moves, thus acting as a soft outside skeleton. The membranous lining covers the viscera including the very large liver called in the trade the "cream" of crab. Like the lobster the crab's eyes are set on moveable stalks. It has two hinge-like flaps, one on each side of the mouth, with a very sharp tooth on each, and there are three more teeth situated in the stomach which help to crush the food.

The lobster and crab have no cannibal instincts. To fight the battle of life unseen is their great purpose. Their fighting habits are not confined to their enemies; they also fight among themselves, losing claws and legs in the fray. One of the most curious and interesting traits of the lobster and crab is their power voluntarily to cast their limbs and should one of these become injured or held in a fight they can, by causing a spasmodic contraction of certain leg muscles, let go the limb, separation taking place at a constricted portion of the joint called "fracture place" across which a membrane is stretched. After a time a new limb begins to grow, growth taking place each time the fish moults. Occasionally, however, malformation occurs.

Lobsters and crabs can foretell the weather 24 to 30 hours in advance. They will not move if a storm is approaching. We always try to have our pots well baited before a storm, for as soon as the weather begins to moderate they begin to move and if our pots are well baited we have a good fishing. A large number are killed

by storms every year. The lobsters' and crabs' greatest enemies are conger, cod, skate and rays, and many others, but the outstanding enemy is the octopus, known on our coast as the "ink-fish." The ink-fish can attack a lobster or crab and hold it in the way a weasel attacks a rabbit. Or it will sneak up and spit out an inky fluid which will blind its prey, and then it takes hold with its long leg-like feelers and soon kills its captive. Being a blood-sucker it leaves the fish unbroken.

Methods of Fishing Lobsters and Crabs.

On our coast each boat works about six dozen pots; we have two different kinds of pots. They are made with spars of wood, 32 inches long, crossed with four of 19 inches, and with three hoops of hazel, ash, or elm, with three runners, one along the top centre and one about five inches on either side; this forms the frame. A flat stone is fastened in the centre. We divide this into two sections by knitting a net funnel, three mesh long, round the centre hoop and across the stone. We cover all this in with net with another funnel leading from the outside. This funnel is bell-shaped and goes half way across the pot.

The bait is put in between two strings fastened to the stone leading up through a small iron washer fastened tight at the top of the centre hoop. The washer is put down on the bait, and so holds it firm. The lobster goes in through the bell-shaped funnel to the bait, and when it has eaten until it has satisfied itself it naturally seeks for a way out. As the second funnel is leading from where it is it goes through it to find it is trapped. The lobster, if given time, can come back out into the first section, but as it has still to look for a way out it will go back through the straight funnel again. This may go on for days.

The second class of pots we work are made in the same way as the first, only 36 inches long instead of 32 inches. They have four hoops of fencing wire. This pot has two funnels, one going in off each side, and a third inside to divide the point into two. This class we work just outside low water mark. We always try to get our pots off the

inside ground when we see a storm approaching, and if we cannot get them off they are driven up the beach to high water mark.

If the hoops were made of hazel or ash they would be broken and would have to be all re-hooped. But as the hoops are made of wire they are only flattened down, and by cutting the net from one end to the other they can be set up quite soon, and not much time is lost. Each pot costs between 3s and 4s, not counting the time it takes to make it.

The pots are lowered to the bottom on a rope, one and a half to two times the depth of the water in which we are working according to the strength of the current. There is a large cork on the top, and at every two fathoms a small cork is lashed on to keep the rope up out of the tangle.

Some of the men work their pots on one long line, with the pots tied on at every 10 or 12 fathoms apart. Although this is the simplest way to work the pots, I do not think it a good method, as the pots do not always land on the proper ground.

Marketing Lobsters and Crabs.

We store up the lobsters and crabs in floating boxes until we have a consignment. They do not have anything to eat while in the store boxes. They live longer out of the water if the stomach is empty. We pack them in boxes of sixties, and we put in a layer of sawdust and a layer of lobsters time about until the box is full. We have only been using sawdust for packing for the past six years, and it has proved a great success. The sawdust absorbs the froth that comes from the lobster's mouth, and so prevents it from inhaling this froth, which would soon kill it. The lobster must arrive in market alive, more as a guarantee of freshness than anything else.

I have read that a lobster will not boil red if it is not put into boiling water alive, but this is not correct. A lobster will turn red if it is left long enough in the sun. We send our lobsters and crabs to London, Sheffield, and Manchester, where they are sold on commission. The lobster's price will work out at 1s per fish, and the crabs 1s per dozen.

1st February, 1935.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

The Migrations of Birds.

By HENRY JOHNSTON, M.A., Edin.

[Mr Johnston said the usual migrations were from N.E. to S.W., but there were E. to W. migrations also though on a smaller scale. Migrations were always from a large land mass to a smaller, or from a large oceanic space to a smaller. Instances were given of each of these. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides of typical migrating birds and also by maps as well as by incidents from Mr Johnston's own personal observations and experiences.]

"The Scots have a Word for it."

By J. G. HORNE.

I hope there is no royalty due on this title. I have lifted it as you Borderers used to lift English kye. A play was produced lately in Cambridge called "The Greeks have a word for it," which title I have adapted, with apologies, of course. "The Scots have a word for it." One safeguard I have, however. This is not meant for a play, whatever it turns out to be, and no money is likely to accrue from it to you or me.

They say that Scots, as a language, has been dead for 250 years, but never decently or deeply buried, and that folk like me are nothing but body-snatchers, corp-lifters. Be that as it may in Scotland our old tongue has been ousted, superseded if you like, by English as a medium of cultural intercourse, although it is sometimes used as a swaggering exercise or challenging gesture at Burns celebrations by the like of Lewis Spence, at solemn religious services by the minister of Leith, and in certain rural schools by thravn dominies.

English is now the standard language of the Scottish press, the law courts, pulpits, universities, schools, B.B.C.

studios, County Councils, down to Town Councils, where, however, if the local press is to be lippeden to, above the din of conflict, is even yet heard, an occasional kindly interpolation in the vernacular, like *blethers*, *gomeril*, and *messan*. From polite society and learned societies like this our traditional tongue is banned and banished. What a shock you would get if from now on I knapped to you in Scots richt throu' this raunderin' screed o' mine !

Well, admitting that for high purposes of state, science, religion, education, and drawing-room twaddle Scots is dead, it still lives in the country kitchen, in byre and bothy, in the mart and in the school playground. It is the tongue of the people yet, and will never be placed in the same category as Latin and Greek, although one can never foresee how exceeding small the mill of a standardised education may grind, despite the well-meaning but academic blessings of Mr M'Kechnie, which so far as I can see have fallen on deaf ears. Poetry (it is graciously permitted to us) will always continue to be written in Scots and "gar the hert's bluid race and reel wi' sang and sett," although it is by way of a phenomenon that nowadays only the *comic* Scots muse seems to get a hearing.

The *point* is how far can this tongue of ours, dead to the world of literature, politics, and urbanity, and yet alive in the hearts and lives of the common people, be of service to its sister tongue?

Can it not enrich and deepen the tone of English, quicken it with pithy words and phrases, give it a quality and tang of its own? Or, better still, can we not make a Scottish literature which will be "a *delicate colouring of standard English with Northern tints*" as some one has put it? The editor of the Oxford books of verse, a Scots Inspector of Schools, has expressed it with more modesty and less poetry: when he says that "*Scots can add a new streak to the English tulip.*" This is not so apt a metaphor. It seems to imply that our purpose should be to produce streaked tulips, freaks and rogues, which are usually the result of indiscriminate pollination. Should we not rather ettle to

give to English a deeper, quainter, lovelier tinge, or, as Mr E. A. Taylor said on the steps of Burns's House two months ago, a glamour and a bloom to the flower? Streaked tulips like streaked bacon pre-suppose promiscuous breeding or indifferent feeding, or both. No, I would be homelier and racier, and say that we are able to leaven the English lump with good Scottish "barm," *barm* being interpreted is "yeast."

English has borrowed from all languages under the sun, alive or dead, especially the dead. Well, here is another dead body to strip, and "corpus is willing."

You can rob a dead tongue without boggle or scruple. No apology or even acknowledgment in the form of italics is needed or looked for. Borrow words from living French or Italian and they must be italicised for years before they become acclimatised. Take "nonchalance" and "sang froid," both French words, meaning coolness, indifference, unconcern, I remember when they used to be printed in apologetic italics; now they are incorporated in English in ordinary print, naked and unashamed. I even see that a Ladies' Journal writer talks about *cool nonchalance*, cool coolness, and *hot bouillon*. What's wrong with "soup," if "broth" is too strong, and *coolriffinness* for *nonchalance*?

Oh, well, "far birds ha'e fine feathers." As far as Scots words are concerned we have long been too apt players on the second fiddle. Our words are far too good to lie fallow in a dialect dictionary for ever.

In Dumfries here, 142 years ago, Burns recommended a slight admixture of Scots words and phraseology in song, and John Buchan, our greatest literary Scot, thinks that a Scottish literature both of verse and prose could be based on this. "In such work," he says, "the drawback of the 'pastiche' would disappear; because of the northern colouring, it would provide the means for an expression of the racial temperament and because it was also English and one of the world's speeches, no limit would be set to its range and appeal." That would be a kind of synthetic Scots, you say. Well, what about it? As J. C. Smith says, "there is

nothing to sneer at in the idea of creating a new poetic diction by ransacking all the resources of the language." I've been doing it myself, in a small way, without knowing I was a bit of a synthesist or synthetist, whichever is the proper word, until I saw it in the press—like the Frenchman who was astonished to find that he had been talking *prose* all his days. I was only doing what seemed natural, waling as far as possible the inevitable word for my purpose, whether it was from a sermon in Middle Scots, an old song or proverb, or basic Anglo-Saxon.

Now, if John Buchan, instead of using *pastiche*, a good word, albeit, in spite of its Franco-Italiano looks, had used his own Scots word, *partisay*, or *pairtisay*, he would have practised what he preached. A *partisay*, long ago, was any fabric, say a web of cloth, wrought by many different hands for various owners, but " *pastiche* " is more of an imitation.

Now let us see how far this work of impregnating English with Scots has been done already, perhaps unawares, long before " *pastiche*," " *sang-froid*," or " *bouillon* " became coolly hefted to English soil.

Burns, we know, mixed Scots and English admirably. His Scots was a literary language grounded in English, but with his materials drawn from the old Balladists and Makars, from auld threeps and freits (i.e., sayings and superstitions), the o'ercomes and refrains of folk-songs, from the common speech of the Ayrshire country-side, and from loving memory, particularly of his mother. He was bound to be " antiquarian and retrospective."

Didn't Carlyle say that Scottish song was " the narrowest cranny ever vouchsafed to any son of plunder " ? Burns did this instinctively, unwittingly. He never, as far as I know, even mentioned that he was hunting for words, as Scott did openly all over the South Country. Dr. Jamieson, born, like Burns, in 1759, was doing the same for dictionary purposes, but his researches were published 12 years after Burns's death.

Ours is an easy job now, with Wright's dialect dictionary at hand with its scores of quotations, and with Dr.

Grant's monumental work steadily flowing from the press. So you see Burns's language was a creation more than a reproduction, a creative reproduction.

"Fast by an ingle bleezin' finely
Wi' reamin swats that drank divinely,"

i.e., foaming ale, like nectar. To me the word that crowns the rhyming couplet is the English word "divinely." If old or middle Scots had been a living, foraging, acquisitive tongue like English, it would have glaumed at that lovely French-Latin compound "divinely" long before Burns did. If our sister tongue has hundreds of words that may be ours, have we not got scores of words which may become theirs?

"Oh I sleep saft, and I wake aft,
It's lang since sleep was fley'd frae me:
Gi'e my service to my wife and weans
And a' guid fellows that spier for me."

These are the words of Kinmount Willie, in chains in Caerl Castle, awaiting death may be. There are really only three Scots words in these four lines, for "saft" and "aft" are only our Scots or Doric pronunciation of the English or Attic "soft" and "oft." These three words, "fley," "weans," and "spier," are all pure Anglo-Saxon, and they might have become part and parcel of English, had the English had the sense not to discard them early in the game. "Watch the discards" is a maxim in Bridge. Watch the English discards in the list that I'll soon hand round. Well, we'll gladly give them these discards back. They are theirs anyway.

But apart from mere words, there is a quality in these lines which is peculiarly, veridically Scots, and that is the absence of sentimentality or self-pity. I see that a minister in the town has been talking on Sunday about the "Bonnie Breer Buss," or "The Bonnie Brier Bush." I hope he did not laud that Kailyaird masterpiece, or scunner decent folk with a gush of Ian M'Laren's sob stuff. It is not Scots, and never was Scots, or else I've been living among aliens all my days. There is no sob stuff in the Ballads. There's sentiment, and plenty of it, but no sentimentality or sham

sentiment. Sentimentalism is not a part of the Lowlander's character, whatever it be of the Highlander.

Just think for a minute of the peuling pathos of an ex-Moderator whose effusions find such a ready entrance to the *Glasgow Herald*. George Blake's new story, "The Ship-builders," with its stark reality and restraint of utterance, its tense idiom, and its pawky humour, hiding or nearly hiding rich Scotch sentiment, has in it the essence of the authentic Scot.

Here's a ballad which should be known by heart in every school in Scotland :

O Bessie Bell and Mary Gray
They were twa bonnie lassies :
They biggit a booger on yon burn brae
And theekit it owre wi' rashes.

They theekit it owre wi' rashes green,
They theekit it owre wi' heather,
But the pest cam' frae the burrow toon
And slew them baith thegither.

They thocht to lie in Methven Kirkyaird
Amang their noble kin,
But they maun lie in Stronach haugh
To biek fornent the sin.

O Bessie Bell and Mary Gray
They were twa bonnie lassies :
They biggit a booger on yon burn brae
And theekit it owre wi' rashes.

Whether or not this short ballad is the outcome of a long and strenuous process of selection and elimination, as it passed from mouth to mouth, it remains a model for all time. He gives scope for our imagination to play between the verses and the lines.

Why should we give up *theek* and *biek*, for *thack* and *bake*? *Theek* and *biek* with their lovelier keening ée sound, as in *dee*, *flee*, *dree*, *dreech*, *weird*, *erie*, *leelang*, *leesome*, *sheen* and *leme*, *weet* and *sweet*, *biel* and *creel*, *fear* and *tear* and *sweir*, *gear* and *lear* (lore). These forms must not be lost in this new old alliance with English. John Gals-

worthy uses "dree your weird," as well as "slow in the uptak," daft, dour, and fash, which surely shows that the literary Englishman feels a need to return to the spring of the language that we Scots have kept flowing all these hundreds of years.

The other day a reviewer in the *London Observer* used the word *seep*, or *sipe* as it may be in Dumfriesshire; to *seep* into one's heart and brain. He might have used *filter* or *percolate*, or *ooze* or *soak*. There is no lack of words at hand. But it was *seep* he wrote. The old Anglo-Saxon word had at last come into its own again. Again, think of *seep-sabbin'*, the sound of dripping, trickling water. It is a lovely word. Why, then, should we be so *blate* in using expressive Scots words even in our every-day talk?

Sir Walter Scott, of course, was the pioneer of this movement, but he confined his use of Scots to dialogue. Neil Munro uses Scots words on every other page of his stories.

- (a) "The gleaming of wan vexed water under a reel-ing moon."
- (b) "Those eerie beasts that lope across the fields at midnight."
- (c) "A world of drift and rime was around them."
- (d) "The baker cleaning his oven sole with a frozen scuffle."
- (e) "If you had a murdered man in your oxter, Colin, you would still be my son."

These are casual quotations from Munro.

John Buchan is proud to air his knowledge of Border Scots in his pot boilers, as was Crockett before him of his Galloway tongue, and R. L. Stevenson of both. Lewis Grassie Gibbon, who has died ere his prime, was so obsessed by his native Angus speech that it would out perhaps in spite of him. Would that others, forbye George Blake, would set to and study their mother tongue and not think shame of using it when they find it will convey their meaning as no English word may be able to do in spite of its stolen wealth.

Look at the list of Scots words I have waled from my

reading to show what might be done to leaven English batch. I see that some words have crept in themselves; others have somehow or other crept out. Still, it is a fairly representative collation of goodly Scots words, which would add to the beauty of English, and to its strength and sweetness.

Take the verbs first :

Dwine, to fade, waste away (an Anglo-Saxon discard).

A lovely word, which should never have been allowed to lapse. It is no excuse to say that *dwindle* is its diminutive.

Jumping *wilt*, which has a similar meaning, we come to

Twine, to separate, to part in *twain* (another Anglo-Saxon word). As R. L. Stevenson says, "The best o' friends maun *twine*." And in the Ballads, "they *twined* me o' my *marrow*." Well, we'll give them this word back.

Tine, to lose (pure Anglo-Saxon again).

O, Robin was an angry man
At *tining* o' his dochter.

A scholar of mine in Aberdeenshire, on the Celtic fringe, said one morning with tears in her een that she had "*tint her pencil yestreen*." It was lovely. If she had said *caulm* instead of slate pencil it would have been Scots throughout.

Compare *lose* with *tine*. There is no comparison. We'll let the next word *fend* for itself.

Hain is a Scandinavian word, of which there are many in this list. It means to *save*, *ca' canny wi'*. "Hain the butter, bairns," was a granny's constant cry when English were present who were ignorant of the language. I like *hain*. Don't you?

Connach is the opposite of *hain*; to waste, destroy.

Beglammer, *beguile*, and *begeck*. They all mean something the same, i.e., to *bewitch*, except that *begeck* has a *jilting* sound about it.

Chirm is a word I like. To me it describes the clamour of the birds in spring.

Lilt is to *dance* as well as to *sing*. There's music in the double sound of *l*.

Croon has been commandeered by the B.B.C. dance orchestra, and they are welcome to it. "My kid's a

crooner." *Crooning* was originally a charming form of soft singing to yourself or to your children. Now it is an emasculated form for the delectation of adolescents and grown-ups.

Fleet, "to make wry faces in contempt." So if it means all that it is worth "haining."

Lichtlie, to disparage. I think it is used in "Barbara Allan."

"Tho' whiles ye may *lichtlie* my beauty a wee,

O whistle and I'll came tae ye, my lad."

I'm afraid, however, the guttural sound in *lichtlie* will stick in the Englishman's throat.

Flyte, to scold (Anglo-Saxon again). "Ilk carline was *flytin'* and shakin' her pow," as the song goes. A right good word for the deed. "My mither flytes, my faither froons" (R. L. Stevenson). They say that double chin or triple chin is a *flytin' poke*, which should come now.

Rype is Scandinavian, as are many words that deal with *pillage* and *rape*. Now it means to *ransack*, to *search*. Harry Lauder says that "every nicht the wife rypes his pooches," if I mind rightly.

Narg, to nag, to fret, jeer. Mr Shirley uses this word in his "The Mairtyr's Croon," with a different shade of meaning, perhaps: "they're fair nargit he's joukit them."

Passing by *gansh*, which is better than *gnash*, to snap with the teeth, we come to

Fash, which is the first French word we have come to. It comes down, like many other words, from the days of the old alliance with France. It means *trouble*, *bother*. The boy the other day in my school when accused of molesting a weerer boy said, "I never fashed him." An English commercial traveller had been staying at an Aberdeen hotel, and on asking for his bill saw at the foot the word, *fash* 6d. "My dear woman, I never got any fash." "No, but ye gied plenty!" We have also *fashry*, *fashious*, which may be akin to fastidious and fashiousness.

Greet, of course, speaks for itself.

Dern (pure Anglo-Saxon; *derne*, a secret) is to fall behind; to hide; to hearken stealthily. *Derning* is surely

better than *eavesdropping*. Eavesdropping! What a word! And *dernly* is the old Scots word for secretly.

Crine is a Gaelic word, meaning to shrink or *shrivel*, which is perhaps Scandinavian. "She crines awa to skin and bane." "The ham crined in the pan, mither!"

Nirl also means to *shrivel*, to pinch with cold. "*Nirled* wi' the Mairch win'."

Blab and *clype*. Both mean to tell tales out of school. The former is Scandinavian. The worst by-name at school was *Clype*! *Clype*! She's aye *clypin'*. The English may need these words as well as we.

Crack (Anglo-Saxon discard), to talk or chat in a friendly way. "He'll haud the ploo, thresh in the barn, and crack wi' me at eenin," quo she.

Claik is to gossip, and is allied to "*Crack*."

Fleech, to wheedle, coax. "Duncan fleeched and Duncan prayed."

Prig, to haggle; so to plead with.

Fraik, to wheedle, coax, is very common in Fife. Used of children with their *fraiking* ways and smiles.

Conter, to contradict in word and deed. *Conter-poison* is surely as good as *antidote*, or *anti-dose* if you like.

Peenge is to fret, complain of the cold. The "*peengein'* peewit," the querulous lapwing.

Hoast is a Scandinavian word. You would perhaps see in the papers about the Norwegian sailor whose ship was wrecked on the East Coast of Scotland. He contracted a bad cold, and was being nursed ashore. The doctor said it was nothing but a *sair hoast*. Both words were intelligible to the man.

Clocher is an agranoying kind of intermittent cough, as irritating to other people as to the patient.

Scunner, to nauseate, disgust, is another Anglo-Saxon word, which the English should reinstate. A *scunneral* has developed into a *scoundrel*.

Staw, to *surfeit*. See what a borrowing there has been from Latin when the words were in their midst in current dialects.

