

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1935-36.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XX.

EDITOR
MRS E. SHIRLEY.

DUMFRIES:
Published by the Council of the Society
1938

Frontispiece.



THE "CRUSADER STONE" AT BONSHAW.

See p. 148.

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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.

Exchanges, Presentations, and Exhibits should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Mr J. B. M'Gowan, Solicitor, Irish Street, Dumfries.

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

SESSION 1935—36.

1st November, 1935.

Annual General Meeting.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

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

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

The Treasurer's report was submitted by Miss Rafferty and approved. It will be found appended to the present volume. It was pointed out that non-payment of members' current subscriptions and subscriptions in arrears represented a serious loss to the Society.

Owing to the resignation of Mrs Shirley and the appointment of the present Secretary, a misunderstanding had arisen, and the Secretary's report was not prepared in time for this meeting, but would be ready for the next.

Miss Rafferty intimated her desire to resign from the office of Treasurer, and Mr Wm. Dinwiddie was, on the recommendation of the Council, appointed as her successor.

Mr Reid expressed the gratitude of the members for the work Miss Rafferty had done for the Society.

The remainder of the members of Council were then re-elected *en bloc*.

Mr Reid then made reference to the late Mr John Corrie, Moniaive, and the late Dr. Joseph Hunter, both members of this Society.

Mr R. C. Reid then delivered his Presidential Address on "The Dumfries Burgh Records," which will be found printed below, and he was cordially thanked on the motion of Mr G. W. Shirley, who spoke of the very valuable work done by the President in going over and arranging these records.

This terminated the proceedings.

The Burgh Records of Dumfries.

The subject of Public Records is a dry and unattractive one for any audience. The ordinary person wisely shuns them, for, apart from their condition owing to age and too often to neglect, their illegibility is an obstacle to most persons, whilst even the searcher of experience and skill finds his zeal waning when he has to go through a mass of material with little hope and less expectation of finding what he seeks. These notes are therefore contributed as a help to the searcher, whether amateur or professional, a statement of what material exists and how it is arranged and within what limits that arrangement has been effected.

This is not the first occasion that an attempt has been made to explore and arrange the Burgh Records of Dumfries. When Mr Shirley first came to the town, some 30 years ago, he essayed the task. Of his efforts and the manner in which they were thwarted by an unkindly fate I have thought it best that he himself should speak. At my request he has compiled the following

MEMORANDUM.

Our President has asked me to preface his description of the Dumfries Burgh Records which he has been arranging, by an account of my knowledge of them which goes a few years further back than his own.

It must have been about 1906-7 that I first sought for and obtained permission to consult the MS. records of the

burgh. Those I was shown were then housed in a small safe in the Town Clerk's office. It was very much congested, and within a year or two was replaced by a new and more commodious strong room, specially built from the ground level at the rear of the office and opening into it. Although specially erected, presumably by experts, the strong room had no ventilation, and until that was provided some time afterwards the contents suffered from the humid atmosphere.

The contents were limited to the Minutes of the Town Council extending in sequence from 1650 (the first volume, by the way, intriguingly lettered on the spine—as it still is—1050) to date, with various relative books such as the Minute Book of the Building of Buccleuch Street Bridge; an Index of Acts of Council and Alphabetical Register of Burgesses; the Register of Sasines from its commencement in 1617 (various of early volumes overlapping), some volumes of Registers of Deeds, two Chartularies, a long series of Treasurers' Accounts of 18th and 19th century date, with various current books of the Office and Building Society records. Tin boxes held a collection of the Burgh's Charters and Title Deeds of its properties. There was little in the strong room which an assiduous reading of M'Dowall had not led me to expect. His *History of Dumfries* is markedly more intimate and authoritative from the date of the first volume of these Town Council Minutes—1650.

It was not until after the destructive fire in the Town Hall on 20th November, 1908, an account of which you will find by Mr James Barbour in our *Transactions*, that I became aware that there were more Burgh Records in existence than these—and M'Dowall seems not to have been aware of more. These others had been stored in a small, strongly-built room with stone floor and arched stone roof at the top of the Town Hall buildings behind the quaint church-like Council Chamber. The room was protected by a heavy iron door and its two feet high windows were iron-barred. Off this room opened another, equally strongly built,

about three feet wide and seven or eight feet long, with one small window. These rooms were as secure against fire as any could be—at the *top* of a building. When I got access to this room it was nearly two feet deep in an unassorted mass of papers, maps, books, thick and thin, old and modern, piled on top of each other, sacks filled and flowing over with documents, bundles of printed notices, voting papers, oddments of official garb, plaster and dirt. The walls were lined with built-in presses, and some of the doors, half-open, revealed shelves neatly docketed and filled or partly filled with bundles of documents demonstrating that there had once been order in the room. When I got access to the smaller room I found it packed to the ceiling with sacks crammed with papers but its shelves were almost empty. One of the windows in the larger room was open, and the rain had repeatedly soaked adjacent papers and books.

It appeared that in the alarm of the recent fire this old safe had not been forgotten and a band of ready helpers had proceeded to save its contents; orderly bundles of papers were stuffed into sacks anyhow, books were shoved together and as much as possible got away. But before the removal was complete the alarm was stayed and the stuff was thrown back even more unceremoniously than it had been taken out.

Exploring and sorting was a slow and very cold and dirty business, but exciting. On one of the window ledges was a thick MS. volume, brown with age, without covers and dog-eared. It was a volume of the minutes of the Burgh Court of Dumfries beginning in 1564. Robert Edgar had referred to such, the late John Carlyle Aitken had copied, very inaccurately, pages of them. I had deemed them utterly lost. Altogether four of these volumes commencing in 1516 were recovered. One extending over the period of the Reformation was not, and no quotation from it has ever come to my notice, so it has probably been missing for a very long time. Other books recovered were the Protocol Books and Sheriff Court Book abstracted by Sir Philip Hamilton-Grierson and printed in our *Transactions*; many

volumes of Treasurers' Accounts, and there were piles of Porteous Roll books, Jail books, Licence books, etc., etc. Individual documents of historical interest, including material on the Grey Friars, the Raid of Lammas Even, the Burgh School, churches, mills and other properties, one signed by the Regent Morton, another by the Regent Moray, a small list of Honorary Burgesses including Robert Burns, and many others were found, a number of which have been printed by Mr Reid in his Appendices to his edition of *Edgar's History of Dumfries*. These recoveries opened up the history of the town in a reliable documentary fashion 150 years further back than had been possible before.

Endeavours to arrange and keep in order the material were not very successful. All the more important burghal records were transferred to the other safe. But various people had access to both safes. The current office records were kept in the strong room, and there was daily traffic, sometimes a professional searcher did not trouble to replace things as he found them; while in the old safe every now and again the overflow of congested offices was intruded among my painful arrangements. In the end I gave up the task in despair.

No change took place until the old Town Hall was doomed to replacement. Perhaps I should not go so far as that, for there were books once there—Porteous Rolls, Jail Books, which on incidental visits I have failed to find, but no thorough examination has been made by me in recent years. To forestall possible eventualities, on my representation the Library Committee offered to accommodate the documents from the old safe. There was no obvious place to put them, but there was a space between the floor of the Lending and Reading rooms and the earth, of some five feet which I knew to be perfectly dry. The Burgh agreed to make an entrance from the Library cellar, and the iron door of the old safe found a new home there. The documents and books were again handled in much the same way as during the fire, packed in boxes and sacks and deposited on loose flooring in the basement of this building. Thence they

have been brought as and when required by Mr Reid, those which he rejected from his arrangement being returned.

When the Burgh Records reached the Ewart Library it was realised that an opportunity had arrived—not likely to be repeated—to ascertain what these records consisted of, to arrange them so that any authorised person could readily examine them and make use of them, and to save from further destruction by decay and age every frail and fragile document within certain defined limits. With the aid, encouragement, and kindly tolerance of Mr Shirley and his staff this has been accomplished. The room set apart for the Reference Section of the Library was placed at my disposal. Tables were supplied, shelves cleared, and one by one the mouldering sacks were brought up from the cellars, emptied, arranged, and ultimately re-filled with classified documents, the contents labelled and sent below again. But everything prior to 1700 (and much else) remained upstairs for further examination and classification. Time, of course, was a factor, so the original limit of investigation was fixed for the year 1700, and everything prior to that date has been dealt with. The Provost and the Burgh Treasurer—old friends of this Society—authorised the purchase of Record boxes of the same pattern as are used by the Public Record Office and the Register House. It was a filthy job, laborious, exhausting, yet at times exciting, for one never knew what interesting document one would bring to light as one delved in those dirty sacks. On the whole the moments of excitement were few and far between. Of documents prior to 1600 only two or three score survive. They have been placed in the large portfolio volume where Mr Shirley had already placed the early documents he had found. Between 1600 and 1650 not much more has survived, but from the latter date onwards the records are continuous, fairly complete, and increasing in annual bulk. Some wholesale destruction must have overtaken them during the Cromwellian period.

The original intention was to classify and arrange everything into three divisions — Deeds, Processes, and Burgh Papers. But the work had not advanced far when it was realised that there must be many sub-divisions. Burgh Papers, for instance, was far too general a term, covering every activity of Burghal life. Indeed its ultimate number of sub-divisions might well have been increased.

I. DEEDS.—Every Burgh Court was a Court of Record, and from an early date there must have been a Burgh Register of Deeds. From 1658 this has been recovered almost complete, many of the bundles obviously having never been touched since they were first made up.

In addition many unregistered deeds were found, such as tacks of the Burgh Mills and the like. For convenience these have been combined with the registered deeds, and from 1658-1835 they have been arranged in 19 boxes containing the dated bundles. Prior to 1658 and going back to 1582 many loose deeds and broken bundles of both registered and unregistered deeds were found, often in bad condition. These have all been opened and pressed and arranged in order of date in a separate box along with some fragile ones of later date. A MS. Calendar of them has been prepared and lodged in the Library, where it is hoped it may some day be indexed for public use.

II. PROCESSES.—This class includes all forms of legal proceedings commenced or adjudicated on in the Burgh Court. In the 17th and 18th centuries the jurisdiction of the Burgh Court was far more extensive than it is to-day, when it is confined to petty criminal offences. Formerly it exercised a jurisdiction in civil cases such as are now dealt with by the Sheriff Court. These civil processes are the biggest classification of these records; indeed they form the bulk of them. Where a process went right through to decret it often required a bundle to itself, Mercifully for the modern

searcher many never got beyond the initial stage of a "claim." But every stage of legal process is well represented. At one time "claims" seem to have been kept in separate bundles, but the papers were in so chaotic a condition that it was deemed advisable to amalgamate "claims" with processes.

From 1664-1718 Processes have been arranged in dated bundles within 11 boxes. Later ones, often in mixed bundles, have been replaced in labelled sacks. Prior to 1664 every process has been opened, pressed, and indexed, including several very tattered ones of later date. They fill two boxes, and the index is in many instances a full abstract. The claims are of little interest, being mostly small debts. But mixed up with them are decreets of Removing or of production of writs which sometimes narrate old titles of which there is no other record to-day. There are occasionally decreets of Transuming of contracts, marriage contracts, and the like from some old protocol book now lost beyond recall, and processes in every stage of litigation known to the law. On the whole they are not such a happy hunting ground as the Deeds or of so lively an interest as the Petitions (see below). A few samples may be given.

In 1657 John Sliman in Auchencreith sued Homer Maxwell of Kilbeane, who after a struggle between them in the house of William Greir, merchant, pulled Sliman off his horse and assaulted him within the Burgh near the Reidbrae, withheld his cloak and prevented him going to Nunholm. Homer Maxwell was fined £10 Scots.

In 1649 Thomas Maxwell "complains unto your godlie wisdomes" that John Hunter owed him 450 merks for the sale of a house and "ane pair of plaides to my wyfe or ells twelve pounds."

Many sidelights are shed by these papers on burghal life. In 1667 we hear of Mr John Gillespie, schoolmaster of Dumfries, sued for debt, whilst the

Provost of the Burgh himself was summoned in his own court by the jailer both for his fee as jailer and 3/- Scots daily to be paid for the "entertainment"—a delightful expression—within the jail of John Bell in Middlebie, a common thief. As will be seen, the prison was not exactly a guest house. Cases of duress occasionally crop up, as when Margaret Laing, relict of Thomas McBurnie, complained in 1675 that she, "being now verie old & doted, past well knowing because of my aige, dotage & infirmity what I doe," had been compelled by Martin Newall, late bailie, to consent to an assignation of the maills of her tenement by his continual knocking and beating at her windows. Even the parish of Mouswald figures in these records, as when in 1647 John Blak, servitor to the Laird of Mouswald, issued a claim against a servant of Sir Robert Maxwell of Orchardton "for troubling of ye hors raise" and for "bluiding" the complainer. Horse racing is still a source of such complaints.

Every now and then occurs a process rich in genealogical material, such as a certification of summons of curatory against Marie and Margaret McMurdos, children to the deceast James McMurdo in McMurdiestoun, as two of the nearest of kin on the father's side to Robert, George, Archibald, and Ann McMurdos, children of the deceast Mr John McMurdo, minister of Torthorwald, and Alison Charteris, spouses, to see curators chosen. On the whole there is no evidence that the provost and bailies did aught but conduct the Burgh Court with legal propriety and according to a strict interpretation of justice. Litigation may have anticipated occasional prejudice and lack of fair dealing from the Bench, but cases of advocacion to the Court of Session are comparatively rare. In 1665 George Neilson and William Blackstock, merchants in Ireland, bought some cloth from Homer Gilison, merchant and allegit

burgess, but omitted to pay £6 12s 9d sterling for it; they were summoned, but obtained letters of advocacy removing the case to the Court of Session on the grounds that Gilison was not a burgess and that Janet Lourie, mother of Provost John Irving and mother of Francis Irving, bailie, and Marion M'Gown, spouse to Homer the pursuer, were sisters' children, and that even the Town Clerk was grandson of the said Janet Lourie. The defenders were entitled to entertain some apprehensions when not only the Bench but also the Clerk of Court were closely related to the pursuer.

III. BURGH PAPERS.—This is the second largest division and has been grouped in the following classes :

- (1) PETITIONS—1655-1710, arranged in one box. These are perhaps the most interesting series of them all, for they touch on every aspect of Burgh life. The poverty stricken and the afflicted petitioned the Town Council for help, the prisoners for release. It is difficult to differentiate some of these petitions from the "claims" that commenced a process. When someone built a gavel that overhung a neighbour's land, the aggrieved neighbour usually petitioned for redress. If he was of a pugnacious disposition he preferred to commence a process. Indeed, quite a number of petitions developed into processes. They illuminate 17th century life as no other class of documents. The formula of a petition is quite distinct from that of a claim. It commences: "To the richt honorable the Provost bailies and remanent members of the Town Council," or "Unto your worships humbly means and complains," etc. When in 1655 the four burrow officers—Wm. Bell, Wm. McGowne, Alex. Padzene, and Peter Graham—got no pay for their services, the town being then under an English Military Governor and the times very disturbed, they petitioned the Council for their pay, addressing themselves "unto your godlie worships," and at once received something on account.

John Maxwell, chirurgion, in 1685, being unable to collect his fees, received £20 for doctoring James McKno, a town servant, who had sustained an accident necessitating amputation of a leg from which he recovered but could not pay for. Broken down strangers, even of exalted connections, did not hesitate to petition for assistance. Sir William Campbell, on 24th July, 1697, in possession of recommendations from the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, "being come of the royal family of the Stewarts of Scotland, and the ancient family of Argyre, and, in King Charles tyme, collector in two shyres in the north," solicited alms from the Council on the grounds of poverty, sickness, and his 64 years of age. Though innocent he had long lain in irons in Edinburgh Tolbuith. He received £4 Scots. In 1689 John Rowan in Kilben (Kirkmahoe), whose house had been burnt down through an accidental fire in a neighbour's house, had lost everything; his wife and children had nothing to cover them save the clothes upon their backs; with gratitude received £4 from the Council. John Johnston, late drummer in Col. Wm. Stanhope's regiment of Dragoons, being discharged and anxious to settle in Dumfries, petitions to be allowed to take up residence and practice on the kettle drum and single drum, his only calling of a drum major (1717). Sometimes the suppliant sought advice rather than help. In 1678 Helen Fairies, a widow, who out of compassion had taken the motherless child of John Forsayth to keep, unexpectedly found herself in straitened circumstances, with nothing left with which to feed the child. Neither Deacon Rae nor John Forsayth would take the child back off her hands, and after eight weeks' struggle she could carry on no more—"therefore I desyre you for the Lords sak to consider on it." Three shillings sterling was paid for the behoof of the Council. On another occasion the Council was asked by a prisoner, one Robert Ross (1691), how he

should rid himself of vermin contracted from John Grierson, a fellow-prisoner. Unfortunately the views of the Council are not endorsed in the document. The petitions from prisoners in the Tolbuith make rather dreadful reading. Many had lain there in irons till their health was undermined. In 1700 the irons had bitten so deep into the legs of Mr Robert Carmichael, a prisoner, that his limbs were covered with natural running sores. A fellow-prisoner was Gavin Dunbar, commissary clerk of Kirkcudbright, incarcerated as a common debtor. With them were James Douglas, merchant at Moffat, and Robert Corrie, sometime traveller in England. On 7th December, 1699, the three last-named attempted escape by breaking the back wall under the roof. Corrie was first man through, but he slipped on the slates, which fell with a clatter. The guard, alarmed, rang his bell, and Corrie was apprehended. Gavin Dunbar, the wily clerk of the Commissars, pretended to be asleep, and was later released on componding with his creditors. Another wretched inmate was not so fortunate. Janet Douglas was in prison for petty theft. She was found guilty, and Sheriff Depute Alexander's warrant to the magistrates is still extant, ordering them to see this sentence executed. She was to be taken to the mercat cross between the hours of 11 and 12 and there burnt on the left hand by the executioner of the burgh and thereafter scoured through the town. That happened in the year of grace 1685.

The last petition that I will quote is one of considerable interest. It runs as follows :

To the Right Honorable the Magistrates and Town Council of Dumfries—the petition of Robert Rae son to Mr Peter Rae minister at Kilbride.

Sheweth—That yor supplicant having for some time bygone acquainted himself with ye art of printing and been at great expense to furnish himself with types presses and oyr instruments for capacitating him to follow and practise that employment, Altho that I have

had invitations and some encouragements from some oyer places in this Kingdom to sett up among you, Yet I rather enclined thus far to honour my own country as to cary on my said trade in this place which may tend very much not only to ye credite but profite thereof. But considering the great expense I have been at in not only furnishing my self with ye saids instruments but in carrying them to this place and ye small encouragement I have hitherto or for some time can expect to meet with.

Humbly crave your wisdoms may be pleased to grant me such a compliment as you may think fitt and in time coming, at least during yr pleasure ease me from paying any cesses or supplies in the Burgh and from keeping watch yrin and your petitioner shall ever pray.

Robert Rae.

It must always be remembered, to the credit of the Town Council, that they granted him 40/- sterling and freedom from cess, supply, and watching.

(2) TREASURER'S RECEIPTS from 1640-1700 in two boxes.

Every payment made by the Treasurer had to receive the written authorisation of the Provost or bailies. Their precepts or warrants to pay are included amongst the receipts, for many of them bear the acknowledgment of the recipient. At the end of the financial year the Treasurer prepared his Budget for submission to the Council, incorporating all the payments to which the precepts refer. This Budget was known as the Treasurer's Accounts, many of which have been preserved. Where gaps occur in the Accounts their substance can be largely reconstructed from these precepts and receipts. These precepts give us a picture of how public assistance was debursed in the Burgh two centuries ago. Thus Margaret and Elizabeth Whyt, daughters of one Captain Whyt, who was killed in Flanders, being on their way to friends in Ireland and destitute save for a pass from the Lord Chancellor, were given 14d. Three distressed seamen, John Stewart and John Ranking, both of Ayr, and Thomas Harding, Englishman, lately cast away on the coast of Wales, were given 2/- sterling

to help them to Ayr. Shipwrecked mariners were numerous; Thomas Eveince, a Londoner from a ship cast away at Kirkcudbright, and now going back to England, was given 8/- Scots, whilst an unnamed shipwrecked man and wife were sped on their way to Bristol with 18/- Scots. Robert Ker, a gentleman born in Teviotdale, shipwrecked with wife and family in Ireland, received a dollar, entered in the Accounts as worth 4/10d. John Thomas, a distressed minister going from Ireland to England, was allowed 18d; and William Irving, late dragoon, got 10/- sterling to take him to Newcastle. He was a townsman, which may account for his handsome treatment. French privateers were very active on the coasts at the end of the 17th century, amongst their victims being Richard Muncks and John Murray, who with their wives and ten small children had been captured a year before and were now trying to reach London with a pass from the Lord Mayor of Dublin; they received as bounty 5/- sterling, whereas 40/- Scots was granted to Mistress Douglas, "ane object of charitie who wes taken by the French privateers on her passage from Dublin to Glasgow." When such distress was caused by French privateers it is almost remarkable to find four French seamen "being shipwreckt and destitute of friends money and bread in a strange country" receiving 3/-, "seeing the Kirk Treasurer is exhausted by his debursments to the poore." Travellers of any sort were ready objects of compassion. Two distressed gentlemen, Lieuts. Hugh Hamilton and Thomas Graham, with their families, had no false pride in accepting a "dukadoon" to help them to Ireland, any more than did William Dalzell, son to the deceast Robert Dalzell in Coshogle, when he took 12/- Scots to help him to England. Other items of a domestic character can be noted. 15/- Scots was paid to John Lorimer "for ane parchement to be ane heid to the Toun's drum"; John

Logine, 30/- Scots for going to Drumlanrig for bringing intelligence which way the Bishop was to come (1666); and the like. Accounts for horse hire for Provost or bailies show that they were diligent attending the funerals of nobility and neighbours—18/- to attend the Annandale burial (1673), 14/- for the funeral of Francis Hereis of Lambholme (1688), and smaller sums for Closeburn's, Lady Darnicks at Torthorwald (1697), John Irving of Woodhouse, and Captain Edward Maxwell in 1669. The poor were interred with less ceremony—"to Janet Kirkpatrick widow ten groats to help to buy a chist and sheit unto a poor stranger that is dead in her house."

- (3) **SELECTED ACCOUNTS** in one box. These are accounts rendered to the Treasurer in detail and mostly lengthy. The majority of them are drinking bills. A few of them are of later date than 1700, and would repay a careful examination. It is probable that some of them are actually parts of the Treasurer's Annual Account.
- (4) **BURGESS LISTS AND TICKETS.** No Burgess roll for Dumfries exists. The Town Council Minutes record the creation of many burgesses, and an alphabetical register of them is in existence. But it is obvious that there are many omissions from the Minutes. Many burgess tickets were granted gratis as a compliment or in return for services, and many of these grants are unrecorded. A gratis burgess-ship cost the happy burgess nothing. Even the ticket was gratis. But the Town Clerk who drew the ticket had a standard fee for tickets and charged all gratis tickets up to the Treasurer, and a careful search of the Treasurer's Accounts and papers revealed the names of many such gratis burgesses. Further, the Treasurer had as perquisite of his office the right to nominate three persons for burgess-ship. These fortunate individuals do not figure in any list, as they

were not created by Act of Council. But the Treasurer's accounts sometimes refer to them. This box therefore contains not only a number of original tickets bearing the names of burgesses, but also every scrap of paper, whether accounts or not, that records the creation of a burghess. The arrangement of the Burgh Records prior to 1700 can never be considered complete until a burghess roll is compiled from these papers and collated with the alphabetical register of burgesses and all these papers redistributed into their proper classifications. It is to be hoped that some competent person will undertake this pressing work.

- (5) ORIGINAL SASINES AND OTHER WRITS—a box full that still awaits examination.
- (6) OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE, TESTAMENTS AND SERVICES OF HEIRS. The oaths are original parchment rolls bearing the signatures of everyone of any status or importance in the Burgh at their respective dates. Testaments are few in number, for the administration of deceaseds' estates did not fall within the jurisdiction of the Burgh Court. Services of Heirs are disappointingly few.
- (7) MILITARY — in one box. Every paper of a military nature and every document containing reference to the Militia or armed forces of the Crown has been placed in this box. Many of them will ultimately have to be redistributed. A large number belong to the Treasurer's Accounts, but contain references to officers and military matters. Another section that would repay examination are billeting papers, when there was a garrison in the town which caused much discontent.
- (8) ECCLESIASTICAL—one box of varying value relating to the Kirk, the re-building of St. Michael's, etc.
- (9) EDUCATIONAL—one box. Many of these papers are of later date than 1700, and even relate to the Academy.

Two or three more bundles are in a sack labelled Miscellaneous.

- (10) SUNDRY ROLLS—one box.
- (11) FRAGMENTS—in one box. Every collection of Records has a receptacle for fragments and parts of documents that have come adrift from the remainder of the original. Only prolonged acquaintance with these records would enable one to restore the missing fragments to their proper place.
- (12) VARIOUS COLLECTIONS—in one box. These have been calendared, and consist of papers relating to the property and owners of Drumrash in Galloway and to the Corsane and Martin families.
- (13) MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE—in one box. The bulk of this correspondence consists of letters from the Town Agents in Edinburgh and extend beyond the date of 1700. But a careful examination might reveal much interesting material.
- (14) MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS—in three boxes—provide a happy hunting ground for any enthusiast, for into these boxes went everything that interested me. There are a number of inventories of town's papers. In olden times no marbled Burgh Buildings adorned the town. Apart from the Town Council Chamber and its adjoining closets, there were no town offices, no Town Clerk's chamber. The Town Clerk had to do most of his town's work at home, and thither gravitated and accumulated the town's papers. Indeed whenever a Town Clerk died the Council at once appointed a committee to visit and ransack his house and inventory and remove any town's papers. A copy of the inventory was given to his executors. Several of these inventories survive. A number of Stent Rolls and early Valuation Rolls have been placed in these boxes. Papers relating to horse racing, irregular marriages, the Lochermoss Bridge

(1723), the erection of the Burns Mausoleum and Statue and of the Memorial recently removed from Queensberry Square, two gruesome documents relating to James McMinn, convicted murderer, whose right hand, struck off on the block before he was hanged in the Grassmarket, was sent by post to Provost Robert Corbett to exhibit on an iron spike upon the top of the Dumfries Tolbuith in January, 1712; the sad case of Doctor David Pitcairn, who was guilty of drinking on the Sabbath; minutes of Presbytery in an exceedingly frail condition, relating to the rebuilding of St. Michael's in 1744; expenses of a voyage in the ship "Fortune" of Whitehaven to Ireland (undated); some verses so ribbald as to be unprintable, concerning a baker named John Reid; and a host of other materials which are the bricks and mortar of the local historian. Amongst them is an envelope containing two ancient playing cards, both of them the nine of hearts. One of them is dated 1675; the other was found in a bundle of Processes dated 1663. It is remarkable that though three centuries have elapsed the form is almost indistinguishable from the present-day card.

- (15) GRIERSON PAPERS—in four boxes. These papers relating to the Griersons of Lag, covering the long period 1515-1760, now arranged in order of date, deserve a fuller description than can be given here. The bulk of them relate to the great Persecutor. Indeed it may be said that the ghost of Bloody Lag lingers round these papers. Unfortunately only a small portion relate to his anti-Covenanting activities, but I hope at an early date to edit that portion for publication. One of the boxes is devoted to correspondence mainly with his man of affairs in Edinburgh. The collection should shed much new light on the legendary figure of old Redgauntlet.

That concludes the description of the contents of the

Record Boxes. The later material has all been re-bagged as follows :

- Processes in 12 sacks.
- Burgh Papers in 8 sacks.
- Burgh Accounts in 4 sacks.
- Miscellaneous in 1 sack.
- Enrolment of Voters in 1 sack
- Protested Bills in 1 sack.

In all, the contents of something like 50 sacks were emptied and cleaned, perused and arranged. The task occupied about two years, and absorbed all the moments of leisure that could be spared. If it was entered on in a light-hearted manner, it at least was terminated in a spirit of thankful relief. The sole reward is a sense of gratification that I have rendered easy the footpath of anyone who may follow in my steps.

[NOTE.—There still remain in the Town Clerk's safe a box of Town Charters and kindred papers, some of which have been published by Mr Shirley in our *Transactions*. It is hoped at a later date to prepare a calendar of them. In the same safe are a number of bound or partly bound volumes of Records.

- Burgh Court Books—1506-37 (with Rent Roll, 1549), 1561-4, 1569-74, 1575-79, 1579-1624, 1658-62, 1662-80.
- Treasurer's Accounts — 1634-1714 (incomplete), 1715-16, 1718-19, 1720-1, 1726-7, 1727-8, 1728-9, 1732-3, 1733-4, 1736-7, etc.
- Protocol Books — Herbert Anderson, 1541-48, 1566-70; Herbert Cunynghame, 1561-74, 1592-1605, 1595-98.
- Register of Sasines, several not being protocol books—1602-1733. 21 vols.
- Town Council Minutes—1651-63, 1663-70, 1671-80 (unbound), 1680-94, 1694-1703. 22 vols. down to 1807.
- Register of Bonds—1685-93, 1693-1700, 1716-18, 1724-25, 1716-1771.
- Minute Book of Bonds—1704-46, 1747-1769.]

29th November, 1935.

Chairman—Mr G. W. SHIRLEY.

Gretna Hall: Its History and Romance.

By Miss M. C. SMITH.

In 1535 Johnstone of Gratney built the Auld Hoose and embellished its walls with his coat-of-arms "cutt upon stone." A bitter feud between the Johnstone and Maxwell families existed for several generations. The Maxwells burned Lochwood tower in 1585, and in that conflagration perished the charter chest of the Johnstones and the family muniments.

At Quhytehall on March 10th, 1612, King James VI. granted anew to John Johnstone of Gratney those lands which had been possessed by himself and his predecessors "beyond the memory of man." It is explained that this grant is required because the family documents and infettments have been burned, destroyed and lost because of the disturbed condition of the Borders. The lands of Gratney are described with manor place, tower, mills, etc.

Historical note.

Information is derived from—

The descriptions of Annandale; and of Graitney Parishes in Vol. I. of Mr Walter M'Farlane's *Geographical Collections*.

From Sir William Fraser's work on *The Johnstones of Annandale*.

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.

Register of Sasines; Dumfries.

Register of Testaments.

Calendar of Deeds. In Register House, Edinburgh, and other reliable sources.

The land which was the site of these old buildings ultimately formed the farm of Graitney Mains, or Old Graitney, and the Manor Place became the farm house.

No accurate information about Graitney Tower is available, but it seems to have been the "auld hoose" described as ruinous in 1721, from which the Johnstone coat-of-arms was removed to Gretna Hall. About 1867 the remains of an old building were to be seen on Old Graitney farm; they were adjacent to an artificial square-shaped pond, which was kept in order and sometimes used

as a swannery up to 1900. There is no indication of building now and the pond is a mud hole; but it seems the probable site of Graitney Tower. This position would afford a splendid view of Solway and its fords; of beacon fires on both sides the Border; it would command the fords and mills of two rivers as well as the road along Solway shore. At this point the Tower would be within a mile of The Lochmaben Stone—the Council Stone and meeting place of the Wardens of the Marches.

In 1693 the Parliament of Scotland passed an Act by which a charter was granted to William Johnstone of Graitney enabling him to hold a weekly market on Thursdays and two faires, one on the first Tuesday of July and the other on the eighth day of October.

In 1883 and at the division of Graitney estate in 1889 a Notarial Instrument was drawn up confirming the rights contained in this charter to the purchaser of the Estate. The right to hold this market and these fairs is undoubtedly held by the present proprietor of Gretna Green Village. The market and fairs were of importance. Despite the Border forays, there were several Ports on Solway, drove roads brought cattle from different parts of Scotland, and there was some commercial activity in the place. A rather casual description of the Market Cross states its stones were carved and it was surmounted by a Ball; it has long since disappeared. Early in the eighteenth century the proprietor of Graitney was a "Collenell James Johnstone or Ruthven." This man was a great builder, "the whole village with a tolbooth being lately built anew by him after a new model."