Wale, to choose, is another Scandinavian word. You remember auld Rab Morris was the wale o' auld men. They steek their e'en an' grape and wale for muckle anes and straucht anes at Hallowe'en. On a dirty day my mother's parting word to me as I set out for school, "Noo wyle your roads, laddie."

Skail, to scatter, disperse, is too common with us to waste time over, for it's time this meeting was skailing.

To *jirdle* and *shoggle*. The former means to shake. Dunbar has *shog* for shoggle for the sake of a rhyme, perhaps.

His gang gars a' your Chalmers *shog*;
Madâme, ye have a dangerous dog.

Footer and *peefer*. Both mean to bungle; the former to move in a manner that calls for contempt, the latter to work

Hotter and *sotter*, words formed from the sound. Who that has not heard porridge hottering and sottering on the hob is no true Scot.

Sain. From this word comes *saint*. It means to make the sign of the cross; and so to *hallow* or save or bless. "Sain the bairn!" the mother used to say when her bairn sneezed. To me it is a useful word both as a noun and a verb. "The heavenly *sain* of sun and rain."

Seep I have animadverted on already. What a word, *animadverted*, as wairsh a Latinism as *homologate*.

Thig and *sorn*. Both mean to beg in a genteel way. *Thig* is Anglo-Saxon, to take. *Sorn* is perhaps French, *sojourner*, to stay for a day (and perhaps longer); to out-stay your welcome. *Thiggers* and *sorners* are the nouns, but they may be dropped, as there are no such people nowadays.

Thole, to endure, is pure Anglo-Saxon, and I wonder how it ever lost its place in English. Robert Henryson, late Dunfermline schoolmaster, used it years ago. "Her mantle of humility, to thole baith wind and weet." "You're a *graund tholer*," said a man once to me when he was showing me how to run bees back into a skep.

Bide is also pure Anglo-Saxon : to endure, to tolerate. "Hoo gladly wad I bide the storm" *Bide* in English is abide.

Doaver is to sleep lightly at odd times; and *gaunt*, to yawn.

"To sit on your heels with your knees bent up towards your chin" surely deserves a word all its own. It is to

Hunker. At every corner in colliery towns you see men playing cards in this attitude.

Loot or *lout* means to bend or stoop, say over a tub. In Fife it is very common. "My back's sair wi' sae muckle *lootin'*." "And when she cam' ben she louted fu' low."

Biel or *biold*. *Biel*, a natural shelter like a wood or wall. The hedges in our parish have been severely sned this winter, and I heard one young woman complain that there wasna a "biel about the bit." One English poet at least has thought this word worth using—*Wordsworth*.

Skoog or *skug*, as they say in Dumfriesshire, means also to shelter for a while. You may *biel* for an hour, but *skug* for a minute. It is a Scandinavian word.

Weise or *ways* is to *guide* or *airt*, in the direction you want. I suppose a *wise* man is one who can *wyse* or *guide* us aright.

Airt is Gaelic, to direct, incite, commoner as a noun than a verb. "O' a' the *airts* the win' can blaw." Far before *direction*. "In what direction are you going?" "What *airt* are ye gaun?"

Ettle is of Scandinavian origin, to purpose, intend, mean. I heard it first at the foot of the Ochils. Combining it with *airt* you get "What *airt* were you *ettling* to take?"

Now here's a word that I never heard used until I came to your county :

Shile or *sheyle*, to make a face indicative of contempt, displeasure, or mockery, to *grimace*.

And *goam* is another : to recognise, let on that you see somebody. As Roger Quinn truly says : "When maids Aeonian come, I downa *goam* them." Wise man! Burns had a different opinion.

Sant is another local word. It means to *disappear suddenly*, to *vanish noiselessly downward*. And surely that action deserves a short word. A mother in Dumfries streets missed her bairn, and when she reappeared she exclaimed, "Where did ye sant tae?"

We'll *flit* past the next word, and come to

Snoove, to sneak along. "He snooves along like ane in sleep." It is wonderful what effect the oo and the v have in producing an imitation of the movement.

Stravaig, *daunder*, all mean to wander about idly and leisurely. *Daivering* is more mental wandering; and *daivert* means confused, stupid.

Dwam and *dwamle* are pure Anglo-Saxon for to *faint* or *swoon*. "My wife took a *dwam* and lay doon to dee." *Dwamieness* is surely better than *faintness*.

Trauchle is perhaps *draggle*. To *trauchle* is to make a long exhaustive effort. "Life itself is a sair *trauchle*."

Thirl is used by one man in this town as I like to hear it. "We're not *thirled* to that line of action yet," instead of committed, bound down. *Thirlage* long ago was a kind of servitude by which grain produced on certain lands had to be ground at a certain mill.

Dirl is so expressive that it should be re-instated. Although to *thrill* you is to give you a queer feeling from the back of the neck downwards, it's a sign of old age when you are not susceptible of such a feeling.

Grue is a Scandinavian word. Occurs in English as an adjective, *gruesome*. It means to shudder, but it may well be used as a verb. "He *gart* the women greet and the men *grue*."

Rax, also Scandinavian. To stretch, reach, to pass. "Rax me that baist," said the amateur carver, when the cockerel landed along the table. "Rax me that parcel frae the rack."

Glaum, to grasp eagerly at.

Coup, to capsize.

Croodle, to cling close together, like hens in the biel of a dyke.

To give an inaugurative gift for luck is to *handsel*. Handsel Monday was a holiday in my school days—the first Monday of the year—when boys and girls expected and received a gift for luck. It is straight Anglo-Saxon. Nowadays to *handsel* your new suit or gown is to have it on for the first time. Surely a word worth preserving. To *handsel* a new bat at cricket.

Swarf is to faint or swoon. “His eldritch look gart us swarf wi’ fear.” In “The Brownie of Blednoch”:

The black dog growlin’ covered his tail.
The lassie swarfin’ loot fa’ the pail.

Jow, to ring the bell by pulling the rope.

Dunch, to push or jog with the elbow. (Perhaps Scandinavian word.)

Speir, to inquire, ask. (Pure Anglo-Saxon.) “I speired for my kizzen sae coothie and sweet.”

Slocken, to appease thirst. (Scandinavian.) You would think I had been *waling* Scandinavian words to show my own origin. “I wad set the castle in a lowe, an’ *slocken* it wi’ English bluid.”

Skowff is to swallow at one gulp.

Waucht is Gaelic for a big draught—not *wacht*, but *wauchtin*. “They wauchtit at the reid wine.”

Gley, from Scandinavian, to squint.

Gang (Anglo-Saxon), to go.

Howk, to excavate.

Glower has found its way into English for *stare*. “He *glower’d* as he seen a warlock.”

Now here’s a word I would like to see in action:

To *mense* the board, to preside at a table with credit. It’s a native word. *Menseful* and *menseless* are the two adjectives. When we bolted our food, so as to get to play, my mother bade us not be *sae menseless* unmannerly.

Threep, to insist pertinaciously. Anglo-Saxon discard.

Hick, to stammer. I find that it also means “to call to a horse to turn to the right.” Perhaps later Mr Thomas will mention this in his “Call-Words.”

Smither, to hesitate.

Hanker, to long for.

Roup, to sell by auction. A farmer, when on his first visit to Glasgow he saw the crowds in Argyle Street, asked, "Whaur's the roup the day?"

Redd, to make ready; "redd myself," wash and dress; to *redd* the fight is to clean it up; and a *redder*, one who ettles to settle a quarrel by forceful intrusion, not so much as an arbiter or umpire as a *referee*. How would *redder* do as a substitute for referee in some of the junior football matches?

Grein is to long for exceedingly.

If ony mettled fella grien
For favours frae a lady's een.

Lippen, to depend on, to trust (which is Scandinavian).

Big to build. "The auld clay biggin'."

Happy the crow
That bigs in the Trotten Shaw.

Niffer is to exchange. A little more than 100 years ago a boy near the Alloa coal pits was asked who and what he was. "I dinna ken: I was niffered for a pownie."

Swap is the same.

Link, to walk arm in arm.

Runt, to set on fire; to set your pipe agoing.

Tent, shorter and better than attend; tenty, tentily, tentless, and tentlessly. The last two are useful words for a schoolmaster in these days.

Dort, to sulk.

Cowe, to subdue, to surpass. (Scandinavian). "That coves the cuddy!" "That crowns all!"

Fyke is also Scandinavian, to fidget; *fiky*, *fikery*, fuss. "Fashrie and *fikery*," I would bring both back to the fold.

Taw, to spoil by much handling. With seven sisters, I was always complaining about them "tawin' my hair." *Toosle's* not bad, but *dishevel*!

Lagger, to spread too thick, like syrup on a piece; to smear excessively, as blacking on a boot.

Gar, common to Anglo-Saxon and Norse; to cause, compel. "What gars ye?"

Fley, to frighten. (Anglo-Saxon.)

Synde, to rinse, especially down the throat. "Synde that tumbler."

Ken, to know. (Pure Anglo-Saxon.) In English it is used only as a noun. "Beyond our ken."

We have *forgathered* here.

Smit, to infect. (Anglo-Saxon.)

Ravel, to confuse. "A ravelled discourse."

Guddle. "To catch trout with the hands by groping under stones and bank" is how the pithy English language expresses our Scots word.

Cuddle. I once failed farther north to get the meaning of "*embrace*" from a big class of 50 girls, and was forced, much against my will, to give a physical demonstration. That was in Alva, Mr Young.

Trinnel is surely a more musical sound than *trickle*.

Brainge or *breenge*, to move impetuously. I believe in contract bridge when your partner bids recklessly he is sometimes said to *breenge*.

Reest, to rear like a horse. "In cairt nor car thou never reestit," says Burns of his old mare. It also means to "build up a fire for the night."

Roose, to praise highly, is Scandinavian.

Brattle is to make a clattering noise.

Deave is an improvement on "deafen."

Haiver, to talk nonsense. A *haverel* was a favourite word of my father's when I was in sight.

Blether is another Scandinavian word, tho' it occurs in M.E. as *blather*.

Kythe isn't a bad word. It means to *appear*, to *show itself*, and is pure Anglo-Saxon

"Their faces blythe, sae sweet *kythe*,
Hearts leal an' warm and true."

They say it occurs in the Scots Metrical Psalms; but I set two boys yesterday to ransack them without success. It may be there for a' that. *Unknown* long ago was *uncouth* or *unkythed*.

Pech, to pant and puff, is nearer the actual sound than either *pant* or *puff*.

Rant, to use extravagant language, also to be noisily merry.

Speel, to climb.

Wimple is one of the loveliest of our verbs. It means to meander or wind. "When Doon rins wimplin' clear." To me it always carries with it a murmuring sound.

Add *devall* or *devawl* to the list, to cease. A French word, and the first strange word I heard in the hills of Aberdeenshire, and one of the first I heard in Rivel:

"Sair dings the rain upon the road;
It dings and nae devallin' o'd."

NOUNS.

Gloaming, the loveliest word in Scots: the evening gloom.

Biel, shelter.

Lown, a word I love: "the quietness of evening."

Leem (pure Anglo-Saxon), gleam of light.

Gleed (pure Anglo-Saxon), a hot glowing coal or ember.

Greeshoch, Gaelic for the perfect glow of a fire without flame.

Ingle, Gaelic for fireside or fire.

Lowe is a flame. "My hert's in a lowe."

Sumph and *gomeril* are a pair of blockheads.

Glamourie has a witchery for me.

Blink, a loving glance.

Cramasie, crimson (a French relic).

Hantle and *when*, a number or quantity.

Rinnel, a bonnie word for a small burn.

Burn (Anglo-Saxon).

Spate, a flood (Celtic).

Loaning, a lane, by-path; "in ilka green loaning."

Linn is far before *waterfall* or *cataract*.

Craig and *haus* mean the neck or throat. A boy was asked to give up the sweetie he had lifted. All he said was, "It's doon craig's close."

Cantrip, a trick, a witch's spell.

Messan and *tyke* are dogs, perhaps mongrels.

Onding, fall of snow or rain.

Rime is pure Anglo-Saxon for hoarfrost, and far better.

Saem is lard; French relic.

Halison is a sweet word for blessing, as *malison* is for cursing.

Herne, a corner, hidden. "The hiddest hernes of the heart."

Easedom and *lowsance* should have their place in English. *Easedom* is relief, comfort. *Lowsance* is liberty, freedom, deliverance. "It is not death but lowsance" is a beautiful saying.

Warlock, wizard.

Dawtie, darling.

Maukin, a hare.

Darg, day's work; *love-darg*, a day's ploughing for love; *wanrest*, unrest, with the old prefix.

Smirn, a drizzle.

Afterin and *afterstang*, consequences.

Stound, throbbing pain.

Limmer, a loose woman.

Kimmer, any kind of woman. French, *commère*.

Dub is a shallow pool.

Airt, direction.

Bairn, Anglo-Saxon for child.

Gowpen, two hands cupped together; *gowpenfu*, as much as they can hold.

Nieve, fist.

Routh, plenty; *fouth*, superabundance.

Lave, remainder.

Sculduddery, filthy talk.

Haivers, nonsense.

Fremd, strangers.

Goo, taste, flavour. The handsome onion seller from Normandy understood that word when I talked about his 'ingans'.

Dool and *waesomeness*, sorrow.

- Callant*, lad (Dutch).
Scouth, scope, range.
Gorlin, unfledged bird.
Bye-days, the past.
Airel, an air.
Reek, smoke.
Gowan, common wild daisy.
Betterness, improvement.
Lift, sky.
Foy, a farewell entertainment.
Lirk, crease or fold.
Lith. Neil Munro pictures a visit of Dr. Johnson with Boswell at Boswell's father's place.
Brierd, *braird*, sprouting corn.
Shairn, cow's dung.
Fud, rabbit's tail.
Rigmaree and *langammachy*, long-winded, dreich discourse.
Stour, flying dust.
Broo, good opinion.
Loof, palm of the hand.
Kebbuck, a whole cheese.
Horl, metal tag to a lace.
Gallimaufry, hotch-potch, ragout; medley.
Cod, big pillow or bolster.
Cod-crooning, curtain-lecture.
Heart's gree, delight.
Ferlie, wonderful thing.
Howdie, midwife; "Howd'ye."
Stook, sheaves set in row back to back.
Kane, payment in kind.
Gree, prize, reward.
Greeance, concord, harmony.
Howff, haunt, resort (now not over-respectable sometimes).
Howe, hollow.
Oxter, armpit.
Smeddum, powder; force of character.

- Guts*, stamina.
Merle, blackbird.
Souter, shoemaker.
Wraith, apparition.
Wyte and *dirdum*, blame.
Partisan, pastiche.
Haar, a cold mist.
Drow, drizzling mist.
Kinch, kink.
Mirk, dark.
O'ercome, refrain.
Brae, hill slope.
Wastrie, extravagance.
Duds, ragged clothes.
Laggen, the angle between the bottom and sides of a barrel or pail.
Knack, trick.
Knacky, ingenious.
Freit, superstition.
Chun, buds of potato.
Haingles, influenza.
Gowk, cuckoo, fool, simpleton.
Doxy, mistress.
Lawin', reckoning.
Fodgil and *hotch*, fat unwieldy woman (perhaps with no humour).
Skaith, damage.
Breers, eyebrows.
Gliff, glimpse, sudden fright.
Styme, smallest particle.
Counterpoison, antidote.
Flum, flattery.
Flummery, needless ceremony and fuss.
Flaff, flutter.
Waft, breath, whiff, puff of air.
Clart, mud.
Fupple or *feuple*, a slobbery pendulous nether lip
 Dunbar makes a verb of it.
Kenspeckle.

The Story of Lochmaben Kirk.

By R. FRASER, Lochmaben.

There is no actual record of the founding of the first kirk in Lochmaben, but tradition declares that the "pious Bruce," third of the Annandale line, was the founder of the old kirk that stood on the shore of the Kirk Loch for nearly seven hundred years. It is unthinkable that no church had been planted in Lochmaben earlier than the first half of the twelfth century; yet no record of any church can be found other than the old tradition that an earlier building than the Bruce foundation formerly stood on the loch side and by some convulsion of nature was engulfed in the waters of the loch. The familiar addition to the tale is found in the legend that on a stormy night the bell of the submerged kirk can be heard faintly tolling.

There is a possibility that Christianity had percolated to Annandale in Roman times from Candida Casa. There is no doubt that in the sixth century the Christian faith was established in the valley by St. Kentigern, better known as St. Mungo. After the battle of Ardderyd in 573, which placed Rydderch Hael or Roderic the Liberal on the throne of the British kingdom of Alcluyd, the saint was brought back from exile in Wales. He founded the great church at Hoddam which was for a time the bishop's see where churches were constituted and clergy ordained.

St. Kentigern's stay in Hodelm was comparatively short; the return of Rydderch to the throne made possible the re-establishment of the bishop's see in Kentigern's own city of Glasgow. (*Vita Kentig.* cap. xxxiii.)

Kentigern has left his mark in several places in Annandale but there is no record of even a brief visit to Lochmaben, no local miracle such as the raising of the little hill at Trailtrow by the saint which men might remember for long ages after. There is not even a cross extant, so far as is known, nor the slightest evidence of any craftman's pious desire to glorify God by the work of his hands.

That brings us back to the third Bruce, Lord of Annandale, as the founder of the first Kirk of Lochmaben. Not long after the building of the kirk it, along with other five churches in Annandale, viz., Gretna, Cummertrees, Redkirk, Kirkpatrick-Fleming and Annan, was placed under the rule of the Prior of Gyseburn. The Priory had been founded in the early part of the twelfth century by the Bruces, and several of the family are buried there.

The Kirk of Lochmaben did not long remain under the rule of Gyseburn. In 1223 Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, acquired from the monks of the Priory the rights of ordination and collation in the transferred churches, but the Priory was to receive part of the yearly revenues. The case of Lochmaben was slightly different from the others. There is evidence (Reg. Epis. Glas.) of a spirited controversy between the Rector of Lochmaben and his superiors which was finally settled by the Pope. The Kirk of Lochmaben with the chapel of Rokele (Rockhall) was reserved to William de Glencairn for life, subject to a yearly payment to the monks of Gyseburn of 33 merks. This William of Glencairn is the only Rector up to 1223 of whom any record remains. The Bishops of Glasgow enjoyed the right thereafter of appointing the succeeding rectors up to the time of the Reformation. A rector collected and enjoyed the whole of the tithes of his parish. A parson might be and often was a layman who collected part of the tithes or teinds not appropriated by the church.

Nearly three hundred years elapse before the name of another rector appears in the records. An entry in the Privy Seal Reg. states that the king in Nov., 1508, presented a Mr William Stewart to the rectory of Lochmaben, vacant by the decease of Mr John Erskine.

The kirk, by that time nearly four centuries old, was a Gothic building standing on the shore of the Kirk Loch, not very far from the site of the first Castle of Lochmaben. It must have been of moderate size, judging from the barely traceable lines, but is reputed to have had a large choir. In the next three centuries it suffered many changes and

alterations, as we shall see, until it was demolished in 1818 to be replaced by the present kirk which stands on a different site.

In the 15th century the bailies of Lochmaben endowed a chaplainry at the altar of the Virgin Mary in the kirk, assigning an acre of land, supposed to be "the crooked acre," with the marsh commonly called the Struther, along with the second turn of the multures of the mill, for its support. This endowment was confirmed by James III. on 28th April, 1486, nearly two years after the Albany Raid, when the town and probably the church also, suffered damage in the *melée*.

Lochmaben Kirk is one of the very few in Scotland dedicated to Mary Magdalene. Between the ancient kirk and the shore of the Kirk Loch there was a well called St. Magdalene's Well, which was reputed to have curative qualities for certain ailments. The well was approached by a flight of steps leading downwards and was protected by a circular wall of freestone, with a freestone roof. The reforming (or deforming) zeal of the Lochmaben people led them, within the memory of the present inhabitants, to level the surrounding wall and roof and cover the well with flagstones. This took place when the town obtained a supply of gravitation water, mainly because a local worthy, a man of blunt and homely speech, insisted that the well was unsafe owing to its proximity to the old Kirkyard. His remark to those who opposed the removal of the old well was, "D'ye want to drink your granny's bree?" In passing, this may be noted as a classic example of bad taste!

Considering that the seven hundred year-old kirk was still standing in 1818, it is remarkable that no picture, drawing or plan of the building can be traced. I cannot believe that the venerable old pile was so lacking in appeal that nobody took pains to preserve the memory of it; perhaps some of the members of this learned Society may be able to suggest where such a pictorial record may be found. The nearest I have come to finding what I want is to learn of the existence of a copper plate from which prints were made,

showing the appearance of the town before the kirk was pulled down. This plate is in the hands of the descendants of a former Provost of the burgh now resident in Glasgow. Possibly a print may be obtained from them when their address is traced.

Failing, for the time being, the direct evidence of a picture, we are forced to depend on tradition once more. From that source—the verbal descriptions of the old building passed on to people still living—it is possible to reconstruct at least partially. The time-gap to be bridged is only 117 years; in that short time it is unlikely that tradition should err.

In the old churchyard in which the kirk stood part of the lines of the building may be traced. It seems to have been cruciform in shape, the main axis lying, as usual, east and west. The walls were substantial, and built of the same kind of red sandstone as was used in the building of Lochmaben Castle. There seems to have been no tower or spire, for the kirk bells were, to begin with, hung from a tree near the kirk door. There was a gallery or loft, for we read in the Town Council minutes of various projects to alter or improve the loft with the purpose of securing greater privacy for the magistrates when they attended the services. The roof was covered with turf and heather, a not unusual method of roofing in the district up to the beginning of the 19th century.

The bells, which were transferred to the new church, deserve mention. There are two of them, the Bruce bell and the Pope's bell, still in regular use. The Bruce bell measures $19\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, and its height to the base of the canons is $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The bell is very long-waisted, and has a circumference of $37\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the shoulders. The compilers of the Report of the Historical Monuments (Scotland) Commission state that the Bruce bell is the oldest inscribed bell in Scotland and the oldest still in use. The inscription itself is peculiar, the letters being reversed in direction and in order, but not in form. Properly aligned the inscription reads: Iohannes Adam Me

Fecit Ave Maria (John Adam made me. Hail Mary). This bell is said to have been given by Robert the Bruce on his return from a raid into England. The workmanship is early 14th century.

The Pope's bell is much later in date. The authors of the report already quoted state that this bell also was the result of a raid, but here they are directly in conflict with tradition, which states that the bell was the gift of the Pope. That seems more likely, for a belfry is said to have been made over the west gable of the old kirk for its reception. A more detailed description of both bells will be found in the report.

It will be interesting to trace as far as we can the lands held by the kirk up to the Reformation. It is unlikely that this list is complete, but it will serve to show how the wealth of the church had grown. After the War of Independence the payments from Annandale to the Prior of Gyseburn seem to have ceased. The large number of Scottish prisoners in English hands required maintenance to such an extent that the castellans and abbots were unable to meet their liabilities. (C. L. Johnstone: *Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*.) The once wealthy Prior of Gyseburn complains in the reign of Edward II. that his Priory is ruined and that he no longer receives revenues from Annandale or Carlisle, which used to supply the greater part of his income.

In Bagimont's Roll during the reign of James V. the rectory of Lochmaben was taxed £5 6s 8d, being a tenth of its estimated value. In the following reign Mary Queen of Scots and Henry, her husband, made a grant (16th August, 1565) of the thirds of the abbey of Souleseat and the parsonage of Lochmaben to John Johnstone of that ilk, for the five years, 1564-68, and further during the royal pleasure.

In addition to the glebe lands near the kirk, extending from opposite the present manse to where the Sanatorium now stands, there was the "crooked acre," already mentioned, the Struther or marsh also mentioned, the Kirkhirst and the lands of Priestdykes on the Lockerbie Road, the

lands of Priesthead, the lands of Chapelcroft, the lands attached to St. Thomas's Chapel on the Dumfries Road, the chapel and lands of Rokele, now Rockhallhead. The connection between Lochmaben and Rokele or Rockhall is long standing, dating from the days when the Britons ruled Strathclyde. It is recorded that a battle was fought near Lochmaben at the British camp called Woody Castle, on the farm of Lochbank, between the Britons and the Norsemen. The date is given as somewhere about 890. The British leader, Constantine, was slain and his body removed for burial to the rocky and almost inaccessible camp at Rockhall. A standing stone near the entrance to Woody Castle is said to mark the spot where Constantine fell.

At a meeting of heritors on 25th February, 1876, Dr. Liddell produced two deeds of excambion relating to lands belonging to the glebe situated at Heck-Holm and Rockhall. These lands were exchanged for others—Heck-Holm for M'Murdo's Park outside the burgh on the Dumfries Road, and the Rockhall land for the southern half of Field No. 386 on the O.S. map of the district. That is a formidable and extensive list, but not surprising when it is remembered that at the Reformation the Church owned nearly half the land in Scotland. There was also a healing well at St. Thomas's. The land now known as Gowanlea, near the site, was till lately known as Physicwell.

Following the Reformation much of the Church land passed to lay owners, which sounds much better than stating baldly that those lay owners stole what they could. They were allowed to retain what they had seized on condition of paying a yearly tithe to the reformed kirk.

There is no doubt that following the Reformation the kirks in Annandale were allowed to fall into a state of decay. It seems certain also that there were plural holders of benefices. In 1567 James Maxwell, son of John Maxwell, entered the parsonage of Lochmaben with a stipend of £44 9s 10d. In 1574 Apilgirth, Dryvisdale, Castlemilk, and Tonnourgarth were added to the charge. The same thing took

place in other parishes in the county, for in 1576 Alexander Gardinare is returned as having the same charge with the exception of Castlemilk. He was removed to Kirkmahoe prior to 1585, and in 1590 Dunscore was added to him.

Lochmaben Kirk fared badly in the time of the Johnstone-Maxwell feud. In 1593 the kirk was burned by the Johnstones in order to drive out a party of Maxwells who had sought sanctuary within its walls. The nature of the roof already noted probably accounts for the ease with which the kirk was fired, as well as for the disappearance of the records. About the same time a minister of Lochmaben, William Johnstone, A.M., one of the original students of Edinburgh University, was presented by James VI., probably before 13th May, 1592. On 8th July, 1595, he craved collation from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as "he durst not repair to Dumfries through the deadly feuds between the Maxwells and the Johnstones." The Presbytery granted the crave, and he was admitted on 30th September, 1595. He was murdered on the 4th March following, being only twenty-nine years old. For not presenting five of his clan to answer for "tuiching the shamefull, cruell and vnmercifull slauchter of Mr W. Johnstone," Sir James Johnstone of Dunskillie, knight, was denounced on 21st May, 1596.

The kirk of Lochmaben was used for the holding of the Warden's and Stewart's courts. King James VI. in a commission to Sir James Johnstone of Dunskillie, dated at Dumfries the 19th October, 1602, directs that certain parish churches in Annandale, including Lochmaben, shall be rebuilt or repaired; and on 31st January, 1625, in a precept directed to John, Earl of Mar, and Sir Archibald Napier, orders the building of a tolbooth in Lochmaben so that the necessity for holding these courts in the kirk may be obviated. The money was to be raised from the fines imposed on offenders who carried "hagbuttes" or "pistolettes." The king naively remarks that, "considering the necessitie of such a hous, it is good reason that it be builte at the costes of the neighboring offenders then other-

wise. And if the fines of the said offenders wille amount to more then will finish the said worke (as doubtles they wille), wee are well pleased that the superplus be employed on the said bridge. (Perth.)” Perhaps the fines did not come up to expectations; at any rate the **tolbooth** was not built till much later, and presumably the **Warden and Stewart courts** were still held in the old kirk.

Some repairs must have been carried out following the fire, and it is possible that at this time the loft or gallery was added. It appears that the loft was used by the magistrates, a custom that was retained when the new kirk was built. The front seat in the gallery facing the pulpit is still known as the official seat of the Town Council.

In 1777 proposals were brought forward by the minister for the addition of further galleries, but these were defeated after an action of suspension had been raised by the heritors, who opposed the scheme. The heritors were supported by the magistrates, who feared some interference with their comfort.

The only minute book of the Kirk Session of Lochmaben that can be traced is one beginning in 1765, and covering the period to May, 1847. On the first page there is engrossed this preface: “There never hath been kept any regular or exact register of the Acts and proceedings of Sessions in this parish in times past. All that this Session can find to this purpose are a few loose Sheets during the ministry of ministers Steel (1693), Jardine (1732), and Lindsay (1750). These sheets the Session appoint their Clerk to keep carefully along with the records and other papers belonging to the Session of this parish. And the Session have unanimously resolved to keep an exact register of the Acts and proceedings of Session in this parish for the time to come, and the Session gave orders to their Clerk to begin this register accordingly with the first Sessional meeting of Mr Richard Brown who was admitted minister of this parish of Lochmaben on the twenty-fifth of October, One thousand seven hundred and sixty five years, and the Session themselves have agreed to revise this register annually in order to prevent all errors and mistakes in this matter.”

During the greater part of Mr Brown's ministry the records are carefully kept. His zeal seems to have abated a little near the end of his stay, or perhaps even his strenuous efforts could not stir into activity the session clerk, who was a lawyer in the town. The last entry in Mr Brown's time authorises the minister to impress on the clerk the necessity of doing the job for which he was paid, after which the records cease altogether for a time.

Mr Brown was succeeded by the easy-going Dr. Andrew Jaffray. The minutes in his time are scanty for a few years, then cease altogether until Dr. Andrew Brown becomes minister in 1795.

While the earlier minutes deal wholly with matters of public interest relating to the kirk, it is possible to extract from them interesting scraps of information bearing on the life of the time. For example, it is recorded that the fee for recording a baptism in 1765 was one shilling, half of which went to the session clerk and half to the beadle. Later, 1767, the fee was reduced to sixpence. For proclamations of marriage the fee was three shillings, the clerk receiving two shillings and the beadle one shilling. Fees were also charged for the use of the "mortcloath." (August, 1766: "No mortcloath without ready money." Instruction to the beadle.) In 1767 a new mortcloth had to be purchased, the fee for which was one shilling. The old cloth could still be used at half the cost except in the case of people outside the parish, who had to pay double. The beadle received half-a-crown a year for the care of the grisly coverings.

From detailed examination of the minutes it would be possible to compile a fairly accurate list of the schoolmasters of the parish from 1765. It is interesting to note that Lochmaben School used to be known as the Grammar School, an old title that has a dignity about it lacking in the bald title of to-day. Every year ten poor scholars were chosen by the session who were to be taught free, the fees being met out of a mortification left by a pious donor whose name eludes me.

The salaries paid to the precentors are occasionally stated, as well as those paid to other officers of the session. In the middle of the 18th century the parish schoolmaster, who was also precentor and session clerk, received his share of the baptismal fees, the marriage fees, and one-third of the fines imposed by the session for breaches of the moral law. In addition he had the fees attached to the granting of various certificates.

At the election of elders the old custom is noted of the appearance of the beadle at the kirk door to cry aloud the names of the candidates. The names were called three times, and as a rule, "none compearing," they were added to the roll of elders. Irregular marriages were frowned upon by the kirk. The fine for such a marriage was one guinea if the parties were rebuked in the presence of the congregation; if rebuked in private by the session the fine was a guinea and a half. It is on record that "John Johnstone, Esq., of Thorniwhat is to be prosecuted on account of his bill against his irregular marriage in 1741." The prosecution was threatened in 1768, twenty-seven years after the marriage. Johnstone resisted payment, but eventually offered to compromise at a guinea, his offer being accepted.

After 1796 the minutes degenerate into a dreary record of cases of discipline. The ordinary fine for such breaches of the moral code was five shillings, but infractions of the seventh commandment cost double. Several paternity cases are recorded in detail that would make even the modern problem novelist blush. The names of the offenders are bluntly stated; sometimes they were persons of high social status. In 1813 cases are recorded of indiscretions involving French prisoners of war on parole. The danger of being "solus cum sola" must have been ever present in the minds of those who had cause to fear exposure.

An entry dated 1st July, 1821, records that Lieut. Hugh Clapperton left Lochmaben "a few months ago" just before setting out on his first journey with Oudney and Denham in quest of the source of the Niger. Other notable names appearing in the minutes include Mounsey of Rammerscales,

Murray of Henderland, Rev. Mr Charteris of Wamphray, Captain Gordon of Halleaths, and, much later, Andrew Johnstone, also of Halleaths. Besides those there were others prominent in the civic life of the burgh in those days.

As in the case of the Town Council minutes, important events in the outside world are ignored. The accession of Queen Victoria is not mentioned, neither is the Disruption, beyond a curt intimation of the resignation of four elders: Andrew Johnstone, George Carlyle, James Wilson, and William Robson, who evidently left the kirk at this time.

There is no mention of the building of the new kirk nor of the removal to the new building. Possibly the minutes of the heritors, if they still exist, deal with those matters.

Little more remains to be told of the old kirk. In 1818, as already stated, it was razed and a new kirk built in its stead. Some of the stone used in the building of the new church was taken from the old, so that even if the form has been lost part of the substance remains. There was naturally a good deal of opposition to the destruction of the old building, which had seen so many changes, but unfortunately the opposition was not strong enough to save it. Dominie Graham in "Lochmaben Five Hundred Years Ago" declares that gunpowder had to be used to bring down the walls.

The list of the rectors and parsons is incomplete, but even so may be of interest:

1223—William de Glencairn.

1508—John Erskine.

1508—William Stewart.

1567—Robert Johnstone, named heir to the Kirk of Lochmaben in his father's will.

1567—James Maxwell, as already mentioned, was the incumbent.

1573—Robert Johnstone, named parson of Lochmaben.

1576—Alexander Gardinare; he also held several other charges; was continued in 1580, and removed to Kirkmahoe prior to 1585. In 1590 Dunscore was

added to his charge. He was nominated by the Privy Council Commissioners for the maintenance and defence of the Protestant religion in Annandale. This was the time of the threatened invasion by the Spaniards, when there was much intrigue between the Maxwells and the other heads of the Roman Catholic families.

- 1589—Robert Johnstone, again named parson of Lochmaben. He was one of the arbiters suggested to make an end of the feud between the Johnstones and the Maxwells.

At this date also, Andro Johnnestoun, parson and reader in Drysdale and Tondergarth, better known as the "fighting parson," seems to have taken part in the service of the kirk of Lochmaben, perhaps when his kinsman was otherwise employed. He is mentioned in a bond signed some time between 1581 and 1587, when the head of the Johnstone clan had to guarantee the good behaviour of the parson and his gang of twenty brothers and friends. It was in the parsonage of Tundergarth that Richard Maxwell, leader of the Warden's forces, had been confined after his defeat by a raiding party of Johnstones. Sir John Johnstone with a force of 600 men took Maxwell from the parsonage, throwing the wounded man over a work-horse like a sack of meal, and carrying him off to Bonshaw Tower. There the Johnstones not only refused him the services of a surgeon but plundered the leech who had formerly attended him.

- 1595—William Johnstone, A.M., murdered, as stated above. The deed was done in the streets of Lockerbie according to Miss C. L. Johnstone, a statement which the Lochmaben people are willing to believe, however unlikely.
- 1595—John Johnstone, A.M., a graduate of Glasgow University. He was presented by James VI. on 8th March; died before 1st February, 1607, aged about 43.

- 1607—Thomas Mortoun, minister, was presented by James VI. before 24th January, 1607, but was not settled.
- 1608—Robert Henderson, A.M., was translated from Durisdeer and presented by King James on 21st June. He sat in the Assemblies in 1610, 1618, 1638. The record mentions two sons—Alexander, apprenticed to the apothecary, Thomas Dickson in Edinburgh, 13th February, 1628; and James, apprenticed to Alex. Forrester, merchant, on 3rd April, 1633.
- 16--—Thomas Henrysone, A.M., was translated from Tundergarth. Conforming to Episcopacy he was presented by Charles II., 14th July, 1663, and translated to Gretna before May, 1667.
- 1667—Archibald Inglis, A.M., came from Westerkirk on presentation by Charles II. He was translated to Ashkirk in 1675.
- 1675—George Graham, A.M., came from Orwell. In 1676 he was active in persecuting the Presbyterians. In 1689, immediately after the Revolution, he deserted his charge, afraid that his parishioners might exact vengeance when freedom was restored to them. It is stated that on several occasions he had to be escorted to church by a company of soldiers to protect him from the fury of the mob. He retired to Edinburgh, where he was accused of marrying irregularly (29/5/1706). He died in 1719, aged 80.
- 1693—William Steill, A.M. Graduated at Glasgow, 27th July, 1676. He came over from Ireland at the Revolution. He was involved in a dispute concerning the rent of a manse which he claimed (from the heritors?), but the Lords of Session decided against him, 29th January, 1712. After his death in August, 1722, his inventar and debts amounted to £4342 14s 10d.

On the vacancy three presentations were issued by competing patrons. With the consent of parties the election of a new minister was referred to the Commission of Assembly, who ordered the Presby-

tery to try the inclinations of the people and report. There was a vast majority in favour of Mr Carlyle, minister of Cummertrees, who on a petition from the parishioners had been presented by His Majesty. The Presbytery not seeming anxious for his appointment, invited Mr Edward Buncle, A.M., preacher or catechist at Leadhills, to accept the charge. He was called and ordained in 1723, but the Commission declared his appointment null and void, and ordered the Presbytery to proceed to the admission of Mr Carlyle. Finally in 1725 the Assembly ordered a new call to be moderated, "that the true choice of the people might be undoubtedly known." Lord Advocate Dundas signified his hope that His Majesty would not insist on his presentee in opposition to what should be the choice of the parish. The Presbytery were reprov'd and the Synod recommended to bury all the heats of this affair and advised not to enter any papers not already recorded, that all memory of the differences that had arisen might be utterly extinguished.

- 1725—Patrick Cumming, A.M., was translated from Kirkmahoe. In December, 1731, he was called to Edinburgh Old Church.
- 1732—Robert Jardine came to Lochmaben from Glencairn. "Though an orthodox and pious clergyman he had a great turn for fun and buffoonery." He died in June, 1749.
- 1750—James Lindsay remained till 1765, when he went to Kirkliston.
- 1765—Richard Brown or Broun. He came from Kingarth. He succeeded to a baronetcy on the death of his cousin, Sir Alex., B. of Coalston, but did not take the title. He was perhaps the most energetic of the ministers since the Reformation, and introduced many improvements.
- 1783—Andrew Jaffray, D.D., came from Ruthwell. He was the friend of Burns, who described him as "a worthy

- old veteran in religion and good fellowship." His daughter, Jean (Mrs Renwick, New York), was the subject of the poem, "I gaed a waefu' gate yestre'en."
- 1795—Andrew Brown, D.D., was translated to Edinburgh, New Greyfriars, 1779. Published a sermon on "The Dangers and Duties of the Seafaring Life," Halifax, 1793. 8vo.
- 1800—Henry Laurie married a daughter of the Rev. Richard Brown, a former incumbent. Died 1808.
- 1809—Thomas Gibson. "He possessed great kindness of heart and unbounded hospitality. After a long and expensive lawsuit he was successful in recovering a considerable portion of the glebe which had been wrested from one of his predecessors."
- 1834—Thomas Marjoribanks. His ministry extended till 1849, when he was translated to Stenton. During his period of office the Disruption took place, a fact which may account for the unpopularity under which he laboured. In the words of an old resident who died less than ten years ago who remembered this minister, he left Lochmaben a soured and disappointed man. I believe this unpopularity was unmerited and due more to the ecclesiastical broil than to any fault in the minister. He published in 1843, in Dumfries, "A Few Plain Remarks for Plain Men." I have not read the volume but the title suggests a further reason, together with his application for an augmentation of stipend, why he was unpopular. His son George became minister of West Linton, and his grandson Thomas minister of Colinton. Dr Marjoribanks, the grandson, is now minister of Morham.
- 1850—Dr Thomas Liddell. A well-beloved minister who is still affectionately remembered by the oldest inhabitants of the parish. He was very popular with the worthies of the town, on whom he exercised a ready wit. His beadle was named Mark Wells but

was more often referred to as *Nota Bene*, which in the broad south country speech became *Naughty Benny*.

1881—Robert Neill Rae, M.A. Laboured for 33 years in the parish.

1914—John M'Coll, B.D., now minister of Gartsherrie.

1925—Richard Gibb, M.A.

12th April, 1935.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Some Old Dumfries Buildings.

By T. A. HALLIDAY.

[Mr Halliday's notes were very brief, and as some have been already printed they are not repeated here.]

Life in Ponds and Ditches.

By O. J. PULLEN.

Ecology is a fruitful field for research by naturalists who, after all, have been pioneer ecologists; and, to me, one of the most interesting communities, and, incidentally, one of the most neglected, is the fresh water community, in which neither plants nor animals are dominant. It is a community with a character and fascination all its own, and is full of interest at all seasons. I am attempting to find out something about life in the ponds and ditches of Dumfriesshire, and the somewhat sketchy survey which follows is the result of my searchings during the four years I have been in Nithsdale.

To begin with the simplest of all animals it is perhaps worth mentioning that, in spite of search, I have never been

able to find that best known of all animals, the Protozoan, Amoeba, which is said to be common in the mud of all ponds and ditches; nor have I come across the fresh water sponge—Spongilla.

COELENTERA.—The curious fresh water polyp, Hydra, with its batteries of stinging cells ranged along its tentacles can frequently be found clinging to weeds which come near the surface of ponds and ditches—weeds like water starwort (*Callitriche*) and duckweed (*Lemna*). The green form, *H. viridis*, is quite common, but I have found the brown form, *H. fusca*, less frequently—in fact, not until I came to Scotland.

UNSEGMENTED WORMS.—These include the flat worms with three groups, two of which are parasitic. To the first of these, the Cestodes, the well-known tape worm belongs, while the other parasitic group includes that pest which causes so much loss to Dumfriesshire farmers—the liver fluke. It might almost be mentioned as a fresh water creature, for one third of its life it spends swimming freely in pools, another one third as a parasite in water snails, and the rest as a parasite in the liver of sheep or bullocks. Very common in ponds, ditches and streams are its cousins, the members of the third group, the Planarians (*Turbellaria*); and any one who dips in ponds and lochs will come across these small, flat, black and white creatures which have such a graceful way of gliding along the surface of water, over stones, or along the glass of an aquarium. *Polycelis nigra* is the commonest form.

The great group also includes the Horse-hair worms (*Nematomorpha*), of which *Gordius aquaticus*, which looks exactly like an animated hair from a horse's tail and gets its name from its curious coiling movement in water—its body constantly tying itself into Gordian knots—is frequently brought to me from local burns and ditches. This worm no doubt gave rise to the superstition which still remains in country places, that hairs from a horse's tail when dropped into water change into eels. A country friend of mine, while realising that this fable is without foundation, was quite

convinced when I showed him a specimen of *Gordius* that it was only a horse's hair, which, by some electricity within itself, was made to coil in and out of knots and move ceaselessly round about any dish of water. The life story of *Gordius* is remarkable for the larvæ, by special structures on their body, bore their way into some insect's abdomen, flourish and develop there, and burst their way out when they have reached maturity and are ready to reproduce their kind. There must be many a water beetle infested with these worms, for they seem to be very common in Nithsdale.