Colonel James Johnstone married Isabella, daughter of Sir Francis Ruthven, who was a Peeress in her own right. Colonel James sometimes called himself Lord Ruthven. His son James succeeded as 5th Baron of Ruthven through his mother Isabella.¹

Colonel Johnstone built the present Gretna Hall as the mansion-house of the estate and his family dwelling place. He built substantial stables, byre; outhouses and two cottages; well planned, compact and convenient for work. He

¹ *Debrett and Other Peerages.*

laid out pleasure grounds and planted trees wisely. The appearance of Gretna Hall suggests that the centre block was built first and the wings then added. There is, however, no proof of this; nor is there any record of the building of this house, the time occupied, or the cost incurred. The rooms are large, well lit, with high ceilings; the walls so thick as to suggest defence as well as comfort. On the lintel above the main door MLCCX is carved. Built into the façade above the chief entrance is a stone with the Johnstone coat-of-arms carved upon it, which once adorned the "auld hoose" of Graitney. It is a red stone 2 ft. 4 ins. high by 2 ft. broad; carefully quarried and placed in the best aspect to avoid weathering, it shows little evidence of scaling after 400 years' exposure from 1535 to 1935. The wall of the house had been built with a window-like opening, into which the stone was fitted, well-bedded in cement. The ribband is carved from the solid stone, well under cut. The motto is "Cave Paratus" (Beware I am about to bring forth Arms). The latter word, which is expressed in the "Ad Arma paratus" of Gorehead and Lochhouse, is latent here.²

Colonel Johnstone ruined himself with his good buildings. So early as 1718 he granted various bonds over the property; one in favour of Lord Queensberry. When Colonel Johnstone died (January, 1730) his whole estate was found to be in the hands of William Robertson, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh. The household plenishings, silver included, were so poor that their total value is returned as £47 16s 6d. His son James, Lord Ruthven, owed him £62 10s od.³

² Those interested may consult Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, Vol. I., page 144, plate 14, fig. 11; also *The Heraldry of the Johnstones*, pub. 1905.

³ It should be remembered that between 1710 and 1790 Britain was ruled by four Sovereigns—Anne, Georges I., II., and III. The Scotch and English Parliaments were united in 1707, with disastrous results. The Stewarts were fighting for the throne from 1710 to 1750. Land was completely out of cultivation. Farmers could not grow crops or rear stock; rents were low, buildings ruinous, and commercial enterprise impossible.

Graitney suffered many changes of fortune; but about 1790 became the property of the Earl of Hopetoun. A couple of years later he fitted up Gretna Hall as an Inn. A turnpike road existed, trade began to increase at the ports of Stormont and Sarkbridge, the market was well patronised, and English lovers began to run away to Gretna to be married.⁴

In 1825 John Linton became the innkeeper at Gretna Hall. An ex-valet of Sir James Graham, Netherby, Linton was well qualified to make the place a good "port of call." He arranged for the mail coaches to Glasgow to change horses at the Hall; he kept post-horses and carriages there, and soon had a flourishing trade. At this time there were hundreds of runaway marriages every year, and the better classes went to the Hall to fulfil love's young dream.

Near the gates was a school, one of the buildings of the late Colonel Johnstone. When wedding parties arrived a large bell was rung to summon the ostlers to take charge of the horses; the sound of this bell became well known in the village, and the schoolboys used to rush out to see the panting horses and agitated bridal pair. The spectator's most eager desire was gratified when a second carriage dashed up, conveying an angry father sometimes accompanied by his legal advisers, sometimes by Bow Street officers. The fiery language, the threatening gestures with heavy horse pistols, delighted the young spectators.⁵

March, 1826, brought Linton his first cause célèbre—the famous abduction of Ellen Turner, a Liverpool school-girl, by Edward Giblon, Wakefield. He was tried for conspiracy to abduct and imprisoned for three years. The marriage was annulled by Act of Parliament a year later.

⁴ Graitney estate passed from the Hopetoun family to James Douglas of Orchardtown, and from him to the Maxwell family about 1800. By the marriage of a Maxwell, Graitney passed to the Maitlands of Auchland and Kelston. After Mrs Maitland's death the property was divided and sold in portions, 1889.

⁵ *Reminiscences of Mr R. B. Carruthers*, who was one of the schoolboys.

On May 17th, 1835, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, grandson of the poet, was married to Marcia Maria Grant, only surviving child and heiress of Sir Colquhoun Grant of Frampton Court.

May 20th, 1840, was the wedding day of Lord Drumlanrig, son and heir of the Marquis of Queensberry. He married Miss Caroline Clayton, daughter of General Clayton.

In November, 1844, Lady Maud Villiers brought her "perfect gentleman," Captain Parke Ibbetson, to be married. She was the daughter of the Earl of Jersey. Her grandmother, Miss Child, ran away to Gretna with the Earl of Westmoreland in 1782. Both were genuine love matches and brought happiness to the adventurers.

In 1846 Carlo Ferdinando Borbone, Principii de Capoa, Italy, married Penelope Caroline Smyth, Temple Michael, Co. Waterford; and in the same year Captain Lowell married Lady Rose Somerset, daughter of the Duke of Beaufort. Another famous Italian, the Duke of Sforza-Cesarini, married Caroline Shirley in 1847; and in June of the following year E. Arabella St. John, daughter of the Duke of Bolingbroke, was married to Francis Smith.

To the old Hall came some distinguished people at a very romantic moment of their lives.

Linton kept the Gretna Hall Marriage Register with most meticulous care. Its entries extend from July 12th, 1825, to April 30th, 1855; it has two index books. There are about 1120 certificates; but these were rolled up anyhow and crushed into an old tin box. It was the entry in the Register which would stand the test of validity in any law court in the land. Sometimes a perusal of the Register disclosed most unwelcome facts. One young gentleman visited Gretna and examined the Register from idle curiosity, when he was startled to find that an uncle from whom he had expectations had recently been married!

Writers, such as Pennant in 1772, Elliot 1830, and Timbs 1841, allude to the racing and chasing which took place over the nine miles between Carlisle and Gretna. The

post-boys took a strong interest in their charges, and by their adroitness often saved the situation. Sometimes the pursuit was so hot there was no time to speak the magic words. The young couple were then hurried into a private chamber; pursuers were informed they were too late. The ceremony was over; the man and wife were having a rest and could not be disturbed.

Linton set himself against the vulgar, scandalous side of the marriage trade. He would not marry drunken men, or reprobates who returned with another woman the following week. He maintained a decorum and even a dignity about the undertaking which suited the house he occupied. Gretna Hall seems to hold itself aloof from the sordid follies of mankind, even though the dining-room was once a drinking bar described by Dickens. The built-up windows give evidence of resentment at the window tax, which is emphasised by sliding panels in the bedroom doors to provide ventilation, and to call the servants before bells were installed.

From a bed closet there is an opening passing under a passage and ending in a large window which would give a means of escape. There is a tradition of an enormous hole in one wall which could never be filled in and was finally built over. There is a portion of wall in the drawing-room which vibrates to the touch and seems made of plaster. There is an underground water storage tank, so large that a carriage and pair can be turned in it.

John Linton, sometimes nicknamed the "Bishop," died at Graitney Hall in 1851. His widow carried on the Inn for a time; but trade left Gretna Hall. It became a private residence and was sold as a single portion when Graitney estate was broken up in 1889. For a time "the Hall" took its place as Manor House to a wide parish; but it was let as a private mental home in 1930, and now is an hotel. If only its walls could speak!

The marriage trade continued in the village, but was too often conducted in a sordid, disgusting manner. "Touts" from the several inns met the arrival trains and

almost tore the clothes from the intending spouses. No longer did the ostler's bell ring a welcome to Gretna Hall.

The romantic scenes and triumphs of former days were past; the inhabitants of Gretna hoped that Lord Brougham's Act would put an end to disgraceful scenes and conduct which was a mockery of what had once been gallant adventure.

REGISTER of the GREAT SEAL of SCOTLAND.

No. 958. 13th December, 1613. At Roystoun.

The King has given letters of remission to Robert Gordoun of Lochinvar, Knight, to endure for his lifetime, for treasons and crimes committed by him, namely, for burning the house of Graitnahill belonging to deceased Richard Irwing of Graitnahill and slaying said Richard in the year 1605 or thereby; for burning the houses of Wamfray, Lokurbie, Reidhall, Langriggis, in the year 1601 or thereby; for killing . . . Neilsoun in the year 1594; for slaying James Gordoun, servitor of said Robert in the year 1608 or thereby; for seizing George Flemyng, the King's messenger, in the execution of his office, and on account of which he forced said George to invalidate the Royal Letters directed against said Robert, in the year 1594 or thereby; for apprehending John McAlexander . . . , Patrick and Robert Moffett, deceased . . . Glencors, without committing them to the King's prison, in the years 1596-97-98-99 or thereby; for adultery with Jonet McAdame, daughter of . . . McAdame; for carrying off and taking certain goods from the lands of Kirkwod; and for other offences committed before the date hereof,—treason against the King's person, witchcraft, and false coinage excepted.

REGISTER of the GREAT SEAL of SCOTLAND.

No. 637. 10th March, 1612. At Quhytehall.

The King,—whereas the underwritten lands, etc had been possessed beyond the memory of man by John Johnestoune then of Graitney and his predecessors as heritable feu-farmers and rentallers, and whereas by injury of time and by reason of the disturbances of the Borders

between Scotland and England their infeftments were burned, destroyed and lost,—with consent, etc., demits and quitclaims in feu-farm to said John and heirs-male whomsoever, whom falling his eldest heir-female without division, the lands of Graitney, with manor place, tower, mills, mill-lands, etc., in the Stewartry of Annandale;—rendering £20; also doubling the feu-farm on the entry of heirs.

Lochwood (Thornik) was burned by the Maxwells in 1585, by which fire Sir John Johnstone's charter chest and all his family muniments were destroyed.

13th December, 1935.

Chairman—Mr M. H. M'KERROW.

The Firth of Clyde and its Edible Fishes.

By J. M'CRINDLE, J.P., Dunure, Ayrshire.

After describing the physiography of the sea bottom between Arran and the mainland, the tides and the currents, he gave an account of the spawning grounds of the herring and sketched their life history. He then showed how they were fished, and went on to speak of other fishes of commercial value, e.g., cod, whiting, flounder, etc.

24th January, 1936.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

Genetics: The Science of Heredity.

By J. TAYLOR, Dalbeattie.

The lecturer described the discoveries of Mendel and some of his experiments in detail, and then explained briefly the principles of cell structure and the transmission of certain characteristics, e.g., sex.

The lecture was fully illustrated by diagrams prepared by Mr Taylor.

**The Ballad and its Origins, with an Enquiry into the
Equivalents of the Border Ballads in Scandinavia.**

By J. G. HORNE.

Mr Horne gave a very interesting account of the development of the ballad and its connection with Folk Dance and Folk Song. He described several of the Scandinavian ballads, similar to well-known Border ones, and afterwards read one entitled "Bendik and Aroliya," a Norwegian ballad, which his friend, Mr Tomter, had translated from that language into English prose, and which he himself had thereafter put into ballad form.

21st February, 1936.

Chairman—Mr G. W. SHIRLEY.

Place Names in Dumfriesshire and Other Notes.

By Col. Sir E. JOHNSON-FERGUSON, Bt., T.D., D.L.

It was suggested to me that, while collecting material for my book on the *Place Names of Dumfriesshire*, I might have come across various items of interest about the County. Owing to the very varied sources from which I get these notes they are of necessity rather disconnected but I hope they may interest you.

I am not going to deal with place names individually, they do not lend themselves to a paper like this, it would be too much like reading out a catalogue, and anyone who wants detail can get it by buying the book, but I want, first of all, to touch briefly on the distribution of the various languages through the County. There is very little doubt that originally Gaelic was spoken all over this area, probably till the Norse invasion over-ran the southern part; after that, in the Norse area, the Gaelic names disappeared almost entirely; the number surviving showing the extent to which the former inhabitants were driven out.

I went through all the names in the County by parishes

and then struck out all that had a modern appearance—and by modern I mean within the last 3/400 years. Then I classified them under their respective languages and took the percentages. This showed, for the whole county (omitting decimals), Gaelic, 45 per cent.; Norse, 17 per cent.; for the Norse parishes, to which I will refer in a minute, Norse, 39 per cent.; Gaelic, 19 per cent.; for the remainder of the county, excluding those parishes, Norse, 13 per cent.; Gaelic, 51 per cent.; and for Nithsdale alone, Norse, 4 per cent.; Gaelic, 60 per cent. I won't trouble you with a detailed list of the Norse parishes, but by marking them on a map there emerges a clear line of Norse frontier. It starts at the Lochar Moss, then passes just north of Torthorwald along the low-lying stretch where the Æ and the Kinnel join the Annan, then roughly along the north side of the Dryfe and across to the Esk at Langholm; the latter part is not so clearly defined as the western part.

The analysis which I gave you above can be carried still further in the Norse area. Some of the parishes have a low-lying agricultural stretch and behind this a stretch of hill land. I went over some of the parishes which I know intimately and found that one could lay it down as a law that the Gaelic names are only found in the hill area. A very few Norse names penetrate into the hills but not vice-versa. The few Gaelic names that come lower than usual are in places that, while not truly hill land, are rough and rather boggy, at any rate not the best land. How much of the county was forest I cannot say, but from old trees dug out of the peat hags and other indications it must have been largely forest. Peat, so I am told, grows at about one inch per 20 years, and, on that basis, the hills were covered with birch up to about 300 years ago, possibly later. I know of hags showing a thick network of birk roots at 18 inches to 2 feet down; there are also good-sized oaks got out as deep as 8-10 feet.

I think, in view of this, we may say that the old inhabitants retired or were driven to these wooded and boggy hills and were left in peace by the Norse as long as they

kept quiet; that is quiet as judged by the standards of that period. It is a mistake to suppose that all these early invaders killed off the original inhabitants; no doubt in the course of the invasion many were killed but a great many more escaped to the wild country and there continued to exist until finally the two races began to intermix. It was these forests that were so useful for giving covert for raids and ambushes in what one might call the sporting times on the Border in the 16th century.

Now to return to the distribution of the Norse and Gaelic names, try, in your minds, to forget the existence of fire-arms and arm yourselves with nothing but bows, arrows and clubs; then try and imagine the Lochar Moss and the area round Torthorwald before draining had been invented, say, 1000 years ago. Could you find a better defensive frontier? We know that across the Solway was a large Norse colony, and it seems to me that the inference is that they filtered in round the head of the Solway rather than by coming up by sea and landing on this shore, else why did they not go up the Nith which one would think was just as attractive as the Annan for colonists?

One thing that interested me very much was that the real old Broad Scots is almost identical with what used to be called Anglo-Saxon, now known as Old English.

I would suggest that the members of this Society should try to collect a complete list of Field Names through the County. It is far too big a work for any one man. Such as I know are largely called after some person, but there are one or two curious ones, such as Claw Bear and the Deer Croft. One further suggestion is that some effort be made to collect any traditions connected with the names that obviously commemorate some battle or murder; you will find them scattered all over the County

As you know, a great many places are colloquially known as "THE" so-&-so. I have not really followed up this point but, from a few instances I can think of, when the word is used it makes sense with the meaning of the old name. For instance, Bigholms, known as *The Bigholms*=

The Barley Holm; Lanark, known as *The Lanrick*=The Forest Clearing. Whether this is a general rule I am not prepared to say, but I offer it as a suggestion to anyone who cares to go into it further.

The following notes, which, as I said, are very disconnected, give a very good idea of life here 100 years ago. They are largely taken from some estate letter books which I came across and which Sir Patrick Heron Maxwell has kindly given me permission to use. Except where I state otherwise all notes are taken from these books; all the letters were written by the Factor to various people, in the ordinary course of business.

Apart from the actual quotations the thing that struck me most on reading them was, first, the seeming extreme shortage of ready money and the business it was to pay or be paid small accounts. A messenger often had to go with the cash; he apparently always arrived with the money but had often had more than one drink on the way. There are also constant references to interest paid and received on quite small sums. Secondly, the entire absence of shops as we understand them. For instance, when a supply of nails was required for the estate they were ordered from Birmingham and sent by sea to Annan. The carriage had to go to Edinburgh to be overhauled, and tradesmen seem to have been much as now, as there is a very strong letter complaining that it was not ready when promised and saying the horses are going to Edinburgh to fetch it on a certain date when it has got to be ready.

A horse was sold from Springkell to someone in Warrington, and, of course, it had to go by road and the groom find his way home again. Though not specially shown in these letters, men in those days rode enormous distances without thinking anything about it. In a diary I read the writer used to ride 60 miles in a day as a perfectly normal thing. I read in the *Field* the other day of a M.F.H. who rode 60 miles home after hunting hounds all day.

Wages were what we should call absurdly low, but,

against that, remember the change in the value of money and also that, from lack of communications, a working man had practically nowhere to spend money. Everyone lived a self-supporting life, hence we find the enormous kitchen gardens that are now such a burden to keep up. Everyone then grew their own vegetables; there used to be a butcher's shop at Springkell; they used to take their own wool to the local mill and there get it woven. An old man still working on the estate remembers carrying wool to a mill on the Kirtle.

After these general remarks the first thing I will deal with is :

Roads. Thanks to our road surveyor and the rates and taxes we pay, we can now travel fast and in comfort. This was not always the case, as the preamble to the Road Act of 1777 begins: "The roads from Annan by Dum-bretton, Kirtlebridge, Springkell, Auchenedrig to Crannel-pathfoot (near Langholm); from Graitney to the Lanarkshire march; from Dumfries by Lochmaben to Lockerbie are in winter impassable for coaches, wagons, and other carriages and dangerous to persons travelling on horseback."

By an old statute of 1686 the Commissioners of Supply were authorised to call out tenants with horses, and cottagers to work on the roads for three days in summer and three more after the harvest in each year. In 1777 an Act was passed for converting this labour into money to be spent on the roads. Under this, and later Acts, five lines of Turnpike road were made on which (with their branches) 29 bars were placed which were let in 1811 for £4134 5s.

"It is remarked that many of these roads are very grossly and openly destroyed by the plough made to pass over them and to turn and leave quantities of earth and stones on the road; a practice very inconvenient and often dangerous to travellers."¹

Various measures have been in contemplation for opening up a way to Edinburgh without going up the steep hill to Arickstane.¹

¹ *Agricultural Survey of Dumfriesshire* by Dr Singer, 1812.

On May 13th, 1811, a Committee of the House of Commons reported, on the report of Messrs Rennie and Telford: "That a bridge over the Esk at Garrieston, one over the Sark, and the whole of the road from the Eden to Kirtlebridge ought to be done entirely at the public expense."

Various canals have been suggested: One from the Solway through the Lochar Moss to Tinwald, another up the valley of the Annan to Kirkbank, and another from near Dalswinton to the Solway near Caerlaverock.¹

Tolls. The following were appointed by the Act of 1801: "For every Chariot, Berlin, Landau, Chaise, Calash or Hearse drawn by six horses, mares, geldings or mules 3/- sterling; for the same drawn by four 2/-; by two 1/-; and by one -/6; half price for every vehicle with 9 inch treads on the wheels and hind wheels in a different track to the front wheels."

In a book I have, called *Survey of the Roads of Scotland*, by Taylor and Skinner, undated but on the fly-leaf is written "R. Wintle 1806," the Carlisle-Glasgow road is shown as the road which branches off at Dinwoodie and keeps on the east side of the Annan, by Wamphray and Dumcrief to Moffat. Thence it keeps up the valley and goes over the hill near the Beef-Tub (it can still be seen as a grass track) and thence to Elvanfoot. Cary's *Road Book*, 1812, gives the same route, but a later book of 1827 gives the present road. In Harper's *Manchester and Glasgow Road* it is recorded that 70 carts of merchant goods using the road weekly had caused it to fall into disrepair.

From the same source we find that even in 1790 the argument was raging that a road like this was a national route and as such should be a charge on the Government and not on the local expenses.

(a) 1823. "The erection of a bridge at Corrie's Mill is much called for." They continued to call; for in 1831—"I am fully impressed with the necessity of keeping the ford at Corrie's Mill in a passable condition"

1824. Annan to Canonbie Road. "From Tower of Sark to Canonbie the road was the private property of the

¹ *Agricultural Survey of Dumfriesshire* by Dr Singer, 1812.

Duke of Buccleuch, with about two miles this side of Tower of Sark belonging to Sir John Maxwell."

1824. Writing of the same road: "I do not hesitate to say that the money spent on this road last season will be wasted if the public are not prevented using it during the dead of winter."

From the Factor to a builder in London: "Received your letter accompanying plan of a bridge for Annan." There is no other reference to it, so we are left in doubt as to what bridge it refers to.

1830. "The road through Cadgill Wood to Solway-bank is in such a state of disrepair that a loaded cart cannot pass some parts."

1830. The Road Contractor has been getting £4 a mile, "but," the Factor writes, "I will be disappointed if the Greta roads cannot be upheld in excellent condition for £3 a mile."

From Cary's *Road Book*, 1812, I got the following:
Coaches running from London to Carlisle—

The Royal Mail	in 36½ hours	via Scotch Corner		
			started	7.30 pm
ditto	37½	„ „	Preston	„ 7.30 pm
The Herald			to Glasgow via Ecclefechan	„ 6.0 am
The Telegraph	„		Annan	„ 5.0 pm
The Regulator	„		„	„ 3.0 pm
Another unnamed			„	„ 6.45 am

There were also five from Liverpool.

From Carlisle there were 11 daily coaches and four that ran three times a week.

At Ecclefechan the mail arrived at 12.25 p.m. and left at 3.29 a.m.

At Dumfries the mail arrived at 2.35 p.m. and left at 6.35 p.m.

Leaving the roads and coming to ordinary estate correspondence I will simply quote the letters as they come.

1822. Board wages are 4/- a week.

A school-teacher is wanted for Kirkpatrick-Fleming, salary 300 merks = £8 6s 8d.

As you will see, the present agricultural depression is nothing compared to what it was 100 years ago.

1822. There were 26 farms to let on the estate.

In the same year a new factor came, and writes :
 " I have reason to hope that in time, with Sir John's support, a degree of order and subordination may be introduced among the tenantry and low classes on this estate, of which they seem in a great measure devoid."

1823. Three farms were sold up, arrears of rent were £1114, proceeds of sale £401, balance loss £713. Another sale was arranged but on going there it was found everything had been removed.

1823. Sir John wishes to place a Sheriff's Officer in Springfield, the Factor says " a man to act between his employers and the borderers must be . . . in short a terror to all."

1823. A man is engaged to take charge of the saw-mill at 2/- a week and a cottage. " This is more than I had intended to give but he appeared so good I did not like to chance losing him."

1830. " I notice the Newcastle-Carlisle railway is likely to proceed this season."

Apparently there was a tax on saddle horses, as there is a casual reference to the payment of it.

1830. Was a very severe winter. " The labouring classes are suffering severely this winter, work is scarce, victualling of all kinds is high in price and fuel is not to be had."

1831. The Factor held a supplementary rent collection. " As there are now about £3,000 of arrears. I thought I might certainly expect £300 to £400 but my collection did not exceed £70."

Charcoal appears to have been made, as there is a letter enquiring why someone has not taken delivery of some.

There is a list of rents for Grass-parks for 1831. 32 & 33, but it is difficult to make a proper comparison as some of the figures are illegible and some parks are now changed in area, but approximately the rents were

about two-thirds of the present ones, if you got them.

A wood is advertised as "Oak fit for ship-building."

1834. The following is an extract from a lease: "The Tacksman obliges himself and his foresaids to enclose and subdivide the said farm into proper enclosures, to be approved by the proprietor, in the first five years from the commencement of this lease, with ditch planted with thorns, and to train them up and to leave the same in good order at the expiry of this lease, the proprietor furnishing brushwood for stakes and paling for protecting said hedges from injury from cattle"; and in regard to sheep the lease states: "The tacksman etc to keep no sheep on the farm during the lease unless the hedges are properly protected by a double row of stakes and palings or stakes and brushwood."

1832. Another lease states: "The tenant binds himself to keep a dog for the Landlord if required to do so, in which case he shall have an abatement from the year's rent of £1 sterling."

"The tenant shall grind his grindable corn at Corrie's Mill paying the accustomed dues and multures, and shall attend all Baron Courts at Springkell."

"The tenant shall pay . . . sixpence per pound yearly of the rent of the farm towards the fund for making and upholding private roads on the estate of Springkell, the tenant being further bound to deliver at Springkell House yearly, if required by the Landlord to do so, seven fat hens, fifteen chickens, and 45 bushells of good coal, for which he shall receive . . . at the rate of 1/- for each hen, -/6 for each chicken, and -/13 for every bushell of coal."

"The tenant is further allowed £3.15 per annum for repairing the road south of the farm till the same is completed."

1823. Two stout men are required for the woods "I will give 7/- in winter and 8/6 in summer, or, if they are good workmen 7/6 in winter and 9/- in summer per week."

Here are some short extracts which speak for themselves :

“ I have had frequent messages from the prisoners in Annan Jail.” This refers to defaulting tenants.

To the Minister of Gretna *re* his stipend : “ The present state of the country and other circumstances have prevented, . . . payment till now.”

“ I have not been able to let any of the grass fields round Springkell.”

“ There are some tenants that cannot go on longer, whose stock and crop were hypothecated after Candlemas last in security of five years rent due at that time.”

Though wages were low according to our ideas they got extra in kind, as there is an entry : “ One cow killed for workers in harvest.”

Here are some entries from a cash book of the same period.

Paid for Labourers beef	£32
ditto 20 Highland bullocks	£220
„ 200 Sheep	£220
„ an old horse for the dogs	6/-

Cheviot wool was 33/6 a stone.

Poor rates for the parish of Half Morton were £2.12.6, but it is not clear whether this refers to the assessment for the whole parish or if it is for Springkell alone, omitting the three Westerhall farms.

Window duty on the Factor's house together with his horse tax £4.2.3.

Paid to the Dumfries and Galloway Hunt for three years to September 1818 at 42/-, £6.6.0.

And finally this extract from the Half Morton Heritors' Minute Book :

1852. Schoolmaster appointed, fees to be—

English Grammar and Geography	2/-	} per quarter
Writing	2/6	
Arithmetic	3/-	
Latin Greek and French	5/-	

His salary was fixed at 2 Chalders of oatmeal per annum.

Adventures Among Dumfriesshire Insects.

By O. J. PULLEN.

I take my title for this paper from the works of the famous S. American and English naturalist, W. H. Hudson, who once wrote a book, entitled *Adventures among Birds*. In it he recounts in his own inimitable fashion some of the many interesting observations he has made on bird behaviour. These little studies are such as we all might have made when walking in this lovely countryside of ours—everyday observations on everyday types of birds—and it occurred to me that, though the number of bird observers increases until it has almost become what one might call an “overcrowded profession,” observers of insects are still rarely met with. True there are plenty of collectors of butterflies and other insects, but naturalists have rather neglected the wide field which opens before them when they commence to study insect behaviour. It is a research, too, which is easily prosecuted when compared with the long and patient watching, often in most uncomfortable circumstances, to which the bird watcher must resign himself in carrying it out. Birds in captivity act in an unnatural manner, as do birds which are conscious of being watched. Insects, on the other hand, and this applies especially to water insects, may be made captive and yet be watched going about their daily affairs in quite a normal fashion.

The object of this paper, then, is to show, if possible, first, the value and fascination of adventures among insects, and, second, by recounting a few of my own observations during only a very short stay in this county, the variety of possible work which Dumfriesshire insects present to us.

First, then, let me tell some stories of adventures among insects which a few of the greatest of naturalists have enjoyed, pointing through them to the value which such work has been to Science. It is not easy to choose, for so much great work has been done—what, for instance, could be more fascinating than the work of Sir John Lub-

bock and others on ants or the work of Huber, the blind Swiss naturalist, to whom we owe most of our knowledge of the hive bees?—but I intend to recount something of the work which Fabre and the Peckhams have done on the solitary wasps and bees, for their work has been of great interest to me.

Two only of the great groups of animals have attained outstanding success in this modern world of ours — the Arthropods (jointed-legged creatures) and the Vertebrates —and the plan of structure exhibited by them is completely different. I need only mention that the skeleton of a man is internal, embedded in muscle, whereas a lobster's skeleton is a superficial shell and the muscles are attached to the inside of it. The divergence between the two groups is just as great when we study their minds through their behaviour, for, whereas man, the highest of the vertebrates, represents the culmination of the development of intelligence, insects, the highest arthropods, might be said to exhibit the culmination of instinct. The vertebrates, through man, have done wonders through the power intelligence possesses of adapting behaviour to the conditions of environment, while, though insects also perform miracles by means of instinctive behaviour, their powers of response are curiously limited, and this presents a striking parallel with the limitations which an external skeleton imposes upon bodily size and power.

We, the highest members of the group Vertebrata, are almost entirely devoid of instincts, whereas insects are born with a remarkably complete set. Fabre's works represent a thorough study of the instincts of insects in all sorts of groups, and he describes many experiments which show how the instincts limit the insect's behaviour. His outstanding work, however, as he admits himself, was his enquiry into the egg-laying habits of the Hunting Wasps, for, he says, "Nowhere do I find a more brilliant, more lucid, more eloquent proof of the *intuitive wisdom of instinct*: nowhere does the theory of evolution suffer a more obstinate check."

This quotation more or less sums up Fabre's conclu-

sions from his observations. He maintained that the hunting wasps, which live a solitary existence building cells in the ground in which to lay their eggs and provisioning them with prey which they have paralysed—not killed—by stinging them, have a *sort of intuitive knowledge of the inner anatomy of their victims*, the stings being administered with great deliberation in the vital nerve centres so that paralysis is induced. This, a modern authority has said, is “a conclusion which is scarcely warranted by the facts at his disposal,” and the work of the Peckhams goes to detract still further from Fabre’s conclusions. No one, however, will deny Fabre his high place in the lists of distinguished scientists, for his accounts of insect behaviour are classics both in style and substance and his experiments show how his genius overcame the difficulties which beset him in his little country home where the small salary of a country schoolmaster had to cover the expenses of a large household.

His conclusions led him, as the quotation shows, to make bitter comments on the theory, at that time newly-expounded by Darwin, of evolution taking place by slow degrees by Natural Selection in the Struggle for Existence; but, as his conclusions were “scarcely warranted,” we need not concern ourselves with his opinions on that subject.

Having shown, then, that the work of this adventurer, J. H. Fabre, among insects is still highly prized, let me give some account of that part which, as I have mentioned, he considered to be his greatest discovery.

The wasp which gave him most evidence was a species of *Sphex* (then called *Ammophila*) which digs burrows in sand and provisions them with caterpillars. Fabre, as a result of all his great experience with her relatives, insisted that the grub which would hatch among the caterpillars its mother had stored for it *must* have motionless prey and, at the same time, must have fresh meat or it will be poisoned. The wasp, therefore, he concluded, must be a “perfect paralyser” with the power of rendering its victim immobile yet not dead. He wished to see the way she went to work.

He kept constantly in his workrooms large wire gauze cages filled with a great variety of insects which he fed on drops of honey concealed among flowers. When the opportunity occurred, therefore, he transferred a wasp to a small glass jar in which were the right kind of caterpillars. At last he is able to say: "Behold the worm and *Ammophila* face to face beneath the glass." She attacks, grabbing the caterpillar by the neck with her mandibles. It twists and turns, sometimes with such violence that it throws its assailant to a distance. She, however, is unconcerned, and finally thrusts her sting thrice in succession into its thorax, "plunging the weapon home with great determination into the first segment where important nerve centres are situated."

Next, deliberately and methodically she operated on all segments from front to rear.

Then, in the third act—as Fabre puts it—she grasps it with her legs, seizes the back of the neck and munches this weak spot which is very close to the brain (cerebral ganglia).

In spite of the fact that his observations showed him that the process was not always like this—the amount of malaxation of the neck, for instance, depends on whether the caterpillar's powerful jaws have been immobilised and the number of times the sting is plunged in may vary from one to a dozen — Fabre maintained that "the number, arrangement and degree of mutual independence of the nerve centres guide the sting and control the huntress's tactics." We shall be safe, therefore, in allowing him part of his theory, for a certain intuitive knowledge of anatomy must be present or *Ammophila* would not sting each segment and chew the neck, while another wasp, *Pompilus*, which paralyzes spiders, concentrates only on the important cephalothorax.

It was careful observations such as these which made Fabre famous as a great entomologist, but he was an experimenter as well as an observer, and many of his experiments were aimed at showing how fixed is the train of actions which

an insect must follow through the stages of its life, or, in other words, how perfect yet how limited are its instincts. We have all heard of the absurdities of conduct which may result from the limitations imposed upon an insect's behaviour by the fixity of its instincts. There is the story, for instance, of the procession caterpillars which are endowed with an instinct to follow the leader when changing their feeding grounds. Placed upon a sun-dial in a circle they creep on unceasingly round the edge even if good food is in the centre. One of the best of these stories—I do not know how far it is true — tells of the worker wasp imprisoned without food with a grub of its own species. It naturally wanted to feed the grub, and the instinct to do so drove it to such lengths that it bit off the grub's hind end and offered it to the head as food! Some of Fabre's most interesting experiments were designed to give insects problems to solve in order to show up the aberrations of their instincts. To take only three examples :

First, with a solitary bee which builds mud cells and fills them with a mixture of honey and pollen to serve as food for the grub which will hatch from the egg. She opened the cells while she was away. She noticed the hole when she returned and explored it with her antennæ but made no attempt to patch it, and continued to bring load after load of food although, when stored, it immediately drained away through the hole. Finally she laid her egg in the empty cell and sealed it as if nothing was wrong.