SEGMENTED WORMS (ANNELIDA).—The class of Annelids, which include most fresh water forms, is the Leeches (*Dis-cophora*). The medicinal leech (*Hirudo medicinalis*) is said to be common in ponds and sluggish streams, but now seems to be absent from Scotland. I find the sinister-looking—harmless really—horse leech (*Hæmopsis*) in some of the lochs on the Drumlanrig estate. In England I have seen this species in such numbers that the mud of the pond which they haunted was heaving and writhing with them in dry summers. In running water one often sees a small pink leech moving over the pebbles in the characteristic looping way, using alternately, that is, the suckers at the fore and hind end of the body. It is a species of *Clepsine*.

ROTIFERS (ROTATORIA).—These interesting creatures are generally grouped as Annelids. They are microscopic in size, and are invariably found in great numbers in any area of fresh water, large or small—even in the tiny pools which lie in the shutting of houses after a storm of rain. They are easily identified as a group, for around their head they bear a circlet of tiny, living whip-lashes or cilia, by means of which they move and feed. This whirling circle at their head is very characteristic, and has earned them the name of “wheel-animalcules.” The species are very numerous, and I must confess that I have neglected them. They are deserving of study, for they present a beautiful picture under the microscope and have many fascinating features in their life history. In several genera no males have ever been found, and in others they are generally very dwarfed and are often little

more than "perambulating bags of spermatozoa." Even so their efforts at fertilising the females seem unavailing, so that probably all Rotifers reproduce themselves parthenogenetically.

CRUSTACEA.—Members of this group swarm in millions in the plankton of lochs and ponds and amongst the vegetation of ditches. They are, of course, the small, active "water-fleas," of which I am only able at present to identify the Phyllopods; *Daphnia*, *Simocephalus* and *Polyphemus*; the commonest member of the two-shelled Ostracods; *Cypris*; and the Copepod; *Cyclops*, which trails two egg-pouches very conspicuously on either side of its tail. All of these I have found in Dumfriesshire. The numbers of these creatures show cycles of increase and decrease, for at some seasons a pond may be swarming with *Daphnia*, while at others some other Crustacean is commonest.

INSECTS.—The remarkable versatility of this group of animals is well shown by the variety of families which have left the land and taken to the pools of fresh water.

COLLEMBOLA.—Even this group of tiny, primitive, wingless insects has its fresh water representative, for *Podura aquatica* is the little black Spring-tail which haunts the surface of ponds and ditches, often bunching together in little groups and making prodigious jumps when it is disturbed. The jumping organ or spring which it carries under its abdomen, not at its tail, is the remarkable structure which has given it its name.

EPHEMERIDA (May flies).—These all have aquatic larvæ common in ponds and ditches and swarming in rivers and streams. If kept in aquaria they should be watched carefully in June, for the observer may be lucky enough to see, as I have seen, the actual moment of transformation when the larva rises to the surface of the water, splits along the thorax, and out of the skin the delicate-winged may fly draws its neat body with the three long whisks at its tail. At first its true beauty is not revealed, for it has yet another skin to shed. With this purpose in view it retires to the vegetation near by, and in a short time emerges to dance away its few

short hours of adult life. The various species of may fly are the March Brown, Great Red Spinner, Yellow Dun, Iron Blue Dun, Jenny Spinner, Little Yellow May Dun, Sky Blue, Green Drake, Grey Drake, Orange Dun, Black Drake, Dark Mackerel, Pale Evening Dun, July Dun, August Dun, Whirling Blue Dun, Little Pale Blue Dun of fishermen—the names are taken from Ronald's *Flyfishers' Entomology*. Like the naturalist Reaumur, I must confess that "among these aquatic larvæ there are many species which I have not learnt to distinguish."

ODONATA (Dragon flies). — These creatures have ideal breeding conditions in the boggy pools in the uplands of Dumfriesshire or in the lochs of such beauty spots at Drumlanrig Woods, where their curious, ungainly larvæ can crawl among the decaying vegetation. The commonest Dumfriesshire dragon fly is, I believe, the beautiful damsel fly, a species of Agrion, whose larvæ are often brought to me from boggy upland pools.

PLECOPTERA (Stone flies).—The large two-tailed larvæ and adults of *Perla* are very common throughout the summer beside Dumfriesshire rivers and are easily recognised, for the large head and thorax and bow-legs of the larva give it a characteristic appearance (it often runs away when stones in the water are lifted, and its dried skin is commonly found on stone tops by the river when the adult has flown away). The head and thorax of the adult have a similar square appearance, while its long wings fold flat over its body when at rest. In ditches and bogs a small larva of the typical *Perla* shape can be found. It is, I believe, the larva of a small, yellow-winged stone fly which is very common in summer.

HEMIPTERA (Plant bugs). — Several of these creatures, with jaws modified to form a sucking proboscis, have taken to an aquatic life. The pond skaters, *Gerris thoracica*, are common on the surface of our pools, the thick velvety pile with which their body is covered making it almost impossible to wet them. Their legs do not break the surface film but make little dimples in the water as their owners dart about in search of dead or dying insects floating on the surface of

the pool. Some naturalists assert that these creatures never go below the surface of water, but in the morning I have found them on the bottom after spending the night under water in an aquarium. I have found *Nepa cinerea*, the ugly, sluggish water scorpion with a long tube at its tail for obtaining air from the surface of the water and clasp-knife-like front legs for catching its prey, but it seems to prefer running water, and therefore is not common in ponds and ditches. The other aquatic Hemiptera belong to the group Notonectidæ (Water Boatmen), of which the two genera, *Corixa* (which swim with their backs uppermost) and *Notonecta* (which swim with keel-shaped back downwards), are both commonly met with in Dumfriesshire. *Notonecta glauca* is *the* water boatman.

TRICHOPTERA (Caddis flies).—The larvæ of these flies are very common in areas of water, large or small, fresh or stagnant, and there is a great variety of species. The larvæ are all similar in appearance and habits, and they protect themselves by building around their body a tubular shelter open at both ends, and, in ponds and ditches, they walk about dragging their houses behind them. (In streams they fix their cases to stones for obvious reasons.) By the form and by the type of material—leaves, grains of sand, reeds, sticks, and even tiny snail shells woven together by threads of silk—used in the construction of these shelters, the species may be distinguished from one another. I have not attempted to name the different species I find in Dumfriesshire, but it may be worth recording that I have watched Caddis flies in the act of depositing their eggs in streams. One evening last summer I was attracted by the great swarms of Caddis flies which were flying in procession up a Nithsdale stream. Individuals were constantly dropping into the water, to perish, I thought at first, but soon I saw them clinging to the stones in mid-stream as if resting, and I noticed that any which fell into the water were not wetted because of the tent-like covering formed by their hairy wings. Later, to my astonishment, I saw flies walk head downwards and with great purposefulness into the water which was swirling round

the stones, and, lifting the latter, I found them present under water in great numbers, and saw that the lower side of the stone was covered with the masses of jelly which contained their eggs. Entomologists have conjectured that in some such way the Caddis flies deposit their eggs, although I have seen their egg-laying described as like that of the may flies—a mere wanton scattering of the eggs on the surface of the water.

DIPTERA.—Flies with aquatic larvæ are legion, but by far the commonest at all seasons is the gnat larva, which, with its bizarre shape, active wriggings and breathing siphon by which it hangs on the surface film of water, is well known. Equally well known is its curious swollen-headed pupa. In company with such larvæ one often finds the transparent, almost invisible larva of the phantom fly, while creeping over and amongst the floating vegetation the black and white striped larva of *Tanypus*, the splay-footed fly, is common. Creeping in similar style the larva of *Chironomus*, the midge, is frequently found. Other species of *Chironomus* have larger blood-red larvæ, which form mud tubes as a protection, and live in the bottom of peaty pools. Myriads of these can be found in all swampy places in Dumfriesshire, in the hills as well as in the valleys. In muddy pools, especially those which are fouled by water coming from such places as byre out-flows, one may find the rat-tailed maggot—larva of a large bee-like fly, *Eristalis*. This has a typical maggot-like, swollen body with very short legs and little sign of any head, and a telescopic tail which it thrusts from the mud up to the surface of the pool to get air. The remarkable tail consists of two tubes, an inner sliding by the action of muscles inside the larger outer tube, so that the larva can still breathe if rain increases the depth of its pool. A schoolboy brought a rat-tailed maggot to me last summer, and warned me that it had jumped at the man who caught it when he was working near some pools in a potato field. Evidently the maggot had left the pool to pupate in the soil of the field, and its jumping motion had surprised the labourer at his work.

MOLLUSCS.—Various species feed and breed freely in all

areas of fresh water. The air-breathing—they come at intervals to the surface to renew their supply—species of *Limnæa* with their ordinary spiral shells are common (*Limnæa trunculata* is the species which harbours the liver fluke). So are the species of *Paludina*, which are gill-breathing and viviparous and have very convex twists on their spiral shells; but I have seen the flattened, coiled shells of the species of *Planorbis* much less frequently. The fresh water limpet, *Ancylus*, is very common in Dumfriesshire streams, although the pond species is much less common. The two-shelled pond mussels I have not found, but recently I have come across minute white bivalves of this type. These may be young ones of this species.

VERTEBRATES.—In ponds and ditches only the Amphibia are represented. The tailless forms (frogs and toads) are both quite common, of course, but toads prefer to deposit their eggs in the characteristic strings of jelly at the edge of large lochs, winding them among the reeds and horsetails and stirring up the mud so that the spawn is soon camouflaged, while frogs deposit their spawn in rounded masses in shallow pools.

The tailed amphibians have only one family to represent them in the fauna of British ponds and ditches—the newts. The smooth newt is more common than its more beautiful cousin, the crested newt, and the other species, the webbed newt, is not found as far north as Dumfriesshire. I was rather surprised to find, in the Christmas holidays, a specimen of the smooth newt in a ditch near Closeburn, for at that season newts are generally in a state of torpor. They seem to spend a good deal of their time out of water, and are therefore often confused with the common lizard. Like this creature, therefore, they are called “man-keeper” by the people of Dumfriesshire, for they are supposed to accompany adders to warn man when they are about to strike.

PLANT LIFE.—There is no need to point out the fascination and enjoyment to be got out of a study of the plants of ponds and ditches, and the subject is too big for a paper like this; but it is perhaps worth mentioning that I have found

at least two plants not included in "The Flora of Dumfriesshire"—Ivy-leaved duckweed (*Lemna trisulca*) and Canadian pondweed (*Elodea Canadensis*). What a fascinating study would be a survey, with the aid of a microscope, of the algæ found locally. There are green algæ of all sizes and shapes and plenty of representatives of Nature's queer side-line, the Blue-green algæ; and I have found in Dumfriesshire that one of very few fresh water representatives of those sea plants, the Brown and Red algæ—*Batrachospermum*. It always seems curious to me that those plants of the sea's deepest places—the red sea-weeds—should have a fresh water representative, and it was most stimulating to me to find it in a Dumfriesshire ditch.

Finally, every ditch and pond has myriads of representatives of the unicellular plants, the tiny, shelled diatoms and the green desmids. The peaty pools of Dumfriesshire afford them an ideal home, for, curiously enough, they are most numerous on rocks which are older than the Carboniferous. What a variety of curious forms can be found, all able to move in rather mysterious manner, many, like the desmids, secreting a jelly and lying in colonies in it, others wriggling their way among the mud, and still others never separating when they divide but hanging together in straight or zig-zag chains and spreading out their shells into flattened extensions so that they float at the surface of the pools.

The Animal Call Words of Dumfriesshire and the Secrets they Reveal.

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After many years spent in the collection and the study of the Animal Call Words of Western Europe, and of their distribution, I have come to the conclusion that the Goidelic Celts came from Central Europe to Britain along three main routes. One of these, the Northern Goidelic Route, led

from the Danube to the Baltic Zone, whence it crossed to North-Eastern Britain. Another, the Central Goidelic Route, followed the Rhine to Holland, whence it came to our eastern shores; while the third, the Southern Goidelic Route, reached our south-eastern coast by way of France.

The first three Goidelic tribes evidently came to Britain by the Central Route, subsequently crossing our country from sea to sea. The trails of these three tribes are, in my opinion, marked until the present day by the distribution of three call words, viz., *lag*, *dill*, and *bidly*, each of which was used by one of the tribes, but not by the others. For convenience' sake, these three tribes will be referred to respectively by the key-words they used (*lag*, *dill*, and *bidly*) as the *Lag*, *Dill*, and *Bidly Folk*.

The *Lag people* landed mainly in East Anglia and on the Northumbrian coast; the *Dill Folk* invaded our south-eastern shores, from the Humber to the borders of Devon and Cornwall; while the *Bidly people* landed at various points between the Pentland Firth and Cornwall.

The terms *lag*, *dill*, and *bidly* are respectively of the same Goidelic origin as Scotch Gaelic *lach* (Irish *lach* or *lacha*), a duck; Scotch Gaelic *dil*, Irish *dil* (fond, beloved); and Irish *beadai*, a call to geese. It must thus be concluded that these three tribes were Goidelic Celts, speaking respectively the *Lag*, *Dill*, and *Bidly* dialects of the Goidelic language.

Schlicki (pronounced *shleekee*), as a duck-call, in Bavaria, *legen* or *leggen* (a layer) in Dutch, *lag*, as well as *lagem*, *laghem*, *lagum*, *laggum*, and *legem* in Lincolnshire, *lag*, *lac*, etc., in Norfolk, Suffolk, Derby, South Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, Monmouth, and nearly all the counties of Wales, all calls to ducks or geese, show not only the settlements formed by the *Lag Folk* but also the routes they traversed in their many wanderings from the Upper Danube to Cardigan Bay. Their trail in many parts can be followed almost with unerring accuracy by the use of the term *lag*, or *lac*, as a call to ducks or geese.

(*Lag* is unknown in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and it has

not been recorded in any county south of the Thames, except perhaps in Kent.)

The terms *lag*, *laag*, *laig*, *lake*, *fy-laag*, *fye-laig*, *fy-lake*, and *fye-lake* reported as used in Northumberland mark the settlements formed by the *Lag Folk* on the north-eastern coast of England. *Lag* and *laag* in the North Country, *lag* and *ha-lag* in Cumberland, and *lag*, *laggie*, *leg*, *leggy*, and *lig* in Galloway show a portion of the route followed by these old invaders through Northern England and South-Western Scotland on their way to Antrim and Down, where *lag* and *leg* are still in use as call words.

Lag or *lagg* at Torthorwald, *leegi* and *ha-leg* at Kirkpatrick-Fleming, and *a-leeg* or *a-league* at Langholm, all calls to geese, as recently recorded, also point to some of the settlements formed in far-off days in Dumfriesshire, the key-word having come down generation after generation since the *Lag Folk* invaded the county.

The "call" *dill* is not only used in South-Eastern England as well as in Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Radnor, and South Pembroke, but it is also in fairly general use in East Anglia, Nottingham, Stafford, and Shropshire, the word *dil* and *del* being also used in parts of North Wales. The *Dill Folk* thus not only settled in the Thames valley, etc., but they also pushed their way across the country from the Wash to the west coast of Wales.

The terms *dilly* in the Holywood parish in Dumfriesshire, *whealy* and *shielly* at Chapelhall in Lanarkshire, and *dill* at Pirnmill in Bute, are, in my opinion, "remains" of the *Dill* dialect once spoken in many parts of Southern Scotland; but it is quite evident that the majority of the *Dill Folk* made their homes in South Britain and particularly in the counties of Southern England with the exception of Cornwall, where the *dill* call has not yet been recorded as being in use.

The *biddy* call is in use in some parts in Southern England as well as in Wales, but it is better known in Yorkshire and in North-Eastern Britain than in the rest of the island. That the *Biddy Folk* settled in Dumfriesshire is proved by

the fact that the term is used in many parts of the county as a call to chickens, or to birds, the actual words recorded being *bid*, *biddy*, *biddie*, *bidie*, *bidie-bud*, *bud*, *budy*, *bud-a-bud*, *budda*, *bood*.

It is evident that the *Biddy People* settled in the county in larger numbers than either the *Lag* or the *Dill Folk*.

If the distribution of the three kinds of beakers (or cups) brought to Britain by the *Beaker Folk* were considered it would be found that Type A beaker is mostly found in the areas colonised by the *Lag Folk*, Type B beaker in the parts where the *Dill People* made their home, and Type C beaker by the *Biddy Folk*.

It is only reasonable then to conclude that Types A, B, and C beakers were respectively brought to Britain by the *Lag*, *Dill*, and *Biddy Folk*. Archæologists have concluded that the so-called *Beaker People* came to our country about 2000-1800 B.C. This, then, is the approximate period when the *Lag*, *Dill*, and *Biddy Folk* came to our shores, reaching Dumfriesshire on their way to Galloway and Ireland.

Several important Goidelic Tribes came to Northern Britain in the Early and Middle Bronze Age by the Northern Goidelic Route by way of the Baltic Zone. One of these used *gis* or *giss*, or a similar word, as a call to pigs. *Gitz* in Serbia, *gis* in parts of Sweden and Norway, and *gis* or *giss* in Scotland, Northern England and Wales, mark the areas colonized by this ancient tribe. The trail of the *Giss Folk* in many counties can be traced almost with unerring accuracy by the use at the present day of the pig-call *giss*. *Gwis* in Old Welsh and *guis* in Old Cornish were brought to south-western Britain by the *Giss People*.

The *giss* call is not used in any part of England between the Humber and Cornwall, and its distribution clearly shows that the *Giss Folk* did not reach Britain either by the Central or by the Southern Goidelic Route. It is apparent that these people settled in Dumfriesshire in very large numbers, the term in one form or another being still used in most places as a pig-call, the actual terms recently recorded in the county

being *gis*, *giss*, *gissie*, *gissy*, *gees*, *geesie*, *guss*, *guzz*, *giz*, *gouse*, *guis*, *guess*, *cis* (*kis*), *ciss* (*kiss*), and *cese* (*kese*).

[Gryce, a young pig or pigs in Lowland Scots.]

The term *gis* or *cis* (hard *g* and *c*) is nearly related to Scotch Gaelic *caois*, Manx *Keish*, and Irish *ceis* (a young pig), and it must be concluded, therefore, that the *Giss Folk* were Goidelic Celts speaking the Giss dialect of the Goidelic language — the Goidelic tongue being regarded as the Mother of Old Irish, Old Manx and Old Scotch Gaelic, the Q branches of the Celtic languages.

It is interesting to point out that nearly all the flat (copper or bronze) axes (or celts) discovered in Northern and Western Britain have been found in the areas where the *giss* pig-call is in use, and it is only reasonable to conclude that these axes, including those found at South Cowshaw and Brockhillstone, were brought to our north-eastern shores by the *Giss Folk*. It is also important to state that stone moulds for the casting of flat axes have been discovered in Northumberland, Durham and North-East Scotland in the parts where the *Giss Folk* landed, as well as in strategical bases along the Giss trail — in Wales and in Ireland — and that both the flat axe and a stone mould have been found in Cornwall at the very end of the long, long, Giss trail.

It is clear that the *Giss Folk* came to Britain as prospectors in search of copper and tin, upon the supply of which metals the very life of the tribe depended.

Archæologists are agreed that the flat axe belongs to the Early Bronze Age. It must thus be concluded that the *Giss Folk* came to Dumfriesshire about 1700 B.C.

Another important tribe which reached the North-Eastern Coast of Britain in prehistoric times is distinguished by the key-word *wheet* — *wheet* being now used as a call to ducks. *Ite* and *veet* in Serbia, *white*, *wheet*, *weet*, *wheetie*, *wheety*, *weetie*, *weety*, *wetty*, etc., in Scotland, *wheet* and *wheety* in Ireland (also *huit*, *huit* in Irish) mark a part of the *Wheet* trail along the Northern Goidelic Route. Subsequently the same people recrossed the Channel to Wales, the main

body reaching the coast of Merioneth and Montgomery, whence they crossed the country to Radnor, Shropshire, Worcester, etc. *Huit, huit* in Irish point to the fact that the *Wheet Folk* were Goidelic Celts.

The terms *wheet, wheat, wheetie, hueet, whet, weet,* and *twite*, recently recorded in Dumfriesshire, mainly as calls to ducks, show that the *Wheet Folk* settled in ancient times in large numbers in the county.

Flanged axes or celts are found in the parts colonised by the *Wheet Folk* in Scotland and in Wales, and it must be concluded that these celts were brought to our country by the *Wheet People* (about 1500 B.C.).

The flanged axes found at Applegarth, Mouswald Place, Birrenswark, Canonbie, near Annan, at Springfieldfoot, Raetlurn Bog, Eskdalemuir, Townfoot Loch, Park of Closeburn, and Kirkless all show that the *Wheet Folk* (who were armed with flanged axes) settled in many parts of the county, and this is the conclusion at which I have arrived after a careful study of the distribution of the call word "wheet" in the area.

It is thus seen that an archæological object can be shown to support the theory that the key-word *wheet* marks the numerous settlements formed by a Goidelic tribe in very ancient times in Dumfriesshire.

It may be added that just as the *Wheet Folk*, with their flanged axes, were able to hack their way through the parts colonised by the *Giss People* who relied solely on the flat axe, so were the *Wheet Folk* brought to subjection by the Goidelic tribes who came later on with their palstaves and their socketed celts, etc.