Secondly, with a solitary wasp, *Pelopæus*, which builds little mud cells in warm parts of houses and stores them with tiny spiders. He came across a *Pelopæus* which had just laid her egg on the first spider she had stored in the cell. He removed spider and egg and wondered what she would do. She continued bringing provisions, which were now "useless and absurd," when the slightest power of reasoning would have told her that if the first spider was gone the egg would be missing too. Fabre removed them each time, and finally after the 20th was brought and removed she conscientiously closed the cell which contained

NOTHING. A train of behaviour once started MUST be completed. Further, Pelopæus covers over the fine pottery of her little group of cells by daubing them with mud. Fabre removed the completed cell from the background, leaving only a broken line of mud. The patch left inside the line is quite different in colour from the cells, yet quietly and zealously Pelopæus plastered—not her house, but the uncovered support where it once had been.

Lastly, an example which I shall mention again. A wasp, *Sphex*, paralyses crickets and stores them in her burrows. Each time as she returns to her nest with her victim instinct dictates that she shall lay it at the threshold and go inside for a minute for a last look round before dragging it in. Fabre dragged it a short distance away while she was inside. She came out, pulled it to the threshold, and went in to look round again. He repeated his part and she repeated hers for 40 times, but she could not jump to the next stage in her instinctive behaviour and drag it in *without* that preliminary look round.

The work of the Peckhams, more recent than that of Fabre, tends, as I have said, to detract in many ways from the value of his work. Fabre proved more or less that insects are perfect automata, but the American workers show that their behaviour varies greatly among individuals. One may be nervous and excitable, another calm and unhurried; one careless, another neat and thorough; one suspicious, another confiding. Their work leads them to the important conclusion—perhaps as unwarranted as was Fabre's—that “the old notion that the acts of bees, wasps and ants are all varying forms of instinct is no longer tenable.” Three types of behaviour have been watched by them:

1. *Instinctive acts* which are all complex and are performed without experience, and in a similar way by all members of the same race.

2. *Intelligent acts* which are conscious acts modifiable by experience, and it is important to note that they claim to have come across such acts in insect behaviour.

3. *Acts of Imitation.*

They took special care with their observations of the species of *Ammophila* in America so that they could compare behaviour of the American species with the description given by Fabre, and, as these show the remarkable variation between individual wasps, they are worth recounting here.

By good fortune they were able to watch the seizure of the caterpillars in the field. They saw the wasp attack and saw the repulse by the violent wriggings and contortions. The wasp, however, soon succeeded in alighting over the caterpillar, and, grasping its body in her mandibles, curved the end of her abdomen under the body and darted her sting into the 3rd and 4th segment. Complete cessation of the movements of the unfortunate caterpillar resulted. Then the wasp paused and later plunged her sting into other segments. Now she paused again (note—three acts), circled above, alighted again, and with “great deliberation and nicety of action” gave more stings in the abdominal region.

This account corresponds more or less with Fabre's, but there was no *malaxation*, and when the paralysing was over what Fabre described as a sort of dance of victory with abdomen held high proved, according to the Peckhams, to be just a thorough cleaning of the body, all parts being wiped by the legs.

Several others were watched, and the number of stings they gave varied considerably as did the amount of malaxation. This is not greatly different from Fabre's account, BUT, while Fabre insists that the essential result must be perfect paralysing with motionless caterpillars, the Peckhams found caterpillars wriggling violently when the wasp larva bit them, and, while Fabre insisted on the supply of meat being fresh, the Peckhams found great variation in the length of life of the paralysed caterpillars and that the wasp larvæ ate and relished *dead caterpillars*.

From their observations, therefore, the Peckhams conclude that insects are not perfect automata, although they

do not deny the complex instincts involved in such actions as stinging of prey, carrying of booty, entering of nest, and type of architecture of the nest.

Ammophila, in its method of finishing off its nests, as in the stinging of its prey, gave them the most convincing examples of variation among individuals, for one was hurried, while another, like an artist, took one hour in cleaning up the debris and in stopping up the entrance to the burrow. Most important of all—one paused as if not satisfied with its efforts and, going away, returned with a pebble held in its mandibles and used it to pound down the soil which plugged the entrance to the burrow. This, for tool-users are rare in the animal kingdom below man and the apes, must surely have been an act requiring reasoning powers, and it is not the only one which the Peckhams describe.

What are we to think, for instance, of the little wasp, *Trypoxylon*, which builds nests with partitions of mud in the straws of thatched roofs? She, like all wasps, is troubled with cuckoo wasps who pay her unwelcome attention in the hopes of entering her nest at appropriate times and laying *their* eggs on *her* stored food. She gets over this difficulty by leaving her mate on guard at the nest whenever she is absent and he drives the cuckoos vigorously away. Not often do the male wasps help in the housework, but an individual of this species had her husband so well trained that he guarded the nest dutifully for *four* days and, in the female's "rush-hour"—at mid-day—packed in the spiders for her to save her time.

Further examples mentioned by the Peckhams as intelligent acts are taken from the black spider-hunting wasps, spp. of *Pompilus*, which hide their prey in burrows in sand. One went quite against the usual rules governing behaviour of its species and hung its spider up in a grass plant for safety from ants while she dug her burrow. Another, finding her spider too big for the entrance of the burrow, took it and hid it in clover. Then she spent 15 minutes cleaning herself, yet all the time memory kept her problem in her mind and finally she enlarged her nest.

Even Fabre's *Sphex*, which in the experiments he performed demonstrated to him the fixity of instinct, gave the Peckhams evidence of intelligence. Fabre's *Sphex* repeated one little portion of its train of behaviour 40 times, for instinct dictated that this must be done before the next operation could be performed. The Peckhams tried the same experiment on *Sphex ichneumonica*, an American sp., and found that, after they had dragged its cricket from four to seven times away from the threshold of its burrow, the wasp learnt to go straight in with its prey without the preliminary inspection of the burrow which had given the experimenters the opportunity of dragging the paralysed cricket away.

One more piece of work which the Peckhams carried out is worth describing. They, like Fabre, were impressed with the power all species possessed of finding, without the least difficulty, their own nest even if, to human eyes, the entrance was invisible, or, even when the entrance was one hole in a bank pitted with similar holes. They set out to find out if a special sense of direction was necessary for such accurate place-finding, and they came to the conclusion that we need not assume that wasps possess any special sense. This conclusion they base upon the following evidence :

1. Experiments with social wasps which prove that they find their way by recognising certain landmarks and that they recognise the entrance to their nest as a darker patch in the middle of an area of a different colour.
2. Observations on solitary wasps which go to prove that these tiny creatures know the position of their nest by surrounding landmarks.
3. Observations on locality-studies made by solitary wasps before they leave their nest.

Wasps, they found, must memorise a picture of the surroundings of their nest, for an individual of the genus *Aporus* lost its nest when a leaf near it was broken off but found it immediately the leaf was replaced. Almost all the

wasps they watched were disturbed by any change in the appearance of the surroundings of their nest. Many of them, for instance, were upset by the red-headed matches the Peckhams stuck in near burrows as their own guide to the position of the nest they were watching.

The locality-studies made by wasps are particularly impressive evidence. The Peckhams made charts in the field which show how the wasps made elaborate studies of the surroundings before leaving their newly-dug burrows. They would fly off in ever-widening circles, then rise higher and finally make off in a straight line. Second visits to the nest required no such study—the picture once made was evidently secure in the memory — and one individual *Sphex* which made several trial nests before finally completing a burrow never made a locality-study of the unsatisfactory burrows when it left them, but made an elaborate study of the surroundings of the completed burrow.

These, then, are some interesting features of the works of three great adventurers among insects—Fabre and the Peckhams—and, as you will be wondering if insects in this district can present us with such interesting problems, I will describe to you a few of my own observations upon insects in Dumfriesshire. They will not, I am afraid, be such fascinating stories as those I have just recounted, but they will, I hope, illustrate to you that there are plenty of opportunities for observers in this county of ours.

Meanwhile let us leave the solitary wasps and bees with our minds still occupied with the question so neatly put by the Peckhams: Are the wasps wiser than they seem or do they seem wiser than they are?

A piece of sandy land rolled and sown with grass seed in the hopes that it would become a lawn gave me my first adventure among solitary bees, for, upon the smooth, hard-packed surface, innumerable miniature mole-hills appeared in the summer of 1934. These little piles of excavated sand were really more like tiny volcanoes, for they had a crater-like hollow in the centre, and soon I found a small bee—in appearance just like a honey bee—coming out of them. It

proved to be the Yellow-footed Mining Bee, *Halictus xanthopus*, half an inch long, with a dull black body and with legs clad with shining golden hairs.

Often I watched the sand in the centre of some of the craters heaving as the little excavators worked, and frequently I saw them return to their burrows with legs laden with pollen. For a minute the sand would heave and then was still, until, in 10 minutes, the little bee returned to the surface head first and flew away about her business. While I watched over the burrows in the full glare of the summer sun I began to realise that some fast-flying insects with shining black bodies were waiting, too, and, later, I saw these creatures pounce upon the bees as they returned home, and, after a brief struggle, the pair would lie peacefully on their sides in the sand for a moment, then they separated and were gone about their business. Caught and examined these swift-flying little fighters proved to be the grey-headed males—the fierce struggle had evidently been their idea of courtship.

One at least of these bees was not good at finding her nest among the myriads which covered my lawn, for she plunged head first into the sand at one point but was up again in a minute and plunged down again a short distance away. In this second attempt she was evidently more successful, for her stay below was so long that it outlasted my patience and I did not stay to see her come up.

When I attempted to trace the burrows of these bees in the sand I found it difficult, for the sand in which they were constructed was so loose that they fell in when I excavated beside them. Yet my efforts proved, at any rate, that the little mining bees were good masons as well as miners, for with some mysterious mortar, probably their own saliva, each cements together the sand in the cylindrical walls of her burrow and even makes a rim of cemented particles round its entrance to keep the miniature mole-hill of excavated soil from falling in. I persevered and at last succeeded in tracing one burrow to its end, which was two inches below the surface of the soil and had a tortuous

passage leading to it. At the end the little bee had proved herself to be a master-potter, for, out of a few particles of clay, she had fashioned a tiny, oval cell of finely glazed earthenware.

In the summer of 1935 I was less fortunate, for now the sandy waste which had been the haunts of the bees was covered with vegetation and I saw few of them until the end of the season, when I came across another well-populated colony on a beaten walk beside a tributary of the river Nith. It was too late in the season to make the intimate acquaintance of this colony, however, so I had to put off further investigations until the summer of 1936, when I hope to find out more about the habits of these little creatures whose sole life purpose seems to be to dig burrows, build cells and in them to store a paste of honey and pollen upon which their grubs will feed. Although they are gregarious their life seems to be a lonely one, and the males give not the slightest help to their industrious mates.

That summer of 1934 seems to have been a good one for solitary bees and wasps, for soon after my adventures with the mining bees I found that the wasps we had been killing on the kitchen window panes were slimmer and had markings which differed from those of the common social wasps. In a day or two these wasps, which by now were very common, took possession of our living rooms where windows were curtained off by curtains hung from rods in the form of hollow brass tubes. Sitting there when the sun was out—all these solitaries seem to need the stimulus of bright sunshine to make them work—we could watch them come flying, with low and powerful hum, through the open windows, and, carrying either caterpillars or little pellets of sand, they would go to the rods and disappear head first inside.

These evidently were Wall Mason Wasps, *Odynerus parietum*, members of a genus which Fabre had often watched. It was impossible, unfortunately, to watch what went on inside the rods, but, by tapping them, I found that the wasps had been making mud partitions across the tubes

and that into the cells thus formed they were carrying caterpillars as food for their grubs. In spite of the fact that the caterpillars were as long and certainly as bulky as the wasp she could fly quite easily with her burden, holding it with her front pair of legs and her vice-like mandibles or jaws. From an unfinished cell six greyish-green caterpillars with black heads fell out, and I found, like the master-naturalist before me, that, though paralysed, they were still living and even passed excrement for the first few days. I was never able to discover where the wasps were getting their prey, but it must have been close at hand and plentiful for they seemed to come with a fresh caterpillar every five or ten minutes. I was especially disappointed, as I had hoped to see, as Fabre had seen before me, the judicious thrusts of the wasp's rapier-like sting which, entering the caterpillar's nerve ganglia, puts her muscles out of action.

Fortune favoured me in one way, however, for some of the wasps built their cells in the keyholes of chests of drawers in the bedrooms, and I was able to remove the locks and study the contents of the mud-walled cells. In them I found, exactly as Fabre had described so many years ago, the stores of paralysed caterpillars and the wasp's egg suspended from the roof where it was out of reach of any imperfectly paralysed caterpillar which might rear and struggle in its efforts to escape. When the larva hatches it uses the thread by which the egg was suspended as a life-line up which it retreats when the caterpillar it is biting wriggles to free itself.

Each day the wasp grubs, which were fat and slightly crescentic with a pointed head end bearing a minute but effective pair of piercing organs, waxed fatter and fatter as they consumed their food store. They evidently found the abdomens of the caterpillars most tasty, for the head and thorax they often left. Gradually they assumed a lavender tint, and, in little less than a fortnight, one spun a cocoon and sealed itself into its cell, one side of which had been broken away.

In this cocoon it, and its cousins in the curtain rods in

similar cocoons, would sleep through the winter, so I left them to see what would emerge.

In 1935 I saw far fewer of these wasps, although holes pierced in the mud which had sealed their cells showed that something had emerged, but very common in the windows was a very beautiful ruby-tailed wasp—a species of *Chrysus*—with green eyes and ruby-red tail, so I was forced to the conclusion that, during those long periods when my wasps had gone about their business unobserved by me, one or more of these parasitic ruby-tails followed them about and laid its eggs on the store of caterpillars the mason wasp had so industriously laid by. Then the grub of the intruder, ousting the rightful owner, must have consumed the stored food so that ruby-tails emerged from cells which I had expected to produce wall mason wasps.

In 1935, however, I came across another interesting solitary wasp which was working busily in the vertical bank of sand exposed in a field where sheep had been pawing and rubbing themselves when irritated, I suppose, by parasites. The earth thus exposed was pitted with the burrows of many individuals of the field digger wasp, *Mellinus arvensis*. Sand thrown out by the digger lay in piles at the base of this miniature cliff, and I watched the females arriving with their prey—the males, as usual, were nowhere to be seen. They came with several kinds of flies carrying them with the proboscis held in their mouth and with the body supported between their legs, and the fact that the species which they carried were chiefly those which haunt patches of cowdung helped me in my identification.

Without the slightest difficulty—though their load was not light—they flew to their nest and seemed to have no doubts as to which was their burrow amongst the many holes which were present.

I excavated and found that their burrows penetrated nearly a foot into the bank and that the angle of excavation took them downwards to the damper sub-soil. Each burrow seemed to have several cells on either side of it, although I was never able to prove, owing to the all-to-easy collapse of

their walls, where junction with the main tunnel had been made. In some I found very little of the flies' carcasses remaining, and these contained fat, shining, lavender-coloured wasp grubs slightly curled into the shape of a letter C. In others a full quantity of provisions was still present, and I found that all the flies seemed to be dead, while curled round the neck of one of them a tiny, whitish, young wasp grub was always present.

It was not until the end of August that I came across this fascinating little colony, so the lateness of the season prevented me from seeing what I longed to see—the wasps running about among the flies which haunt cattle-dung and suddenly pouncing upon one of them to dispatch it with a few lightning thrusts of its poisonous sting. My disappointment was all the keener since I had read a Bournemouth naturalist's account of the way the field digger wasp hunts in his district, and he made the remarkable suggestion that Bournemouth flies are too wary to be taken in by a wasp running, in all apparent innocence, through their midst, so that Mellinus has to adopt another method of attack. She lies on her side, feigns death, and pounces on an unsuspecting victim whenever one comes near.

In case you should think that solitary wasps and bees are the only group of insects which have interesting habits, I will now describe three insect larvæ whose behaviour I have found interesting to watch. All three are beneficial insects, for the first two, the hover-fly, *Syrphus niteas*, and the golden-eyed lacewing fly, *Chrysopa vulgaris*, have larvæ which feed entirely upon those disgusting pests—aphids or green-fly—while the last one, the glow-worm beetle, *Lampyrus noctiluca*, feeds in both larval and adult stages on snails and slugs.

First, then, for the hover-fly. One cannot search long among the hordes of aphids which, in June and July, infest almost all kinds of vegetation, sucking its juices and soiling it with the sticky sweat which oozes from them, without coming across a little leech- or slug-like creature which is the larva of the hover-fly. This little creature with a shiny,

transparent body—it is possible with a microscope to watch its life processes going on inside it—about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, has no visible legs or protuberances of any sort, yet by some means it is able to move quite rapidly from leaf to leaf. It has no need for extraordinary rapidity of movement, for its helpless, cow-like prey sit, unaware of the enemy in their midst, while they suck juices from plant stems by way of their needle-like proboscis. With the pointed anterior end of its body swaying from side to side, the hover-fly larva approaches them and fixes itself by the broad hind end of the body. With anterior end raised from the leaf or stem, it seizes them in its microscopic jaws, tosses them almost derisively aloft and sucks the juices out of their body in a very short time, tossing the empty carcase away as soon as it is drained.

The larvæ have healthy appetites and must account for large numbers of aphids in a season. One we watched accounted for five in less than 15 minutes, and this in a glass tube containing only a few "heads of game" which we had introduced. Among a crowd of aphids it must work much faster than this.

When fully fed—their colour, by the way, depends upon the colour of the aphids they have been eating—each hover-fly larva, as is usual with almost all insects, prepares for the great change or metamorphosis which is about to come and surrounds itself with a very hard coat or pupal case. From this the very different adult hover-flies emerge. They must be quite familiar to everyone, for they have large, conspicuous eyes and attract attention by hovering motionless but with rapidly moving wings over the summer flowers on whose nectar they feed.

The next insect, the golden-eyed lacewing fly, is rarer but probably just as well known because of the striking beauty of the adult. The long body is covered when at rest with a pair of diaphanous wings which fold tent-like over it. These wings are suffused with a delicate green tint, and the large golden eyes which fill the sides of the small head are so metallic and conspicuous that they seem almost to

be artificial. Long antennæ stretch backwards over the body, and with these sensitive organs the female searches for aphid-infested shoots, upon the leaves of which she will lay her curious eggs, hanging them on the end of a long and delicate stalk and fixing them in tufts together on the twig.

A girl pupil first introduced me to the dragon-like creature which is the lacewing fly's larva. So different is it in appearance from the adult that no one would recognise it for what it is. It is active and yellow and brown in colour, and its body is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length and is covered with small bristles growing from a row of little tubercles arranged along each side. The body tapers towards both head and tail, and the spindly shanks are helped in walking by a curious suctorial organ at the tail. Most prominent of all the structures its body bears are the efficient-looking forceps, which project in front of its flat, square head. What a fearsome appearance it must present to creatures of its own size, as, with lowered head—the humped middle of its body gives it this pose—and beady eye, it advances in search of its prey brandishing its terrible jaws in front of it.

The leaves of the tree upon which the girl found it were blackened as a result of infestation by aphids, so I provided the monster with some of these helpless, cow-like creatures as companions in his glass-sided den. Their minds set on plunging their proboscis into the tissues of leaves to suck their juices, the stupid creatures took no notice of the fierce stranger in their midst. He, too, was slow to realise their presence at first, but two days of starvation had sharpened both his appetite and his wits, and, turning upon his luckless prey, he swept them up in his powerful forceps, tossed them aloft as the hover-fly larva had done, and drank in their life-blood as he held them there. Each time the transparent, sickle-like jaws plunged at first into the aphid's abdomen, and I could watch, with the aid of a lens, the juices passing up the microscopic tube which leads from their needle-pointed tips to the pumping gullet behind the mouth. Held by its abdomen, the little

aphid kicked wildly with its legs but all to no avail, for, shifting his grip, the monster emptied all parts until what a few minutes earlier had been a plump, green body became a shrivelled, whitish empty skin, which finally was tossed carelessly aside. The lacewing larva had not such a voracious appetite as the hover-fly grub, for it only accounted for five aphids in one morning. I hoped to see it doing as it is said to do—covering its bristles as camouflage with the shrunken carcasses of its victims — but in this I was disappointed. So decorated it must be the personification of the “wolf in sheep’s clothing” which we read about in children’s stories.

Before the wonderful transformation which will make the fairy-like lacewing fly out of this unsightly monster can take place it must produce silk from the glands at its tail and spin itself a cocoon in which to rest. Mine, however, never reached this stage, for again I only came across it late in the season of 1935, and as every day aphids were less easy to find it died tragically of starvation.

A glow-worm provided me with another adventure in the insect world, and again my specimen was brought to me by a pupil who found it in the grass of a water-meadow at Tynron. These interesting beetles are not so common in S. Scotland as they are in the south of England, for there the grass on warm June nights is sometimes as star-spangled as the sky above. On such nights I have had many a glow-worm hunt, but though it was easy to secure the females which, with glowing tail, clamber up the grass stems and wave their lanterns to and fro to attract their winged mates, I had never before seen the larva. In shape it is like the female, and, as the common name shows, the body is more like a worm in appearance than a beetle. The male, on the other hand, is a typical sheath-winged beetle with the usual large pro-thorax.

The long segmented body with segments almost equal in size has a soft pale abdomen which is slightly pink beneath, and it is dragged along by the six rather feeble thoracic legs which are helped (note resemblance to lacewing

larva) by a rose-shaped suctorial organ at the tail. On the head are piercing jaws, and with these the larva attacks its prey—garden snails or slugs. It goes about its work in wary fashion, but, as Fabre pointed out, it is a master of the art of anæsthesia, for one gentle tweak by its jaws renders the muscles incapable of movement and after that everything is plain-sailing. A few more tweaks and the helplessness of the prey is assured, and the larva plunges its needle-like jaws into the soft and juicy flesh. In Nature several glow-worms hasten to the feast so that it is soon exhausted, but my glow-worm having everything to itself found plenty of sustenance in one small brown garden slug each week. It lay motionless beside the mass of food, its mandibles buried in the flesh and slowly the carcass dwindled until nothing but a greasy smear was left. Apparently it first pumps digestive juices into the meal and so converts it into a kind of soup before sucking it away.

Fabre describes this in detail in a case where several glow-worms were tackling one snail, but I was only able to watch my glow-worm at work on shell-less slugs, for it seemed to prefer these to the shelled snails with which I stocked its cage. "Let us leave them to themselves" and their snail "for a couple of days," writes Fabre, "and then turn the shell with its opening downwards. The contents flow out as easily as would soup from an overturned saucepan." He goes on to point out how valuable this faculty is to the glow-worm, for snails can be killed and eaten as they hang to swaying grass blades without danger of their carcasses falling off among the herbage where the rather clumsy glow-worm would have little chance of finding them again. One of Fabre's glow-worms, indeed, was so neat at its work that a snail hanging upside down from the glass roof of its den was tackled and its contents drained without the shell being loosened in the slightest from the glass to which it had **been adhering**.

20th March, 1936.

**Fragmentary Notices of the Early History of the
Burgh School of Dumfries.**

By G. W. SHIRLEY.

Chairman—Mr R. C. REID.

[This paper will appear in next volume.]

10th April, 1936.

The Ideal Burgh Museum.

By MARGERY I. PLATT, M.Sc., Royal Scottish Museum,
Edinburgh.

Miss Pratt gave a long and interesting survey of the origin and upkeep of museums in general, and then dealt with various aspects of museum work, e.g., arrangement of collections, scope and aim of museums, duties of curator, etc. She then took up the subject of Dumfries Burgh Museum, recently opened, and the gist of her remarks follows here. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides of diagrams, maps, etc. It will be remembered that I previously recommended a small museum should be devoted to local history, local products and natural resources. Foreign objects are best seen in all their variety in the national museum, but in *no place is the local history and natural characteristics of Dumfriesshire displayed, so why not do it thoroughly here?* Efforts to collect prehistoric and mediæval antiquities, household and domestic implements now in disuse, illustrations of local industries, maps, sketches and photographs of old Dumfries, Thornhill, Kirkcudbright, etc., can nowhere meet with the same success as that achieved by local enthusiasts. Strangers visiting Dumfries will only have to visit the museum to find interest in the past history, present activities, and future developments

of the neighbourhood. As an outsider I cannot presume to suggest to you what to display or what not, but perhaps you will permit me to illustrate a few general schemes, embodying suggestions which might prove useful. Regarding past history, Dumfries, Annan, Kirkcudbright, and similar coastal towns were at one time seaports plying a regular trade. Models might be made of the craft employed, indicating their tonnage and the character of their cargo, and maps shown illustrating their routes and destinations. This is surely of interest to a visitor, who now finds Dumfries linked with other localities only by rail, which is of comparatively recent growth. I have already indicated that peasant crafts of the past might be illustrated by the preservation of an old crofter's cottage, etc. Photographs of these, exhibited along with related antiques, would be of vast interest to the local public. The foremost characteristic of this part of the country, to my mind, is its agricultural importance. This subject in all its aspects should have a large place in a Dumfriesshire museum. Diagrams (preferably coloured) illustrating the relative proportions of grassland and crops, and the kinds of crops grown, as seen in this and the following slide, could be shown relating to Ayr, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries, together with other maps showing the influence of crops on the distribution of population. Arising from the figures and distribution of grassland, one's next interest would be in the stock utilising the land. Here is another diagram taken from a recent geography of Dumfriesshire, which also might be used in this connection. It will be seen from this diagram that sheep-rearing is one of the chief industries in this locality, and around this subject many exhibits of interest to the general public (and the farming community in particular) may be planned. I should suggest in the first instance an exhibition of photographs showing the various most popular breeds of sheep (in the absence of stuffed specimens, which are not desirable in a small museum on account of their needing a lot of space), and explanatory labels of their relative distribution, numbers and uses. The Cheviot is, I believe, the most popular breed on the green

hills of the eastern part of the county, and the *Blackface*, seen in the next slide, second to the Cheviot in numbers, but mainly found in the north and west of Dumfriesshire. Cross-breeds, such as seen here, may be found in smaller numbers on good farms near the Solway. Following this, the subject of the local tweed manufacture might be introduced with advantage. Samples of wool at various stages during its manufacture might be shown and a small label attached. It is more than likely that a local firm would be delighted to supply these samples—a healthy spirit of co-operation between one body and another is always a great asset in any locality, and proves to the industrial ratepayer that there really is some vitality in the local museum.

A further suggestion is that in an agricultural district the museum might be a great aid to local farmers in battling with various pests in the field which afflict beast and crop alike. The *Scottish Journal of Agriculture* will give the curator all he needs on the subject of recently discovered diseases in cattle, sheep, etc., and their treatment, and also the results of recent research of economical importance in crop-growing, etc. Should specimens or further help be needed, reference could be made to the nearest agricultural college or research station in Ayrshire (Auchincruive), while publications and statistics could be obtained from the Department of Agriculture, Queen Street, Edinburgh. Here are two instances of what I mean. One of the greatest handicaps to the business of sheep-rearing is the occurrence of various diseases due to internal worms parasitic on them. Half of all the sheep losses are found to be due to this cause. Photographs such as this, showing symptoms of a particular infection, might be exhibited along with a concise, explanatory label, and following it a specimen tube of the parasite accompanied by a photograph of a worm *in situ* in the fourth stomach. A short note emphasising means employed to prevent infection and treatment of the infected animals would also be necessary. Another disease, which has arisen only in the last ten years, and of widespread occurrence in Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, is one

related to swedes, which form the only root crop in the dairying and sheep-farming districts. In the farms shown on this map indicated by letters of the alphabet 20 lbs. of borax was applied to the soil per acre shortly before the turnip crop was sown, with very beneficial results. As a result, at no centre where the infection was previously high was injury to the crop reported. Raan is a disease causing brownish stringly areas in the central portion of the bulb, due to deficiency of borax, and experience has proved that the swede loses its sweet taste, since sugar in its juice may be reduced as much as 12 per cent. Thus raan-affected crops are quite useless for shopping purposes. As noted previously, borax application is an effective means of preventing the disease.

These two instances are among many interesting cases of control of infections upon which the curator might draw for the exhibition of interesting material of benefit to the farming community around Dumfries.

Before dismissing the subject I should like just to refer to the increase of the heather beetle, which, I understand, is making an impression on the grouse moors here, as well as in other parts of Scotland. It is not a recent pest, although it is only within the last twenty years that the true nature of the case was realised. The common heath of our moors (*Calluna vulgaris*) is attacked by a beetle both in the young and adult stage, causing the heather to appear "frosted"—in fact at one time frost was thought to cause the damage. It was proved beyond doubt about 1911 that this beetle (*Lochmæa suturalis*) fed extensively on the leaves of the heather, in such vast numbers that areas of heather were destroyed, rendering the infested moorland useless for the support of game fowl. Within the last year a biological control has been found for the heather beetle. The crops of some partridges when opened up were found crammed with heather beetle; 933 were counted in one particular bird's crop. It is quite evident, therefore, that if the lives of partridges are spared the heather beetle will not only be controlled, but even its extinction might be brought about,

quite inexpensively and without further effort. To my mind the local museum is the place to deal with such problems of economic import as those cited above. And when this is done and the curator keeps ahead of the times it will not be long before local farmers, agriculturists, in addition to the intellectually-minded and the children of any locality, will acquire the habit of seeking advice and interest from their museum—and never seek in vain.

The subjects to be dealt with in a museum are unending. I have only had time to indicate some new lines of progress which might be made. Obviously arts and crafts, local industries, local fauna and flora, weather charts, children's exhibits, etc., could all be dealt with in a similar way. Publishing of guides and published lists of things wanted, keeping in touch with the daily press, will all help to get co-operation from interested members of the general public, quite apart from the members of the local scientific society, whose interest and help can always be relied on.

In closing, allow me to wish every success to the new museum venture in Dumfries. The Observatory Museum I saw this afternoon is on the right lines, most charmingly arranged, but a mere fledgling. May it grow so fast that soon additions or a new building will be an imperative necessity, and so go on from strength to strength until it becomes a vital force and blessing to all the neighbourhood, worthy of its city and borough

Thomas Watling
LIMNER OF DUMFRIES.

By HUGH S. GLADSTONE.

[NOTE.—For the sake of more uniformity in size, this paper has been printed here instead of in the next volume.]

It is known that Thomas Watling was one of the earliest artists to portray the fauna of New South Wales and he was also the author of a book entitled *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay, to his Aunt in Dumfries* which was printed, at Penrith, but published anonymously and without date.

In 1932 I received a letter¹ from Mr K. A. Hindwood² of the Australian Museum, Sydney, Australia, in which he asked me for any information I might be able to obtain as regards Thomas Watling and, amongst other questions, Mr Hindwood propounded the following:

- (1) Who was Watling and what was his status in Dumfries?
- (2) What was he transported for?
- (3) Did he return to Dumfries after being in Sydney?

The "letters" in Watling's book³ are addressed to his Aunt and are dated: "Sydney-Cove, Port-Jackson, New-South-Wales, May 12th, 1793"; and "Cape of Good Hope, African-Coast, Tuesday, Dec. 13th, 1791." From these we learn that, after being convicted by a Scottish tribunal, he was sent out from England in the "Pitt"; that he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, via Rio de Janeiro, that he escaped at the Cape but was recaptured after about a month and kept in prison seven months, and that finally he reached his destination in the "Royal Admiral."

It was surmised that Watling's trial must have taken

¹ 12th April, 1932.

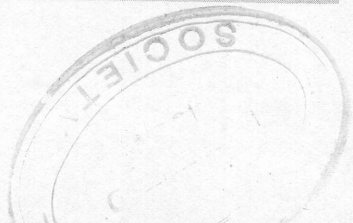
² Honorary Ornithologist, Australian Museum, College Street, Sydney, Australia.

³ *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay, to his Aunt in Dumfries.*

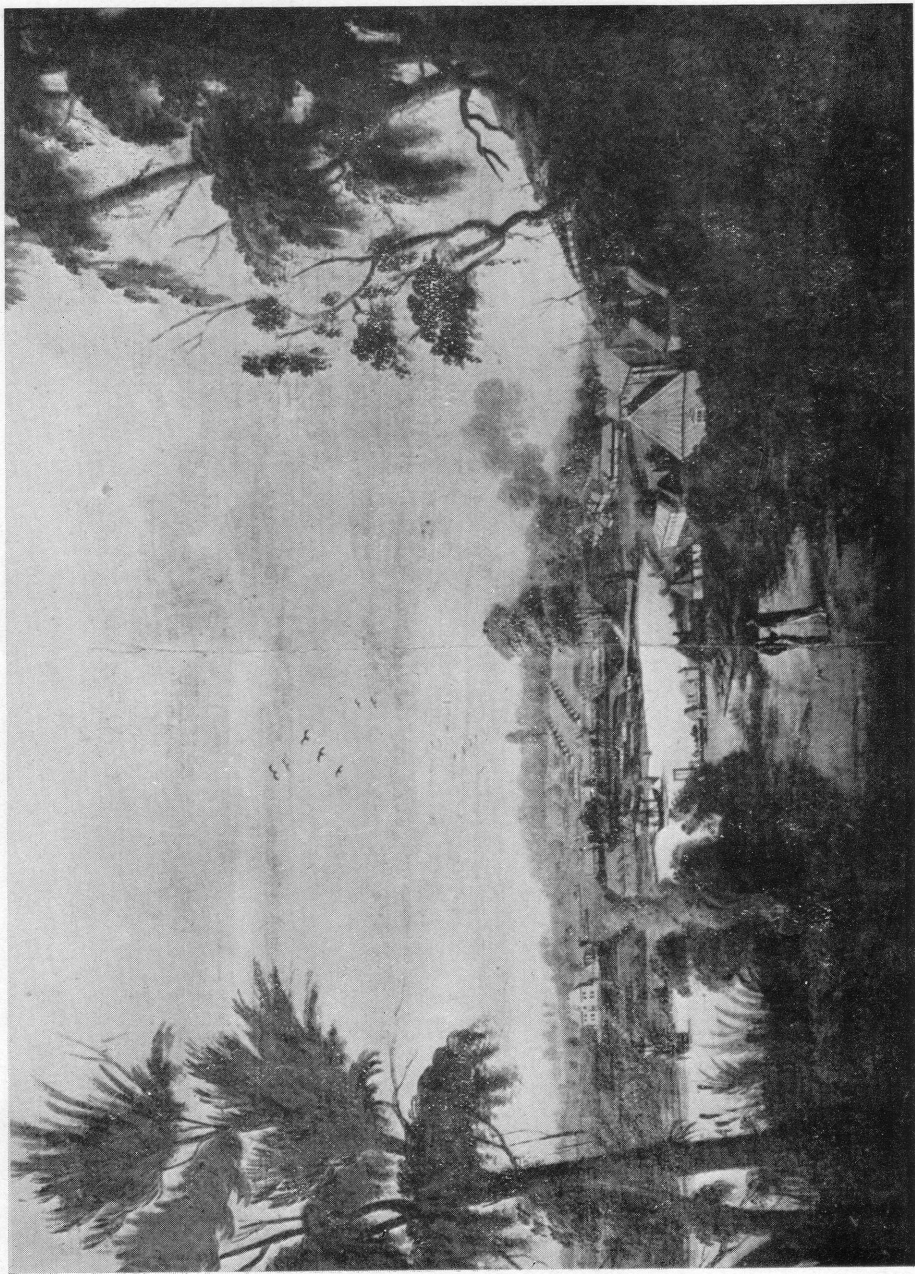


*A sheet North general View
British Settlement in
appeared in 1794 being
Establishment.
Painted immediately*

*of Sydney Cove the chief
New South Wales as it
the 7th year from its
from Nature by
J. Matlong.*



Frontispiece to "Thomas Watling."



Painting of Sydney Cove, in 1794, by Thomas Watling.

place in 1790, and the assistance of the officials of the Justiciary Office, Edinburgh, was accordingly invoked but without result. I then inserted a query in *Notes and Queries*⁴ which bore fruit in the shape of a reply from Miss Ida Leeson (Mitchell Librarian, The Mitchell Library, Sydney) stating that "original convict indentures in this library show that Watling was tried in the spring of 1789 at the Circuit Court of Dumfries. He received a life sentence, but the indentures do not state the offence for which he was convicted."⁵ This valuable information was supplemented by another reply from Mr T. C. Kinniburgh to the effect that "Brief particulars of the trial, conviction, and sentence of the above are to be found in the *Caledonian Mercury*, an Edinburgh newspaper, under date 18th Apr., 1789. He was a limner of Dumfries and was transported for fourteen years for forging notes of the Bank of Scotland."⁶

It was now with greater confidence that the Justiciary Office, Edinburgh, was again approached and I should like here to express my warmest thanks to Mr Alexander Rae for his very great kindness in making the most full and careful enquiries into the case.

In due course Mr Rae sent me the following :

" Excerpt from Circuit Minute Book re Trial of Thomas Watling. At Dumfries, 14th April, 1789, before

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, 5th August, 1933, Vol. 165, pp. 80-81.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, 29th December, 1934, Vol. 167, p. 461.

It was not till some eighteen months later that Mr K. A. Hindwood told me (*in litt.*, 19th November, 1935) that Miss Leeson had informed him that farther search in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, had revealed fuller details of Watling's conviction and that she was of the opinion that the term "life sentence" (above quoted) was a mistake in the hand-written list.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 12th January, 1935, Vol. 168, p. 32. (It has not seemed necessary to give the quotation from the *Caledonian Mercury*, 18th April, 1789, in full, since official documents will be quoted. *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 2nd December, 1788, and 14th April, 1789, also gives a short account of Thomas Watling's conviction.)

Lords Braxfield and Hailes, Thomas Watling, sometime painter or limner in the Town of Dumfries, present prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dumfries. Indicted at the instance of the Crown and the Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland with concurrence of His Majesty's Advocate of the Crime of Forgery in manner mentioned in the criminal libel raised against him thereanent. The libel being read over and the Pannell asked if he was guilty or not, he answered that there was a Petition given in for him submitting to a sentence of transportation. The Petition was read over and judicially adhered to by the pannell and to which the Advocate Depute gave the consent on the part of the Crown and the Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland. He was sentenced to be transported to one or other of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America or to such part or place beyond seas either within His Majesty's dominions or elsewhere out of the same as His Majesty by and with the advice of His Privy Council shall declare and appoint for and during the space of 14 years from and after the date hereof."

Shortly afterwards Mr Rae sent me a copy of all the "Documents *in re* Thomas Watling"^{6a} and when doing so he wrote :

"There is not much in any one paper, but linked together they may be of use. They are certainly very interesting. As Watling pleaded guilty no evidence was led, but the Declarations etc. give some indication of the evidence that would have been led. I enquired at the Crown Office in case any of the precognitions prepared for Watling's trial might still be in existence, but a close search revealed nothing."

It is not easy to epitomise these papers but the following items are of interest. Watling was first "judicially examined," at Dumfries, before John Welsh the Sheriff-Substitute of the County, on 27th November, 1788. He was charged with forging "Guinea notes upon the Bank

^{6a} These "Documents" are printed in full in an Appendix.

of Scotland” and he declared “that he has lived in the Town of Dumfries all his life and has for some years past been employed or employed himself as a painter.” On 28th November, 1788, in course of a further examination, he mentioned the name of “his own Aunt May Kirkpatrick” and this is not only interesting as revealing the name of the person to whom his *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay* were addressed but is also important as a clue in subsequent developments. On 29th November, 1788, he presented a petition to His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for the County of Dumfries, asking them to authorise his liberation: in this petition he states “what answer he gave to the charge made against him he cannot recollect, but now that his mind is calm and his recollection clear he says the answer he meant to give was to this effect that he was not directly or indirectly guilty actor or art and part in the crime alleged against him, nor did he, or in justice could he, criminate any other person; And if anything to the contrary hereof fell from him while under examination and while his mind was in agitation and his Recollection deranged, he in justice to himself makes this application for having it recalled, that neither he himself, or any person may thereby come to any further trouble. He does not know what proceedings have taken place in consequence of the information exhibited against him. But he is advised that the crime of forgery consists not simply in the attempting an imitation of a piece of writing, but in putting the imitation to use with a fraudulent intention, he has not heard of any proof being got upon this head, and as his innocence makes him conscious that no proof can be brought either of his forging the notes of any Banking Company or individual person, or issuing the same; or causing them be issued by any interposed person or his issuing or causing be issued any notes whatever knowing them to be forged; so he is led to consider his imprisonment as being without good grounds; and seeing his Informers will not undertake to bring a proof of what constitutes the essence of the crime imputed to him, viz., the putting any forged notes or other writings to a fraudulent

use. He humbly apprehends your Honours will be justified in recalling the Warrant for imprisonment and restoring him to his liberty that he may not be longer injured through a false Information."

On 15th January, 1789, however, Thomas Watling refused to say whether this petition was written at his desire and on 14th April, 1789, he presented a petition in the following terms :

" UNTO The Right Honorable The Lords Justice Clerk and Hailes one of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary on their Circuit Court at Dumfries.

The PETITION of Thomas Watling, Limner, present Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dumfries.

HUMBLY SHEWETH

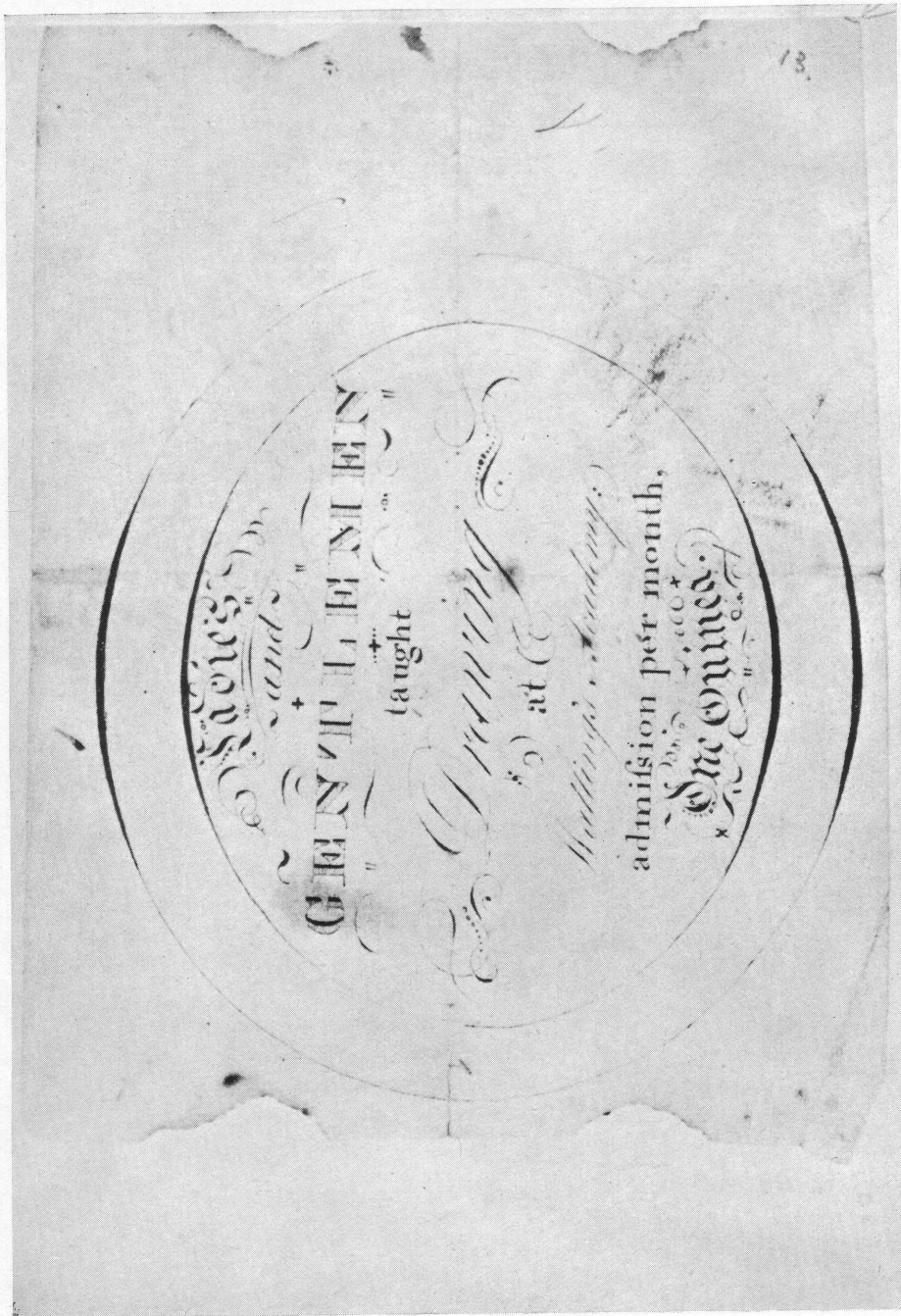
That the Petitioner stands charged at the instance of Ilay Campbell, Esqr., His Majesty's Advocate for His Majesty's interest and of the Governor & Company of the Bank of Scotland with concurrence of His Majesty's Advocate for the Crime of Forgery, as particularly mentioned in the Criminal Letters raised against him thereanent and upon which he is to be tried before your Lordships this day.

That tho' the Petitioner does not mean to admit his being guilty of the crime libelled, yet he foresees that, after being suspected and accused of such a crime he cannot remain longer in this country with any degree of credit and hope of satisfaction and comfort, therefore instead of standing trial consents to be transported forth of this kingdom for such time, in such manner and under such certification as to your Lordships shall seem proper.

May it therefore please your Lordships to accept of this Offer of Transportation and to banish him accordingly; and the Petitioner shall ever pray.

(Signed) Thos. Watling."

It may be noted that the "criminal letters"—equivalent to an Indictment of to-day—charged Watling



Advertisement of Watling's Academy.

with forging, in the year 1787 or 1788, "certain promissory notes—at least to the number of 12—for the sum of one pound one shilling stg., or one guinea each." If he had been convicted, Thomas Watling would probably have been sentenced to be hanged but his petition was granted and—as has already been stated—he was sentenced on the same date—14th April, 1789—to fourteen years' transportation.

It had been hoped that these papers in the Justiciary Office might have furnished the names of some of Thomas Watling's friends who are referred to—only by initials—in his book *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*: a list of forty-five witnesses to be adduced against him is extant and it could hardly be expected that these would include the names of friends whom he might have cited had he pled not guilty. It was also hoped that these papers might have given some information as to Watling's age and parentage but this was not forthcoming. It is, however, remarkable that, amongst the documents exhibited at his trial, was a "Drawing Sheet announcing classes for teaching and terms" as follows: "Ladies / and / Gentlemen / taught / Drawing / at / Watling's Academy / Admission per month / One Guinea." This document was probably put in as evidence of Watling's ability as an engraver and possibly to show the similarity of the paper on which the document was written to the paper actually used in the making of guinea notes of the period.⁷ So far as this biographical sketch of Thomas Watling is concerned the document is of interest as

⁷ I had hoped that I might have been able to give a reproduction of the actual forged guinea-note of the Bank of Scotland which must have proved the most inculpatory evidence against Watling at his trial in 1789; this, unfortunately, is not available. Mr Rae (Clerk of Justiciary) and Mr William Angus (Curator of Historical Records) have, however, most kindly supplied me with a photograph of his advertisement of his Drawing Academy (see *Plate 1*) which was produced at his trial—doubtless as evidence of his caligraphy—and, through the courtesy of the Bank of Scotland I am able to reproduce a photograph of one of their guinea-notes of the period (see *Plate 5*).

indicating that he could not only draw but that he also taught (or was prepared to try to teach) drawing.

In the absence of information as regards his date of birth a professional searcher of records was employed to examine the appropriate Dumfries registers in Edinburgh and he reported as follows: "I have made search in the Parish Register of Dumfries baptisms 1750 to 1775 and marriages 1750 to 1762, for the birth, or baptismal entry, of Thomas Watling and the marriage of his parents; the only entry found, however, is as follows, viz.:

1762 September 19: Thomas, lawful son to Ham Watlin, soldier, baptised. Witnesses John Hepburn and William Donaldson.

There is no trace of any other children baptised to this man, nor any trace of Ham's marriage in Dumfries."⁸

It is to be noted that, in the papers relating to Thomas Watling's trial, his surname is occasionally spelt without the final g and — in view of certain statements which will be quoted as regards his age — confirmation of this baptismal register was most desirable. This is forthcoming in a document in one of the convict volumes, in Sydney, which has been transcribed by Miss Leeson and sent to me by Mr K. A. Hindwood.⁹ The document referred to is the certificate of the Sheriff-Substitute of the shire of Dumfries of the male convicts under sentence of transportation, to be sent to Edinburgh for the purpose, dated 4th June, 1789. The entry for No. 7 is as follows:

"Thomas Watling, by trade a painter or Limner in Dumfries, aged about 25 years, accused of the crime of forgery at the Spring Circuit held at Dumfries in Anno 1789, but who petitioned submitting himself to a sentence of transportation, and who was by the judges decerned and adjudged to be transported for 14 years from the date of his sentence, being 14th April."

It will be noted that this document gives his age as "about 25" but it is clear that Thomas Watling was over

⁸ John Macleod; *in litt.*, 8th April and 3rd July, 1935.

⁹ K. A. Hindwood; *in litt.*, 16th July, 1935.

twenty-six and a half years of age at the time of his being sentenced to transportation.

I have already referred to the material assistance rendered by Mr T. C. Kinniburgh who has studied the contemporary files of the *Caledonian Mercury* with unexpected results. The following extract which he sent me refers to Thomas Watling and six fellow prisoners: — “ Saturday night [6th June, 1789] seven convicts, under sentence of transportation, arrived here [Edinburgh] from Dumfries, and were lodged in the Tolbooth :”¹⁰ but it came as a surprise to be furnished with extracts from the *Caledonian Mercury*¹¹ giving an account of a mutiny, on board the ship “ Peggy ” of Leith, in which a “ lad named Watling ” had played a conspicuous and — be it noted — a commendable part. It appeared that the captain of the vessel was so much impressed by his good conduct and that of one Paton that he interested himself on their behalf with the result that Paton was granted a free pardon.

It seemed certain that some official record of this “ pardon ” would be extant and that possibly some mention of Watling would be made therein. A professional searcher was therefore employed at the Public Record Office, in London, and amongst certain papers dealing with Scottish Affairs, in the Criminal Section, she found full details of the mutiny as contained in a letter from Robert Smith, Captain of the “ Peggy ” to Mr Peter Crewden, Ship Master, Leith.

“ On Board the Peggy At Spithead ye 5th July 1789.
Mr Crewden,
Sir,

I wrote to you Yesterday but being in haist As there was A Officer from the Admerals Ship waiting on me I could not Inform you particularly of Our proceedings, what Indewced me to Come in here was perfect Needsesity, will you belive me when I tell you that the Convicts Came

¹⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, 8th June, 1789.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 11th and 13th July and 10th September, 1789.
(It has not seemed necessary to give the quotations in full, since official documents are quoted in the text.)

to that Lenth of deffiance as to either cut their Iorns or take them off with the lose of the skine of their Hands. I was Oblidged to have 5 of the ring-leaders of them Chained to the Learge Cadge in the hold, but it was of No Use As they cut their Iorns in the Night time, and they Tried to Weary us out for want of Sleaf by Singing and hurraing the whole Night their Intention As I told You before was to Murder us All but two to carrie the Ship into A harbour and Escape, Judge than whither or Not I had good reason to come in here, I no sooner Applied to the Admeral but he sent Orders for a Corporal and six Men to go on board as a Gward, and to the Southamptown frigate to Convey us down the wind is now westerly but she sails to morrow and taks us in towe so that I am freed from A Charge I would not again take in hand for Any Money the Marines are Vitualed from their Own Ship so that we are At no Expence on their Acctt. I must not forget to Inform You that the reason of their not getting their wicked And Crewal plote put in Execusion was Owing to Information Received from the lad Named Watling who was Accused of forgery which from his beheavour since he Came on board I belive to be false. I was also Much Oblidged to Mr Paton for what Information he could give Me, it will be An Act of Gratitude in Me to do all in my pouer in their favour At Plymouth. As I may trewly Say it is to these Men and their parteners I am indeted for My Own life and those of the Ships Company. The principal Men in the Plote were that raskal Anderson the two Irish men and seven Others. I shall write to you on My Arival At Plymouth and you May depend that no time shall be Lost there.

I remain Sir Sincerly Your Humbl. Servant

Robert Smith¹²

Captain Smith's letter was forwarded to the Lord Advocate—Illy Campbell¹³—together with a letter from Messrs

¹² Public Record Office; Home Office; Scotch; Criminal; H.O. 102/52.

¹³ Illy Campbell; *b.* 1734; Lord Advocate, 1784; *d.* 1823.

James Morrison & Co., merchants in Leith, who stated that they had, for a considerable time past, carried on business satisfactorily with Paton: and another letter from A Somervail, who—"as an Insurer of the Transport, to Plymouth, against the hazard of the Convicts running away with the vessel"—had seen the convicts put on board and had conversed with some of them. He had been particularly struck with Paton's demeanour, and he writes:

"I became so far interested in his fate, as to beseech of Capt. Smith to show him as much indulgence, on board, as his duty to his trust could safely warrant him to do. . . . Watling I had but very little conversation with but—from the Captain's letter—he appears to have been equally useful in saving the ship's company as well as preventing the whole convicts from being again loose upon the country."¹⁴

This correspondence was duly forwarded by Ilay Campbell to Evan Nepean¹⁵ with a covering letter, dated 20th July, 1789, as follows:

"Dear Sir,

From the enclosed Papers you will see that when the Convicts from this Country were lately on their way to Plymouth, a very daring attempt was made by them to rise upon the Master & Crew of the Transport, & probably to murder them. Their plan was frustrated chiefly by means of Andrew Paton, one of their Number, for whom the enclosed applications are made. Upon enquiring into his history I find that he was reputed to be a Man of very decent Character till the Necessities of his family led him to the Commission of the Crime for which he was sentenced to Transportation, viz., stealing or driving off two Cows from a neighbouring pasture to his own Cowhouse. He has a wife and family, and I am apt to believe that if his

¹⁴ Public Record Office; Home Office; Scotch; Criminal; H.O. 102/52.

¹⁵ Evan Nepean; *b.* 1751; Under-Secretary at the Home Office; Secretary of the Admiralty, 1795; created Baronet, 1802; Governor of Bombay, 1812-19; *d.* 1822.

Majesty's mercy is extended to him on acct. of the Service lately performed, he may still make a good & useful Member of Society.

As to Watling whose name is also mentioned, his Crime was deeper, viz., Forgery. He is a young Man, unmarried, & an ingenious Artist; he will be an acquisition to the new Colony at Botany Bay, tho' perhaps it may be right to recommend him to the attention of those in Command there on acct. of the merit he has had in this late affair. The others ought to be narrowly watched, particularly the two Soldiers from Aberdeen, who were very unruly there & Anderson an old offender.

I have the honour to be
Dear Sir your most obedt.
humble Sert.

Hay Campbell.¹⁶

As a result Andrew Paton was granted a free pardon, dated 5th August, 1789,¹⁷ but Thomas Watling received no such reward.

On 3rd October, 1790, he addressed the following petition, from "Dunkirk;¹⁸ Plymo. Harbour," to Sir James Johnstone, Bart., of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire:¹⁹

"Most Honoured Sir,

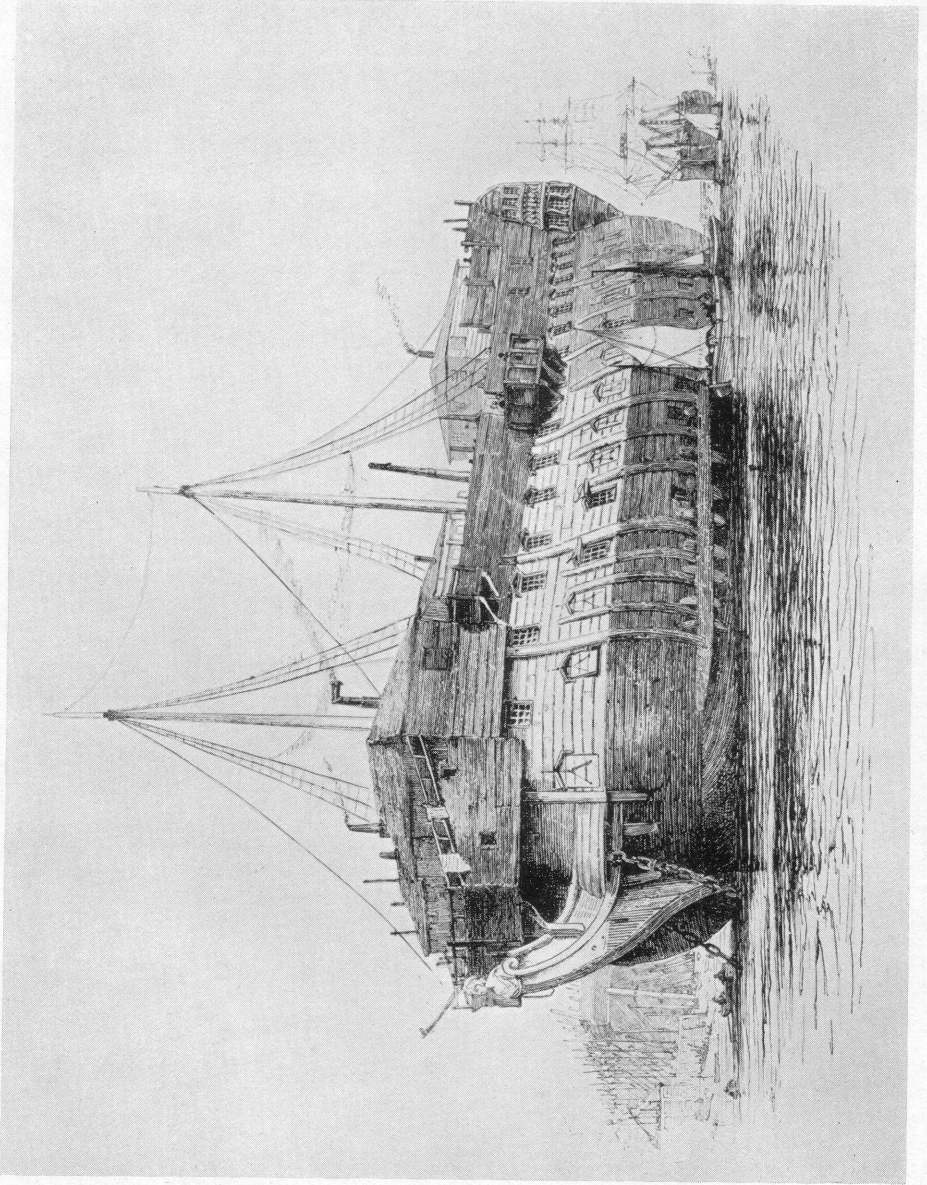
I am truly sensible that this my last poor address, and humble petition, tho' not drawn up with the accuracy it demands yet notwithstanding, it will, I hope, appear excuseable from the situation of the writer, A tale of woe, even tho' founded on ignominy, I have been induced to imagine your sympathetic bosom can beat responsive to —if so, this will not need unnecessary apology.

¹⁶ Public Record Office; Home Office; Scotch; Criminal; H.O. 102/52.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Thanks to the courtesy of the Trustees of the Maritime Museum, Greenwich, I am able to reproduce a woodcut of a convict hulk of the period, which might well be the "Dunkirk" (see *Plate 2*).

¹⁹ Sir James Johnstone, 4th Bart. of Westerhall; *b.* 23rd January, 1726; M.P., Dumfries, 1784-90; *d.* 3rd September, 1794.



Convict hulk of the period: possibly the "Dunkirk."

In duty to the solicitation of my helpless Aunt & the salvation of myself, I assume the freedom. Such is her simplicity of heart as to imagine the great will stoop to relieve the distressed; upon that anchor do I at present lean. She tells me your honour will not hesitate to stretch out your helping hand to save me; may kind Providence experience to me that there is such a good remaining still as Philanthropy upon earth.

Alas! my story is long and complex; nor, tho' innocent, and I master of sufficient language to tell it to my advantage—Possibly your honour would hear it in unavailing Dumfries, which makes me shudder to think of it. The imputed crime is dreadful! its present situation has made the very sound to carry deadly awe with it; but do not—in kind compassion do not let the sound only cut me off while the tender mercy of your honour can redeem it and me.

If then, your honour, on the other hand, has ever heard of your humble Petitioner from charitable uninfluenced mortals, by their character be the decision. Neither a single witness, or a single action suborned against me, could trace me guilty, for my innocency rendered the search vain; but over-ruling destiny that blinded me to listen to cruel dissimulation brought me to this unhappy period, & to implore your compassion towards me the child full of real sorrows and misery.

Gratitude shall ever be my glory and my boast: if your honor should save me, it would make me the happiest of mankind; yet I cannot but confess my poor glory and boast never could make an adequate retaliation for such redemption—still the little all in my power shall be sacrificed in return and my prayers extended in behalf of my very enemies.

Hence, most honoured Sir, if indigence and distress ever had a claim upon humanity, I think from my aching heart your humble Petitioner claims a right to it. Cut off too much, in early life, and rendered incapable of every good and laudable pursuit, whilst I barely exist. The

dreadful vista of my future existence has drawn upon my depressed mind, that none who see me but would imagine I was fitter for the grave, than to hope for farther health or happiness in this world; indeed, the perturbations that possess my soul damps every gleam of joy, and almost hope the last remaining little left, either for myself or giving a helping hand to a poor decrepid and declining good and loving Aunt.

If your honour restores me back we would together lead the residue of our days in obscurity from the follies and vices of this transitory and wicked world—and every dawning day and setting sun, offer up to the Father of Mercies, a sincere prayer for your disinterested charity towards us your humble petitioners : now

May the great God fill your Soul and incline your heart to continue as he has hitherto done in all that is truly brave and good, is, and ever shall be the prayer of your ever faithful and humble Petitioner

Thomas Watling.

Most Honoured Sir,

Should your famed humanity influence you in my favour, I have the pleasure to say that no help will be a wanting that is in the power of my kind overseer to minister. Captain Groundwater is not more my Governor than friend & confidant—were I happy enough to have my liberty resting upon the decision of him, or Mr Bradley I would be one of the happiest mortals.”²⁰

Probably Captain Groundwater and Mr Bradley were two of the officials on board the “Dunkirk” convict hulk and there is nothing of any interest in this petition except its sanctimonious style which identifies it as a typical piece of work of the author of the book *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*.

Sir James Johnstone received another petition on behalf of Thomas Watling, from his Aunt Marion Kirkpatrick, dated 24th November, 1790 :

²⁰ Public Record Office; Home Office; Scotch; Criminal; H.O. 102/52.

“ Unto the Honble. Sir James Johnston of
Westerhall Bart.

The Petition of Marion Kirkpatrick resider
in Dumfries.

Most Humbly Showeth,

That the Petitioner is Aunt by the mother's side to the Unfortunate Thomas Watling who was lately on his own Petition at a Justiciary Circuit Court held at Dumfries, Banished to Botany Bay for a term of Years, on the Bare Suspicion of Forgery without the least probability of any guilt being adduced against him in the event of a Tryal.

That the said Thomas Watling is at present a very young man of unripe Years and was so when he rashly & imprudently without the advice of Council and friends signed the aforesaid Petition he being then a minor at least within the Anni Utiles And the fact is both his Parents died poor and left him in infancy under the care of the Petitioner a woman never married and in low circumstances, now near Fifty years of age And she was induced to educate and instruct him purely from motives of relationship and Humanity far above her abilities And gave him the best Opportunities in her power to gain bread for himself, and as soon as he acquired any Capacity he on every occasion showed a sense of gratitude and a strong inclination to the Outmost of his power to be the supporter and Comforter of the Petitioners old age.

That the Petr. is well informed her innocent Nephew is not yet entered upon his exile, But is on Board the Dunkirk lying at Plymouth Harbour.

In these very distressing Circumstances affecting both age and youth The Petitioner with humble hopes of Success for relief of both the aunt and the nephew now looks up to your Honour long distinguished for Gracious acts to the public and individuals in expectation that your Honour will be pleased to exert and use your powerful influence to save the Youth who may be the instrument of Comfort on her declining life.

May it therefore please Your Honour to consider the situation of an aged woman and the unhappy situation of her nephew and to give her and him such relief as to Your Honour in your great wisdom and benevolence shall seem proper and Your Petr will ever pray &c.

Marion Kirkpatrick.

Robert Thomson.

P.S. This my humble petition is agreeable to your honours request of reminding you when in London.'²¹

This petition affords a few items of information. It tells us that Marion [previously termed "May"] Kirkpatrick was an unmarried woman and was [in 1790] nearly fifty years of age: also that she was Aunt by the Mother's side to Thomas Watling whom she had educated as both his parents died poor and left him in infancy under her care. Thomas Watling is described as "at present [1790] a very young man of unripe years"; and at the time of his making his petition for transportation [14th April, 1789] is said to have been "a minor at least within the *Anni Utiles*."²² It

²¹ Public Record Office; Home Office; Scotch; Criminal; H.O. 102/52.

²² This designation is thus explained in *Latin Phrases and Maxims*, by John Trayner, Esq., Advocate, as follows:—"Anni utiles."—Literally, years which can be used; years in which a right can be exercised. Both these phrases are most frequently to be met in cases where a question of prescription is at issue. Against any one fully able, during the whole period, to assert and defend his right, the years of prescription are *anni continui*; but as the loss arising from the currency of prescription is considered as the penalty of negligence, the prescriptive years are not so regarded in the case of one under a legal incapacity to sue. If an heritable right is being acquired by prescription against the proprietor of lands, or if a title, questionable in itself, is becoming valid through prescription, and a minor becomes entitled to that right against which prescription is running, the currency of the prescriptive period ceases until the minor is *valens agere*, i.e., in a position to defend his right on attaining majority, although, therefore, the

will be remembered that Watling is described as a "lad" in Capt. Smith's account of the mutiny on the "Peggy" and these juvenile descriptions cast doubt on the applicability of the baptismal certificate of Thomas Watlin (baptized on 19th September, 1762) until this was confirmed—or at least strengthened—by the document already referred to²³ in the convict volumes in Sydney. Having now ascertained that Thomas Watling was an orphan in 1789, the services of a professional searcher were employed to see if an entry of the death of his father and mother could be found in the Death registers of Dumfries between the dates 1762 and 1789, but this search was made with a negative result.²⁴ The only other item of interest in this petition lies in the postscript which seems to indicate that Marion Kirkpatrick had been in communication with Sir James Johnstone on the subject prior to her actually sending him her petition which it will be noticed bears, in addition to her own name, the name of Robert Thomson whom it may be supposed was her legal adviser.