Each Goidelic wave had a more up-to-date and a better weapon than that possessed by the preceding waves, and this occurred throughout the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age, not only in Britain but also on the Continent, and the Animal Call Words theory can be shown to prove this.

It is impossible in a short paper like this to deal at length with any of the Goidelic invasions of Britain, but the following key-words now in use in Dumfriesshire are quoted

in order to indicate some of the Goidelic trails as well as a few of the Goidelic settlements formed in ancient times in the county.

1. *Ho*, as a term used in driving cows, sheep, etc., is used in Bavaria, Bohemia, Saxony, Scandinavia, and in many parts of Britain as well as in Ireland. The actual terms used in Dumfriesshire at the present day are *ho*, *ho-ho*, *hoa*, *ho-way*, and *how*, calls to cows, calves, and sheep. *Ho* is also known in Ireland—*ho bho* being the term used in driving cows in Irish.

2. *Pee-pee* in Serbia, *pi-pi-pi* or *pee-pee-pee* in Hungary, *bi-bi* (*bee-bee*) in Bavaria, *pi-pi* (*pee-pee*) in Bohemia, *py-py* (*pee-pee*) in Saxony, *pe-pe* (or *pee-pee*) in Dumfriesshire, and *bi-bi* in Irish, all calls to chickens, turkeys, birds, etc., show a part of the *Pee* Goidelic trail all the way from the Danube by way of Southern Scotland to Ireland.

3. *Shitz* in Serbia, *cicici* (pronounced *tshitshitshee*) in Bohemia, *chee-chee-chee*, or *cheet-cheet-cheet*, or *chee-chy*, or *shet-shet-shet*, in Dumfriesshire, and *chee-chee*, or *chit-chee* in Ireland, all calls to cats, are closely related to Scotch Gaelic *siota*, and Irish *siot*, or *siota*, "a pet," and mark a portion of an important Goidelic route used in far-off days.

The same Goidelic wave came back from Ireland to South-West Wales, where *tshit* (*cheet*), *tshitw* (*cheet-oo*), etc., are still in use as calls to cats.

4. *Rrr* in Serbia, *huri* in Hungary, *hurrah* in Bavaria, *hursh* in Dumfriesshire, *hur* in Western Scotland, *hurrish* in Antrim and Down, and *hurrais* in Irish, terms used in driving animals, also show the route followed by a Goidelic tribe in ancient times.

(*R*, in Irish, is a shortened form of *ro*—"go.")

It has been stated by archæologists that Ireland, owing to its great wealth in gold, copper, and tin, was the "El Dorado of the Ancient World," and that trade routes were established between that country and the Continent during the Bronze Age.

It is interesting to add that these routes are indicated not only by gold objects of Irish origin found in many parts

but also by certain call words which are still used along all the trails. One of these key-words is *hurr*, or some variant of the word, a term used, as a rule, in driving animals. *Rrr* in Serbia, *huri* in Hungary, *hurre* in Danish, *hurr* and *hursh* in Southern Scotland, *hurrish* in Northern Ireland, and *hurais* in Irish, mark one of the trails of the *Hurr Folk* between the Danube and the gold-fields of Wicklow. The same trail is also shown by the gold lunulæ (or lunettes), of Irish origin and manufacture, found in Western and Northern Ireland, Lanark, Dumfries, Zealand, and Funen, and I have come to the conclusion that the *Goidelic Folk* who brought the " *hurr* " term to Britain were gold traders from the Continent.

The Scandinavian amber found in Ireland was taken westward across Southern Scotland by the same traders.

Much light can thus be thrown on the pre-history of Britain by correlating certain animal call words with the distribution of such finds as lunettes, amber, etc.

An analysis of the call words of Dumfriesshire has forced me to conclude that, excluding all modern English words, nearly all the terms are of Goidelic origin, as may be seen from the following table (these being given as examples only):

| DUMFRIESSHIRE "CALLS." | WORDS IN SCOTS GAELIC, IRISH, OR MANX TO WHICH THE CALLS ARE RELATED. |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Hulla</i> , a call used with dogs in driving cows. | Irish, <i>hulla</i> , a call of encouragement to dogs. |
| 2. <i>Keery</i> , a call to sheep. | Scots Gaelic and Irish, <i>caora</i> , a sheep; Manx, <i>keyrrey</i> , a sheep. |
| 3. <i>Malie</i> , <i>malae</i> , <i>merley</i> , calls to cows, sheep, or lambs. (The term was evidently first applied to hornless beasts.) | Scots Gaelic, <i>maol</i> , bare; Early Irish, <i>maile</i> , baldness; Old Irish, <i>mail</i> , <i>mael</i> ; Old Celtic, <i>mailja</i> , <i>maelo</i> , <i>mailo</i> ; Manx, <i>meayl</i> , bald; Irish, <i>maol</i> , bald; Irish, <i>bo mhaol</i> , a hornless cow; Welsh, <i>moelen</i> , a hornless cow; Welsh, <i>moel</i> , bald. |

4. *Pledy*, a call to cows; *Irish, bleacht*, milk, or milch cows; *Irish, blighim*, I milk; *Welsh, blith*, milk-producing.
blet, ble, blet-ble-ble, calls to goats. (The terms were originally used in calling cows and goats home to be milked.)
5. *Pet* or *ped*, an affectionate call to sheep or lambs. Scots Gaelic, *peata*, a pet; Early Irish, *petta*, a pet.
6. *Pees*, a call to kittens. *Pis* (pronounced *pis* or *pees*), in Irish, a call to cats. (*Pis*, in Serbia, a call to cats.)
7. *Tick*, a call to chickens. Early Irish, *ticc*, come.
8. *Chuck*, a call to fowls. Irish, *tiuc* (pronounced *chuck*), a call to fowls.
9. *Fid-fid*, a call to young pigs. Irish, *fid*, a small portion, as of food.
10. *Ti-ti* or *tu-tu*, a call to young pigs. Irish, *ti-ti*, a call to animals; Irish, *ti*, come.
11. *Sook, suck, suc, suk*, etc., calls to calves, lambs, and pigs. (*Suk*, in Tooharian, drink.) Scots Gaelic, *sug*, a call to lambs; Irish, *suc-suc*, a call to calves; Irish, *suige-suige*, a call to pigs; Welsh, *swc* (*sook*), a call to calves, lambs, or pigs.
12. *Qua-qua*, a call to ducks or geese. Manx, *guiy*, a goose.
13. *Phwe*, a call to dogs. Irish, *chuidh* (pronounced *foo-ee* in North Connaught), he went.
14. *Gob, gobble*, etc., calls to turkeys. Irish, *gob*, a bill or a beak.
15. *Sh, hiss, whish*, terms used in driving animals. Irish, *huis*, used in driving cows; *whish, wheesh*, etc., used in scaring animals in Northern Ireland.
16. *Cut-cut*, used in driving ducks to their pen. Scots Gaelic, *coit*, a hut; Early Irish, *coite*, a hut; Welsh, *cut* and *cwt*, a sty.

In spite of the fact that the call words of Dumfriesshire have been handed down from generation to generation for a period of 3000 years or more, many of them have undergone but little change. Others, however, have been considerably affected by the passage of time, as may be seen from the following examples :

1. The order given, as a rule, to a horse directing it to turn to the left is *vane*, *vein*, *veen*, *vine*, *yane*, *yeon* or *yine*. The same command given in Kintyre is *vein*, or *thig chaing*; in Morvern it is *vaine*; in Mull *vein*; in Iona *vein* (pronounced *vay-een*); in Islay the term is recorded as *cheinn* (*vane*), *chein* (*vane*), and *mhain* (*vein*). All these words are closely related to the Irish horse calls, *feine*, *feinidh*, *feinig*, *fin*, *pein*, *hein*, *heing*, being all of Goidelic origin.

Mein, in Dumfriesshire, is a horse call, "to the right."

2. The call *play-led* addressed to a cow is a compound word composed of *play* and *led*. *Play* as well as *pledy* (a call to cows), and *blet* and *ble* (calls to goats), is nearly related to Irish *bleacht*, milk, or milch cows, to Scotch Gaelic *bligh* (pronounced *blee*), "to milk," to Old Irish *mligim*, and to Welsh *blith*, all of which are of Celtic origin, while *led* is of the same Goidelic root as Scotch Gaelic *lead* (pronounced *led*), "a beautiful head of hair."

It is therefore suggested that *play-led* is an affectionate call to a charming cow to come to the byre to be milked. (The Goidelic Celts were intensely fond of their animals, as shown by such terms as *dill*, *pet*, *play-led*, *chee*, *cheet*, and *shet*.)

The same word *led* appears in *pree-lady*, *ca-leddy*, and *pretchy-lady*, cow calls in Perthshire, while in Lanarkshire it appears in over forty calls to cows, of which the following are some of them: *Chay-leddy*, *c'leddy*, *ca-ledi*, *choo-ledi*, *kil-leddi*, *pyo-leddy*, *tew-ledy*, *proo-ledi*, *prootcha-lady*, *quae-ledy*, *ave-leddy*.

Some of the Dumfriesshire calls cannot be correctly interpreted if looked upon from the English point of view; if, however, they are approached from a Celtic angle the interpretation can be made, as shown by the following examples, an easy task:

1. The horse call *back*, *beck*, or *bek* is not a command to the animal to step backwards, but "to turn to the right or to the left," the word being nearly related to Irish *baic*, a turn, a twist, a crook, and to Irish *bac*, a hook. (The Welsh word *bach*, a hook, is derived from the same Goidelic

root.) The Welsh terms *bac*, *baic*, and *beic* are also calls directing a horse to turn either right or left, and are of the same Goidelic origin as the Scottish calls. The Manx horse call *beck* is also of the same origin or meaning.

2. The Dumfriesshire horse call *ease* does not direct the animal to be at *ease*, or to take it *easy*, but is a command to it to start or to travel more quickly, the word being probably related to the Irish horse call *eisein*.

3. The call *seday*, asking the horse to be careful or cautious, contains the same Goidelic root as Irish *seit*, a horse call, "easy."

Such words as these are used as animal calls not only in Dumfriesshire but also in every other county in the British Isles, and, after a close study of the subject extending over very many years, I have come to the conclusion that the language now used throughout Britain and Ireland in addressing animals is not English, or Welsh, or Scotch Gaelic, or Irish, but the Goidelic branch of the Celtic languages.

A full discussion of these "calls," together with their meaning, derivation, and distribution, would fill a very large volume, the horse calls of Western Europe (which have been almost overlooked in this paper) being, in particular, of the greatest interest and importance, as they throw a flood of light on the life, movements, and activities of the Goidelic Celts during the British Bronze Age.

In penning these notes it has been necessary to consult 2000 lists, containing about 60,000 words (the majority of which have never appeared in print), and it is felt that the paper has done but scant justice to the priceless material now in my hands.

I cannot conclude these notes without expressing my deepest gratitude and thanks (1) to Dr. T. R. Burnett for the more than ready way in which he responded to my appeal for help and for his effective and wholehearted co-operation in the collection of the Dumfriesshire "calls"; and (2) to teachers, scholars, farmers, rural workers, and others for the

excellent and thorough manner in which the words were collected and recorded before they have been lost for ever.

These lists will be duly deposited at one of our great National Libraries, where they will be preserved for the use of all future students of dialects, and posterity will owe the deepest debt to all the collectors for the surprisingly fine work they have done.

Minute of Agreement between the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, hereinafter called "The First Parties," and the Library Committee of the Dumfries Burgh Council, hereinafter called "The Second Parties."

WHEREAS the Second Parties have instituted and are carrying on a Burgh Museum within the premises acquired by the Dumfries Town Council from the Trustees of the Dumfries Astronomical Association, and are desirous of acquiring either by gift, purchase or loan as many articles of antiquarian, historical or local interest as possible for the purposes of exhibition within such Museum, and the First Parties have in their possession a large collection of articles of natural history, geological, historical and antiquarian interest which, in view of their difficulty in finding adequate storage accommodation, they are desirous of handing over to the said Second Parties for display in said Museum on certain terms and conditions which are hereinafter set forth.

THEREFORE it is agreed between the Parties as follows :

First.—The First Parties agree to hand over to the Second Parties on loan the whole articles as detailed in Inventory annexed and signed as relative hereto, and the Second Parties agree to accept same, and to be responsible for their safe custody and upkeep so long as this agreement subsists.

Second.—It is agreed between the Parties that the ownership of the collection shall still remain as heretofore in the First Parties, but nevertheless all responsibility for the safeguarding and preservation of all the various articles hereby lent to the Second Parties shall rest upon the Second Parties, and in particular they shall be bound to keep them insured against all risks with an Insurance Office of good standing, and house them under such conditions as shall provide for their preservation as far as possible.

Third.—The Second Parties shall have full discretion in connection with the display of the collection or any articles thereof, and may if it seems to them desirable or expedient withdraw any articles from public view either temporarily or permanently.

Fourth.—The Second Parties shall be bound to keep a record in a Register of the collection lent by the First Parties as aforesaid with particulars of the character of each article, and the collection and articles thereof shall be capable of identification by means of a system of card index or other adequate means, which Register shall be open to the inspection of any member of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian and Natural History Society at any convenient time free of charge.

Fifth.—The parties may by mutual consent allow the said collection or any part thereof to be given on loan to any National or Local Exhibition held under responsible auspices, but no loan shall take place unless those responsible for the Exhibition shall insure the article or articles so loaned with a satisfactory Insurance Company, such Insurance to date from the time of the removal from the Museum of the article or articles so loaned until the time of its or their return thereto, and during the period of such loan the responsibility of the second party under Clause second hereof shall for the time being cease.

Lastly.—Either party shall be entitled to cancel the Agreement on giving the other party one year's notice of their intention so to do, and on the expiry of the notice the first party shall remove the whole of the collection by them, and this Agreement shall thereafter be of no further force or effect.

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1934.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May. | June. | July. | A. E. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------------|-------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|
| DUMFRIESSHIRE. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ruthwell (Comlongon Castle) .. | 4.75 | .26 | 2.19 | 2.76 | 2.53 | 3.42 | 1.40 | 5.82 | 5.40 | 4.03 | .33 | 5.89 | 38.70 |
| " (Hetland) .. | 5.15 | .29 | 2.09 | 2.27 | 2.83 | 2.85 | 1.87 | 5.08 | 6.08 | 4.58 | .61 | 6.65 | 43.15 |
| Monswald (Schoolhouse) .. | 5.19 | .25 | 2.07 | 2.24 | 2.68 | 2.71 | 2.07 | 5.03 | 6.73 | 4.86 | .75 | 6.65 | 43.81 |
| Dumfries (Crichton Royal Inst.) .. | 4.72 | .23 | 2.28 | 2.20 | 2.73 | 2.95 | 2.11 | 5.64 | 6.30 | 4.87 | .59 | 6.40 | 42.14 |
| Blackwood .. | 5.77 | .18 | 2.44 | 2.34 | 2.68 | 2.70 | 2.81 | 5.35 | 6.14 | 5.26 | .70 | 8.50 | 47.67 |
| Moniaive (Glencrosh) .. | 8.97 | .40 | 2.46 | 2.92 | 2.74 | 2.74 | 2.81 | 6.41 | 6.83 | 7.12 | .99 | 11.21 | 59.25 |
| Maxwelton House .. | 7.09 | .32 | 2.04 | 2.67 | 2.75 | 2.86 | 2.39 | 6.10 | 6.33 | 6.01 | .80 | 9.33 | 50.58 |
| Durisdale (Drumlanrig) .. | 5.68 | .22 | 2.29 | 2.37 | 2.95 | 2.24 | 2.63 | 5.53 | 6.10 | 4.79 | .61 | 6.99 | 45.48 |
| Dalton (Whitecroft) .. | 4.40 | .27 | 2.57 | 3.38 | 2.97 | 3.50 | 2.31 | 6.49 | 6.90 | 5.66 | .97 | 6.55 | 48.21 |
| Lockerbie (Thorn Bank) .. | 7.43 | .24 | 2.61 | 3.67 | 3.40 | 3.47 | 2.31 | 5.92 | 7.16 | 6.76 | 1.21 | 6.95 | 47.42 |
| Gubhill School .. | 5.53 | .35 | 2.57 | 3.69 | 3.76 | 1.79 | 4.47 | 7.26 | 6.51 | 7.03 | .90 | 9.68 | 57.10 |
| Evan Water School .. | 5.00 | .12 | 2.39 | 4.03 | 3.04 | 1.68 | 3.02 | 6.38 | 7.28 | 9.57 | 1.19 | 9.91 | 59.41 |
| Eaglesfield (Springkell (gardens) .. | 6.64 | .31 | 2.91 | 4.17 | 3.99 | 3.01 | 3.81 | 5.42 | 5.29 | 5.72 | .45 | 6.66 | 43.01 |
| Gaunbie (Irvine House) .. | 8.50 | .38 | 3.53 | 5.47 | 4.38 | 3.35 | 3.80 | 6.91 | 6.50 | 7.98 | .91 | 7.84 | 59.85 |
| Langholm (Drove Road) .. | 5.40 | .20 | 3.90 | 4.48 | 3.71 | 3.11 | 3.20 | 7.12 | 6.62 | 8.50 | 1.37 | 7.82 | 58.43 |
| Langholm (Hives) .. | 11.20 | .40 | 4.46 | 5.09 | 4.79 | 2.59 | 2.53 | 7.00 | 7.14 | 9.76 | 2.26 | 8.74 | 65.96 |
| Eskdalemuir Observatory .. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

(These data should be taken as provisional).

334 RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES

| | Jan. | Feb. | Mar. | Apr. | May. | June. | July. | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | TOTAL |
|---|-------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| KIRKCOUBRIGHTSHIRE. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bongue (Corseyard) | 4.96 | .34 | 2.75 | 3.29 | 3.38 | 1.98 | 2.31 | 4.41 | 3.82 | 5.41 | .86 | 8.67 | 42.18 |
| Threave | 7.94 | .47 | 2.85 | 4.29 | 4.45 | 2.23 | 3.24 | 6.91 | 7.83 | 5.44 | .91 | 8.95 | 55.01 |
| Mossdale (Hensol) | 8.81 | .53 | 3.39 | 3.63 | 4.11 | 2.49 | 3.66 | 5.71 | 6.71 | 6.87 | .82 | 11.03 | 58.16 |
| Mossdale (Barney Water) | 9.87 | .56 | 3.94 | 4.33 | 4.71 | 2.42 | 2.88 | 5.57 | 7.21 | 7.95 | 1.08 | 11.92 | 62.43 |
| Dairy (Glendaroch) | 8.50 | .58 | 2.85 | 3.46 | 3.94 | 2.22 | 2.92 | 4.92 | 6.45 | 7.93 | 1.19 | 11.28 | 56.24 |
| " (Garroch) | 10.63 | .80 | 3.20 | 3.74 | 4.60 | 2.38 | 3.17 | 7.14 | 7.45 | 9.91 | 1.49 | 13.17 | 65.68 |
| " (Forrest Lodge) | 14.21 | .95 | 3.75 | 4.96 | 6.19 | 5.15 | 3.37 | 7.18 | 9.42 | 12.41 | 1.52 | 14.15 | 83.56 |
| Carsphairn (Shiel) | 14.24 | 1.15 | 4.14 | 4.90 | 6.23 | 4.32 | 3.39 | 7.34 | 10.35 | 12.81 | 2.02 | 15.27 | 86.16 |
| Carsphairn (Knockgray) | 9.49 | .76 | 3.42 | 3.42 | 4.46 | 2.75 | 2.94 | 6.06 | 8.62 | 10.50 | 1.26 | 13.22 | 65.90 |
| Auchencrain (Torr House) | 7.25 | .49 | 2.65 | 3.93 | 4.21 | 3.05 | 2.15 | 6.86 | 6.22 | 6.15 | 1.31 | 8.71 | 52.98 |
| Dalbeattie (Kirkennan) | 7.15 | .40 | 2.78 | 4.17 | 3.75 | 2.70 | 2.02 | 7.11 | 5.94 | 5.40 | .90 | 7.90 | 50.31 |
| Chimarkyle (Drumstinchall) | 5.41 | .30 | 2.46 | 3.26 | 3.04 | 2.17 | 3.40 | 4.83 | 6.02 | 5.50 | .64 | 8.02 | 44.75 |
| Lochnuffon | 7.17 | .41 | 3.12 | 4.42 | 3.69 | 2.34 | 2.80 | 7.15 | 6.45 | 5.36 | .82 | 8.40 | 52.42 |
| Carntuchan | 5.83 | .31 | 2.93 | 4.18 | 3.12 | 2.32 | 2.33 | 7.42 | 5.36 | 4.94 | .49 | 7.50 | 46.78 |
| WIGTOWNSHIRE. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Castle Kennedy (Lochinch) | 4.89 | .63 | 3.00 | 2.33 | 4.34 | 2.35 | 2.09 | 4.43 | 6.26 | 7.32 | 2.11 | 3.87 | 49.62 |
| Logan House | 3.65 | .56 | 2.25 | 2.53 | 3.42 | 1.82 | 2.23 | 4.07 | 4.56 | 5.18 | 2.84 | 0.96 | 43.17 |
| Whithorn (Physgill) | 4.01 | .44 | 2.29 | 3.10 | 3.11 | 2.03 | 1.70 | 3.67 | 4.22 | 5.94 | 1.74 | 0.93 | 41.29 |
| Whithorn (Glasserton) | 4.24 | .42 | 2.65 | 3.12 | 3.43 | 2.11 | 2.12 | 4.01 | 5.12 | 6.13 | 1.53 | 0.82 | 45.05 |
| Corswall Lighthouse | 2.91 | .45 | 1.82 | 2.47 | 3.84 | 2.34 | 1.67 | 3.98 | 3.99 | 5.84 | 1.53 | 8.72 | 35.36 |
| Port William (Monreith) | 4.80 | .44 | 2.70 | 2.95 | 3.94 | 1.78 | 2.58 | 4.61 | 5.02 | 6.01 | 2.00 | 9.60 | 45.93 |
| Stoneykirk (Ardwell House) | 3.83 | .59 | 2.30 | 2.46 | 3.41 | 1.73 | 2.25 | 4.08 | 4.57 | 5.34 | 2.46 | 9.29 | 42.21 |
| New Luce (Public School) | 3.98 | .72 | 3.16 | 2.41 | 4.66 | 2.16 | 2.57 | 4.26 | 5.36 | 8.05 | 2.19 | 10.27 | 49.71 |
| Garlieston (Galloway House) | 4.44 | .37 | 2.87 | 2.90 | 4.06 | 1.70 | 2.12 | 5.02 | 6.11 | 5.31 | 1.60 | 9.56 | 45.06 |
| Garlieston (Culderry) | 5.20 | .37 | 2.84 | 2.91 | 3.87 | 1.52 | 2.47 | 4.80 | 5.86 | 5.75 | 1.57 | 10.53 | 47.69 |
| Kirkcowan (Craigshaw) | 5.74 | .72 | 2.90 | 3.62 | 4.43 | 2.57 | 3.73 | 5.54 | 6.01 | 7.77 | 1.71 | 10.38 | 58.12 |
| Newton-Stewart (Little Barraer) | 5.35 | .44 | 2.61 | 2.70 | 4.09 | 1.30 | 3.36 | 5.21 | 5.84 | 6.20 | 1.26 | 10.00 | 48.39 |
| Newton-Stewart (Duncee) | 5.75 | .47 | 3.00 | 2.83 | 4.26 | 1.74 | 3.15 | 4.71 | 6.15 | 6.10 | 1.17 | 8.24 | 47.60 |

(These data should be taken as provisional.)