From endorsements on the documents it would seem that Sir James Johnstone gave these petitions to Lord Grenville,²⁵ the Home Secretary, who asked the Lord Justice Clerk to report on them, which he did as follows :

" Edin., 25th Decem. 1790.

My Lord,

I have the honor of receiving Your Lordship's letter

Note 22 continued.

prescriptive period may in reality have expired, yet as there were some years which were not *anni utiles* to the minor, prescription does not take place. On the succession of the minor the currency of prescription ceases, and only resumes when he has become *valens agere*." A legal luminary has informed me that the term, "a minor at least within the *Anni Utiles*," might be translated as "almost a minor," and he would not take exception to its application to a man of Watling's age in similar circumstances.

²³ See p. 76, *antea*.

²⁴ J. Macleod; *in litt.*, 10th July, 1935.

²⁵ William Wyndham Grenville; *b.* 25th October, 1759; created Peer 25th November, 1790; *d.s.p.* 12th January, 1834.

with the petition of Marion Kirkpatrick in behalf of her Nephew Thomas Watling both which I herewith return. As I was entirely ignorant of the Merits of the case I not being upon the Circuit at which he was tried Vizt. Dumfries Spring Circuit 1789. I applied to Lord Hailes before whom he was tried for information & from him I learn that in place of being adjudged to transportation upon his own petition without the least probability of guilt being proved agt. him as set furth in the petition, he pled guilty no doubt in the view of his Majesty's Advocate restricting the libel to an Arbitrary punishment & which was done accordingly. Lord Hailes says that the petition in behalf of Watling has more assurance in it than he had met with even in petitions of that Nature where much liberty is wont to be taken with matter of fact & he thinks that the only error in his sentence was that he had made the term of transportation (viz. 14 years) too short—The proof upon which he was convicted viz. his own confession is of all others the most unexceptionable. The punishment that naturally fell to be inflicted was death & when that is the case he has good reason to be thankfull for the lenity he has already met with & he has no reasonable grounds to expect more—forgery of late years has become very frequent in this Country & it is certainly a most dangerous crime to Society especially in a mercantile country where paper credit must of necessity be much used.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's most

obedient & most humble Servt.

Robt. M'Queen.²⁶

These petitions failed despite also the recommendation by the Sheriff of Dumfries (referred to in a marginal note to Certificate by him, dated 4th June, 1789) for his "good

²⁶ Public Record Office; Home Office; Scotch; Criminal; H.O. 102/52.

conduct and Behaviour during confinement "^{26a} in Dumfries Tolbooth. A document endorsed "Certificate of Caution being found for the Transportation of Alexander M'Donald & others—Convicts 1791," (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W.) shows that Thomas Watling must have been transferred from the "Dunkirk" to the "Lion Hulk" at Portsmouth; as, on 23rd May, 1791, he was committed thence to the custody of "Edward Manning Shipmaster of London Commander of the Good Ship Pitt."

The next evidence we have as regards Thomas Watling's career is derived from a publication on his behalf which was issued from a press at Penrith. The title of this publication is *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay* and with it I shall deal later on: from it we learn that he left England in the "Pitt" and this is confirmed in a "List of Persons transported as Criminals to New South Wales in the 'Pitt' in June, 1791," where the entry occurs:

"Thomas Watling convicted in Dumfries Court of Justiciary in the Spring 1789: for life."²⁷

It is, perhaps, worthy of note that his sentence is given here as "for life" and that Miss Ida Leeson has explained a similar term—as recorded in "original convict indentures" in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W.²⁸—as a mistake in the hand-written convict list: her decision is confirmed by the official documents which have been quoted above and which show that he was actually sentenced to but fourteen years transportation.

Referring again to his book, *Letters from an exile at*

^{26a} This "Certificate by the Sheriff Substitute Dumfries Shire . . . 4th June 1789" is in The Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales. There is a dubiety as to whether the above marginal note refers to Watling or to a fellow convict Robert Ligget: as does also another note—in a different hand—almost indecipherable: "He saved the . . . when attacked by the . . . prisoners attempting their escape."

²⁷ Public Record Office; Convict Transport Registers; H.O. 11/1, p. 171.

²⁸ *Notes and Queries*, 29th December, 1934, Vol. 167, p. 461.

Botany-Bay, it is learned—from a letter dated “Cape of Good Hope, African Coast, Tuesday, Dec. 13th, 1791”—that the voyage to the Cape was made via Rio de Janeiro (a route adopted in order to avoid the calms on the African coast) and that he had made his escape from the “Pitt”: he cautiously says: “I hold it imprudent to commit to paper how I have obtained emancipation. I will only say, that the ship Pitt lyes opposite my window, and means to sail by Sunday next; after when, should any other vessel here tend to Europe, if possible, I will procure a passage—and be happy.”²⁹ In a letter dated “Sydney - Cove, Port-Jackson, New-South-Wales, May 12th, 1793,” he writes: “My first letter per the Atlantic,³⁰ I hope you have received before,” and, in the course of his letter, he says that he was re-captured³¹ owing to his betrayal “by the mercenary Dutch”: his special mention of the date—“28th of December, 1791”—may indicate the actual day on which his short term of liberty was ended. I had hoped that investigations, at Cape Town, might have led to the discovery of details of his escape and recapture but I have been informed that “enquiries made in the proper official quarter regarding Thomas Watling have been made but no trace of a person of that name can be found in the documents dealing with the period 1791-1792.”³² Watling—in his letter—goes on to state that, after seven months’ imprisonment, he was shipped in the “Royal Admiral” which eventually landed him at his destination.³³

²⁹ *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ “The Atlantic” was a vessel engaged, at this period, in the transport of convicts to Australia and presumably carried letters home on her return voyage.

³¹ *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*, p. 2.

³² The Earl of Clarendon (Governor-General of Union of South Africa) *in litt.*, 10th August, 1935. The Cape of Good Hope did not become a British possession till 16th September, 1795, when it was surrendered by the Dutch: it was restored at the peace of 1802, was retaken in 1806, and finally ceded to England in 1815.

³³ *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*, p. 2.

and it is known that the "Royal Admiral" left the Cape on 30th August, 1792, and arrived in Sydney on 7th October of that year.³⁴ The incident is referred to as follows by David Collins in his *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*: "On the 7th, [October 1792] The Royal Admiral East Indiaman, commanded by Captain Essex Henry Bond, anchored in the cove from England . . . Capt. Bond brought on with him Thomas Watling, a male convict, who found means to get on shore from the Pitt when at that Port in December last, and who had been confined by the Dutch at the Cape town from her departure until this opportunity offered of sending him hither."^{34a}

His book—*Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*—affords meagre details as to his fortunes in New South Wales but he states "My employment is painting for J. W———, esq.³⁵ the non-descript productions of the country."³⁶ These "paintings," being the basis of Watling's claim to fame, will be discussed later as will also the tenor of his book which from its very rarity merits particular attention. In an endeavour to follow Watling's career chronologically it can only be pointed out here that of the two "letters," printed in his book, the latest is dated "Sydney-Cove, Port-Jackson, New-South-Wales, May 12th, 1793," but, at the

³⁴ *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Sydney, 1920, Vol. V., p. 227. According to official papers the "Royal Admiral" sailed from England in May, 1792 (Public Record Office; Convict Transport Registers; H.O. 11/1 and reached her destination in October, 1792 (Public Record Office; H.O. 10/1); it may be noted that this last-quoted document shows that the "Pitt" had arrived in February, 1792. The actual dates of arrival are semi-officially given as "Pitt" 14th February, 1792, and "Royal Admiral" 7th October, 1792 (David Collins: *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, 1802, Vol. II., p. 317).

^{34a} David Collins: *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, 1798, Vol. I., pp. 236/7.

³⁵ [Probably John White, Surgeon General to the Settlement, who was much interested in its fauna; author of *Journal of a Voyage to new South Wales*, 1790. H. S. G.]

³⁶ *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*, p. 20.

end of the book, a proposal for a projected book is dated, from the same address, 20th May, 1793. Mr K. A. Hindwood has been so obliging as to send me a photograph³⁷ of a landscape of Sydney, in oils, in the Mitchell Library there, which is signed by Watling and dated 1794,^{37a} and amongst a collection of his paintings of birds, in the Natural History Museum in London, a description of his picture of the "Semi-palmated Duck" is dated "2nd Jany. 1794." An account of Watling's paintings will, however, form a separate chapter, and the above are only mentioned here to maintain the chronological sequence in his career so far as it can be followed. As regards his sojourn in Australia, Mr K. A. Hindwood has informed me that—in the Mitchell Library, Sydney—there is a record that Watling was granted a "Conditional Pardon"^{37b} in September, 1796: it is to be regretted that this "pardon" gives no farther particulars.³⁸ Mr Hindwood has also drawn my attention to a "Landscape of Sydney in 1802" which "some critics are of the opinion is by Watling"³⁹ and it is to be regretted that the painting itself bears no signature.

Thomas Watling can almost be regarded as one of the pioneer convicts to undertake the journey to Australia, for the First Fleet of Australian convict ships only sailed from England to New South Wales in March, 1787, and reached Botany Bay in January 1788.⁴⁰ It might, therefore, have been expected that his book—*Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay*—would have furnished some interesting details as re-

³⁷ K. A. Hindwood; *in litt.*, 19th November, 1935.

^{37a} (See *Frontispiece*).

^{37b} A "Conditional Pardon" contained a declaration by the Governor, under his hand and seal, that the unexpired term of the convict's sentence was remitted on the condition of his continuing to reside within the territory of New South Wales during the term of his original sentence.

³⁸ K. A. Hindwood; *in litt.*, 19th November, 1935.

³⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ P. Cunningham: *Two Years in New South Wales*; 1828, Vol. II., pp. 59-60.

gards convict life in Australia but these are meagre in the extreme.

The letters, addressed to his aunt, dated 1791 and 1793, which are the principal contents of the volume, more than hint at his hopes for emancipation and it is certainly remarkable that they should contain no reference to his good conduct in the mutiny on the "Peggy" in 1789 of which, however, his aunt would be aware. One would have thought, nevertheless, that in a publication of this kind, Watling would have laid all his cards (especially the good ones) on the table.

The *Letters* are also remarkable for Watling's proposal to publish an illustrated book on the Colony and this falls to be dealt with later. This proposal is not known to have been realised and it only remains to be noted that the volume is interspersed with references to friends or persons which might have been helpful but—unfortunately for purposes of present-day recognition—these persons are only designated by initials. It is of no interest to give a complete list of these here but the following identifications have suggested themselves :

Title page (and elsewhere in the book) "*Aunt in Dumfries.*" Marion (May) Kirkpatrick : who educated Thomas Watling and who is described (24th November, 1790) as unmarried and "now near fifty years of age"; her address, in 1794, is given as "near the English Chapel, Dumfries";^{40a} she was alive in 1806.

p. 18 : "governor P———," probably Arthur Phillip (*b.* 1738 : *d.* 1814), first Governor of New South Wales : founded, 26th January, 1788, the convict settlement on the harbour of Port Jackson which he named Sydney after Thomas Townshend first Viscount Sydney : returned to England in 1793.

p. 20 : "J. W———, esq." Watling states : "*My employment is painting for J. W———, esq. the non-*

^{40a} *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 25th March, 1794. The English Chapel at that date was situated on the south side of English Street; one wall of it still stands.

descript productions of the country” and it is generally accepted that these initials designate John White (fl. 1778/1824), principal surgeon in the First Fleet under Arthur Phillip: Surgeon General to the Settlement: Author of *Journal of a Voyage to new South Wales*, published in London in 1790: he left Sydney, in the “Daedalus,” on 17th December, 1794.^{40b}

p. 22: “Sir J. J————,” probably Sir James Johnstone, 4th Bart. of Westerhall, Dumfries (b. 23rd January, 1726: d. 3rd September, 1794), M.P., Dumfries.

^{40b} Documents in the Public Record Office, London, show that John White served as Surgeon’s Mate, “Wasp,” 26th June, 1778 to 27th February, 1779: “Chatham,” 1st March, 1779 to 23rd July, 1780: “Orford,” 24th July, 1780 to 13th October, 1780: [seniority as Surgeon is dated 9th October, 1780 but later is shewn as 1st April, 1780]: Surgeon, “Sulphur,” 20th October, 1780 to 19th February, 1783: “Cyrus,” 28th February, 1783 to 12th June, 1784: “Ariel,” 13th June, 1784 to 29th November, 1785: “Irresistible,” 26th June, 1786 to 27th November, 1786: recommended (by Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Commander at the Nore, *in litt.* to Evan Nepean, 16th October, 1786) as Surgeon to the Settlement in New South Wales: his commission as such is dated 24th October, 1786: as principal surgeon in the First Fleet left Spithead, on the convict-transport “Charlotte,” 13th May, 1787: arrived in Botany Bay, 20th January, 1788: [his *Journal* published, in London, 1790]: applied, from Sydney, N.S.W., 11th December, 1792, for permission to return to England on Half Pay: leave of absence granted and left Sydney, in “Daedalus,” 17th December, 1794: arrived at Cork 28th June, 1795: on 29th July, 1795 was in England: restored to Half Pay 5th September, 1795: appointed Surgeon, “Spanker” (Hospital Ship), 21st December, 1795 to 1st July, 1796: “Princess Augusta” Yacht, 15th August, 1796 to 29th November, 1796: “Royal William,” 8th December, 1796 to 12th December, 1799: Sheerness Yard, 13th December, 1799 to 23rd September, 1803: Chatham Yard, 24th September, 1803 to 15th January, 1820: superannuated 15th (warrant dated 16th) January, 1820: [superannuation for Surgeons was very unusual; they generally went on Half Pay only; White’s superannuation was presumably on account of his long service—seventeen years—in Chatham Yard]: his name remains on the Navy Lists until 1824 but after that date is omitted; no cause for removal being shewn.

1784/90: to whom Thomas Watling, and his Aunt, addressed petitions in 1790 for his release.

p. 25: "Your new bridge and theatre I have already heard of, from a soldier who had wrought as a gardener with the M———, and P. M———, of D———; and who called upon me to see whether I could promote a little cause for him with his commanding officer." It would seem, from the context, that "D———" indicates Dumfries and I have been sorely puzzled, without solution, by the references to "the M———, and P.M.———," thereof. The foundation stone of the Buccleuch Street Bridge, over the Nith at Dumfries, was laid on 19th August, 1791, but the bridge was not finished for traffic until 1796. The date of the opening of the new Theatre Royal was 29th September, 1792.

p. 27: "my present condition is chiefly owing to the low revenge of a certain military character, now high in office." It has been suggested⁴¹ that this "military character" may have been David Collins, Judge-Advocate and Secretary to the Governor of New South Wales; he left the Colony, for England, in September, 1796, and was the Author of *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*: 2 Vols.: 1798/1802.

p. 28: "If there be a friend of mine that can yet recollect me, I would thank him or her for a letter . . . directing it to the care of E. L———, esq. surgeon, at Sydney, N.S. Wales." It has been stated that "E. L." must have been Edward Laing, Surgeon's mate in the N.S.W. Corps, who was granted a piece of land at Camp Cove, and whose name is still preserved in Laing's Point, Watson's Bay. He left Sydney for England, together with Surgeon General John White, in the "Daedalus," on 17th December, 1794.⁴²

There can be no doubt that had Watling stood his trial in 1789 and called witnesses for his defence several of his

⁴¹ *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Sydney, 1920, Vol. V., pp. 227-9.

⁴² *Tom cit.*, p. 229.

friends, mentioned only by initials in his book, could have been identified.

I have already gratefully referred to the assistance rendered by Mr J. C. Kinniburgh; I now have to thank him for what is perhaps the most unexpected discovery and that is that Thomas Watling, on 10th January, 1806, was charged in Edinburgh, with forging and uttering five pound notes in imitation of those issued by the Bank of Scotland.⁴³ I again solicited the good offices of my kind friend Mr Alexander Rae of the Justiciary Office, Edinburgh, who sent me a copy of the papers connected with the case, which may be epitomised as follows :

“ At Edinburgh. 10th Jany. 1806. Before Lord Hope of Granton, Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Craig of Craig, and Lord Cullen of Cullen.

Thomas Watling, sometime Painter or Limner in the Town of Dumfries, present, Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh : is charged :

In the months of November and December, 1804, and of January, February and March, 1805, in the house or lodging in the Town of Dumfries, then occupied by himself or in the house or lodging occupied by John Nilson, then residenter in the said Town of Dumfries, forge or cause to be forged certain promissory notes at least to the number of 7 for the sum of Five pounds Sterling, each in imitation of issues by said Bank (Bank of Scotland) and the said Thomas Watling in order that he might be able the more exactly to imitate the said promissory note did procure from Janet Walker, wife of the said John Nilson, one of the genuine notes issued, viz. :—No. 32/6275, and did by means of Anne Fining, then servant to him or to Marion Kirkpatrick residenter, in Dumfries, his aunt—feloniously did—‘ utter or send ’ one of the said forged notes No. 32/6275, which note he gave to said Ann Fining and sent her with directions to get it changed for Bank Notes of £1, or one guinea each, or cash. Anne

⁴³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11th January, 1806.

Fining presented the note to William Brand, Teller or Clerk, in the said Bank of Scotland's Office in Dumfries, who gave said Anne Fining in exchange therefor five Bank Notes for £1 each. A second note was tendered to said John Nilson which he uttered to William Law, Innkeeper, in Rickergate, Carlisle. Law having discovered the note to be a forgery, and the said Thomas Watling in order to prevent detection did write as follows :

' Dear Sir,

Your goodness to me respecting the note which you accredited and which by your account seems not valid, I am thankful to you for; but if you will be pleased to remit it to me by some hand that you can confide in, I will not only acknowledge it by a certain signature I have put upon it but remit you its sterling value, with the most respectful thanks.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

(Signed) John Neilson.

Dumfries, Wednesday forenoon.'

He uttered the 3rd note charged, himself, in the Office of the Branch of the British Linen Bank established in Dumfries. The 4th note he uttered by vending to some person—(unknown)—in Dumfries, which came afterwards into the hands of Thomas Blaylock, Grocer in Carlisle, and the three remaining notes which were found—on a search being made—in the room or house in the Town of Dumfries, in which the said John Nilson then resided, concealed in the same and ' wraped ' up in 3 pieces of waste paper within the foot of a worsted stocking.

On 9th April last (1805) he did emit a Declaration in presence of Nicol Shaw, Esq., J.P. for the County of Dumfries, but refused at that time to sign or subscribe, but later before said Justice of the Peace he did then acknowledge and subscribe above Declaration and also subscribed another Declaration together with the genuine note of the Bank of Scotland and the 7 forged or counterfeited notes and also subscribed the foresaid letter.

A jury of Fifteen Assizers having been lawfully sworn; the Counsel for the Prosecution proceeded to adduce the following witnesses in proof of the libel, who emitted their depositions *viva voce* in presence of the Court and Jury, without being reduced into writing in terms of the Statute :

1. Robert Forrester, Esq., Treasurer and formerly Accountant to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland.
2. James Fraser, Esquire, Principal Secretary and formerly Treasurer to the said Bank of Scotland.
3. William Brand, Clerk or Teller in the said Bank of Scotland's Office in Dumfries.
4. David Staig, Esquire, Agent for the said Bank of Scotland at Dumfries.

Whereupon His Majesty's Advocate represented that from the turn the evidence already adduced had taken he perceived that he could not bring home the issuing of the forged notes libelled, to the pannel and therefore he did not mean to examine any more of the witnesses.

The Lord Justice Clerk then shortly addressed the fifteen assizers, who were immediately inclosed and in a short time returned a unanimous verdict finding the libel Not proven on which the Pannel was dismissed from the bar."

It is certainly a pity that the depositions of the witnesses for the Prosecution should have been emitted "*viva voce* . . . without being reduced into writing,"^{43a} as one cannot help feeling that Watling was remarkably fortunate to get off as he did. It might have been expected that his previous conviction in 1789 would have proved disastrous to him and it is surely noteworthy that both on that occasion and in 1806, one of the witnesses against him was David Staig^{43b}

^{43a} The recording of evidence in trials—except in murder cases—ceased after 1748.

^{43b} He was for forty years representative of the Bank of Scotland in Dumfries and Provost of the Burgh almost continuously from 1783 to 1817.

agent for the Bank of Scotland in Dumfries. That it was the same Thomas Watling is definitely proved by the mention in each case of his Aunt, Marion Kirkpatrick.

What happened to him after his acquittal is unknown but his baptismal record of 1762 shows that Thomas Watling would only be forty-four years of age in 1806 and he may subsequently have made good. It is, perhaps, worthy of mention that there is a Watling Street in Dumfries but it is not likely that this has any connection with our hero (if hero is the right word) as from cartographical records it is known that this street was not in existence till 1886.

EPITOME OF DATES.

- 19 Sept., 1762—Baptismal record of Thomas Watlin.
1787/8—T. W., in Dumfries, forged guinea notes of Bank of Scotland.
- 27 Nov., 1788—T. W. first "judicially examined" at Dumfries.
- 14 Ap., 1789—T. W. sentenced, at Dumfries, to fourteen years' transportation.
- 6 June, 1789—Seven convicts (including T. W.) arrived in Edinburgh, from Dumfries.
- 5 July, 1789—Account of mutiny on "Peggy," conveying convicts from Leith to Plymouth, in which T. W. acquitted himself well.
- 3 Oct., 1790—Petition for release from T. W. dated "Dunkirk" [Hulk] Plymouth Harbour.
- 24 Nov., 1790—Petition from Marion Kirkpatrick (Aunt of T. W.) showing that T. W. was still on board the "Dunkirk" [Hulk] lying at Plymouth Harbour.
- 23 May, 1791—T. W. transferred from "Lion Hulk," at Portsmouth, to "Pitt."
June, 1791—"Pitt" left England with T. W. on board for the Cape, via Rio de Janeiro.
- 13 Dec., 1791—Letter from T. W., dated Cape of Good Hope, African Coast, stating that he had escaped.
- 28 Dec., 1791—T. W. mentions this date so significantly that it may indicate the day of his recapture and commencement of his subsequent seven months' imprisonment.

- 30 Aug., 1792—"Royal Admiral" left Cape with T. W. on board.
- 7 Oct., 1792—"Royal Admiral" arrived Botany-Bay, with T. W. on board.
- 12 May, 1793—Letter from T. W., dated "Sydney-Cove, Port-Jackson, New-South-Wales."
- 20 May, 1793—Proposal for a projected book: dated "Sydney-Cove, Port Jackson, New South Wales."
- 2 Jany., 1794—Description of "Semi-palmated Duck," by T. W., so dated.
- 1794—Landscape of Sydney, by T. W., so dated.
- Sept., 1796—T. W. granted a "Conditional Pardon" in New South Wales.
- 1802—Landscape of Sydney, so dated, which may have been by T. W.
- Nov., 1804—T. W., in Dumfries, alleged to have forged five-pound notes of Bank of Scotland.
- 10 Jan., 1806—T. W., tried in Edinburgh, obtained verdict "Not proven."

Thomas Watling's Book.

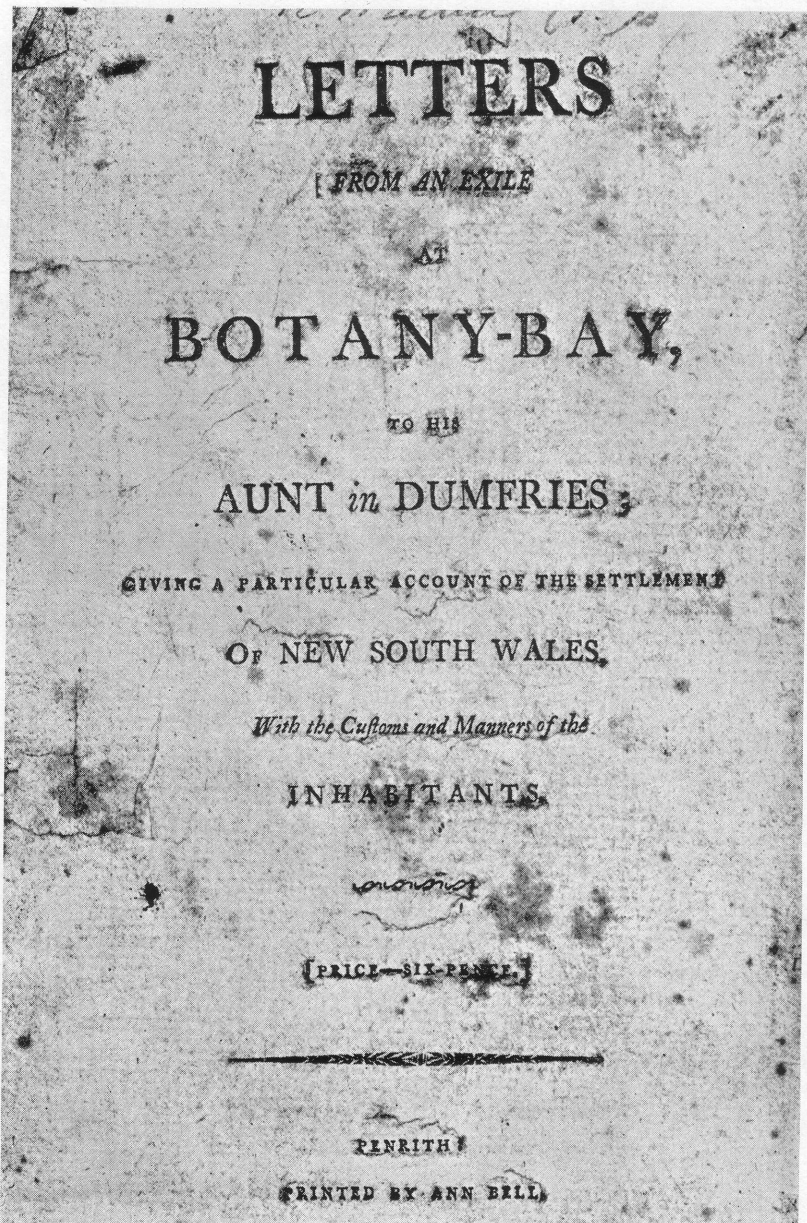
Reference has frequently been made to Thomas Watling's book of which the following is the description:

Letters /from an exile /at /Botany-Bay, /to his /Aunt in Dumfries; / giving a particular account of the settlement /Of New South Wales. /With the Customs and Manners of the /Inhabitants. / [Price—sixpence.] / Penrith: / Printed by Ann Bell.

1 Vol. 8 x 5 ins.: pp. iv, +28.

This book would appear to be very rare and I only know of two copies: the one in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales; the other in the British Museum Library in London.^{43c} From this latter I had two photostatic copies made, in 1935, one of which I gave to the Ewart Library, Dumfries, as a token of gratitude to my friend

^{43c} (See *Plate 3.*)



Title Page of Watling's Book.

Mr G. W. Shirley for all the assistance he has given me in this compilation.

Although the title page does not bear the name of the author, the last page (28) ends with the words: "Your most unhappy but most affectionate nephew T. Watling": and it has now been ascertained that his "*Aunt in Dumfries*"—to whom his letters were addressed—was Marion (May) Kirkpatrick.

The book is undated but it has been stated that it was published in 1794⁴⁴ and it is certainly one of the earliest books on New South Wales. The four preliminary pages include the title page (pp. i/ii) and an introduction (pp. iii/iv) as follows:

"The Publisher of the ensuing Production, sends it into the World for the two following Reasons. First: he hopes it may contribute a little to the relief of an old, infirm, and friendless woman, to whom it is addressed. And Secondly: he imagines, the account here given of a country so little known, may be interesting to some, and amusing to ALL. With the original, which is now in his hands, he declines taking any liberty, but leaves the unfortunate exile to tell his story exactly in his own words, and how he acquits himself, the public must determine.

The publisher has several letters from the same author still in his hands; and should these meet with a favourable reception, they are intended to be published, together with a life of the author on some future occasion."

There is no mention of the publisher's name and had his intention been fulfilled a great deal of research and speculation to-day would have been avoided.

The first letter in the volume (pp. 1/3) is dated: "Sydney-Cove, Port-Jackson, New-South-Wales, May 12th, 1793." The second (pp. 4/6): "Cape of Good Hope, African-Coast, Tuesday, Dec. 13th, 1791." These letters

⁴⁴ G. B. Barton: *History of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1889, p. 585: who gives the pages wrongly as 128 instead of 28.

which reveal a certain amount of education—couched in a somewhat repentant but aggrieved tone and irritatingly sanctimonious—mainly refer to Watling's personal experiences and have already been laid under contribution: they are followed (pp. 6/21) by several extracts—possibly from other letters—giving a brief account of the nature of the country, the natives, the convicts, the method of governing the Colony, etc. My object, however, is not to criticise Watling's book either as regards its general observations or its literary merit: its early date of publication endows it with the glamour of originality, but it must be confessed that I have only considered it bibliographically in so far as it has afforded details regarding Watling's life.

The title page shows that the book was printed at Penrith by Ann Bell but enquiries have elicited very little information about the printer or the establishment. The Clerk of Penrith Urban District Council—Mr C. H. Huntley—has most kindly interested himself in the matter and from him I have learned that Dr. J. F. Haswell (Hon. Secretary of the Parish Register Society for Cumberland and Westmorland) has informed him that there is in existence a Directory for the year 1782 which contains the name of "Ann Bell, Printer," under the heading of "Traders."⁴⁵ Canon F. Byard has informed me that the Register of the Church of St. Andrew's, Penrith, contains the two following entries of burials:

1788: Aug. 6. John Bell, printer, aged 45.

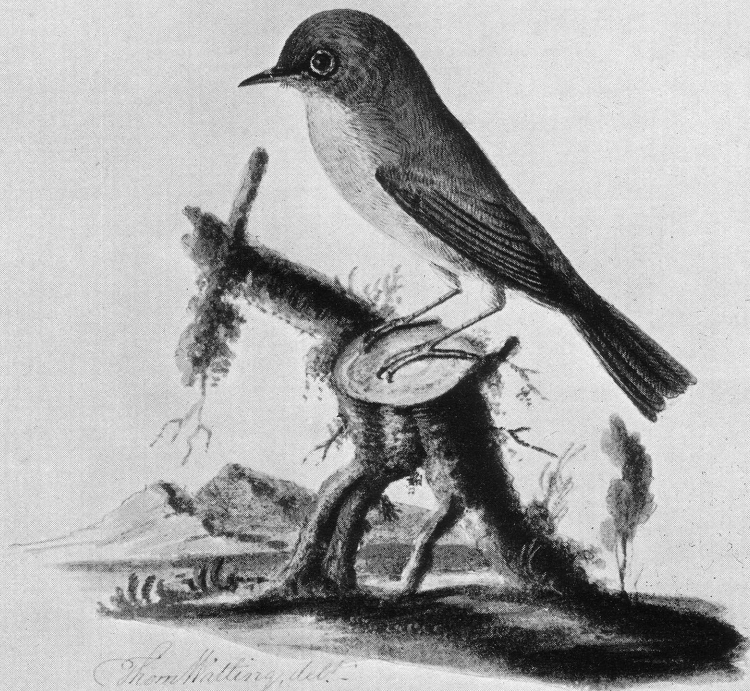
1799: Nov. 9. Ann Bell, widow, aged 98.⁴⁶

This is all the information I can obtain but it is not altogether valueless for—if "Ann Bell, widow," was its printer—it would indicate that Watling's book was printed before her decease on 9th November, 1799. That her name occurs as a "printer" in a directory of 1782 is not of so much moment since, from its contents, we know that Watling's book must have been printed after 1793 and it

⁴⁵ C. H. Huntley; *in litt.*, 11th April, 1935.

⁴⁶ Canon F. Byard; *in litt.*, 23rd May, 1935.

Lambert Drawing III, 34.



Thomas Watling, del.

One 1/2 the Natural size.
Ciliary Warbler Male Latham M.S.

"Ciliary Warbler," painted by Thomas Watling.

has been definitely stated that it was actually printed in 1794, but this, I think, is simply conjecture except that a portion (pp. 26/27) of the book—the prospectus of a proposed “ Picturesque Description ” of New South Wales—appeared also in *The Dumfries Weekly Journal* on March 25th of that year.

As I believe that books from this press are scarce, it may be of interest to add that I have a copy of *The Moral/ Instructor; /consisting of miscellaneous/ Essays, Anecdotes, / Poems, Maxims, &c. /calculated to/ Inform the Ignorant, / Reform the Reprobate, /Expose the Follies of the Age, / Create Cheerfulness, /Dispel Melancholy, /Promote Charity and Affection, /Encourage the Improvement of Agricul- /ture and Commerce; and /Discourage Indolency and Extrava- gancy. /Penrith: /Printed by Ann Bell, for the Author, / 1795.*

Thomas Watling's Paintings.

The basis of Thomas Watling's claim to fame rests on his portrayal of the “ non-descript productions ” of New South Wales. The subjects are remarkably varied; presenting birds, beasts, fishes, insects, shells, flowers, plants, and the natives and scenery of New South Wales. Some of the drawings only bear his initials but others are signed in full. They were obviously intended as faithful representational depictions and succeed remarkably in that, for naturalists, primary requisite: their artistic value may not be high but especially where scenery is the subject they display character and have, of course, the merit of originality. The illustration which I am able to give — through the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (Natural History)—of his painting of the “ Ciliary Warbler ” reveals his delicacy of execution.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ (See *Plate 4.*) “ Ciliary Warbler ”: The Rusty-sided Warbler *Sylvia lateralis* Latham (*Index Ornithologicus Supplement*: 1801, p. LV.): the Australian White-eye *Zosterops lateralis* (Latham): the Grey-backed Silveryeye.

Paintings by Watling, or otherwise associated with him, have been found in three separate collections and the drawings in a fourth collection are closely connected with his. The unacknowledged utilization of Watling's work by early writers on New South Wales, the long-delayed gradual revealing of its locus and of its importance in the establishment of types of species, as well as the errors committed in the course of that process, form a confused but fascinating chapter in ornithological research.

It will be useful here to gather together such references as Watling himself makes to his work. In his *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay* he says (pp. 8/9) when writing about the country: "My worthy friend, Mr. H——, may reasonably conclude, that these romantic scenes will much amuse my pencil; though therein he is mistaken. The landscape painter, may in vain seek here for that beauty which arises from happy-opposed off-scapes. . . . I, however, confess that were I to select and combine I might avoid that sameness, and find engaging employment." He says (p. 13) "The natives are extremely fond of painting, and often sit hours by me when at work"; and (p. 20) "My employment is painting for J. W——, esq. the non-descript productions of the country." On p. 26 he proposes that the following prospectus^{47a} of his work should be issued: "Thomas Watling, Principal Limner in New South Wales, Extremely anxious to deserve better of his Country, proposes, with due Deference, under the Patronage of an impartial Public, The Execution of a Picturesque Description of that Colony; In an highly-finished Set of Drawings, done faithfully upon the Spots, from Nature, in Mezzo, Aqua-tinta, or Water Colours. That the subjects attempted shall be partial and general views of Sydney, Paramatta, and Toongabbe; romantic groves, or native groups, and that, if possible, in the course of the work, curiosities in ornithology and botany shall be interwoven." He further agrees (p. 27) that the views shall be submitted to a com-

^{47a} This prospectus also appeared in *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, Tuesday, 25th March, 1794.

mittee of the subscribers before engraving. Almost at the end of his book (p. 27) he adds: "My present condition is chiefly owing to the low revenge of a certain military character, now high in office."

The "J. W." whom Watling names as employing him in painting has been identified as John White, Surgeon General to the Settlement and, as will be seen, there is substantiating evidence for this in addition to the identity of the initials of the name.

John White sailed for Australia with the First Fleet on board the "Charlotte" which arrived in Botany Bay on 20th January, 1788. He acted as Surgeon General to the Settlement till his departure, in the "Daedalus," on 17th December, 1794. Though he obviously took a keen interest in natural history it seems that he collected specimens for scientists and friends in England rather than for his own satisfaction. White's *Journal of a Voyage to new South Wales* was published in London in 1790, and it has been frequently surmised that the illustrations were drawn by Watling. The plates are all dated 29th December, 1789, and it is clear that the book had been issued from the press two years or so prior to Watling's arrival in New South Wales in October, 1792.^{47b}

This point was demonstrated by Mr William Dixson in a most interesting article in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* in 1920.⁴⁸ Mr Dixson also suggests a solution of the final statement quoted above from Watling's *Letters*. David Collins, a Lieutenant of Marines in 1770, had served at Bunker's Hill, 1775, and at the Relief of Gibraltar, 1782, and, during the first four years of Watling's term in New South Wales, was Judge-

^{47b} White states [p. I.] that his "Journal was undertaken" at the request of Thomas Wilson to whom he addresses it [p. II.] in a letter dated, from "Port Jackson, 18th November, 1788": the "Journal" only deals with the period 5th March, 1787 to 11th October, 1788: it is not known who was the Editor of the published work.

⁴⁸ Sydney, 1920, Vol. V., pp. 227-9.

Advocate and Secretary to the Governor, which appointment he held from 1787-1796.⁴⁹ Collins published in London, in two volumes, in 1798/1802, his *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*. Mr Dixson, comparing the plates in Collins' book with Watling's projected advertisement, suggests that Collins may be "the certain military character" who indulged in a "low revenge" on Watling and declares: "The description of the views Watling intended to attempt is so exactly in accord with the plates in Collins' *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* that it would be foolish to ignore the coincidence. Especially when we learn that Collins held the positions of Judge-Advocate and Secretary to the Governor; positions that would enable him to set Watling to do the work or calmly appropriate any pictures that took his fancy. With the above information at our disposal, we may reasonably assume that Watling drew or painted the 'series of rough sketches' that were re-drawn by Dayes⁵⁰ and fix the date as prior to September, 1796, when Collins left for England."⁵¹ Mr Dixson also indicates—as shown by the following extract—that Watling may have been primarily responsible for the illustrations in *The Zoology of New Holland*⁵² by Dr. George Shaw and in Dr. James Edward Smith's *Specimen of the Botany of New Holland*.⁵³ Of the latter Mr Dixson states: "In the preface to this book Dr Smith says: 'The figures are taken from coloured drawings made on the spot and communicated to Mr Wilson, F.L.S., by John White,

⁴⁹ David Collins: *b.* 1756; Governor of Tasmania from 1804-10; *d.* 1810.

⁵⁰ [Edward Dayes (1763-1804), water-colour painter and engraver in mezzotint; exhibited miniatures, landscapes, and classical and Scriptural subjects at the Royal Academy, 1786-1804. H. S. G.]

⁵¹ *The Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Sydney, 1920, Vol. V., pp. 228-9.

⁵² *Zoology of New Holland*. . . . *The Figures by James Sowerby*; 1 vol. 4to; London, 1794.

⁵³ *A Specimen of the Botany of New Holland*. . . . *The Figures by James Sowerby*; 1 vol. 4to; London, 1793.

Esq., Surgeon-General to the Colony, along with . . . dried specimens, with which the drawings have in every case been carefully compared.' The preface is dated December, 1793; and the title page of the botanical section is also dated 1793; yet there are two references in the text to the following year, viz., (p. 31), February, 1794, and (p. 36), April, 1794. There are further discrepancies in the imprints on the plates. Two are dated October 1, 1793; three, January 1, 1795, while eleven have neither date nor imprint. In the Zoology section, by Dr. Shaw, the title page is dated 1794. One plate is dated 1.8.1793; two, 1.10.1793; one 1.9.1794; and two 1.11.1794, while five have neither date nor imprint (in one case it has been erased). One plate was 'communicated' by Major Ross (p. 46), who left New South Wales on 13th December, 1791. White must have sent the drawings to England, as he left Sydney, in H.M.S. 'Daedalus,' on 17th December, 1794.⁵⁴

It is extremely disconcerting to find that a careful examination of Collins' *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* fails to reveal any evidence of "Dayes" having "re-drawn" any "series of rough sketches" either by Watling or any other artist and the selection of illustrations is so unexceptional that no proof of a Watling connection can be deduced from it. The evidence quoted from Dr. James Edward Smith's preface to *A Specimen of the Botany of New Holland* which duly mentions White fails to indicate Watling definitely as the originator of the "coloured drawings."

We now come to the next publications and the most important of all in which use was made (as I hope to show), howbeit indirectly, of Watling's work. They are John Latham's *Second Supplement* to his *General Synopsis of*

⁵⁴ *The Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Sydney, 1920, Vol V., pp. 228-9.

*Birds*⁵⁵ and his *Supplement* to his *Index Ornithologicus*⁵⁶ both of which books were published in 1801. Investigation as to the source of information used in these *Supplements* will involve a description of the three portfolios which have been alleged to contain Watling's drawings and of another collection which contains, I believe, re-drawings of Watling's originals.

Two of the three portfolios are in the British Museum (Natural History) the third is in Australia.

The first, which had once been in the Library of Sir Joseph Banks, is described as follows in the *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps and Drawings in the British Museum (Natural History)*:

“Watling (Thomas) [71 foll. of Water-colour drawings of Natives, Animals and Plants from the neighbourhood of Port Jackson, New South Wales.] fol.

Forming Banksian MS. No. 34, Vide Dryander's Cat. Bibl. Banks, Vol. I. p. 253. Some of these are the originals used in drawing the plates for John White's 'Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales,' 1790.”⁵⁷

These drawings are not by Watling. The fact that fifteen of them were utilised in John White's *Journal of a Voyage to new South Wales* is a proof of this as all the plates in the book are dated 29th December, 1789, and Thomas Watling did not arrive at Botany Bay till 7th October, 1792. Moreover it is stated, in an advertisement of the book, that “the drawings have been copied from Nature, by Miss Stone, Mr Catton, Mr Nodder and other artists; and the Editor flatters himself the Engravings

⁵⁵ *A General Synopsis of Birds*; 3 vols., in 6; 4to; London, 1781-5; *Supplement*, 4to, London, 1787; *Second Supplement*, 4to, London, 1801. (I have seen editions of this latter with title page dated 1802.)

⁵⁶ *Index Ornithologicus*; 2 vols., 4to, London, 1790; *Supplement*, 4to, London, 1801.

⁵⁷ *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, and Drawings in the British Museum (Natural History)*; 1915, Vol. V., p. 2271.

are all executed with equal correctness. . . . The Birds &c. from which the drawings were taken are deposited in the Leverian Museum."^{57a}

A careful scrutiny of these "71 foll. of Water-colour drawings" reveals that they do not resemble those in the collection next to be described—which has been somewhat loosely termed the "Watling drawings"—with the exception of three, one of which (the only one in the volume which bears a signature) is signed "W. T." It is certainly curious that these should be Thomas Watling's initials but reversed; I do not think, however, that this is anything more than a coincidence. The volume simply contains a collection of water-colour drawings and is without any manuscript description, title page, or any details to guide one to its provenance. It has been fully described by Messrs Gregory M. Mathews and Tom Iredale as comprising "seventy folios, but each side is numbered so that the first painting is numbered 1, the second 3, the third 5, and so on":⁵⁸ making a total of 137 pages: there are, however, two figures on pages 1, 5, 7, 11, and 65. It is known that John Latham frequently described birds from sketches by one General Davies,⁵⁹ and

^{57a} John White: *Journal of a Voyage to new South Wales*; 1790, p. [vii.].

⁵⁸ *The Austral Avian Record*; 1920, Vol. IV., Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 114-122.

⁵⁹ Thomas Davies; of the Royal Regiment of Artillery; Cadet, 17th March, 1755; Fireworker, 1st April, 1756; 2nd Lieut., 2nd April, 1757; 1st Lieut., 1st January, 1759; Capt.-Lieut., 10th March, 1762; Captain, 1st January, 1771; (Brevet-Major, 7th June, 1782); Major, 1st December, 1782; Lieut.-Colonel, 21st November, 1783; (Brevet-Colonel, 1st March, 1794); Colonel, 14th August, 1794; Major-General, 3rd May, 1796; Colonel Commandant, 13th July, 1799; Lieut.-General, 25th September, 1803. Lieut.-General Davies saw much service in North America during the operations connected with the conquest of Canada. At one time (while a Lieutenant) he commanded a naval force on Lake Champlain, and took a French frigate of 18 guns after a close action of nearly three hours. Lieutenant Davies hoisted the first British flag in Montreal. He served as Captain of a Company in the most important

Messrs Mathews and Iredale state: "the volume contains figures of birds described as from the drawings of General Davies. It is possible that these are copies, or more probably simultaneous paintings from the specimens from which General Davies' drawings were made. . . . The paintings call to mind some of the ones included in the Watling drawings as if they had been painted by the same artist. That would negative their ascription to General Davies himself, but they could have been copied by him."⁶⁰ It is believed that it was Mr James Britten who jumped to the conclusion that these drawings were by Watling — under circumstances which will be narrated later [see page 111]— and his conclusion has been shown to have been wrong.

The second portfolio in the British Museum (Natural History) is catalogued thus:

"Watling (T.) [512 Original Water-colour drawings of the Natives, Animals, Plants and Scenery (with maps) in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson, New South Wales.] fol. [c. 1788-92.]

Some of the figures of the Birds form the types of J. Latham's descriptions in the 'Supplement' to his 'General Synopsis of Birds,' 1802."⁶¹

This collection comprises several paintings which are not by Thomas Watling and the works of at least three distinct artists are included. It is therefore unfortunate—

Note 59 continued.

actions of the American Revolutionary War. During his long service he had command of the Royal Artillery at Coxheath Camp, at Gibraltar, in Canada, and at Plymouth. He was also two years Commandant of Quebec; he died at Blackheath, 16th March, 1812 ([John Kane] *List of Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*; Woolwich, 1869, pp. 7 and 167.) How far Lieut.-General Davies is to be regarded as an ornithologist may be questionable, but he certainly supplied John Latham with a considerable amount of material information from distant lands.

⁶⁰ *The Austral Avian Record*; 1920, Vol. IV., Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 120-1.

⁶¹ *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, and Drawings in the British Museum (Natural History)*; 1915, Vol. V., p. 2271.

not to say misleading — that the collection should be so generally known as the “Watling drawings.” In many instances more than one painting (often closely alike in composition and execution) illustrates one particular bird and only one painting, or rather its description, is dated: that of the “Semi-palmated Duck,” which bears date “2 Jany. 1794.” I agree with Messrs Gregory M. Mathews and Tom Iredale in their statement that: “The paintings made by Watling himself are nearly all signed T. Watling or Thos. Watling, whereas none of the others have any signature whatever. Moreover, in connection with many of Watling’s paintings notes concerning the birds are given, but none appear on the ones not painted by Watling.” [This is not correct: many of the paintings which are not by Watling are annotated.] “The workmanship is quite different, so that the pictures can be separated with ease without reference to the signatures.”⁶² In this collection the pictures of birds alone are indexed to the number of 295 but some of these are now missing. It must be added—or rather emphasized—that this collection is the only one which contains any paintings bearing Watling’s signature.

This volume was acquired after the receipt of the following letter:

“14th May 1902.

The Director
British Museum.

78, Warwick Gardens,
Kensington.

Sir,

I have a portfolio of drawings in color of the natives, animals, birds (about 270) fishes, insects &c. and plants and flowers of Australia made by an artist Thomas Watling in the years 1788 to 1792, which I now wish to dispose of & thinking it might be of interest to the Museum I shall be happy to send it for your inspection should you think it worth while.

The Artist was sent out by my gt. grandfather, James

⁶² *The Austral Avian Record*; 1922, Vol. V., No. 1, p. 23.

Lee,^{62a} of the Vineyard Nursery, Hammersmith (the author of Lee's *Introduction to Botany*) with a view to publishing a work on the subject but owing to his death this was never done & the portfolio has remained in my family ever since. It also contains a few drawings of Sydney consisting of a few huts, the Governor's house, &c.

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

James Lee."

Dr Sharpe, when describing the National collection of Birds, writes as follows :

"Of additional interest to Latham's published works, which give us an idea of the contents of the bird-cases in the British Museum in the latter half of the eighteenth century; is the naming of certain Australian birds in the *Supplements* to the *Synopsis* and to the *Index Ornithologicus*. Up to the present time, it has never been known where Latham obtained the material for describing so many Australian, or, as they were then called, 'New Holland' birds.

In 1902 the Museum acquired from Mr James Lee, a grandson of the famous horticulturist of Hammersmith,

^{62a} [James Lee; b. 1715; nurseryman, introduced many exotic plants, including the fuchsia, into England, correspondent of Linnæus whose works he translated into English 1760; d. 1795. He is mentioned as follows in *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island; compiled from Authentic Papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments, &c.*, London, 1789, at pp. 294-5: "Of the plants in general which have been brought from Botany Bay, and the adjacent country, no notice has been taken in this work, as it would have led to such a detail as must too considerably have extended its limits. Many of them are now to be seen in the highest perfection at the nursery gardens of that eminent and learned botanist, Mr Lee, of Hammersmith: who still retains enough of zeal for his favourite science, to regret that the discovery of those countries was not made at a period of his life, when he could have gone personally to reap the glorious harvest they afford." H. S. G.]

a large volume of paintings executed for the latter by one of his collectors, Thomas Watling, between 1788 and 1792. These drawings had evidently been shown to Latham, who named most of the birds, and seems to have referred to these pictures as 'Mr Lambert's Drawings.' They do not seem, however, to have been Lambert's property at any time.

The types of Latham's species are, in fact, founded on these drawings of Watling's.

The collector was sent to New South Wales by Mr Lee, and some of the illustrations in White's *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales in 1790* were drawn by Watling, who refers to White in his volume of paintings. Cf. *Hist. Coll. Brit. Mus. (N.H.)*, i., p. 52 (*Libraries*).

Mr James Britten, who has examined the series of drawings, has published the following interesting note (*Journ. Botany*, xl., p. 302 (1902)): 'The British Museum has lately acquired a very interesting volume containing drawings in colour of the animals and plants of Australia, made by Thomas Watling in 1788-1792. Watling was sent out by James Lee of Hammersmith (from whose great-grandson, bearing the same names, the collection was purchased), with a view to obtaining material for a book on the natural history of the country.

Apart from its contents, the volume is interesting on account of the light which it throws upon an entry on p. 253, vol. i., of Dryander's "Catalogue of the Banksian Library": this runs, "Volumen foliorum 70, continens figuras animalium et plantarum pictas quas in Nova Cambria prope Port Jackson delineavit Edgar Thomas Dell."

In Banks' copy⁶³ the last four words are struck out, and a comparison of the volume with the one acquired

⁶³ [This is in the Natural History Museum (Department of Botany) South Kensington, London. The printed octavo catalogue—*Catalogus Bibliothecæ Historico-Naturalis: J. Banks*—has been inlaid to folio and bears additions and emendations in the manuscript of the cataloguer, Jonas Dryander. H. S. G.]

from Mr Lee shows that it is the work of the same artist. Watling was acquainted with John White (" Surgeon-General to the Settlement "), who sent plants to Smith, and published in 1790 his *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*; one or two of Watling's drawings were executed for White.

The newly acquired volume contains several views of Sydney, which are of great interest.'

Attached to the drawings of birds is a list of the species, with the following announcement, probably in the handwriting of Mr James Lee himself: ' This catalogue was wrote by Dr Latham, author of the *General Synopsis of Birds.*' ''⁶⁴

In view of our present information the version of the origin of the volume given by Lee must be discounted. Lee's great-grandfather, it may be noted, died in 1795, about two years after Watling's arrival in Australia as a convict. I have already dealt with Mr James Britten's erroneous note as to the provenance of the " *Volumen foliorum 70* " from the Banks Collection. With Dr Sharpe's speculation that Latham had seen this volume and referred to the contents as " Mr Lambert's drawings " I shall deal later. At a later stage also the deletion of part of the entry in Sir Joseph Banks' copy of Dryander's " *Catalogue of the Banksian Library* " will receive attention.

The third portfolio which has returned to the country of its origin and is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Mr K. A. Hindwood designates the " Sydney " set and states it " was purchased by the Public Library of New South Wales from a London bookseller, in 1887, for twenty-five guineas. Nothing definite is known of their earlier whereabouts; no signatures appear on the drawings which are certainly by several artists, and only two of which bear dates. One, the eightieth in their present arrangement, is dated December, 1791; the other, the third in the volume,

⁶⁴ *History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum; 1906, Vol. II., pp. 107-109.*

June, 1792. Most of them are annotated with brief pencilled notes in several handwritings, which differ from those of the artists, who rarely gave more than the relative size of the painting."⁶⁵

I now revert to the question of Mr Lambert's drawings over which a considerable amount of confusion has arisen, due, it would appear, to a lapse of memory on the part of Dr. R. Bowdler Sharpe.

So long ago as 1843 it was recognised that Latham used what are known as "Mr Lambert's drawings." These have been described as "comprising 214 paintings of birds, one landscape of Norfolk Island, and ten illustrations of mammals, [which] have never been completely catalogued. In 1842, G. R. Gray (*Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., Lond.*)⁶⁶, whose brother supposed the artist to be White, determined 115 species. A further examination was conducted by H. E. Strickland, assisted by John Gould. These very important paintings are mounted in three volumes, and were at one time in the possession of Aylmer Bourke Lambert,^{66a} then Secretary to the Linnean Society of London, from whom they passed to the Earl of Derby, in whose library they are to-day."⁶⁷ Mr N. B. Kinnear, of

⁶⁵ *The Emu*; Melbourne, 1931, Vol. XXXI., p. 100.

⁶⁶ *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*; London, 1843, Vol. XI., pp. 189-194. [G. R. Gray's communication was dated 14th December, 1842.]

^{66a} [Aylmer Bourke Lambert; b. 1761; botanist; educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford; an original F.L.S., 1788; and vice-president, 1796-1842; contributed papers on zoology and botany to its *Transactions*; F.R.S., 1791; *A Description of the genus Cinchona* his first independent work, 1797; chief work a monograph of the genus *Pinus* (Vol. I., 1803; Vol. II., 1824; Vol. III., 1837); d. 1842. H. S. G.]

⁶⁷ [Aylmer Bourke Lambert's library was sold, in London by Mr Sotheby, on 18th/20th April, 1842, and realised £1105 4s 0d. "Lot 444: New South Wales; 225 most beautiful drawings in colour, of the Quadrupeds and Birds of New South Wales, with the names of the Birds inserted in pencil by Jo. Latham and an Autograph letter from him to A. B. Lambert,

the Natural History Museum, London, has informed me that all these paintings are unsigned and include four paintings which are not in a similar collection—of what have been referred to as the “Watling drawings”—in the British Museum (Natural History) London.⁶⁸ At this juncture I should like to express my special thanks to Mr Kinnear and to Mr H. W. England who is in charge of the books in the Zoological Department at the British Museum (Natural History) not only for their patience in dealing with my queries but also for their expert assistance.

Much confusion has been caused by Dr. Sharpe's inaccurate presumption that Latham “referred to these pictures [the ‘Watling drawings’] as ‘Mr Lambert's drawings,’ ”⁶⁹ and it will be of interest to quote some of Dr. Sharpe's notes on this point. He writes: “It is curious that Watling's name is not mentioned, as many of the drawings bear his signature; nor is that of his employer, Mr James Lee.”⁷⁰ If it seemed curious to Dr. Sharpe that Latham should not mention Watling's name it is certainly significant that Latham should repeatedly mention that of Mr Lambert: as—for example—when describing the Turcoisine Parrot, Dr. Sharpe's note reads: “Although Latham says that he described this Parraquet from the drawings of Mr Lambert, and apparently from a specimen in the collection of

Note 67 continued.

Esq., concerning the Collection; in 3 vols. fol. calf, N.D.”: subsequently became the property of the Earl of Derby and is now at Knowsley; this is the collection known as “Mr Lambert's drawings.” Another lot, “683: Autograph letters (upwards of 100),” was bought for the Earl of Derby and was presented to the British Museum in 1870: it contains the letter from John White later referred to. H. S. G.]

⁶⁸ N. B. Kinnear; *in litt.*, 17th July, 1935.

⁶⁹ *History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum*; 1906, Vol. II., p. 108.

⁷⁰ *Tom cit.*, p. 122.

General Davies, he makes use of Watling's note,"⁷¹ and, when dealing with the Blue-headed Cuckow, Dr. Sharpe says: "Latham gives the substance of . . . [Watling's] note, but gives credit for it to Mr Lambert."⁷²

It is, I think, obvious that "Mr Lambert's drawings"—as they are termed—is an entirely different collection to that of the "Watling drawings." It should, perhaps, also be emphasized that these drawings were not actually by Lambert but that they have been termed "Mr Lambert's drawings" because they formed part of his library and not because he was the draughtsman. Dr. Sharpe—excited by the idea that Watling's paintings had provided Latham's types—expresses surprise that Watling is never even mentioned by Latham—his actual words are: "He [Latham] says not one word about Watling or James Lee in the text of his book, nor can I so far find any evidence of his giving credit to either of them as the source of his information,"⁷³ but such mention is the last thing one would expect to find in material if such had been cribbed. Dr. Sharpe goes on to point out that Latham has transferred a long note by Watling into his account of the Channel bill in his *General History of Birds*,⁷⁴ but attributes the last sentence of his

⁷¹ *History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum*; 1906, Vol. II., p. 115. Dr. Sharpe's use of the phrase "Watling's note" is misleading; it imputes to Watling a knowledge of ornithology sufficient to enable him to write critical notes whereas the fact is that the annotations on some of his paintings (for not all are annotated) are in the hand-writing of persons other than Watling.

⁷² *Tom. cit.*, p. 121.

⁷³ *Tom. cit.*, p. 109.

⁷⁴ John Latham: *General History of Birds*; 1822, Vol. II., pp. 300-302, pl. 32.

note to " Mr White."⁷⁵ If Watling's paintings were being used surreptitiously it is hardly likely that open acknowledgment would be made of any information which might accompany them and it is hardly guessing to presume that " Mr White " was none other than Surgeon General John White. Finally, Dr. Sharpe quotes Watling as stating: " The pride and vanity of the draughtsman has induced him to put his name to all the drawings, but should you publish them I think the name may be left out."⁷⁶ The wishes of the poor " draughtsman " seem to have been all too literally obeyed.

Mr K. A. Hindwood has suggested that " the handwriting of the notes on the ' Watling Drawings,' in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, does not appear to be by Watling; possibly the notes are by Surgeon-General White for whom Watling painted birds."⁷⁷ It had also occurred to me that it was possible that Watling might not have been primarily responsible for the annotations on his paintings but that these might have been provided by his employer. It seemed to me remarkable that the note on the painting (signed " T. W.") of the Red-breasted or Blue-bellied Parrot should read: " Native name *Goevil*. This Parrot has a fine white tongue like the drawing No. 300 *Psittacus haematodes* variety; called the Blue-bellied Parrot, see Latham, Syn."⁷⁸ This note indicates that the writer—

⁷⁵ *History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum*; 1906, Vol. II., pp. 117-118. The note which is written on the back of the picture (signed " Thomas Watling ") of the bird has been used by Latham in his *Second Supplement* (1801), p. 96. It may here be observed that many of the paintings in the " Watling " collection have been trimmed to such an extent that the notes on their backs have been cut into. These notes were, however, copied out before trimming took place and these copies have been inserted alongside the appropriate paintings in the collection; who was the copyist of these notes has not been ascertained.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁷⁷ K. A. Hindwood; *in litt.*, 19th November, 1935.

⁷⁸ The " Watling " collection in the British Museum (Natural History) London; No. 35.

whether it was Watling or his employer—had a knowledge of Latham's *General Synopsis of Birds* which was published in 1781/5. My main reason, however, for countenancing the idea that Watling might not have been primarily responsible for the notes attributed to him is the tone of some of these annotations. For example, the note on the painting (signed "T. Watling") of the Brown Plover reads: "One fifth the natural size. This is a water bird, though put on a perch":⁷⁹ and as regards the New Holland Tern the note on the painting (signed "Thomas Watling") is as follows: "This almost half the natural size, and a pretty good resemblance, with this exception—only the bill not just so much bent."⁸⁰ It occurred to me as strange that an artist should thus criticise his own work which—one would have thought—it would have been preferable for him to have corrected.

It was, however, not till I discovered a letter—in the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum—from John White (of date 11th March 1797) to Aylmer Bourke Lambert that I was able to compare this with the inscriptions on Watling's paintings. I then found that many—but not all—of his paintings were unquestionably annotated in White's autograph^{80a} and it was, indeed, a revelation to discover that the suggestion to leave out Watling's name—should

⁷⁹ The "Watling" collection in the British Museum (Natural History) London; No. 253.

⁸⁰ *Loc. cit.*, No. 274.

^{80a} The paintings, referred to in footnotes 75, 76, and 88, namely of the Channel bill, "Ciliary Warbler," Chattering Bee-eater, and Coach-whip Bird (Nos. 57, 209, 96, and 127 in the "Watling" collection) are all annotated in the autograph of John White. The other paintings, referred to in footnotes 71, 72, 78, 79, 80, 84, and 88, namely of the Turcoisine Parrot, Blue-headed Cuckoo, Blue-bellied Parrot, Brown Plover, New Holland Tern, Emu-Wren, and Needle-tailed Swallow (Nos. 47, 72, 35, 253, 274, 184, 185, and 216 in the "Watling" collection) are annotated but not in White's hand-writing.

his paintings be published—was actually in the hand-writing of John White.^{80b}

The letter referred to is as follows :

“ My dear Sir

Herewith you will receive a large rude Manuscript, just as it was taken from my common place book by a young man who was my Hospital Clerke, which my present situation prevents me being able to throw into any kind of form, or even to copy fairly so as to make it legible or understood.

It contains many remarks as well as the progress made in Colony, which probably you may be able to hit upon some plan of getting put into a shape not expensive, & still worthy of being given to the World. This you must take with you, many pages of it were written when Hunger was very pressing, & may cast some reflection on Government from the distress of the moment: all that part I wish to suppress as well as many remarks not very favorable to the Settlement as I now trust from change of Men (I mean Governors) measures will be pursued that will very soon make it in a great degree independent of the mother country. I am just about to set off for the

^{80b} (See *Plate 6.*) This painting of the “Ciliary Warbler” (No. 209 in the “Watling” collection) has been trimmed so that only part of the original inscription, in the autograph of John White, now remains. Before trimming a copy of this inscription was made (which is inserted by the side of the painting) and which reads: “This little Bird is the only one of the kind ever seen. the white round the Ciliary process of the Eye is composed of the most beautifull small white Feathers. The pride and vanity of the draughtsman has induced him to put his name to all the drawings, but should you publish them I think the name may as well be left out.” The inscription, as trimmed, reads: “ghtsman has induced him to put his name/ drawings, but should you Publish them I thin/ me may as well be left out.”

Whoman has induced him to put his name
 drawing, but should you Publish them, I thin
 me may as well be left out —

Inscription on back of Watling's painting of the "Ciliary Warbler" (see Plate 4).

Be out off for the Royal William
 at Portsmouth, where I shall at all
 times rejoice to hear from you.
 I am
 My Dear Sir
 Yours most sincerely
 John White

Saturday
 11th 22 March
 1757 —

Extract from letter, to Aylmer Bourke Lambert, from John White.

Royal William at Portsmouth, where I shall at all times rejoice to hear from you.

I am

Saturday

My dear Sir

11th March

Yours most Sincerely

1797

John White^{80c}

I wish you would recommend to me what is best to be done with the drawings, for to have them all engraved would be so expensive that I could never carry such a work into execution

Aylmer B. Lambert Esqr.

26 Lower

Grosvenor Street."

The foregoing letter, dated nineteen months after White's return from New South Wales, demonstrates that he was in familiar correspondence with Aylmer Bourke Lambert. The "large rude Manuscript" and the collection of "drawings" may, or may not, have been the handiwork of Watling but it is clear that Lambert obtained from White drawings from New South Wales.

In spite of Messrs Gregory M. Mathews' and Tom Iredale's papers on the subject⁸¹ (which I have already quoted) it was again stated in 1926 in the *Check List* of the Royal Australian Ornithologists' Union⁸² that the names of many Australian birds are based on Watling's drawings.

If, at this point, a summary of my ideas is permissible I would say that I have formed the opinion that Watling, a convict in New South Wales, was employed in drawing "the non-descript productions of the country": these drawings were being sent home by his superiors, with annotations by them, as opportunity occurred: thereafter they—notes or pictures or both—were copied, or utilized, by those

^{80c} (See *Plate 6*.)

⁸¹ *Austral Avian Record*; 1920, Vol. IV., Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 114-122; and 1922, Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 22-32, with 7 col. pls.

⁸² Royal Australian Ornithologists' Union: *Check List*; 1926, Intr. p. iv.

to whom they were sent but always with a total disregard of Watling. It is however not to be supposed that Watling was the only person in New South Wales, at that time, who was endowed with artistic ability and it will have been gathered from preceding statements that other artists were at work in the Colony before him.

I must now refer the reader to p. 111, where I draw attention to the fact that in Sir Joseph Banks' copy of Dryander's "Catalogue of the Banksian Library" the last four words of the item catalogued as "Volumen foliorum 70, continens figuras animalium et plantarum pictas quas in Nova Cambria prope Port Jackson delineavit Edgar Thomas Dell" are struck out. These words were apparently erased by the compiler of the catalogue, Jonas Dryander, and if it is difficult to guess why they were struck out it is not easier to surmise why they were ever printed. I have already pointed out that the volume of water-colour drawings is simply a collection of such and contains nothing to indicate that they were drawn by Edgar Thomas Dell. When, and why, they were attributed to him remains a mystery.