FIELD MEETINGS.

29TH JUNE, 1935.

Two field meetings were held during this session, the first in conjunction with the members of Lockerbie Literary Society. On the afternoon of June 29th a large party left the Ewart Library at 2 p.m. and journeyed first to Hillis Tower, near Lochfoot. Here, through the kindness of the occupiers, Major and Mrs Lindsay, they had the opportunity of seeing how the modernisation of the ancient Tower had been carried out, and afterwards an account of the building itself and its various owners was given by Mr Walter M'Culloch, W.S. Then Major Lindsay, who has made a study of the ancient practice of falconry, gave a short account of that sport and of the various types of birds used and how they are trained. Votes of thanks to these two speakers were heartily assented to on the motion of the President, Mr R. C. Reid.

The next halt was made by the side of Loch Arthur, where Mr Reid was the speaker. He traced the Arthurian legends of the district.

From here the journey was to the Solway Hatcheries, where the members were met by Mr F. Stevens, the manager. Acting as guide, Mr Stevens explained as they went along the process of rearing and feeding the young trout fry, and showed them at various stages of their existence, after which he was accorded a hearty vote of thanks by the company.

Tea was at New Abbey, and then the party proceeded to Sweetheart Abbey, where the speaker was Miss A. J. M'Connell, of Lockerbie. Her paper on the Abbey, its Founders, and the strenuous times it had lived through was listened to with the closest attention, not only for its historical interest but for its beauty of diction and its high literary and poetic quality. At the close Mr J. M'Burnie moved a very warm vote of thanks to Miss M'Connell. Afterwards an opportunity was taken of inspecting the various methods carried out by H.M. Board of Works to

preserve and maintain the fabric, and then the homeward journey was begun, Dumfries being reached about 8 p.m. after a very pleasant and instructive outing. The papers of the various speakers mentioned above will be found appended.

The following two new members were proposed and accepted : Mr and Mrs R. E. Benner, Kilroy, Auldgirith.

Hillis Tower.

By WALTER M'CUCCLOCH, W.S.

I feel flattered to have been asked to address you on the subject of this old Tower and its occupants, and I shall try to make my talk as interesting as possible, but I must confess I am faced with some little difficulty in this. The occupants of this Tower were never figures of any national importance, nor are there connected with them any tales of romance or bravery in battle; not even do they boast—as so many Gallo-way families can—a notorious criminal!

The history of the Lairds of Hillis has really little interest outside a family one, and, in consequence, in talking of them one is inclined to become purely genealogical. I shall endeavour to avoid this as far as possible and confine myself to the successive Lairds, omitting much reference to cadet branches, connections by marriage, and the like.

The lands on which this Tower is built are described in old charters as the 18-merk land of Lochreutoun and Hillis. The earliest owners of it, which I have been able to trace, were called Ekillis of that ilk. I am indebted to Mr Reid for particulars of this family. They came originally from Berwickshire, and took their name from a parish in that county. They migrated—but at what date is not known—to the Western March and gave their name to some lands in the neighbourhood of Drumlanrig.

A search through the records of the time has revealed that the family were fairly extensive landowners, but I do not intend to deal exhaustively with them, as their connection with Hillis was a short one.

John Ekillis obtained a Crown Charter of the lands of Lochreutoun in 1502,¹ and sold them 20 years later—in 1522—to James Douglas of Drumlanrig.² His tenure was, however, even shorter than that of his predecessor, and in 1527 he sold the property to Edward Maxwell, described as “in Brakansyd.”³ This was the first of the Maxwells with whose name the property is usually connected. He was, according to the *Book of Caerlaverock*,⁴ the grandson of John, Master of Maxwell, commonly called the third Lord Maxwell, though, in fact, he never succeeded to the title. He was killed at the age of 30 in a Border skirmish between the Scots and the English near Kirtle Water in 1484. Among others he left a son named Herbert, said to have been illegitimate, who was ancestor of the Maxwells of Hillis and Lochreutoun. No evidence is given, but the author of the Nithsdale article in the *Scots Peerage*⁵ traces it to the Terregles MS.

M'Kerlie⁶ also quotes a document, no reference to which is given, that Edward Maxwell was a son of a Mr Herbert Maxwell. The prefix “Mr” usually denoted a priest, and had Mr Herbert been one there would have been good grounds for presuming Edward illegitimate, when we remember that marriage of priests was forbidden by the Catholic Church. But there is no evidence that Mr Herbert was a priest. The prefix “Mr” merely denoted the holder of a University degree, most of whom, of course, were clerics.

Mr Reid, however, has suggested to me the interesting theory that Edward Maxwell was of the Tinwald branch of the family, in which the name Edward was common. Thus, when in 1591 John Maxwell of Knok of Kirkmaiden in Wigtownshire and also apparent of Garrorie, a branch of Tinwald, bought the 4-merk land of Little Areis, in the

¹ *L.H.T. Accounts*, II., 188, and III., 219.

² *Ardwall Papers*, I., 1.

³ *A.P.*, I., 4 and 5; XLVIII., 1 and 2.

⁴ I., 150.

⁵ VI., 478.

⁶ IV., 230.

parish of Whithorn, he entailed it on his heirs, whom failing on Edward Maxwell of Hillis, the second, grandson of the first Edward Maxwell of Hillis. From this it might be supposed that Edward Maxwell was a close relative of his, but meantime this is pure conjecture, and the Terregles MS. must be followed.

Edward Maxwell paid 1400 merks for the property, and you may be interested to learn that the sale included the following rather curious miscellanea: Coals, mills, multures and their sequels, right of hunting, fowling and fishing, with forges, malt kilns and breweries, dovecots, etc., with court pleas and blude witis, herelzeldis and sale of women.

Edward Maxwell appears to have been possessed of considerable wealth, and is known to have purchased other lands at the same time. These included the 8-merk land of Bordland of Gelston from Thomas M'Lellan of Gelston.⁷ His autograph as Edward Maxwell of Hillis is appended to a Royal Letter of 1530 when he went surety for James Douglas of Drumlanrig.⁸ There are a number of other records of him, but none of particular interest. Of chief interest to us, however, is the fact that he was the builder of this old Tower. You will find that M'Kerlie⁹ attributes to it a much earlier origin, but this opinion cannot be endorsed from either an architectural or an antiquarian point of view. Possibly there was an older Tower on the site of the present one, but I have found no record of it, and I think that Hillis Tower has probably been confused with Lochrutton Castle, sometimes called Auchenfranco Castle. This, a much older building, is situated at the south-west end of Lochrutton, and very little now remains of it. This, I think, explains the tradition that Edward I. spent a night at Hillis when in Galloway in July, 1300.

I will not weary you with a lengthy description of the building, as you can read this for yourselves in the *Report of the Historical Monuments Commission*, Vol. II.,

⁷ *L.H.T. Accounts*, V., 339.

⁸ *Acts of Lords of Council*, 1501-1554, p. 337.

⁹ *IV.*, 337.

p. 173, and in M'Gibbon & Ross's *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. In any case I understand that Mr Lindsay is kindly allowing us to see over the Tower later.

It is, however, interesting in this respect that it is an example of what one might call the earliest type of Scottish country house. In the Middle Ages a castle was built primarily with a view to defence against one's enemies and not to domestic comfort, but, by the time this Tower came to be built, these ideas had changed considerably, and, although the idea of strength in defence was not entirely abandoned, much more attention was paid to comfort. This, I think, is clearly illustrated here. Though it possesses certain features of the fortified dwelling, it is clear that it would never have withstood anything in the nature of a serious attack. There were, I imagine, two main causes for this change—one was the invention of gunpowder, against which no building could stand; and the other the introduction of glass for window panes. You will observe that the windows of this Tower are comparatively large and not the mere slits customary in an older building, which served their purpose well enough without glass.

Edward Maxwell married Janet Carsone, one of the two daughters of Sir Robert Carsone of Glen, in the parish of Anwoth. His other daughter, Marion, married Robert, son of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and by this marriage the lands of Glen became part of the estates of that family. You will observe above the door of the Tower the arms of Edward Maxwell and his wife. I am afraid these are rather worn away, but you will recognise in the upper panel the crest of the Maxwells—a stag lying in front of a holly bush carrying between his fore feet a shield charged with their arms, a saltire or St. Andrew's Cross. Above this is an inscribed scroll, but the inscription on it is illegible. In the lower panel you will see two shields divided by a thistle. That on the left bears the arms of Edward Maxwell—a saltire with a cinquefoil in chief and a roundel in base—and that on the right his arms impaled with those of the Carsones, which are three crescents. Below there are the initials of Edward and his wife—E. M. and J. C.

Edward Maxwell had two sons—John, who succeeded to Hillis; and Edward, from whom is descended the well-known family of Maxwell of Breoch. He died about 1546, for in that year his son John had sasine of Lochreutoun and Hillis and Bordland of Gelston.¹⁰

I am afraid that little is known of John Maxwell, although his reign as Laird of Hillis was a comparatively long one. The titles show that he added certain small pieces of land to the property, including part of the Kirklands of Lochreutoun, the lands of Nunland, and the lands of Fordingrousche. There is an occasional mention of him in the protocol book of Herbert Anderson,¹¹ and the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts¹² show that in January, 1565, the King despatched to him "ane boy with clois writingis."

According to the *Aitken MS.*, he married Katharene Rig, no doubt a member of the well-known Dumfries family of that name.

He was dead by 1571, in which year his wife, described as "relict of umquhile John Maxwell of Hillis," made over the estate in favour of their son, Edward, the second, of Hillis.¹³ Edward completed his title to the property in 1597 as heir of his grandfather. From this it appears that his father had omitted this formality—a somewhat costly omission to his son, for arrears of Crown Dues had been accumulating for between 40 and 50 years, and Edward was compelled to pay the large sum of £1728 Scots in settlement.¹⁴ This Edward is possibly the best-known member of the Hillis family, and his name appears fairly frequently in the records. For instance, in 1614 Archibald Heries, son to the goodman of Terrachtie, a somewhat lawless character, was apprehended and cast into prison on a charge of incendiarism in Dumfries. He petitioned the Privy Council to be set at liberty,¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ex. R.*, XVIII., 384.

¹¹ Foll. 41 and 64.

¹² XI., 465.

¹³ *A.P.*, XLVIII., 5.

¹⁴ *Ex. R.*, XXII., 475.

¹⁵ *R.P.C.*, IX., 544.

and Edward Maxwell went surety that he would appear when called on.¹⁶

Like most of the Maxwells and a good many other people in the neighbourhood, Edward Maxwell, in spite of the Reformation, remained a staunch Catholic. Along with Lord Herries and his son he was among the chief protectors of the celebrated Gilbert Broun, the last of the Abbots of Sweetheart Abbey and a rock of Catholicism against which the waves of the Reformation for many years broke in vain. On account of the Abbot, Edward Maxwell figured frequently in the Privy Council records as being complained of, persecuted, put to the horn and declared rebel—all without any visible result. For example, it is recorded in a Minute by the Privy Council of December 24th, 1601, that he was charged along with John M'Ghie in Dumfries and others with having reset Jesuits, and along with Mr Gilbert Broun, sometime Abbot of New Abbey, and Mr John Hamilton, with having “seyde Messe and bapteist sindrie bairnis in various places” and “intysit and allurit many ignorant and simple people to shaik off the trew religioun and to be present with them at their Messis.”

Latterly Edward Maxwell fell into financial distress, and the titles show that the estate was plunged into a long period of pecuniary embarrassment. Among the creditors were the Dumfries family of Rig.

Edward Maxwell married Agnes Maxwell, and you will see their arms and initials above the doorway. It is not known of what family his wife was, but there is a presumption, from the presence of the arms of the 4th Lord Herries on the Tower, that she was of that family.

Edward was succeeded by his son John, but I cannot tell you more of him than that he married Elizabeth Logan, daughter of John Logan of Burncastel and Portioner of Restalrig—a representative of a well-known Midlothian family. John was dead in 1658,¹⁷ and was succeeded by his

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V., 38.

¹⁷ *A.P.*, XLIX., 1.

son, Edward Maxwell, the third, of Hillis. I find him appointed tutor to his nephews and nieces, the children of his sister Agnes, wife of Robert Drummond of the Hawthornden family, and widow of John Logan of Burncastel, Edward Maxwell's brother-in-law. It is to be regretted that he was so remiss in his duties in this capacity that legal action had to be taken against him by his sister in 1675.¹⁸

Edward does not appear to have taken a very active part in the cause of the Covenant, although he suffered imprisonment at least twice in that connection. I have discovered a Testificat,¹⁹ dated August 2nd, 1679, by John Vans, Keeper of the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, in the following terms :

“ These are to testifie and declaire that Eduart Maxwell of Hills was incarcerat within the Tolbooth of Drumfries upon the Account of Conventicles and from there was transported to ye Tolbooth of Edinburgh and liberat furth of the said Tolbooth of Edinburgh upon the twentie fyft day of Jully last by ordour of His Majesti's Privie Council.”

This punishment did not end his troubles, for in 1683 I find him presenting a Petition to Lord Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland,²⁰ praying for the recovery of certain documents extorted from him by the late Sir William Ballantyne, on the grounds that he had taken possession of some of the goods and gear of one of his tenants, a Covenanter, William Whytheid in Howyeard. Edward, in his Petition, strongly denied the alleged offence, but whether he was successful or not cannot be ascertained.

A year later (in 1684) he was again in trouble, and was once more compelled to address a Petition to the Lords of the Privy Council,²¹ stating that he was a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Kirkcudbright, that he had been examined upon oath for reset and converse with one Gilbert Welsh, in Bank, lately one of his tenants and now a fugitive, that he had

¹⁸ *A.P.*, XLIX., 3.

¹⁹ *A.P.*, XLIX., 52.

²⁰ *A.P.*, XLIX., 24.

²¹ *A.P.*, XLIX., 6.

never committed such an offence, but contrariwise had, immediately the man was declared fugitive, put him off his ground, but that his wife "being at that tyme bedfast through seiknes and haveing continued so for a long time thereafter," he had, from motives of humanity, deferred evicting her until she had recovered, whereupon he had immediately put her out, pulled down the house, and had never seen her since. For this offence he had been fined 3000 merks and had been committed to prison until the fine was paid. He had been in prison for ten weeks, "almost without the benefite of bed or fire, and the prison being so inconvenient and the place so scarce of fewall that he being aged about 60 years and being infirm and seiklie and the cold of the winter being exceeding great," he did not consider he would be able to subsist under the circumstances, but "might expect his dayes would shortlie be brought to a period."

He was a poor man, and could never expect to pay the fine inflicted on him. He had only a small part of his predecessor's estate, which he had purchased with his wife's tocher. He was only a liferenter in this estate, the fee being in the person of his son. He had taken the Test, and to show his loyalty and abhorrence of all opposers of His Majesty's authority had, when the rebels broke open the prison at Kirkcudbright, refused to make his escape but gave himself up to Colonel Graham of Claverhouse.

The Court remitted to the Earl of Drumlanrig and Laird of Claverhouse for a report on the Petition, the result of which was that Edward Maxwell was released from prison and his fines remitted, provided he remained on good behaviour.

Notwithstanding the foregoing protestation as to his poverty, Edward Maxwell succeeded in clearing the estate of the debts which had encumbered it so long. It is suspected, and indeed Edward himself in his Petition seems to suggest, that he was enabled to achieve this by means of his wife's fortune. This lady, Isobel Logan, was his first cousin, being the daughter of George Logan of Burncastel, brother of

Edward Maxwell's mother. The family of Logan seem to have been fairly wealthy, and with the aid of his wife's share Edward Maxwell was able, by 1684, to pay off all the estate debt.

I have been unable to find out the exact date of his death, but presume that this must have occurred about 1700, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert. The latter died unmarried in 1717, and the estates devolved on his younger brother, Edward.

Edward Maxwell, the fourth of Hillis, had been in the West Indies for about fourteen years when his brother died. His family at home do not appear to have had much knowledge of his whereabouts, and pending his return his sister Agnes petitioned the Court to appoint Edward M'Culloch, younger of Ardwall, to be factor on the estate.²² Edward M'Culloch was discharged from that office in 1718 by Edward Maxwell, who must by then have returned from his travels.²³ He completed his title to the estate in 1718,²⁴ and in that year married Janet Goldie, daughter of Edward Goldie of Craigmuir and Mary Gordon, his lady.²⁵

Edward Maxwell was the builder of the more modern part of the Tower, and you will see on it the initials of himself and his wife and the date of the building, which was 1721. I have traced the original contract with the builder to erect this addition,²⁶ and you may be interested to hear an extract from it. It is dated April the 24th, 1721, and made between Edward Maxwell on the one part and John Selchrig, mason in Cairn, on the other. The latter engages to build to the former: "Ane good and sufficient house and join the same to the southeast end of his house of Hills called the Tower." There follows a full specification of the dimensions, etc., and the contract continues: "he being to take down the house, then possessed by the said Edward

²² *A.P.*, XLIX., 25.

²³ *A.P.*, XLIX., 26.

²⁴ *A.P.*, I., 12.

²⁵ *A.P.*, XLIX., 27.

²⁶ *A.P.*, XLIX., 12.

Maxwell, on the east side of the Close and to fit and prepare the stones, timber and slate thereof for building the foresaid new house so far as they will serve." On the other hand, Mr Maxwell is to provide and have in readiness all materials, etc., for building the said house over and above those referred to, and to pay the second party 900 merks Scots at terms specified.

In 1722 Edward sold part of the woodlands of the estate to James Corrie, merchant and Provost of Dumfries.²⁷ This transaction appears to have been most favourable to Corrie, and as Edward died very shortly afterwards his representatives took legal action to reduce the sale. They invoked the old Scots law whereby any heritable transactions adverse to his relatives made by a person on his deathbed could be reduced. He was said to be "*Ex capite lecti*" and incapable of reasonable thought. To disprove any such suggestion it had to be shown that he had been seen to walk unassisted to and from kirk or market at least sixty days after the date of the transaction. He was then said to have been "*in liege poustie*" at its date. In the proceedings which followed evidence was produced to show that Edward was far from being in this happy condition. Among others his gardener, Lawrence Wright, gave evidence²⁸ that he was so much distressed by what was then diagnosed as gout that he was never able to come abroad but when he was supported. About eight days before he died he took a fainting fit, on recovering from which he remarked that "if the gout went to his stomach he was a gone man." He died in June, 1722, and the following is an excerpt from the inventory of his estate:²⁹ "His household plenishing utensills and domicills, £21 5 3 $\frac{3}{4}$, his habiliments and bodyly cloaths, linnen and woollen stockings, shoes, slippers, boots, hats and wigs, £11, a parcel of maps and pictures, £1 10/-, and a parcel of chyrgicall instruments, 7/-."

He was succeeded by his sister Agnes, wife of James

²⁷ A.P., XLIX., 13

²⁸ A.P., XLIX., 16.

²⁹ A.P., XLIX., 14.

Elder, minister of Keir.³⁰ She survived her husband, and died without issue on the 24th of April, 1733, leaving the property to her nephew, Edward M'Culloch of Ardwall, the eldest son of David M'Culloch of Ardwall and Isobell Maxwell, Agnes's younger sister.³¹

The estate thus passed into the hands of my family, and I am in the sixth generation in descent from Edward M'Culloch. I do not intend, however, to trouble you with details of my more immediate ancestors, especially as they were never really occupiers of the old Tower.