As regards Edgar Thomas Dell it has been ascertained that, as chief mate of the "Shah Hormuzear," he first reached Port Jackson on 24th February, 1793. The owner and master of the "Shah Hormuzear," which had come from Calcutta, was William Wright Bampton, and he contracted with the local authorities to supply the settlement with certain cattle and provisions. In part fulfilment of that contract he despatched Dell on their return to India in "the snow" or brig "Fancy," 150 tons; this vessel, presumably, was either purchased or chartered by Bampton in India. She arrived at Port Jackson on 9th July, 1794, and sailed again on 29th September. Dell was very secretive concerning his destination but it was generally believed that he was sailing for New Zealand to obtain a cargo of timber suitable for spars, etc.: this proved correct. The "Fancy" lay for three months in the River Thames, New Zealand, during which period her crew had one encounter with the Maoris, and reached Port Jackson again

on 15th March, 1795. She was then chartered to take provisions to Norfolk Island and on her return paid another visit to New Zealand, in company with the "Endeavour," aboard which was Bampton; the latter ship had to be scuttled on arrival at Dusky Bay. A boat which had been commenced by some of the crew of the "Britannia," some time earlier, was completed and launched by the "Endeavour's" crew. She was aptly named "Providence" and, with the "Fancy," sailed for Norfolk Island; on 31st January, 1796, both vessels left there for China.⁸³

The above details show that Edgar Thomas Dell was at Port Jackson in 1793, 1794, and 1795: this is of no assistance in identifying him with a volume of water-colour drawings some of which it has been shown must have been drawn prior to 29th December, 1789. I have, however, strayed from my subject and if I have only discovered a fresh problem as to the provenance of the "volumen foliorum 70" from the Banks Collection, I think it is now abundantly clear that this has nothing to do with Thomas Watling.

Mr Hindwood—from whose paper dealing with *The Historical Associations and Early Records of the Emu-Wren* I have already quoted—goes on to state that "there are five known paintings of the Emu-Wren co-eval with the settlement of New South Wales—one in the 'Sydney' set, three in the 'Watling' collection, and one among the 'Lambert' drawings. A comparison of these paintings discloses an interesting fact—a fact, moreover, which establishes a definite correlation between the three collections. Taking the 'Sydney' painting as the original, mainly because of its excellence, it will be observed that

⁸³ *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 171, p. 393; and David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol. I., 1798; Vol. II., 1802. Search through the Colonial Office Correspondence (1788-1798) in the Public Record Office, London, and printed *Historical Records of New South Wales (1788-1808)* merely confirms the above summary of Capt. Dell's visits to New South Wales.

' Watling ' painting No. 184⁸⁴ is a copy; furthermore, the ' Lambert ' drawing is copied from this particular ' Watling ' painting, or *vice versa*. While the three illustrations in question are by different artists, they are identical in posture, each having five instead of six tail-feathers, with the same variation in their lengths. This one instance, showing that there are similar drawings of the same species in the three sets, can be multiplied many times. The probability is that the artists working on the drawings often copied from the finished paintings of their colleagues."⁸⁵ I have already ventured to suggest the possibility that some of the " Lambert drawings " may have been copied from Watling's originals. This suggestion is strengthened by the opinion expressed by Mr Hindwood when he draws attention to the probability that artists of the period copied the paintings of their colleagues: it is, of course, possible that Watling may have copied the pictures of other artists—conversely, others may have copied his originals—at any rate he was—by reason of his enforced residence in New South Wales—in a position to do original work.

It would seem that there must always be some dubiety as to who were the original artists who supplied Latham's types: that, at some date, he utilised Watling's actual drawings there can be no such doubt. Mr K. A. Hindwood, in his paper already so much laid under contribution, states: " We discover, in his account of the Soft-tailed Flycatcher, evidence of Latham's having used the ' Watling ' paintings after the publication of the *Second Supplement* in 1801. He quotes in the *General History of Birds* (1823) his remarks which appeared in the *Second Supplement*, and then continues: ' . . . Another name for this bird is *Mereangeree*

⁸⁴ [There are three paintings of the " Emu Wren " (Soft-tailed Flycatcher) in the " Watling " collection in the British Museum (Natural History) London, numbered 184, 185, and 186. Only No. 185 is signed by Watling; No. 186 certainly bears a resemblance to his style but No. 184 does not seem to have been his handiwork. H. S. G.]

⁸⁵ *The Emu*; Melbourne, 1931, Vol. XXXI., pp. 101-102.

It is called Emue or Cassoway Titmouse. . . . It is also called *Mureanera* in another drawing.' All of this information appears on 'Watling' paintings Nos. 184 and 185,⁸⁶ together with other facts, which Latham uses. Had he access to the 'Watling' collection when compiling the *Second Supplement*, he would certainly have included the remarks appearing on the drawings. It is obvious that they are not the type drawings of most of the Australian birds described in the *Second Supplement*. Latham used the 'Lambert' series, most of which paintings are similar to, and, of course, contemporaneous with, the 'Watling' set.'⁸⁷

Mr K. A. Hindwood is correct as regards his statement that some of the information on Watling's drawing of the Soft-tailed Flycatcher was not used by Latham till 1823: his presumption therefrom—that Latham did not have access to Watling's drawings when compiling his *Second Supplement*—is not so free from criticism. Several of the pictures bearing Watling's signature, in the "Watling" collection, have notes written on them and a recent perusal of the *Second Supplement* has revealed that many such notes have been freely used therein by Latham. Why then did he always refer to Mr Lambert? "Mr Lambert's drawings" are not annotated though, of course, it is possible—if indeed it is not likely—that if they were copied from Watling's originals the notes thereon were copied too but that later these may have been lost. It seems unnecessary to belabour the point but—as examples—it may be pointed out here that the notes on Watling's pictures of the Channel bill, the Chattering Bee-eater, the Coach-whip Bird, and the Needle-tailed Swallow have all been utilised—if not wholly then in part—in Latham's *Second Supplement*.⁸⁸ The fact that in some instances (as in the case of the Soft-tailed

⁸⁶ [See footnote 84, where it is stated that painting No. 184 does not seem to have been the handiwork of Thomas Watling. H. S. G.]

⁸⁷ *The Emu*; Melbourne, 1931, Vol. XXXI., p. 106.

⁸⁸ *Second Supplement to A General Synopsis of Birds*; 1801, pp. 96, 154, 222, and 259.

Flycatcher) information derived from notes on Watling's paintings has not been utilised in the *Second Supplement*, but has been used in *The General History of Birds*, may indicate either that these notes were not available in 1801 or that Latham may only have thought it necessary to incorporate them in his major work twenty years later.

Reference has already been made (see p. 90) to Thomas Watling's landscape of Sydney in 1794.^{88a} Mr K. A. Hindwood, when obligingly sending me a photograph, has informed me that "the size of the painting, inside the frame, is 51 inches by 36 inches. The painting is done on two separate pieces of canvas stretched on board frames. . . . I may add that the landscape painting is in oils and does not show a very well developed sense of composition or colour harmony. The legend, on the back of the painting, reads: 'A direct North general View of Sydney Cove the chief British Settlement in New South Wales as it appeared in 1794 being the 7th year from its Establishment. Painted immediately from Nature by T. Watling.'"⁸⁹

Mr Hindwood has further informed me that there is "another painting of Sydney in 1802 [in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales] which is very similar in execution and style: some art critics here state that it is by Watling and the caption reads 'Sydney in 1802, probably by T. Watling'; however, Watling usually signed his work and considering the fact that he was very anxious to return to Scotland, it is hardly likely that he would still be in Australia in that year."⁹⁰

^{88a} (See *Frontispiece*.) Among the paintings—it is No. 20, in the "Watling" collection—in the British Museum (Natural History) is one which is inscribed: "A direct north View of Sydney Cove and Port Jackson, the Chief British Settlement in New South Wales. Taken from the North Shore, about a Mile distant, for John White, Esqr. It must be observed the Masts of the Ships are out of all proportions." This painting is an earlier view than that reproduced here as the *Frontispiece* but it is similar in many details.

⁸⁹ K. A. Hindwood; *in litt.*, 19th November, 1935.

⁹⁰ K. A. Hindwood; *in litt.*, 12th April, 1932, and 14th April, 1937.

The painting bears no signature but, no matter how anxious Watling may have been to return to Scotland, it is to be remembered that on 14th April, 1789, he was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. His sentence therefore would not have expired till 1803 and, unless part of his sentence was remitted for good conduct, he would presumably have been in New South Wales in 1802 and could have painted the "Landscape." The actual date of his return is, however, not known but official documents have already been quoted which show that he was in Dumfries, for certain, in November, 1804.

Little did I think—when Mr K. A. Hindwood first wrote to me on 12th April, 1932—that I should find it so difficult to ascertain facts about Thomas Watling. I trust I have not omitted to thank all those who have assisted me in my search and—though I experience a certain sense of satisfaction in the result of my five years' investigation—I feel that there remains much more that I should like to know about one whom I have long since come to regard as the elusive Watling.

APPENDIX.

DOCUMENTS *IN RE* THOMAS WATLING TRIAL FOR FORGERY, 1789.

1. Declaration of Thomas Watling, dated 27th November, 1788.

AT DUMFRIES, the twenty-seventh day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

In consequence of a Petition in the name of William Lawson of Girthhead, Agent for the British Linen Company, and David Staig Esquire, Agent for the Bank of Scotland and Warrant indorsed thereon THOMAS WATLING complained upon was brought before me and being judicially examined on the facts set forth Declares that he has lived in the Town of Dumfries all his life and has for some years past been employed or employed himself as a painter and being specially interrogated if he by himself or any person within his knowledge has issued or caused issue any forged note or notes on the Bank of Scotland or the British Linen Company DECLARES that he

has never by himself or any other person issued or past any forged notes upon either of the said Banks nor does he know or suspect any person or persons who have been guilty of such offence and all this he declares to be truth.

“ John Ferguson, Witness.”

“ Thomas Watling.”

“ John Welsh, J.P.”

27th November, 1788.—The before designed Thomas Watling having been again examined declares that in the month of March last he the declarant finished off two Guinea notes upon the Bank of Scotland and after the form and tenor of the Bank of Scotland Guinea notes; That the said two notes were marked with the letter C. and when finished off and completed were by the declarant delivered to John Roberts, Ingraver in Dumfries, from whom the declarant received half a guinea for each note. That in the month of July last the declarant finished off Three Guinea notes in imitation of the Bank of Scotland's Guinea notes marked with the letter G. which three notes were in the dusk of the evening delivered by the declarant, at his own door, to a person who Roberts made him believe was John Kerr but who the declarant verily believes was Roberts himself and the declarant received from the person to whom he delivered said three notes a Guinea and a half, the Guinea in a Bank of Scotland note, the very Guinea note this day found in the declarant's repositories, and half a guinea in gold. That about a month ago the declarant finished off another note in imitation of the Guinea note of the Bank of Scotland which was also in the dusk of evening delivered at the declarant's own door to the person whom he then believed to be the said John Roberts but for which last note the declarant got no payment; and the last note was marked with the letter D. Declares he received the aforesaid six notes, in the situation the one was this day found in, from the said John Roberts and afterwards done off and finished by him. Declares that he never at any period finished off any notes in imitation of the Bank of Scotland other than the six before mentioned and the one this day found, nor did he the declarant ever finish off or attempt to finish off any note or notes in imitation of any other Banking Company's notes in Scotland. Declares that the aforesaid six notes never would pass or be circulated in the Country as they were done with vermilion both on the body and the names and all this he declares to be truth. Three words in the preceding page delete before signing. In Witness Whereof the declarant has subscribed this declaration upon this and the two preceding pages in presence of Simon Mackenzie, Writer in Dumfries, and John Ferguson, Writer, there, and writer hereof.

“ Sim. Mackenzie, Witness.”

“ Thomas Watling.”

“ John Ferguson, Witness.”

“ John Welsh, J.P.”

2. Declarations of Thomas Watling, dated 28th November, 1788, and 15th January, 1789.

AT DUMFRIES the twenty-eighth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight years.

THOMAS WATLING, Painter in Dumfries, being again brought before John Welsh Esquire, Sheriff Substitute of Dumfries, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Dumfries, and further examined DECLARES that he went from the Town of Dumfries to Glasgow about the beginning of March last—That previous to that time the declarant and John Roberts were often in company together, were in the use of going to one another's rooms, have gone together to several public houses in this Town, particularly to the houses of John Maxwell, William Bryden and Thomas

Bank of Scotland
Edinburgh

ONE GUINEA
Bank of Scotland
Edinburgh

The Governor and Company
of the **BANK OF SCOTLAND** constituted
by Act of Parliament, promise to pay here,
on demand, to George Sandy, or bearer,

ONE POUND ONE SHILLING STERLING

By Order of
THE COURT OF
DIRECTORS.

Welsh. That they were in use of walking together in the garden of Robert Wilson younger Gardner in Dumfries and also in use to go in evenings to the Episcopal Chappel in Dumfries where Roberts was in use to practise upon the organ and to hear the Clerk, James Strong, wheelwright, sing; and that John Hannay, Cabinet Maker in Dumfries, Edward Knight, the Chappel Bedal, were for ordinary in the Chappel on said occasions—that is, these people might be once or twice present and see the declarant and Roberts together in the Chappel. That about last Saint John's day Roberts and William Chalmers sent for the declarant about some mason-aprons to said William Chalmers' shop in Dumfries, and Mrs Chalmers knows of the intimacy which subsisted between Roberts and the declarant. And further declares that Roberts' father and his family must have often observed the Declarant come to young Roberts's room. That Roberts had been twice or thrice in the Declarant's room since he came from Glasgow, and doubts not but some of his neighbours have seen him, but cannot say particularly as to any of them excepting his own Aunt May Kirkpatrick. And being specially interrogated Declares that when doing off the six notes mentioned in his Declaration emitted yesterday he did not apply any stamp or seal before delivering them to Roberts. And further Declares that when Roberts gave him the first two unfinished notes he at that time mentioned to the declarant that they were not for circulation but for an experiment he wished to try. Being interrogated as to the eighteen pieces of paper found in one of his drawers Declares they were cut for sketching out attitudes of Heads and for sundry other purposes in the way of drawing and that more papers of the same size were and he believes may still be found in his room with sketches or drawings upon them. And this Declaration being read over to him he declares the same to be Truth in presence of John Aitken senior and Simon Mackenzie, Writers in Dumfries, Lieutenant Rollo Gillespie, late of the one hundred and fourth Regiment, residing in Dumfries, and Samuel Clark, Clerk of the Peace for the County of Dumfries.

"Rollo Gillespie, Witness."

"Sim. Mackenzie, Witness."

"Samuel Clark, Witness."

"Thomas Watling."

"John Welsh, J.P."

AT DUMFRIES the fifteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine years.

THOMAS WATLING before designed was again brought before John Welsh Esquire, One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for this County and being further examined Declares he went to Glasgow in the Month of March last and was employed in Coach and Chaise painting by Stonehouse M'Clellan Dunbar & Scott, Coach Makers there during all the time he was in Glasgow, and was paid at the rate of one Guinea per week and the Company also agreed that the Declarant while in their employment should have time to do anything he might be employed to do as a Likeness painter. Declares he had no money transactions with any person or persons in Glasgow except with the said Company in receiving his wages. That he lodged and boarded in the house of John Lamont, Head Waiter in the Black Bull Tavern in Glasgow at seven shillings and sixpence per week. That the Declarant going from Dumfries to Glasgow rode upon horse back to Moffat and took the Diligence from Moffat to Glasgow. That he rode to Moffat as aforesaid upon a horse belonging to William Brand, Horse hirer in Dumfries, the hire for which he paid on his return from Glasgow in silver. That the Declarant staid all night in the house of James Rae Vintner in Moffat and paid the fare for the Diligence there being eighteen shillings and eight pence in silver and copper. That any little money he carried from Dumfries with him was in silver excepting one Guinea Note which he borrowed from Thomas Johnston, Auctioneer, but doth not recollect of what Bank the said note was. That the Declarant when returning to Dumfries came in the Diligence from

Glasgow to Moffat and walked from Moffat to Dumfries and that he paid the same fare at Glasgow for returning in the Diligence to Moffat. And being interrogated if he ever lent or offered to lend any money to William Bell, Writer in Dumfries, Declares he is acquainted with the said William Bell, but doth not recollect his ever having lent or offered to lend him any money nor doth he recollect his having lent or offered to lend any money to George Bryceson, Barber in Dumfries. That Bryceson was once in Jail when the Declarant prevailed with James Finlay, Shopkeeper in Dumfries to become Bail for Bryceson. And being interrogated where he got or purchased the paper upon which the unfinished note is sketched and what quantity of such paper he bought. Declares he doth not incline to answer that question. Declares he doth not know Benson & Company or where they live although he thinks he has seen the name or heard of such a Company. And Declares that he never noticed the maker's name upon any paper he was using. And being interrogated from whom he got the Guinea Note he first attempted to imitate Declares he is not inclined to answer that question. And being interrogated when he first began to finish off Notes, what time he took to so finish them off, and whether they were so finished by Pen, Pencil or plate? Declines giving any answer to these questions. Being further interrogated if when he imitated any Bank of Scotland Notes they were marked with the letter C. and D. and from whom he got such real notes of the Bank of Scotland? Declines giving any answer. Being interrogated if he knows a man of the name of Ker and what is his character and business? Declines giving any answer. And being interrogated how he came to get one guinea note and half a guinea in gold for three notes done over with vermilion? Declines giving any answer. Being interrogated if any note or other writing done with vermilion can be wiped off or altered with black lead, china ink or any other materials so as to have the appearance of a real Bank Note? Declines giving any answer to that question or to any other question that may be put to him about this business. The Declaration of this date which is written upon this and part of the preceding page being read over to the said Thomas Watling he hath subscribed the same in presence of the Justice Examiner and Simon Mackenzie one of the Town Clerks of Dumfries and Samuel Clark, Clerk of the Peace for the said County and writer hereof, but thereafter declined to sign this Declaration and the same is subscribed by the Justice Examiner and by the said Simon Mackenzie and Samuel Clark in presence of the said Thomas Watling.

"Sim. Mackenzie, Witness."
 "Samuel Clark, Witness."

"John Welsh, J.P."

3. Petition by Watling to the Justices of the Peace for County.

1788, November 29.—To The Honourable His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Dumfries.

The PETITION of Thomas Watling, Limner in Dumfries.

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That the Petitioner finds himself confined in prison in virtue of a Warrant from your Honours proceeding upon an Information exhibited to you against him for being guilty Actor or Art and part of the crime of forging the notes of the Bank of Scotland and other Banking Companies or issuing forged notes knowing them to have been forged.

He being summarily seized upon and charged with a crime which if really committed and proved must ultimately endanger his life and in the mean time materially affect his Character and credit, could not fail to make a very

sensible impression upon the Petitioner's mind and occasion a temporary agitation and a derangement of his recollection.

The rest of this petition has been already printed (see pp. 73-4) and it concludes:

MAY it therefore please your Honours to authorise his liberation accordingly.
(Signed) Thomas Watling.

Dumfries, 15 January, 1789.

The Petition written upon the two preceding pages signed by Thomas Watling, was in presence of John Welsh, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Dumfries exhibited to Thomas Watling, Painter, at present prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dumfries and he being called upon to say whether or not the said Petition was wrote at his desire, is subscribed by him and was given in also at his desire; He the said Thomas Watling declines giving any answer thereto and refuses to subscribe this Minute.

(Signed) John Welsh, J.P.

Sim. Mackenzie, Witness.
Samuel Clark, Witness.

Dumfries, 17th January, 1789.

In preference of John Welsh, Esquire, before designed, appeared Thomas Brown, Clerk to Robert Ramsay, Writer in Dumfries, who being examined and the Petition written upon this Sheet of paper exhibited to him Declares the said Petition is of the Declarant's handwriting and that he copied the same from a scroll or draught made and delivered to him by the said Robert Ramsay—That after the Declarant had wrote the said Petition he carried the same into the Tolbooth of Dumfries and gave it to Thomas Watling who after perusing the said Petition said it was right and subscribed the same in the Declarant's presence. That the said Petition was lodged in the office of the Clerk of the Peace by the Declarant at the desire of Mr Ramsay and that it was made out and lodged in a hurry as Mr Ramsay had heard a precognition was to be taken on the very same day the Petition was lodged. That the said Petition bears date the twenty-ninth day of November last but the Declarant thinks it was not lodged or presented till a day or two thereafter. That the Declarant cannot recollect if any other person was present when Watling subscribed the said Petition.

(Signed) Tho. Brown,
(„) John Welsh, J.P.

Robert Ramsay, before designed, being called appeared and Declared he is Watling's man of business at present, and being interrogated whether previous to his being employed either by Watling or any other person on his behalf he of his own motive advised Watling to Retract his Declarations before the Justices he declined answering the question or any other alleging he is not obliged.

(Signed) John Welsh, J.P.

4. Petition of Watling to Lords Commissioners of Justiciary.

1789, April 14.—UNTO The Right Honourable The Lords Justice Clerk and Hailes one of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary on their Circuit Court at Dumfries.

The PETITION of Thomas Watling, Linner, present Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dumfries.

This petition has been already printed in full see p. 74).

5. Petition by Lord Advocate *re* forged notes, etc.

14th April, 1789.—UNTO The Right Honble. The Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Hailes one of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary. The Petition of His Majesty's Advocate for His Majesty's interest and of The Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland with concurrence of His Majesty's Advocate.

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That a Criminal Prosecution was brought at the instance of the Petitioners against Thomas Watling sometime Painter or Limner in the Town of Dumfries accusing him of forging Notes of the said Bank of Scotland and along with the libel the Petitioners produced and lodged in the hands of the Clerk to this Circuit Court Eleven of the said Forged Notes and an unfinished counterfeit note together with a bible belonging to John Johnston, Butcher in Dumfries.

That the said Thomas Watling in place of standing trial for the said Crime presented a Petition to the Court submitting to a sentence of transportation which was granted and he was sentenced accordingly.

The Petitioners are therefore desirous to have up the said Eleven forged Notes and the said unfinished counterfeit note that the same may be destroyed and also the foresaid bible that the same may be restored to the owner thereof.

May it therefore please your Lordships to grant Warrant to the Clerk of Court to deliver up to the Petitioners the foresaid Eleven Forged Notes, the unfinished note and the said Bible for the purposes foresaid.

According to Justice, etc.,

(Signed) Ar. Campbell, A.D.

Dumfries, 14th April, 1789.

Having considered the foregoing Petition Grants Warrant to the Clerk of Court to deliver up the Notes and Bible mentioned in the Petition.

(Signed) Dav. Dalrymple.

6 and 7. Criminal Letters against Watling [*abstracted*].

These "Criminal Letters" are equivalent to an indictment of to-day.

Thomas Watling is designed as sometime Painter or Limner in the Town of Dumfries present Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dumfries. The letters run in name of Lord Advocate Ilay Campbell "Our Advocate for our interest" and by the Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland with concurrence of our said Advocate. The Letters charging Watling with forging in the year 1787 or 1788 "certain promissory notes at least to the number of 12 for the sum of one pound one shilling stg., or one guinea each . . ." narrate as productions to be lodged "a Bible belonging to John Johnston, Butcher in the Town of Dumfries, in which the names of the said John Johnston and of Margaret Johnston his wife are written by the said Thomas Watling, and likewise a half penny on which the word 'D. Crosbie' are engraved by the said Thomas Watling, a Letter and a Card both written by the said Thomas Watling to Francis Shortt, Writer in Dumfries, the letter dated the twenty-seventh day of May, Seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, and an Advertisement relative to the Teaching of Drawing by him made out by him without a date and likewise the eighteen pieces of paper found in his repositories."

The remainder of the "Criminal Letters" is purely formal.

8. List of Witnesses to be adduced against Watling.

1. James Fraser, Secretary of the Bank of Scotland.
2. Robert Forrester, sometime Clerk in the Accomptant's Office of the Bank of Scotland, at present Banker in Edinburgh.
3. William Dickie, sometime Secretary's Clerk in the said Bank, at present Merchant in the town of Dundee.
4. John Fergusson, Writer and Messenger in the town of Dumfries.
5. Simon Mackenzie, Writer there.
6. Thomas White, Mathematician there.
7. William Lawson of Girthhead, Agent for the British Linen Company at Dumfries.
8. John Brown, Clerk to the said William Lawson.
9. David Staig, Agent for the Bank of Scotland at Dumfries.
10. James Gracie, Accomptant in said Bank of Scotland's Office in Dumfries.
11. William M'George, Shopkeeper in the town of Dumfries.
12. George Bryson, Hairdresser there.
13. John Kennedy, Writing Master there.
James M'Clure, late Shoemaker in Dumfries, now in Edinburgh
14. John Ramsay in Nether Risks.
John Newall, late Bookseller at Langholm, now at Glasgow.
15. William Bell, Clerk to Hugh Maxwell, Writer in Dumfries.
16. Robert Richardson, Butcher in Dumfries.
17. John Johnston, Butcher there.
18. Margaret Johnston, wife of the said John Johnston.
19. William Bryden, Innkeeper in Dumfries.
20. John Grindall, Senior, Clockmaker there.
21. John Grindall, Junior, Clockmaker there.
22. James Strong, Wheelwright there.
23. John Roberts, Engraver there.
24. John M'Kenzie, Residenter there.
25. James Findlay, Shopkeeper in Dumfries.
26. John Welsh, Esq., Sheriff Substitute of the County of Dumfries.
27. Samuel Clark, Clerk to the Peace for the said County.
28. Rollo Gillespie, late Lieutenant in the one hundred and fourth Regiment of foot, presently residing in Dumfries.
29. Thomas Brown, Clerk to Robert Ramsay, Writer in Dumfries
30. John Gordon, Clerk to the said Robert Ramsay.
31. Francis Shortt, Writer in Dumfries.
32. Robert Clugston, Stationer there.
33. William Boyd, Stationer there.
34. Robert M'Lachlan, Stationer there.
35. John M'Lachlan, Papermaker at Tongland in the Parish of Tongland and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.
36. John Boyd, Foreman to the said John M'Lachlan.
37. William M'Connell, Agent for the Bank of Scotland in Wigton.
William M'Crakan, Writer in Dumfries.
38. Andrew Douglas, Clerk in the said Bank's Office in Wigton.
39. William Crosbie, Sailor in Dumfries.
Mary Broughton, Residenter in Dumfries.

40. Margaret Crosbie, alias Sewell, wife of the said William Crosbie.
41. Deborah Crosbie, Daughter to the said William Crosbie.
42. John Kerr, Merchant in Ecclefechan.
43. Edward Hyslop, Writer in Dumfries.
44. John Gourlay in Whiteside.
45. James M'Lunc, Innkeeper in Gatehouse.
William Duncan, Candlemaker in Dumfries, and Janet Fairies, his spouse.
"Ar. Campbell, A.D."

9. Letter; Watling to Francis Shortt, Writer, Dumfries; dated 27th May, 1788.

GLASGOW, 27th MAY, 88th.
Miller Street--at Messieurs Stenhouse, M'Lellan, Dunbar & Scott's & Co.

Sir,

I have this moment received a letter from Mr Hyslop, informing me that I am to pay my rent to you or Mr Gass. I believe I told you I never had the least objection to pay it to either, at least I am assured I gave Mr Gass my reasons for prevaricating, and at the same time begged him not to think it was either through pique or ill will to him that I did not pay it--only to oppose a *certain person* who is blessed with more assurance than wisdom.

Pardon me for troubling you with this letter, I would solicit the favour of your indulgence for two or three weeks (as I mean soon to be in Dumfries) when I will repay you. If you can supersede any diligence that may be used against me in my absence it will be itemed also to the above and if ever in my power shall be happy to make a retaliation.

Your Answer would greatly oblige.

Sir,

Your Humble Servt.,

(Signed) Thomas Watling.

The following name and address appear on the back of the letter:

Mr Francis Shortt,
Writer,
Dumfries.

Dumfries, 21st March, 1789.—Produced upon my Declaration of this date before Hugh Maxwell, Esquire.

(Signed) Fras. Shortt.

(. .) Hu. Maxwell, J.P.

10. Letter; Watling to Francis Shortt, Writer, Dumfries; undated.

Mr Watling's Compts. to Mr Shortt--If he could favour him with his company in any house most agreeable it would be esteemed an obligation. If not convenient this night Mr Watling will wait upon Mr Shortt by to-morrow at breakfast time ten o'clock.

The following figures and address appear on the other side of the letter:

7 —
 4 — 16
 ———
 2 — 4
 4
 ———
 2 —

Mr Francis Shortt.
 Dumfries.

On the back of the letter there appears the following Declaration:

Dumfries 21st March, 1789.

Produced upon my Declaration of this date before Hugh Maxwell, Esquire
 (Signed) Frans. Shortt.
 (..) Hu. Maxwell, J.P.

11 Drawing Sheet announcing Classes for teaching and terms.

This production has been reproduced (see Plate 1).

The remaining papers are formal, viz: Executions of Citations to Witnesses, List of Assize and Executions of Service on Watling.

Note on the Family of Coningsburgh.

By R. C. REID.

Like so many other early feudal families of Anglo-Norman origin, the family of Coningsburgh did not long survive Bannockburn. Though it died out territorially, the name, however, continued, and, though uncommon, was well known in the Glasgow area in the 18th century.¹ The family's ownership of the barony of Staplegorton, outside Langholm, was their connecting link with Dumfriesshire.

The first of the name was Galfrid de Coningsburg,² who witnessed a charter of Malcolm IV. (1153-64) to Scone

¹ These notes were compiled to assist Mr T. C. Kinniburgh, who claims descent from these Glasgow merchants, and is collecting material for an account of the family.

² The surname occurs in the Records in an endless variety of spelling.

Abbey.³ The actual date of the charter was at Perth, 1164, and from the list of magnates who attested it we may assume that Galfrid was a person of some importance.⁴ It is not known who he was, but we know where he must have come from. He must have come from the vill or castle of Coningsburgh in South Yorkshire, close to Doncaster. This, taken in conjunction with his association on his first appearance in history with King Malcolm, compels the irresistible conclusion as to his Anglo-Norman origin. For the fee of Coningsburgh was part of the vast domains of the de Warren family.

In 1139 Ada de Warren, daughter of the 2nd Earl and sister of the 3rd Earl de Warren, married Henry, Earl of Northumberland, heir to King David I. of Scotland. Two of their sons, Malcolm and William, had prior to their succession to the throne of Scotland both adopted, or were known by, the surname of de Warren. Their father, Henry, had granted a salt pan at Werkworth to Brinkburn Priory. The grant was confirmed by his son, Malcolm de Gwarrene, Earl of Northumberland.⁵ The Rev. Joseph Hunter in his *History of Doncaster*, quoting from the Nostel chartulary in the Cottonian Library, also calls attention to a "William de Warrenna filius Henrici comitis Northumbriorum" who confirmed a grant to the Canons of Nostel. This William was not the then William, Earl de Warren, but the brother and successor of King Malcolm. When in turn he became King in 1165 he was known in history as William the Lion. Our early Scottish Kings, having no surname of their own, adopted that of their mother.

At the date of this Nostel deed William de Warren was exercising some right, or at least a certain control, over portions of the Coningsburgh fee.⁶ We must therefore conclude that Ada's two sons received some provision from the

³ *Liber de Scon*, p. 8.

⁴ *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, app. I., 27.

⁵ *Chartularies of Brinkburn*, pp. 141 and 143; Surtees Society.

⁶ Hunter, I., p. 106.

Coningsburgh estates, and that when Malcolm was called on to succeed his grandfather, David, on the throne of Scotland, he took north with him a man named Galfrid, who had some residential, if not territorial, connection with Coningsburgh. His Christian name of Galfrid or Geoffrey is a sure index to his Norman strain.

No grant of lands to Galfrid is known, but it may be assumed with some safety that he received the barony of Staplegorton. Carlisle more than Edinburgh was the centre of administration in King David and Earl Henry's time, and it is no distant cry from Langholm to Carlisle. Nothing else is known of Galfrid.

He was succeeded by his nephew, William de Cunnigeburch, who granted to Kelso Abbey the advowson of Staplegorton Church, which from the wording of the grant he appears to have founded.⁷ The grant was confirmed by William the Lion.⁸ This nephew, William, may be identified with the William de Coningburc who witnessed a grant of a salt pan in Colvend by Roger Masculus to the Priory of St. Bees in the last quarter of the 12th century.⁹ This is by no means the only instance of association between the Coningsburg and Masculus families. It may denote some affinity.