James, a brother of Edward M'Culloch, lived there for a time. He was an old sea captain, and is buried in Lochrutton Churchyard, where his tombstone bears the following epitaph :

" Tho' Boreas' Blasts and Neptune's Waves
Have Tossed me To and Fro
In spite of both by God's Decree
I harbour here below
Where I do now at Anchor ride
With many of our Fleet
Yet once again hope to set Sail
Our Admral Christ to meet."

I have heard it said that one of the reasons inducing him to remain in the old Tower was that the spring which supplied it with water possessed certain medicinal properties.

After James M'Culloch's death in 1782 the Tower was for long uninhabited, and was, I believe, used as part of the farm buildings. A few years ago, however, Mr Lindsay obtained a lease of it and put it once more into habitable repair. I think, when you have been inside it, you will agree that he has made a most successful attempt to roll back the centuries and restore the old Tower to its condition of 300 or more years ago.

³⁰ *A.P.*, I., 17.

³¹ *A.P.*. XLIX., 18.

7TH SEPTEMBER, 1935.

The second field meeting took place on September 7th, when a large party left the Ewart Library, and, by way of Longtown, crossed the Border to Bewcastle. Lunch was partaken of in the open, and here Mr W. T. M'Intire, who had met the party on their arrival, gave a most interesting paper on the ancient Bewcastle Cross which stands in the churchyard nearby. Afterwards the church itself was inspected, and then a move was made to the Castle, where Mr M'Intire was again the speaker. He gave a vivid and illuminating address on the Castle itself and some of those connected with its history, as well as of the Border warfare which had once surged around it. He was accorded a very hearty vote of thanks, and then the party set out for Chesterholm, pausing a short time by the way while Mr M'Intire pointed out the old Border Tower of Triermain, associated with Sir Walter Scott, and told them something of its history.

At Chesterholm the party was met by Mr E. A. Birley, who conducted them to the site of a Roman fort he had recently been excavating, and explained what he had found and what he hoped to find after further work. An interesting discovery by Mr Birley was that of a number of circular foundations of buildings, of which the purpose could at present only be guessed.

Returning from the camp, the visitors had pointed out to them the only remaining Roman milestone still *in situ*, and then an adjournment was made for tea, after which the journey was resumed to Over Denton, where the speaker was the Rev. E. N. Somner, vicar of Gilsland. Votes of thanks to all the above speakers were heartily agreed to on the motion of various members of the party, and Dumfries was reached by way of Carlisle about 10 p.m.

The following new member was proposed and accepted :
Mr W. A. Milne, B.Sc., B.Com.

Chesterholm.

By ERIC BIRLEY.

Chesterholm, the Roman *Vindolanda*, though it appears in the list of stations *per lineam valli* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, lies a mile south of Hadrian's Wall, and a few yards south of the Stanegate, the Roman road from Carlisle to Corbridge that has long been associated (at first conjecturally, now by the discovery of datable remains from the terminal points) with the governorship of Agricola. The first object of the present series of excavations, which began in 1930 and have been continued with slight interruptions in the winter months for six seasons, was to see whether Chesterholm, too, owed its foundation to the same governor.

A hundred yards to the west of the existing fort, an early ditch and the remains of a clay rampart (both much reduced by a subsequent levelling of the site, still in Roman times) have produced a quantity of pottery, both Samian and plain wares, that can be dated with confidence to the period A.D. 90-120; similar pottery has been found in an occupation level below the north rampart of the existing fort, and scattered pieces here and there, wherever digging has been done; and although the later structures have so far made it impossible to recover more than isolated fragments of it, we can say that an earth and timber fort, of the type characteristic of the period, stood here before the close of the first century. It does not seem to have been erected as early as Agricola's governorship; a few pieces of pottery might be as early as A.D. 80, but taking into account the theory of survivals¹ we must suppose, at present, that the occupation began some ten years later, when the Stanegate appears to have been provided with a chain of forts, each for a regiment, and converted from a line of communication into the frontier of the province.

With the building of Hadrian's Wall, the site seems to have been thought unsuitable for continued occupation; to judge by the pottery, the fort was abandoned for thirty or

¹ Cf. *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXV (1935), p. 69.



Photo by Gibson & Son, Hexham.

CHESTERHOLM

Roman Milestone and the East Rampart of the Fort, from the East.



Photo by Eric Birley.

CHESTERHOLM

Circular Building of the Third Century and North Wall of the Constantian Fort, looking East, from the North Gate.

forty years; and although a fragmentary inscription that attested building by the governor Calpurnius Agricola (soon after A.D. 160), and plentiful pottery of the second half of the century, show that it was re-occupied, as yet no structures of this period have been identified. Under Severus and his successors, the fourth cohort of Gauls was stationed at Chesterholm, as the fine altars excavated there a century ago by Anthony Hedley, and now preserved in the Clayton Memorial Museum at Chesters, show; the recent excavations have revealed the headquarters building (*principia*) of this period—an elaborate structure, of unusually fine architectural pretensions, facing south so that its open courtyard would enjoy as much sun as possible—as well as its two side gateways—single entrances, that were spanned by massive towers; a more elaborate gateway, no doubt the *porta praetoria* in the south front, is referred to in an inscription found and destroyed early in the eighteenth century.² But the existing fort belongs to the early years of the fourth century, and must be associated with the drastic reorganisation of the northern frontier that we have learnt in recent years to associate with the name of Constantius Chlorus. The third century *principia* was rased to the ground, and a new, northward facing building took its place—less elaborate and, surprisingly, more conservative in form; this building, modified in the Theodosian reconstruction of A.D. 369, retains so many features of interest that it is to be left uncovered permanently. At the north, a verandah fronted on the *via principalis*, from which an arched passage led into the rectangular courtyard, with armouries opening off three sides of it and a well (a late insertion) at its east end; under Theodosius, verandah and armouries alike were converted into granaries. From the courtyard, another archway led into the cross-hall—comparable to the great hall of a municipal basilica—at the west end of which are the well-preserved remains of a tribunal, with the first two of the flight of steps that led up to it, and off its south side open

² C.I.L. VII. 715.

the customary five rooms : the central chapel (here provided with an ante-chapel) where the standards and cult objects of the garrison were housed, as well as the soldiers' savings; and on either side two offices for the adjutant and regimental clerks—for in its book-keeping the Roman army was methodical and meticulous, as discoveries of papyri in Egypt and Syria in the last half century have taught us. These rooms were converted into living accommodation at the Theodosian reconstruction—at that late period, the barbarisation of the frontier armies must have made book-keeping no longer practicable, even if additional living accommodation had not been required inside the fort, now that the village outside it was no longer safe from Pictish raiders. The principal gate of the Constantian fort, in the centre of the north rampart, was a single entrance passage, flanked by towers that projected five feet out from the fort wall—this, too, is to be left uncovered; the type is an early one, and provides a striking contrast to the contemporary structures on the Saxon shore and on the Continent. To the east of the gate, and below the Constantian wall and rampart, which in part destroyed them, a series of circular buildings belonging to the third century fort have been discovered; they seem best explained as mill-houses, one for each century of the cohort in garrison, but conclusive evidence for their use is still to seek.

An introduction to the excavation of Chesterholm appeared in *Archæologia Aeliana*, fourth series, VIII (1931), pp. 182-212, and a second report in Volume IX (1932), pp. 216-221; the circular buildings, the Severan gateways, and material from the earliest occupation of the site are to be published in the next volume of *Archæologia Aeliana*, while the third and fourth century headquarters buildings, as yet unpublished, will be dealt with in the same publication when the architectural remains have been subjected to further study.

The Late G. F. Scott Elliot.

Amongst the names of those removed by death is one late member of outstanding personality. The late George Francis Scott Elliot joined this Society as long ago as 1887, and from the very first was an active member, occupying the President's chair from 1902 to 1909. The period of his Presidency coincided with one of those ebb tides which such societies inevitably experience from time to time and are of great difficulty and anxiety to office-bearers. The second great wave of enthusiasm and active interest that had re-established the Society had spent itself, and for the moment there was no sign of a turn in the tide. It was characteristic of Professor Scott-Elliot's courage that he should undertake the task of revitalising the Society once more. New blood was badly needed and was not in sight. Hitherto the Society's interests and work had lain mainly in natural history. Interest in its antiquarian work needed arousing. His object was to keep the Society alive until the new and vitalising blood could be found, and when towards the close of his Presidency he saw the welcome and unmistakable signs of the incoming tide, it was with equally characteristic abnegation that he handed over the direction of our destiny to new and younger hands. The later success of the Society, its highstanding and honoured position amongst its contemporaries, is mainly due to the devotion and enthusiastic efforts of Mr Shirley and Mr Gladstone, but those efforts might well have proved fruitless had it not been for the dogged persistence and single-minded endeavour of Professor Scott Elliot as President, in the dark hours that preceded the dawn. Of his work and achievements outside this Society I need not speak, but one of his volumes, the *Flora of Dumfriesshire*, was published by this Society and will probably always remain a standard work. Kindly by disposition he was approachable by all men, and no young student ever turned to him for help or guidance in vain. When the war came the same sense of duty that called him to this chair impelled him, though over the age, to be one of the first to volunteer

for foreign service, and those who served with him will always remember the cheerful spirit and example he showed and the care with which he looked after the comforts of the troops under his command. Though illness and infirmity had overtaken him, yet to the very last he had the interests of this Society in mind, and was even contemplating the effort of a contribution to our Syllabus. Steadfast in mind and courageous in spirit, he showed an example of which we may well be proud, and at this, our first general annual meeting since his death, I think we should place on record our sense of the loss we have sustained, our appreciation of the services he rendered to this Society both during a long and active membership and during his Presidency in a time of difficulty, as well as our deepest sympathy with Mrs Scott Elliot in her bereavement.

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED :

1933-34.

Blacklock, J. E., Dock Park House, Dumfries.
 Dickson, C. W., Friars' Carse, Dumfriesshire.
 Dickson, W. E. G. C., Station Hotel, Dumfries.
 Grierson, Thos., Glebe Street, Dumfries.
 Maxwell, W. J. Herries, of Munches.
 Hunter, Dr., St. Catherine's, Linlithgow.
 Johnston, Jas., Well Street, Moffat.
 Lusk, H. D., Larchville, Annan.
 Nicolson, Allen, Moffat Road, Dumfries.
 Paterson, J. J., Brocklehurst, Mouswald.
 Rose, C. R., Fourmerkland, Lockerbie.
 Elliot, G. F. Scott, Dumfries.

1934-35.

Corrie, John, Burnbank, Moniaive.
 Dinwiddie, Robert, Dumfries.
 Drummond, J. G.
 Hunter, Dr. Joseph, M.P., Dumfries.
 Hunter, Thos. M.
 Kirkpatrick, R.
 M'Donald, James.
 M'Harrie, Stair, Stranraer.
 M'Jerrow, D., Lockerbie.
 Neilson, J.
 Shaw, Dr. Eben.

RESIGNATIONS :

Barnett, Rev. H. A., St. Michael's, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire.
 Galbraith, Mrs James.
 Kelly, Captain.
 Maitland, Mrs.
 Shields, J., Enoch Bank, 116 Bannockburn Road, St. Ninians,
 Stirling
 Steen, Rev. J. C.

Exhibits.

November 24th, 1933.—By Mr Jas. Shields, Lockerbie, per the Secretary—Photograph of tombstone of Dr. Mounsey in Lochmaben Churchyard, and copy of inscription thereon.

January 26th, 1934.—By Mr Fraser, Lochmaben—Copy of the Rent Rolls of the Estate of Cluden from about 1712 to 1731, which was in the care of the Town Council of Lochmaben. It had been found between the pages of a Town Council Minute Book of that period, and probably, contains a good deal of valuable information as to place names, etc., in that district.

February 23rd, 1934.—By Mr M. H. M'Kerrow—A number of early Scottish Bank Notes which had at one time been presented to the Observatory Museum.

By Mr Shirley—Two Dumfries Bank Notes, now in possession of this Society.

October 26th, 1934.—By Mr T. A. Halliday—Silver medal struck in honour of the opening of the Observatory Museum in 1835.

Presentations.

October 27th, 1933.—By Miss Annie Lorraine Smith, per Mr Shirley—Bronze Celt found by the late Andrew Davidson on his farm of Hayfield, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, and given to the Rev. Walter Smith, Free Church Manse, Half-Morton, probably about the year 1880.

Three coins, also from Half-Morton; date uncertain. Note by Mr Shirley: (1) Is a small coin of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, date about 1578; (2) small coin, possibly a groat, of the reign of George III.; (3) farthing, of the reign of George IV.

By Prebendary Clerk Maxwell, per Mr Shirley—(1) Rubbings of the Kirkmadrine and other stones; (2) a set of deeds relating to certain properties in Dumfries.

By Mr Wilson, Tynron, per Mr Shirley—(1) Specimen of vitrified material from Fort on Tynron Doon; (2) part of Quern, also from Tynron Doon.

By Mr Adam Birrell, Creetown—Specimen of Skate's eggs, dried, from Solway Firth.

January 26th, 1934.—By Mr James Shields, Lockerbie—Water-worn and shaped stone, pierced at one end with a small hole. Found in a field. Mr Corrie, Edinburgh, who was present, said it was not, in his opinion, a prehistoric implement. It was difficult to determine its use: it may have been used as a modern clock weight.

October 26th, 1934.—Copy of recently published book by Rev. Dr. MacMillan, Dunfermline, on "John Hepburn of Urr."

November 16th, 1934.—Two volumes of the "Transactions" of the Cumberland Archæological Society, per Mr R. C. Reid.

December 14th, 1934.—Ancient gun, found by Miss Dickson in a cottage at Woodhouse of Dardarroch, stored in an attic in the breast of the kitchen chimney.

Note by Mr R. C. Reid.—Old, double-barrelled shotgun, muzzle-loading. In design and appearance very like the modern sporting gun. Belongs to first half of 19th century.

EXCHANGES.

- Aberdeen: University Library.
 Banff: Banffshire Field Club.
 Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum, College Square.
 Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club (Secretary, Rev. J. J. M. L. Aiken, Manse of Ayton).
 Buenos Ayres: Museo Nacional, Buenos Ayres, Argentine.
 Cambridge: University Library.
 Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, Cardiff (Secretary, Dr. O. L. Rhys, 22 St. Andrew's Crescent).
 Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tullie House.
 Edinburgh: Advocates' Library.
 Botanical Society of Edinburgh, 5 St. Andrew Square.
 Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.
 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.
 Essex Field Club, Essex Museum of Natural History, Romford Road, West Ham, London, E. (W. Cole, Curator).
 Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College, George Street.
 Glasgow Archaeological Society, 207 Bath Street.
 Geological Society of Glasgow, 207 Bath Street.
 Glasgow Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.
 Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
 Hawick: Hawick Archaeological Society.
 Langholm: Eskdale and Liddesdale Archaeological Society (Secretary, Rev. George Orr, North Manse, Langholm).
 Hull. Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists' Club, The Museum, Hull.
 Yorkshire Naturalists' Union, The Museum, Hull.
 London: British Association for the Advancement of Science, Burlington House.
 British Museum, Bloomsbury Square.
 British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.
 Marlborough: Marlborough College of Natural History, The College.
 Oxford: Bodleian Library.
 Perth: Perthshire Society of Natural Science, Natural History Museum.
 Reigate: Holmesdale Natural History Club.
 Sheffield: Sheffield Naturalists' Club, The Museum.
 Stirling: Natural History and Archaeological Society, Smith Institute.

- Stockholm, Sweden: Kung. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademi.
- Surrey Archæological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, Surrey (Secretary, A. H. Jenkinson, The Record Office, Chancery Lane, London).
- Toronto, Canada: The Canadian Institute, Provincial Museum, St. James Square, Toronto.
- Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.
- United States—
- Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
- Chapelhill, N.C.: Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society.
- Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard College Museum of Comparative Zoology.
- Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.
- Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
- Davenport, Iowa: Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences.
- Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.
- Minneapolis, Minn.: Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences.
- Meriden, Conn.: Meriden Scientific Society.
- New Brighton, N.Y.: Staten Island Association of Arts and Sciences.
- New Orleans, La.: Louisiana State Museum.
- New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame.
- Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences.
- Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Academy of Sciences.
- St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Botanical Garden.
- Washington: Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Museum.
 United States Bureau of Ethnology.
 United States Department of Agriculture.
 United States Geological Survey.
- Upsala, Sweden: Geological Institute of the University of Upsala.

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1934.

| INCOME FOR YEAR. | | | |
|--|------|-----|-----------|
| I. Members' Subscriptions... | £80 | 5 | 0 |
| Arrears | | 8 | 10 0 |
| | | | £88 15 0 |
| II. Interests | | | 10 4 10 |
| III. Donations | | | 3 10 0 |
| IV. Sale of "Transactions" | | | 0 17 6 |
| V. Interest on Money in Savings Bank... | | | 0 18 4 |
| VI. Balance of Excursion Account ... | | | 11 7 6 |
| | | | £115 13 2 |
| EXPENDITURE. | | | |
| 1. Rent and Insurance | | | £13 16 6 |
| 2. Printing and Advertising, including Bookbinding and Account for Plates | | | 13 7 7 |
| 3. Miscellaneous— Treasurer's Outlays, in- cluding Postages of "Transactions," Cheque Books, Postages, etc.... | £6 | 2 | 3 |
| Secretary's Postages ... | 0 | 18 | 1½ |
| To Paid for "Trans- actions" | | 0 | 10 0 |
| Subscription to "Scottish Naturalist" | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| | | | 8 2 10½ |
| 4. To Transferred to Publication Account. Balance of Revenue over Capital and Donation for Year | | | 80 6 2½ |
| | | | £115 13 2 |
| CAPITAL. | | | |
| Capital at close of last Account | | | £363 7 5 |
| Interest on Money in Savings Bank | | | 4 15 9 |
| | | | £368 3 2 |
| Invested as follows: | | | |
| War Stock | £218 | 10 | 0 |
| Savings Bank | | 125 | 3 2 |
| Deposit Receipt | | 24 | 10 0 |
| | | | £368 3 2 |
| PUBLICATION ACCOUNT. | | | |
| Invested at close of last Account | | | £147 12 3 |
| Interest on Amount in Savings Bank | | | 2 10 3 |
| Balance of Revenue and Donation during year | | | 80 6 2 |
| | | | £230 8 8 |
| Invested as follows: | | | |
| Con. Stock | £50 | 0 | 0 |
| Savings Bank | | 66 | 7 8 |
| In Bank and in Savings Bank... | | 114 | 1 0 |
| | | | £230 8 8 |

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1935.

| INCOME FOR YEAR. | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Members' Subscriptions | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £83 | 6 0 |
| Interests | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 4 10 |
| Donations | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 10 0 |
| Interest on Money in Savings Bank | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 5 10 |
| Proceeds of Excursions | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 17 6 |

| EXPENDITURE. | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|------|
| Rent | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £12 | 0 0 |
| Printing and Advertising | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 | 12 4 |
| Miscellaneous— | | | | | | | |
| Subscription to "Scottish Naturalist" | ... | ... | £0 | 12 6 | | | |
| To Meteorological Office | ... | ... | 0 | 10 6 | | | |
| Mr Black for Lantern | ... | ... | 1 | 10 0 | | | |
| Secretary's Postages | ... | ... | 0 | 8 9 | | | |
| Treasurer's Postages, etc. | ... | ... | 2 | 10 0 | | | |
| | | | | | 5 | 11 9 | |
| "Dumfries Standard" for Printing "Transactions" | ... | ... | 237 | 10 6 | | | |
| | | | | | | 268 | 14 7 |
| | | | | | | £268 | 14 7 |
| Expenditure | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £268 | 14 7 |
| Income | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 107 | 4 2 |
| | | | | | | £161 | 10 5 |

| CAPITAL. | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|------|------|-----|------|-------|
| Capital at close of last Account | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £368 | 3 2 |
| Interest on Deposit Receipt... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 9 10 |
| Interest on Savings Bank Account | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 19 9 |
| | | | | | | £373 | 12 9 |
| Less Uplifted Deposit Receipt and Interest | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24 | 19 10 |
| Invested as follows: | | | | | | £348 | 12 11 |
| War Stock | ... | ... | £218 | 10 0 | | | |
| Savings Bank | ... | ... | 130 | 2 11 | | | |
| | | | | | | £348 | 12 11 |

| PUBLICATION ACCOUNT. | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|------|------|
| Invested at close of last Account | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £230 | 8 8 |
| Interest on Amount in Savings Bank | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 12 8 |
| | | | | | | £233 | 1 4 |
| Less Uplifted to meet Cost of "Transactions" | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 136 | 10 7 |
| Invested as follows: | | | | | | £96 | 10 9 |
| Consolidated Stock | ... | ... | £50 | 0 0 | | | |
| Savings Bank | ... | ... | 29 | 0 4 | | | |
| In Bank on Current | ... | ... | 17 | 10 5 | | | |
| | | | | | | £96 | 10 9 |

EXCURSION ACCOUNT.
Deposit Receipt for £10.

List of Members of the Society.

LIFE MEMBERS.

- Allan, J. Francis, M.D., F.R.S., Ed., Lincluden, 33 Cromwell Road, Teddington, Middlesex.
 Bedford, Her Grace the Duchess of, Woburn Abbey, Woburn.
 Buccleuch, His Grace Duke of, Bowhill, Selkirk.
 Buccleuch, Her Grace the Duchess of, Bowhill, Selkirk.
 Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R. 4 Melville Street, Edinburgh.
 Dalkeith, Earl of, Eildon Hall, St. Boswells, Berwickshire.
 Duff, T. L. Bank of Scotland Buildings, 24 George Square, Glasgow.
 Easterbrook, Dr. C. C. Crichton House, Dumfries.
 Ferguson, Mr J. A. Burrance of Courance, by Lockerbie.
 Ferguson, Mrs J. A. Burrance of Courance, by Lockerbie.
 Gladstone, Hugh S. of Capenoch, Thornhill.
 Gladstone, Mrs, of Capenoch, Thornhill.
 Gladstone, Robert, M.A., B.C.L., The Athenæum, Church Street, Liverpool.
 Gladstone, John, Capenoch, Thornhill.
 Irving, William, Bonshaw, Dumfries.
 Kennedy, T. W. Blackwood, Auldgirth.
 Lang, John of Lannhall, Tynron, Thornhill.
 M'Call, Major Wm. of Caitloch, Moniaive.
 M'Leod, Sir J. Lorne, 25 Albany Street, Edinburgh.
 M'Millan, Rev. W. W., D.D., St. Leonard's Manse, Dunfermline.
 MacRae, Mrs R. Stenhouse, Thornhill.
 Matthews, T. Berkley, Waterhall, Langholm.
 Muir, James, Appleby, Whithorn.
 Pickering, Mrs.
 Paterson, R. Jardine, of Balgray, Lockerbie.
 Spencer, J. J., Warmanbie, Annan.
 Spencer, Colonel C. L., C.B.E., D.S.O., Warmanbie, Annan.
 Spencer, Miss, Warmanbie, Annan.
 Stevenson, Alex., Closeburn Castle, Thornhill.
 Thomas, R. G. D., Southwick House, Dumfries.
 Thomson, Miss N. M., Carlingwark, Castle-Douglas.
 Younger, Sir William, Bart., LL.D., Auchan Castle, Moffat.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Black, Dr. George F. New York Public Library.
 Carruthers, Wm. F.R.S., 14 Vermont Road, Norwood, London, S.E.10.
 Shirley, G. W., Ewart Public Library, Dumfries.
 Shirley, Mrs, Lanerick, Kingholm Road, Dumfries.
 Wilson, Jos., The Hawthorns, 3 Westpark Road, Kew Gardens, London.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

(Where no date is given record has not been found.)

| | Date of Election. |
|--|-------------------|
| Abercrombie, Miss, 187 Queen's Gate, London, S.W. | |
| Allan, John, Veterinary Surgeon, Castle-Douglas | 26/9/26 |
| Anderson, Rev. R. S. G., The Manse, Castle Kennedy, Stranraer | 19/4/26 |
| Armstrong, Robert, Stanley Villa, Lockerbie Road, Dum- fries | 31/11/19 |
| Armstrong, R., Parkthorne, Dumfries | 24/2/33 |
| Bartholomew, J., Glenorchard, Torrance, near Glas- gow | 21/10/10 |
| Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., Breconrae, Dumfries | 16/12/32 |
| Beattie, Lewis, Breconrae, Dumfries | 16/12/32 |
| Bedford, His Grace the Duke of, Woburn Abbey, Woburn | 7/2/08 |
| Bell, John H., Seaforth, Annan | 12/3/20 |
| Bell, Mrs J. H. Seaforth, Annan | 12/3/20 |
| Bell, Mr, Roundstonefoot, Moffat. | |
| Bell, Mrs, Roundstonefoot, Moffat. | |
| Benner, Mr and Mrs R. E. Kilroy, Auldgirth | 29/6/35 |
| Biggar, Miss S. M., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas | 10/3/26 |
| Birrell, Adam, Park Crescent, Creetown | 25/6/25 |
| Bowie, J. M. Crofthill, Maxwelltown | 15/12/05 |
| Boyd, W., Broomside, Beattock. | |
| Brown, Mr, "Galloway Gazette," Newton-Stewart. | |
| Browne, Sir James Crichton, Crindau, Dumfries | 3/9/92 |
| Brown, Joseph, Montague Street, Dumfries | 15/10/20 |
| Brydon, James, Solicitor, Dumfries | 12/4/29 |
| Burnett, Dr. T. R. Education Offices, Dumfries | 15/10/20 |
| Carruthers, A. S., Chortlands, Purley Oaks Road, Sandstead, Surrey | 4/6/26 |
| Carruthers, Lieut.-Colonel F. J. Dormont, Lockerbie | 29/11/12 |
| Caig, John, High Street, Moniaive | 30/6/34 |
| Cassillis, Lord, per Hunter & Murray, W.S., 7 York Place, Edinburgh | 12/4/12 |
| Charleson, Rev. C. Forbes, The Manse, Kirkconnel | /30 |
| Cochrane, Miss, Moat Brae, Dumfries | 18/7/29 |
| Cormack, David, Solicitor, Lockerbie | 21/2/13 |
| Corcoran, Thomas, Church Street, Glenluce. | |
| Corrie, J. M., F.S.A.Scot., 27 York Place, Edinburgh | 4/10/07 |
| Cossar, Thomas, Craignee, Maxwelltown, Dumfries | 15/5/14 |
| Crabbe, Lt.-Colonel, Duncow, Dumfries. | |
| Crombie, W. F., Beaumont, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries | 20/4/26 |
| Currie, James, Ardenvohr, Gretna. | |
| Cuthbertson, Wm., Beldraig, Annan | 12/3/20 |
| Dalrymple, Hon. Hew, 24 Regent Terrace, Edinburgh | 7. |
| Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.S.A.Scot., 2 Lochview Ter- race, Gartcosh, Glasgow | 26/1/34 |
| de Burgh, Mrs. Corrie Lodge, Lockerbie. | |
| Dickson, Miss, Woodhouse, Dunscore | /30 |
| Dickson, T., Cannon Street Buildings, 20 Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.4 | 28/1/26 |
| Dinwiddie, W. Craigelvin, Moffat Road, Dumfries | 12/11/20 |
| Drysdale, Miss, St. Michael's School, Dumfries | 26/10/34 |
| Douglas, James, 19 Charles Street (New), Langholm. | |
| Dolpughan, Mr, The Schoolhouse, Fair Isle, Shetland. | |

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| Douglas, Rev. W. H. Brown, St. John's Manse, Newton-Stewart | 20/3/26 |
| Duncan, John Bryce, Newlands, Dumfries | 20/12/07 |
| Duncan, Mrs Bryce, Newlands, Dumfries | 20/12/07 |
| Duncan, Arthur, Gilchristland, Closeburn | /30 |
| Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries | 26/4/26 |
| Dyer, Henry, Rosebank Lodge, Dumfries | 23/11/17 |
| Dykes, Thomas, Dentist, Annan | 9/10/25 |
| Dubs, Major C. I. A., Craigdarroch, Moniaive | 22/7/26 |
| Elliot, Mrs Annie Scott, Glasserton, Whithorn | 26/10/34 |
| Egarr, J., Dumfriesshire Libraries, Catherine Street, Dumfries | 27/10/33 |
| Fergusson, David, Solicitor, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries | 29/3/12 |
| Fergusson, Mrs, Southdean, Rotchell Park, Dumfries | 29/3/12 |
| Fleming, C. J. N., The Rossan, Auchencairn, Castle-Douglas | 6/1/26 |
| Flett, James, Hillhead, Bankend Road, Dumfries | 10/1/12 |
| Forman, Rev. A., Craigielands, Moffat | 18/10/29 |
| Fraser, Robert, Lochmaben Public School, Lochmaben | |
| Fulton, Rev. J. Wylie, Keir Manse, Thornhill | 8/4/26 |
| Faed, Mrs, The Bungalow, New-Galloway | /26 |
| Pyffe, E., Hollybush, New Abbey Road, Dumfries | 26/10/34 |
| Galbraith, Charles, The Barony, Dumfries | 12/4/12 |
| Galbraith, Mrs, The Barony, Dumfries | 12/4/12 |
| Gaskell, W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron | 26/10/34 |
| Gaskell, Mrs, Auchenbrack, Tynron | 26/10/34 |
| Gibson, R., Auchengool House, Kirkeudbright | 19/10/28 |
| Gillett, Arnold, of Crawfordton, Moniaive | 28/11/27 |
| Gladstone, Miss J. O. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., Westminster Branch, 61 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 | |
| Gordon, Miss, Kenmure Terrace, Dumfries | 14/9/07 |
| Gourlay, W. R., Kenbank, Dalry, by Castle-Douglas ... | 9/10/25 |
| Graham, W. F. Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming | 12/4/12 |
| Grant, Wm., Nelson Street, Dumfries | 26/10/34 |
| Grierson, R. A., 45 Castle Street, Dumfries | 15/3/07 |
| Gourlay, James, Brankston House, by Stonehouse, Lanarkshire | 23/2/34 |
| Grieve, Dr., Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie | 13/7/26 |
| Halliday, Alex., Strath Urr, Dalbeattie | /30 |
| Halliday, T. A. Parkhurst, Dumfries | 26/1/06 |
| Halliday, Mrs, Parkhurst, Dumfries | 26/1/06 |
| Hannay, Andrew, Lochend, Stranraer | 19/3/26 |
| Hannay, Wm., Corswall Mill, Kirkcolm, Wigtownshire ... | 19/3/26 |
| Harkness, Edward, Fernlea, Langholm | 9/10/25 |
| Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, by Dalbeattie | 15/11/27 |
| Henderson, James, Claremont, Dumfries | 9/8/05 |
| Henderson, Mrs James, Claremont, Dumfries | 27/1/27 |
| Henderson, John, Annandale Estates Office, Moffat | |
| Henderson, John, The Academy, Borgue, Kirkeudbright | 24/11/33 |
| Henderson, Miss E. L., Galloway Arms Hotel, Newton-Stewart | 12/6/09 |
| Henderson, Robert, Glenview, Moniaive | 29/7/27 |
| Henderson, Thomas, Solicitor, Lockerbie | 17/10/02 |
| Herries, D. C. St. Julian's, Seven Oaks, Kent | 23/4/15 |
| Herries, Colonel W. D. Young, of Spottes, Dalbeattie | |
| Hewison, Rev. J. King, D.D., Kingsmede, Thornhill ... | 12/4/12 |
| Hornel, Miss, Broughton House, Kirkeudbright | |

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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| Hunter-Arundell, H. W. F., of Barjarg, Auldgirth ... | 29/11/12 |
| Hunter, T. S. Woodford, Dumfries | 12/4/12 |
| Hunter, Miss G., 28 Victoria Park, Lockerbie | 3/6/26 |
| Irving, John, West Fell, Corbridge-on-Tyne | 7/12/06 |
| Irvine, W. Fergusson, Bryn Llwyn, Corwen, North Wales | 7/2/08 |
| Jamieson, Mrs, St. George's Manse, Castle-Douglas | /30 |
| Jardine, Provost F., Fernbank, Lockerbie | 26/10/34 |
| Jardine, Major Wm., Applegarth, Sir Lowry's Pass, Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. | |
| Jardine, Mrs Cunningham, Jardine, Lockerbie | 5/4/26 |
| Jenkins, Ross T., The National Bank of Scotland, Ltd., Stranraer | 12/4/12 |
| Jesson, B., Victoria Street, Newton-Stewart | 3/4/26 |
| Johnson-Ferguson, Col. Sir Edward, Bart., Springkell, Eaglesfield | 9/9/05 |
| Johnston, Dr. S. E. Burnbank, Penpont | 12/4/12 |
| Johnston, T. A., 56 Queen's Gate, London, S.W. | 11/4/11 |
| Johnstone, John Humphreys, Palazzo Contarini Dal Zaffo, Madonna Dell 'Orto, Venice | /30 |
| Johnston, Lt.-Colonel, The Corporation of Glasgow (Edu- cation Department), 129 Bath Street, Glasgow, C.2 | 7/7/22 |
| Johnstone, Miss B., Mouswald Place, Ruthwell, Dum- fries | 27/5/26 |
| Johnstone, Miss J., 89 Earlbank Avenue, Scotstoun, Glas- gow, W.4 | 1/6/26 |
| Kennedy, A., Ardroulin, Ayr | 26/10/34 |
| Kidd, Mrs, 15 Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh | 14/11/13 |
| King, Rev. R. A., D.D., Greyfriars' Manse, Dumfries... | 26/10/34 |
| Kirkpatrick, J. G. 2 Belford Park, Edinburgh | 14/11/13 |
| Kelly, Rev. J. Davidson, The Manse, Dunscore | 23/3/34 |
| Lauder, Miss A., Craigie Bank, Moffat Road, Dumfries... | 25/10/18 |
| Lepper, R. S., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down ... | 25/10/18 |
| Little, Murray, Solicitor, Annan | 12/4/12 |
| Lupton, Thomas, Solicitor, Stirling | 12/4/12 |
| Mackinlay, Hugh, Kilmahew, 65 Terregles Street, Dum- fries | 23/11/17 |
| Maclean, Miss Margaret, Counties' End, River Park Avenue, Staines, Middlesex | 24/11/33 |
| M'Allister, Miss, Cluden, Moffat Road, Dumfries | 7/7/24 |
| M'Allister, Miss I., Cluden, Moffat Road, Dumfries | 7/7/24 |
| M'Cargo, James, Kirkpatrick-Durham | 24/4/96 |
| M'Caskie, Dr., 14 Onslow Square, London, S.W.7 | 24/9/17 |
| M'Master, T., 190 Grange Loan, Edinburgh | 13/3/26 |
| M'Burnie, John, M.B.E., The Garth, Dumfries | 21/11/08 |
| M'Burnie, Mrs. The Garth, Dumfries | 29/11/12 |
| M'Caig, Miss, The Shiel, Stranraer | 11/7/31 |
| M'Caig, Mrs, Barmiltoch, Stranraer | 11/7/31 |
| Macharg, W. S., 16 Berkeley Street, Glasgow, C.3 ... | 10/10/14 |
| M'Math, Miss Grace, Ye Olde Curiosity Shoppe, Char- lotte Street, Stranraer | 11/7/31 |
| M'Candlish, A. C., Clauch, Sorbie, Wigtownshire | 18/10/29 |
| M'Conchie, William, Strandfield, Bowling Green Road, Stranraer | 13/3/26 |
| M'Connell, J. I., Lukyns, Ewhurst, Surrey | 26/4/12 |
| M'Connell, Rev. E. W. J., Staveley Vicarage, Kendal, Westmorland | 25/1/27 |
| M'Connick, Andrew, Royal Bank Buildings, Newton- Stewart | 3/11/05 |

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| M'Culloch, John, 4 Albany Place, Stranraer | 11/7/31 |
| M'Culloch, Mrs, Ardwall, Gatehouse. | |
| M'Doual, Kenneth, of Logan, Stranraer | 12/4/12 |
| MacLean, Mrs, Counties' End, River Park Avenue, Staines, | |
| M'Donald, W. M. Bell, of Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie | 9/9/29 |
| MacDonwell, W. H. A., Broomlands, Beattock | 26/11/27 |
| M'Gowan, B., Solicitor, Dumfries | 26/10/00 |
| M'Kerlie, Miss E. M., 5 Albany, Dumfries | 23/11/17 |
| M'Kerrow, M. H., F.S.A.Scot., Town Chamberlain, Dum- fries | 19/1/00 |
| Malcolm, Mrs, Stewart Hall, Dumfries | 12/11/20 |
| Maxwell, B. B. 32 Drummond Place, Edinburgh | 16/2/12 |
| Maxwell, Rev. Prebendary Clerk, Mackworth Vicarage, Derby | 27/10/33 |
| Maxwell, Colonel A. B., 6 Montpellier Grove, Chelten- ham | 10/9/25 |
| Maxwell, Sir Herbert, Bart., K.T., of Monreith, Wig- townshire | 7/10/92 |
| Maxwell, Sir John, 41 Grey Street, Newcastle-on- Tyne 1 | 20/1/05 |
| Maxwell, Miss, Grennan, Rockcliffe | 10/9/25 |
| Maxwell, Robert, Solicitor, Dumfries | 3/11/11 |
| Miller, Frank, Cumberland House, Annan | 3/9/86 |
| Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edin- burgh 3 | 14/9/08 |
| Miller, T., Victoria Avenue, Dumfries | 11/1/29 |
| Milligan, J. P., Enrick, Cassalands, Dumfries | 17/10/05 |
| Milne, Mrs G. M., Dunesslin, Dunscore | 10/4/31 |
| Milne, W. A., 32A Port Street, Annan | 7/9/35 |
| Milne-Home, J. H., Irvine House, Canonbie | 19/1/12 |
| Mitchell Library, North Street, Glasgow | 9/10/25 |
| Molteno, P. A., 10 Palace Court, London, W.2 | 12/4/12 |
| Monteith, Mrs, of Glenluiart, Moniaive | 30/11/27 |
| Morton, W. R., Huntly Lodge, Moffat | 26/10/34 |
| Morton, A. S. Solicitor, Newton-Stewart | 23/4/15 |
| Munn, Dr. Gordon, of Croys, Dalbeattie | 24/11/27 |
| Murray, Miss J. J., Myddleton, New Abbey Road, Dum- fries | 26/10/34 |
| Murray, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan | 29/7/05 |
| Murchie, James, 76 Victoria Street, Newton-Stewart ... | 19/10/28 |
| Myles, Alex., Glasserton Schoolhouse, Wigtownshire | /30 |
| New York Public Library, per Messrs Stevens & Brown, Ruskin House, 28-30 Little Russell Street, London, W.C.1. | |
| Niven, John, Mahaar, Kirkcowan | 19/3/26 |
| O'Reilly, Mrs, 47 Powis Square, Bayswater, London, W. 11 | 10/10/26 |
| Paterson, E. W., Benreay, Dumfries | 17/10/05 |
| Penman, Mrs, Mile Ash, Dumfries. | |
| Paton, Rev. Henry, Inchewan, Peebles | 21/11/08 |
| Powell, Mrs T., Laurel Bank, Moffat | 20/1/33 |
| Powell, T., Laurel Bank, Moffat | 24/11/33 |
| Pullen, O. J., The Highway, Closeburn | 26/10/34 |
| Ramage, Mrs, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries. | |
| Raitt, Dr. W. J., Midpark, Glencaple Road, Dumfries... | 26/10/34 |
| Ramsay, J. B., Writer, 203 West George Street, Glasgow ... | /30 |
| Reid, R. C., Cleughbrae, Mouswald | 18/11/07 |

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| Reid, James, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries | 15/10/20 |
| Reid, Mrs, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries | 15/10/20 |
| Reid, D. H., Victoria Bridge, Ayr. | |
| Ritchie, Dr., County Buildings, Dumfries | 26/4/12 |
| Robson, G. H., Hope Place, Maxwelltown, Dumfries ... | 17/11/11 |
| Robertson, L. H., Moffat | 18/10/29 |
| Robertson, Miss I., St. John Street, Creetown | 4/11/32 |
| Robertson, Dr., County Buildings, Dumfries | 26/4/12 |
| Robertson, Mrs J. P., Westwood, Dumfries | 24/11/33 |
| Rusk, J. M., S.S.C., 6 Rutland Square, Edinburgh | 13/6/25 |
| Russell, George, of Newton, Dumfries | 12/4/12 |
| Semple, Dr., Mile Ash, Dumfries | 12/6/01 |
| Service, Mr E., Glencaple Village, Dumfries | 8/1/32 |
| Smart, J. T. W., Catherine Street, Dumfries | 18/12/08 |
| Smellie, James, Water Engineer, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries | /29 |
| Smith, A. Cameron, Springfield, Dalmuir, Dumbarton- shire | 24/1/19 |
| St. Vigeans, Hon. Lord, 33 Moray Place, Edinburgh ... | 17/7/26 |
| Stewart, Sir E. MacTaggart, of Ardwell, Wigtown- shire | 12/4/12 |
| Stewart, Admiral Johnston, Glasserton, Whithorn. | |
| Stobie, Mrs Peter, Beechwood Bank, Dumfries | 12/28 |
| Swinay, Brig.-General, Arbigland, Kirkbean | /28 |
| Syms, R. Hardy-, 32 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1 | 16/7/27 |
| Sinclair, Dr. G. H., The Green, Lockerbie | 26/10/34 |
| Taylor, J. T., Huntingdon Road, Dumfries | 7/6/26 |
| Taylor, James, The Hill, Southwick Road, Dalbeattie... | 27/10/33 |
| Turner, Alexander, Chemist, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries | 17/10/05 |
| Vickerman, Dr., Gracefield, Langlands, Dumfries | 16/11/34 |
| Waugh, W., Palaceknowe, Beattock | 10/10/24 |
| Wilson, Miss, Logansyde, Noblehill, Dumfries. | |
| Wightman, J. W., 2 Franklin Place, Maxwelltown, Dum- fries | 13/12/07 |
| Wallace, Sir Matthew, Bart., Terreglestown, Dumfries, | 11/3/98 |
| Walker, Miss M. B., St. Alfege's Hospital, Vanbrugh Hill, London, S.E.10. | |
| Weir, Rev. H. G. Mullo, The Manse, Dalry, Galloway | /30 |
| Wallace, Professor R., c/o Miss Gorrie, 10 Henderson Terrace, Edinburgh | 12/4/12 |
| Walker, Lt.-Colonel Geo. G., Morington, Dumfries ... | 24/4/26 |
| Weddell, Robert H., West Cluden, Irongray, Dumfries | /30 |
| Will, J., Solicitor, Dumfries | 10/10/24 |
| Young, J. F., Schoolhouse, Mouswald | 11/11/21 |

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