If the first two generations of the family can thus be definitely identified, the remaining ones are much more speculative. There were several Williams in succession, two of whom were Knights, but it is difficult to differentiate amongst them. At some date before 1243 William de Conigburg, perhaps a son of William, nephew of Galfrid, granted the lands of Rig, which he held as feudatory of Roger Avenel, Lord of Eskdale, to John Fraser, eldest son of Sir Gilbert Fraser. The grant was in connection with John Fraser's marriage with Alicia, daughter of William.¹⁰ This, of course, does not imply that Alicia was heiress of

⁷ *Liber de Calchou*, II., 281.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I., 16.

⁹ *Reg. de Bega*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, II., 9.

William. On 29th July, 1249, Sir William de Cuningburt witnessed a charter whereby Robert de Dundovenald granted to his overlord, Sir Robert de Brus, two carucates in the fee of Ecclefechan along with that advowson.¹¹ For by 1260 William had been knighted, in which year his son, William de Coningburcht, gave to Herbert, son of Sir Aymer de Maxwell, a charter of a carucate of land in Langholm within the fee of Staplegorton and half a carucate in Brakannra, which was the forerunner of the Maxwell interests in that district.¹² This grant was confirmed by King Alexander on 6th April, 1260, wherein Sir William Cunyngsburg is described as deceased.¹³ In 1281 Herbert de Maxwell quitclaimed these lands of Langholm and Brakenwra to Sir John Lindsay, Chamberlain of Scotland.¹⁴ By 1285 the Chamberlain, who was ancestor of the Lindsays of Wauchop, seems to have secured the whole of Staplegorton,¹⁵ and in 1315 his grandson, John Lindsay, Canon of Glasgow, resigned that barony into the hands of the Crown for grant in 1320-1 to Sir James de Douglas.¹⁶ Thus ended the connection of the Coningburghs with Staplegorton.

In 1292 a William de Cuningburgh was one of the auditors on behalf of Brus and Balliol when Edward I. heard their competing claims to the Crown of Scotland,¹⁷ but we cannot be sure he was identical with the owner of Staplegorton. At any rate he disappears as a landed proprietor in Dumfriesshire, and when that class was called on in 1296 to render homage to Edward I. it was not a William but a Duncan de Cunygsburgh of Dumfriesshire who signed the Ragman Roll.¹⁸ This is the only known refer-

¹¹ Bain, I., 1763.

¹² *Chartulary of Pollok Maxwell*, 2; see also *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, II., p. 6.

¹³ *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, II., p. 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, II., p. 18.

¹⁷ Palgrave, 54.

¹⁸ Bain, II., 198.

ence to Duncan, and it is far from certain that he owned Staplegorton.

On the other hand, William may not have died but retired to Lanarkshire and been knighted, for a William de Cunyngburgh of the County of Lanark signed the Ragman Roll in 1296,¹⁹ and on 14th September of that year had his lands restored to him.²⁰ At some date between 1296 and 1303, as Sir William, he was in possession as leasee of the Castle of Durisdeer.²¹ Unfortunately there is no evidence to associate him with Staplegorton, and he may have belonged to a different branch of the family. He was dead by 1306, and an inquest showed that he had owned the lands of Toleybothville (Tullieboyle, in Fife), the yearly value of which was 80 merks, which lands Edward I. had taken, intending to build a castle there. The inquest was held on 17th September, 1307, and found that Tullieboyle had been given by William de Cunyngburgh with his daughter and heiress Lora in marriage to Richard, son of Sir John de Bykerton, on the peculiar condition that if John and Lora had died without issue then the property was to revert to Sir John Bikerton for life under reversion to Lora and her heirs. Richard died without heirs by Lora, who then married Sir Thomas de la Haye. Sir John de Bikerton, the liferenter of Tullieboyle, died "15 days before last Pentecost," so Lora and her husband, Sir Thomas de la Haye, were the owners.²²

Sir William de Cunyngsburgh had also been possessed of a life interest in the Castle of Luffenoch (now Luffness), in the parish of Aberlady, Haddingtonshire, another Bykerton inheritance, which probably indicates that he had married a de Bykerton. The reversion of the castle belonged to [Sir] John de Bykerton. When Cunyngsburgh died, Edward I. at Lanercost on 4th October, 1306, granted Luffness Castle and other lands in Haddingtonshire to John

¹⁹ Bain, II., p. 203.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1452.

²² Bain, III., 13.

de Kyngeston on the ground that they had been forfeited by the rebellion of Bykerton.²³

Another member of the family, Sir Thomas de Cunigburch, perhaps a brother or son of Sir William, was associated with the celebrated Alan Durward, Justiciar of Scotland, witnessing a charter by Alan to Lindores Abbey (Fife) in 1251,²⁴ and another by the same granter to a hospital founded by Alan at Kincardin.²⁵ This Sir Thomas may be the Thomas de Conigburt mentioned in 1244.²⁶ He last appears in c. 1255, witnessing with Alan Durward and Richard Masculus a charter by Nigel, Earl of Carrick.²⁷ It is possible that Thomas was the progenitor of the Ayrshire branch, for in 1296 a Gilbert de Conyngburgh of County Ayrshire swore allegiance to Edward I. and figures in Ragman Roll.²⁸

This Gilbert was probably the second of that name, for in a charter which cannot be more closely dated than 1283-1306 by James the Stewart of Scotland, relating to land in Renfrew, Gilbert de Coningsburgh, "patre," is a witness.²⁹ Father or son had acted as auditor with William de Conyngsburgh in the competition proceedings for the Crown.³⁰ His seal survives.³¹

Gilbert, the father, may also have been a Perthshire landowner, for a man of that name was Lord of Abirdalgy, a parish lying to the south of Perth. As such, circa 1272, he witnessed a charter by Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, to John de Luss.³² To the son, on the other hand, may perhaps be

²³ *Charter Rolls*, 1300/26, 109.

²⁴ *Chartulary of Lindores* (Scots Hist. Soc.), p. 86. In 1266 a Thomas de Conisburg' and Laetitia, his wife, had acquittance for $\frac{1}{2}$ merk in Notts (*Fine Rolls*, II., ed. Roberts, p. 446).

²⁵ *Reg. Ep. Aberdeen*, II., 275.

²⁶ *Bain*, I., 2672.

²⁷ *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, 509.

²⁸ *Bain*, II., 205.

²⁹ *Miscellany of Scots Hist. Soc.*, IV., 321.

³⁰ *Palgrave*, 54.

³¹ *Bain*, II., p. 549.

³² *Chartulary of Lennox*, p. 21.

assigned an English episode which occurred prior to 1272 (tempo Hen. III.). Gilbert de Cuningburgh, Hugh Giffard, and others of the Kingdom of Scotland had slain one Richard Bullock at Cambok, on the English side of the Border. They promptly fled back into Scotland. The English authorities held an enquiry in 1278/9, which elicited the fact that they were persons of bad repute and had been instigated to the crime by Alan de Lascelles. Alan produced a charter of remission from Henry III. pardoning him, but Gilbert and Hugh, being absent, were formally outlawed.³³ The younger Gilbert survived into the next century, for in a charter by Robert I. (1315-21) to Fergus of Ardrossan of the barony of Ardrossan, there is mention of Richard de Boyville and Gilbert de Cunnyngburghe as Crown tenants within that barony.³⁴ This Ayrshire branch, like the Staplegorton one, must have died out. The name, however, persisted in Bute, where in 1554 William Cunnyburgh was served heir to Archibald Cunnyburgh of Skethok in that 16 merkland;³⁵ and also in Dumbarton, where in 1524 there was mention of Mariota Fleming, relict of Adam Cunyngburgh, burgess.³⁶ Perhaps it is from these that the Glasgow family is descended.

³³ Bain, II., p. 34.

³⁴ *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, 51.

³⁵ *Lennox Chartulary*.

³⁶ *L.H.T. Acs.*, V., 191.

Rainfall Records for the South-Western Counties for the Year 1935.

SUPPLIED BY THE METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
DUMFRIESSHIRE.													
Gubhill School	2.55	5.00	2.18	3.93	1.08	5.10	1.50	3.22	6.17	7.35	7.62	3.97	49.62
Ruchwell (Comlongon Castle)	1.34	3.72	.92	3.53	.53	3.78	1.24	3.38	4.37	7.06	5.68	1.87	37.42
Dumries (Crichton Royal Inst.)	1.41	4.13	1.04	3.62	.74	4.45	1.35	3.15	4.13	6.75	6.29	2.63	39.66
Blackwood	2.38	5.48	1.25	1.14	.92	5.05	1.46	2.22	5.85	7.28	6.16	3.42	45.64
Moniaive (Glencrosh)	3.03	7.43	2.05	4.04	.68	5.55	1.75	2.73	5.70	8.89	7.46	3.33	53.16
Maxwelton House	2.15	6.04	1.63	3.92	.85	5.27	1.64	2.17	5.86	8.10	7.39	2.83	48.80
Durisddeer (Drumlanrig)	2.64	6.30	2.19	4.12	.90	5.97	1.74	2.47	5.83	8.53	6.40	4.83	51.50
Dalton (Whitecroft)	1.79	4.10	1.57	3.68	.77	4.42	1.21	4.68	4.12	8.21	6.07	5.61	43.25
" (Kirkwood)	2.36	4.80	1.86	4.32	.78	4.54	2.33	5.06	5.00	8.21	6.13	3.02	48.41
Moffat (Huntly Lodge)	2.53	6.03	1.90	4.08	.54	4.61	1.23	3.02	6.24	7.72	6.01	2.71	46.84
Evar Water School	4.02	6.89	2.12	4.55	1.00	4.71	1.26	3.08	7.70	7.47	5.71	3.71	52.92
Eaglesfield (Springkell Gardens)	2.62	4.32	1.41	4.92	.85	4.41	1.82	4.36	5.66	7.27	4.45	3.27	43.20
Canonbie (Irvine House)	3.16	5.84	1.82	4.48	.73	6.17	2.10	5.61	6.38	7.02	4.37	2.73	50.21
Langholm (Ewes)	3.09	6.82	1.96	5.92	.91	6.12	3.45	5.81	6.30	8.62	6.30	2.61	57.21
Eskdalemuir (Observatory)	3.24	7.69	2.57	6.80	1.16	5.36	2.47	5.04	7.56	10.12	6.13	2.78	69.22
Thornhill (Townhead)	2.06	4.33	1.86	3.55	.70	5.31	1.66	2.49	5.29	6.58	6.21	3.48	43.52
Lockerbie (Thornbank)	1.96	4.32	1.29	3.91	.45	5.35	1.56	4.24	4.41	6.89	6.13	4.33	44.94

(These data should be taken as provisional)

RAINFALL RECORDS FOR THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES. 141

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.													
Rigg of Millmore	4.14	10.43	2.56	6.84	.95	5.32	5.57	2.69	8.92	14.63	8.81	5.86	76.65
Borgue (Corseyard)	2.04	3.71	1.10	3.22	.49	2.97	1.96	4.35	5.93	5.41	3.05	3.84	36.84
Threave	1.56	5.55	1.37	4.13	.54	5.05	2.77	6.42	8.42	6.91	3.37	4.84	48.34
Mossdale (Hensol)	2.25	5.94	.93	4.19	.82	4.45	2.53	6.15	8.61	6.67	4.22	4.80	48.50
Dalry (Garroch)	3.24	6.31	1.90	4.23	.83	4.39	1.94	6.39	9.32	8.38	4.37	5.10	53.10
" (Glendarroch)	2.40	6.30	1.67	4.45	.99	6.22	2.13	7.04	12.39	8.71	5.26	64.05	64.05
" (Forrest Lodge)	4.04	10.53	2.74	7.07	1.55	5.51	2.08	1.76	6.01	5.89	7.78	4.84	52.40
Carsphairn (Shiel)	4.55	11.57	2.44	6.94	1.33	7.31	2.94	3.32	9.21	12.96	9.55	6.94	78.14
" (Knockgray)	3.75	7.45	2.13	5.16	1.23	5.38	2.63	1.79	8.33	10.33	7.81	5.41	61.87
Auchencairn (Toor House)	1.12	5.17	1.30	3.76	.72	4.36	2.49	3.03	6.70	7.89	7.08	4.15	47.78
Dalbeattie (Drumstinchall)	1.61	4.21	1.23	4.45	.85	4.29	2.11	3.38	9.21	8.29	7.38	2.86	49.33
Chipparkyle	1.53	5.30	1.23	3.46	.63	5.05	2.11	2.81	5.72	8.43	7.04	2.74	46.05
Lochrutton	1.89	5.69	1.63	3.80	.81	4.60	1.91	2.92	5.43	8.80	7.63	3.09	48.27
Carruchan	1.78	5.25	1.36	3.35	.94	5.32	1.33	3.23	4.77	8.16	7.20	3.42	46.31
WIGTOWNSHIRE.													
Castle Kennedy	3.46	3.92	1.71	4.19	.84	3.21	2.20	1.32	4.76	6.40	5.99	5.37	44.47
Logan House	3.44	3.30	1.48	3.67	.63	2.38	1.97	2.02	4.76	5.03	5.77	4.75	39.50
Corsewall	1.86	2.75	.80	2.65	.13	7.79	1.98	.96	4.17	6.21	6.63	4.78	34.11
Whithorn (Physgill)	1.53	3.34	1.20	2.65	.01	3.00	1.40	1.41	5.04	7.18	5.02	4.27	37.00
" (Glasserton)	1.83	3.65	1.20	2.65	.65	3.41	1.53	1.51	5.60	7.07	5.13	4.49	39.98
Port William (Monreith)	1.75	3.83	1.25	3.12	.53	3.18	1.77	1.56	5.16	6.64	5.97	5.01	39.71
Stoneykirk (Ardwell House)	3.45	3.38	1.22	3.28	.70	3.00	1.82	1.91	4.80	5.36	5.72	5.16	40.60
New Luce	3.65	3.06	1.32	4.23	1.11	3.74	2.45	1.95	5.12	8.18	6.81	5.94	48.91
Garlieston (Galloway House)	1.89	3.85	1.19	3.41	.50	3.60	1.53	1.75	5.19	6.39	6.48	5.50	39.28
" (Culderry)	1.94	4.12	1.24	3.49	.49	3.61	1.48	1.78	5.01	6.68	6.86	3.66	40.31
Kirkcowan (Craiglaw)	3.20	4.73	1.26	3.30	.68	3.56	2.31	2.26	5.53	8.77	7.26	5.30	48.59
Newton Stewart (Little Barnner)	2.14	4.68	1.59	3.22	.63	3.43	2.14	1.63	6.10	8.32	6.63	4.54	45.29
" (Duncree)	2.30	4.84	1.57	2.74	.81	3.49	1.89	1.69	5.48	7.85	5.51	3.77	41.94

(These data should be taken as provisional).

Field Meetings.

8th August, 1936.

Robgill, Bonshaw, and Birrens.

Only 14 persons left by motor 'bus from the Ewart Library for this meeting, but others joining en route in private cars brought the attendance at Birrens to from 50 to 60.

At Robgill Tower the former proprietor, Col. M'Connel of Blackyett, gave an account of the Tower, its relationship to other Irving strongholds, the Crusaders' Stone, and some of the former proprietors. He was thanked by the President for his address, and consented to prepare his material for publication in the *Transactions*. The company was shown over the buildings.

At Bonshaw Mr R. C. Reid, the President, read a paper on the claims of the Irvings to early proprietorship. The old Tower was opened to the visitors, and the President's vote of thanks to Captain Irving for his courtesy was heartily endorsed.

After tea at Ecclefechan a brief business meeting was held, the President being in the chair. A number of new members were proposed and admitted. The President intimated that Mr Thornton Taylor had consented to act as Hon. Secretary to the Society in place of Mr Egarr, and moved his adoption for that office. This was seconded by Mr G. W. Shirley and unanimously approved.

At Birrens Roman Station the company, under the guidance of Mr Eric Birley, viewed the excavations which had been made under his instruction, and he gave a clear exposition of the results. These had proved that the camp had a much more extended period of occupancy than the former excavations, 40 years before, had shown, and had added three distinct periods of occupancy to the former two.

Mr Richmond, a colleague of Mr Birley, described what the excavations had revealed at the gateway, and demon-

strated that the original gateway had been a stone and timber structure.

Mr Shirley moved a vote of thanks to Mr Reid, whom he congratulated on the successful issue of the work which he, with Mr Birley, had initiated, and for which he had collected the funds, noting that Mr Reid had a hereditary interest in Birrens in so much as his ancestor, the Rev. Peter Rae, directed the attention of Gordon of the *Itinerarium* to the remains; also to Mr Birley and Mr Richmond for their work and demonstrations. The papers would form a valuable addition to the *Transactions* of the Society. The motion was carried with acclamation.

(The papers above mentioned will be found below.)

Irving Towers.

By Colonel F. R. M'CONNEL.

It is probably within the knowledge of all present that Robgill is one of the seven "Irving Towers," on or near the Kirtle Water, the chief seat of the Irvings being at Bonshaw.

There is some doubt as to the places where all the seven Towers were situated, there are so many of these old keeps in this part of Dumfriesshire, but in the immediate neighbourhood of Bonshaw, which is on the right bank of the Kirtle, we have Robgill on the same side, then Woodhouse, nearly opposite Robgill.

The old Tower at Wysbie is now no more, but was nearly opposite Bonshaw, and the Tower at Cove was a mile or so lower down the Kirtle Water from Robgill, thus all these strongholds were within a couple of miles of Bonshaw and near enough in case of alarm to render each other efficient help. There was even said to be an underground passage between Bonshaw and Robgill, but the line of such a passage would have to cross a deep glen, so that it is doubtful if such a passage could have been constructed.

Earthworks.

In a field opposite the entrance to Robgill avenue there

is an ancient artificial mound or cairn, and a similar one on Blackyett not far off. The late Laird of Bonshaw said that the one on Robgill was an outlook post for Bonshaw, but that seems doubtful. The one on Blackyett has a ditch and earthwork all round it, and in the wood at Robgill there is another but smaller earthwork or fort. Probably these three works are much older than the Towers.

Date of Building.

The *Inventory of Ancient Monuments* gives the 16th century as the probable date of building.

In his *Book of the Irvings* the late Laird of Bonshaw makes the following statement: "The Castle consisted of a strong square Tower which existed in the year 1020 when we (the Irvings) got it."

In his *Book of the Irvings* it is stated that King Bruce sheltered at Bonshaw when he fled from the Court of King Edward 1st in the year 1306. Then we have the "Bruce's Cave" at Cove, the traditional home of the spider that helped to weave King Bruce's life history, if the verses so many of us in our youth had to commit to memory are to be believed.

My old uncle, Robert Irving of Cove, used to say that his family obtained Cove Estate from King Malcolm of Scotland, who reigned from 1151 to 1165. That does not prove that a Tower was built then, though doubtless a laird of Cove in those troublous times would erect some defensive shelter.

However, none of these, be they facts or traditions, really help us much as to the original date of building the Towers. Be the date the 10th or the 16th century, as far as we know the Towers were all built to the same design, and probably at the same time. There is an interesting similarity between Bonshaw and Robgill, for both have a stone with the sacred monogram, I.H.S., deeply cut, let into the arch just inside the entrance.

We know that Robgill at any rate was burnt by the English in 1544. These Towers were so solidly built that the shell of the Tower would probably survive the burning and require little more than to be re-roofed. I wonder

whether when the 16th century is mentioned in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments* it may not have had some connection with the date of restoration after the English visitors had paid their visit in 1544.

Present Condition of the Towers.

Bonshaw has been retained in its original state, with a modern covered way connected to the dwelling-house.

Robgill has had various additions made from time to time, but the shell of the old tower remains, incorporated in a modern mansion.

Woodhouse is a ruin, though it was saved from complete collapse some years ago by the proprietor at that time, who in part re-built it.

Of Cove and Wysbie it is difficult to find the remains.

The rounded addition to Robgill, on the side next the Kirtle, was built by Sir Paulus Æmelius Irving, son of the then Laird of Bonshaw, probably about the year 1800.

The front of Robgill is modern, having been built about 1854 by my father, Frederic M'Connel, the then owner, and various other additions were made by the next owner, the father of the present Laird.

Last of the Irvings of Robgill.

It is beyond my power to tell of all the Irvings who owned Robgill. The Sir Paulus Æmelius Irving already mentioned was the last Irving to own Robgill.

In addition to Robgill, Sir P. Æ. Irving owned Woodhouse and Blackyett. A copy of the advertisement for the sale of Robgill and Woodhouse, dated 1818, is given in the *Book of the Irvings*. Blackyett was left to his nephew, and was afterwards bought by my father, and is now my property.

Sir Paulus died in 1837.

Anecdotes about Robgill.

Robgill was at one time held by "Black Christie," so called because of his black armour.

Another Christie Irving, or was it "Black Christie"? sallied forth early one morning and raided the neighbour-

ing Tower of Stapleton, and occupied it for some months, despite the efforts of the authorities to evict him.

Prior to the building of Robgill Bridge over the Kirtle in 1835 Robgill was approached from the north by a ford.

A story was told by my aunt, the widow of Robert Irving of Cove, which describes a practical joke played by the son of Sir Paulus. It was usual for the minister of Kirkpatrick to dine at Robgill on Sunday evenings. Owing to the minister's man being unable to drive him on one occasion, young Paulus offered to fetch him. He substituted a wooden pin for the iron one on the forecarriage, which broke when he drove violently over the ford, leaving the body of the carriage and the minister in the middle of the river.

I had an amusing experience of the same sort when I was a boy. I was driving home to Robgill a pony phaeton with my tutor and a large and weighty cheese over the ford at Cove, when it stuck in the middle of the river, so my tutor had to get into the water and help the pony to drag me and the cheese to the bank!

My connection with Robgill dates from a few years after my father built the present front, and I think I may claim to have seen the last assembly of an armed force in front of Robgill, when my father as Captain of the Annandale Rifle Volunteers, newly formed, entertained them to dinner here. I distinctly remember being held up in the arms of an aunt on the Robgill steps to see the gallant Volunteers in their grey uniforms and shakes being paraded on the ground in front of the steps.

The fact of there being sufficient room to parade the men on the new *front* of the house leads me to suggest that the entrances to these old towers were placed with the front doors facing the steep banks of the Kirtle, so leaving no room for any large enemy force to assemble before the door.

Close in front of the original Robgill entrance, on the precipitous bank, was an old oak tree, with (for me) the pleasing tradition that on it was to be hung the eldest son of the Laird.

I am glad to say that that old tree was balked of its prey in my case (or I would not have been here to-day), and it has since fallen down the rock and is no longer a menace to any younger generation.

A stone cannon ball found in the time of the late Frederic M'Connel, when a drain was being dug at Robgill, was shown at the end of this address.

Bonshaw.

By R. C. REID.

It is just 30 years since the Society visited Bonshaw Tower. On that occasion we were addressed and shown round by the late Colonel Irving of Bonshaw, a man of outstanding and forceful character, whose main pride in life was his clan and this old tower which after endless costly litigation he recovered for his family. Here for 400 years or more his forebears had resided. Within its walls 15 generations, maybe more, had been born, lived active and crowded days, and passed away. Yet none of them have been forgotten, for the late Laird of Bonshaw made it his business to write a history of the clan called the *Book of the Irvings*, in which, as was but natural, the house of Bonshaw and its offshoots occupied the principal space.

Colonel Irving narrates a tradition that Bruce, hastening north from London to meet Comyn at the Greyfriars' Monastery at Dumfries, stayed a night in Bonshaw Tower. I have been unable to trace this story further back than 1866, when in slightly different form it appeared in a little book entitled *Walks in Annandale*, which incorporates within its covers many local traditions—and some errors. Miss Marjorybanks says that Bruce was fleeing from the pursuit of Edward Longshanks. If so, the episode must have been after Comyn's murder. This tradition is borrowed from the Irvings of Drum, in Aberdeenshire. It was part of their family history in 1746. On this tradition the historian of the Irving clan bases his claim for the antiquity of Bonshaw Tower. That claim no one would have dared to contest in

the presence of Colonel Irving, and it is therefore meet that it be dealt with tenderly to-day.

As we see it to-day the Tower of Bonshaw is a 16th century structure. It is in extraordinary good condition, has been well cared for, and has suffered hardly at all at the hands of the modern "restorer." Only its roof shows signs of structural alteration, the original roof having been more steeply pitched. To the expert eye of the Ancient Monuments Commission the parapet shows signs of recent restoration. The walls are 40 feet in height, and, as at Robgill, there is a splayed basement course round the walls at a height of 2 feet 6 inches from the ground. The present outer porch is, of course, modern, having been erected by Colonel Irving. There is no iron yett to the original doorway, though in the stormy days of the past one must almost certainly have blocked the entrance, over which in raised characters is inscribed the family motto. One enters through the door into a vestibule admitting to the basement and to the wheel stair in the north-eastern angle. From the stone roof of this vestibule hangs, as at Robgill, a pendant on which is carved I.H.S. in monogram. This is known in the family as the Crusader stone. The story goes that it was brought back from Palestine by some unknown and unnamed member of the Irving clan, blessed in transit by the Pope himself, and then carved and built in here. That implies that the stone is pre-Reformation and is coeval with the tower, even if its Palestinian origin and Crusading date be disregarded. It is easy to be sceptical about this stone, but it is certainly difficult to explain its presence. The fact that Robgill has a similar one merely complicates the problem. It must have been a very ardent Catholicism that brought two such stones from Palestine. They are identical in shape and design, and seem to be modelled on a seal matrix. The one at Robgill is certainly later than the tower in which it was placed, for over the vestibule at Robgill was originally a hatch for communication to the first floor above. The opening of that hatch has been built up, quite obviously, and the stone inserted in the centre. The same thing may

have happened at Bonshaw, though here all clumsiness has been avoided, and the building-in might be part of the original vaulting. The Robgill stone has been whitewashed, so its texture and skin cannot help us. The Bonshaw stone, on the other hand, may have been rubbed down in recent years. It is skilfully flood-lit by electricity, and in consequence looks painfully modern. At present we must hesitate to ascribe any date to it. A photograph of it will be submitted to an ecclesiological expert for his views on the design of the monogram, and perhaps someone with experience of stones from local quarries may be able to say whence it came.^{1a} I may add that the present owner of Robgill, who is familiar with both stones, claims that his is the original and that the Bonshaw stone is a relatively modern copy. But as the Robgill stone is still covered with whitewash we are unable to adjudicate.

The basement is ceiled with the usual barrel vault, and is provided with gunloops. A stone bin for storage of provisions is built against the east wall, and in the opposite corner is a partially intermural chamber, once probably used as a prison, measuring some 8 ft. by 4 ft. 6 inches. It has no window, but there is a ventilation flue through the vaulted ceiling. The first floor is the hall, and is lit by windows fitted with modern mullions. The south window is provided with stone seats, where the ladies of the house could sit and enjoy such sunshine as penetrated into the

^{1a} A photograph of this stone, kindly taken by Mr Eric Birley, F.S.A., was submitted to Mr C. H. Hunter Blair, F.S.A., an expert on heraldry and kindred matters. His verdict is as follows: "The pendant stone with the sacred monogram upon it appears to be not earlier than late 15th or early 16th century. Its style and shape suggest that, and, of course, it has nothing whatever to do with the Crusades. I wonder what bonnet lairds from Scotland ever went a-crusading! M'Gibbon and Ross, Vol. III., say that there is a motto on the door of the tower which reads, *Soli deo Honor et Gloria*—suggesting a religious turn of mind of the builder, which may also have shown itself in the monogram. I do not think it can have any special significance other than the serious mind of the builder or restorer of the tower."

rather gloomy interior. Two of the windows have small aumbries inserted in the jambs. But the real feature of the room is a large and handsome aumbry, commonly called the altar, under an arched head. It does not seem to have any religious associations. The other feature of the room is the fine 7 ft. high fireplace with moulded jambs. The second floor was formerly used as a billiard room, but is now unfurnished. In the north-western angle is a garderobe. The late Colonel Irving would never recognise this necessary sanitary adjunct, but insisted that it had some mysterious connection with an underground passage alleged to communicate with Robgill. But its object is quite definite. It was for the use of the ladies of the household. The men conformed to more primitive usage on the parapet walk. The third floor is really a garret under the roof surrounded by a fine parapet walk. Originally the roof drainage was through gargois, only a few of which survive. But the late Colonel Irving had collected several old samples of gargois, which it is his son's intention to build into the parapet.

This tower was defended by a courtyard wall, with perhaps a fosse beyond, all traces of which have now disappeared. But it is known that when the modern residence was built in 1700 the wall was removed and the surround levelled for a lawn. To what extent the low wall along the cliff edge is ancient is not clear. In its present state it does not appear to be coeval with the tower. Apart from the prison and the garderobe, the tower has no intermural apartments or passages, and its entrance has always been on the ground level. Architecturally it therefore pertains to the mid 16th century.

Let us now turn and see what history has to say about it and the family who inhabited it, and, above all, whether it can at all confirm the architectural evidence. The earliest reference I can find to an Irving on the Border is in 1459, when Herbert and Edward Irving, along with Bells of Blakethouse, received remission of fines levied on them at the

Justice Ayre.¹ Herbert got another remission in 1465.² In 1473 William and John Irvings were fined for depredations in Galloway.³ But we have no evidence to connect these typical members of the clan with this Tower of Bonshaw. Yet 150 years later the clan was behaving in an exactly similar manner. Here is the record of two Irvings, cousins of the house of Wysbie, in the year 1612. They were tried for stealing, in 1608 six oxen from lands of Drummuir, in 1609 two sheep from James White in Dornock; in July, 1610, three linnen webbs from a poor woman in Gullielands; in October, 1610, seven nags and mares from lands of Mouswald, and two nags and a mare from Robbiequhat. For this record they were declared fugitives at a Dumfries Justice Ayre in October, 1611. They shifted their hunting grounds, went north, and carried on. In June, 1612, they lifted a horse from the Laird of Duris, and in August, 1612, two horses from the lands of Echt under silence of night, brought them to Edinburgh, where they exposed the horses for sale in the horse mercat. The horses were recognised, the Irvings challenged and arrested. They committed perjury by giving false names, but were found guilty of common theft "fra the South to the North and the North to the South." Verdict—"to be hangit on a gibbet at the Castle Hill of Edinburgh quhill thay be deid."⁴

From all we know of them the Bonshaw lads were no better.

It has been suggested that in the 15th century the lands of Bonshaw belonged to the Corrie family.⁵ Certainly a great part of what later formed the Bonshaw estate belonged at that time to the Corries. Both Robgill and Stapleton lay within the Barony of Newbie, Corrie property. But there is no clear evidence that Bonshaw was included. In the year 1484 disaster overtook the Corries, and it is signifi-

¹ *Ex. R.*, VI., 554.

² *Ex. R.*, VII., 311.

³ *L.H.T. Ac.*, I., 9.

⁴ Pitcairn, III., 241.

⁵ *Hist. Mon. Comm. (Dumfriesshire)*, p. 2.

cant that before that date there is no historical evidence of an Irving of Bonshaw. That year the banished Albany and the Douglasses invaded Annandale in expectation of a rising in their favour. One of the few families that joined them was the Corries. On St. Magdalene's Day the Douglasses with an English force entered Lochmaben, whence they were repulsed, and a long running fight was continued as far as Kirtle Water. The English supporting force had halted on Burnswark to maintain the line of communications. It, too, was involved in the running fight and suffered casualties. Amongst them one named William Musgrave was made prisoner. Now in these enlightened days one did not hack to pieces one's prisoners or shoot them in batches according to present-day Iberian ideals. In the 15th century prisoners were valuable loot, and were not destined to the shambles. They could be turned into hard cash. So when John Kirkpatrick in Hesilbrae captured William Musgrave there must have been rejoicings in Cumrue and Elshieshields. Now there were obvious difficulties in the way of a Mid-Annandale tenant farmer negotiating with a Westmorland family for the ransom of one of its members. An intermediary who was familiar with both sides of the Border was desirable. Such a man was found in the person of one William Irving, who in all probability had not been at Lochmaben but had arrived with another party of Scots during the pursuit and had completed the discomfiture of the invaders. How William Irving transacted the business we do not know, but in return for "four score angell nobilis of gold" Musgrave was returned to his kith and kin. Apparently the bargain was that Irving should conduct Musgrave to England and bring back the gold. Kirkpatrick was a cautious man or perhaps he knew William Irving, so before he parted with Musgrave he secured Adam Johnston of that ilk as surety that Irving would produce the gold. And that is just what Irving failed to do. He kept it. He even managed to retain it for 24 years. In the year 1508 Kirkpatrick successfully sued Adam Johnston as surety for the money. In these last proceedings

Irving is described as William Irving of Bonshaw—the first reference to Bonshaw or any Irving associated with it that I have found.

The Corries who had fought on the wrong side had all their lands forfeited. Many of these lands were granted to the victors, and it seems likely that William Irving was rewarded with Bonshaw. Colonel Irving tells us that the earliest title of Bonshaw is dated 1520,⁶ but he does not give an extract of it, so we do not know whether the Irvings held of the crown, of the Corries, or, as may be the case, of the Johnstons. The fact that Johnston was surety for Irving in the matter of the ransom implies some feudal dependence, and, as will be seen, there was always a close alliance between the families.

It must be assumed that William Irving, the first to be designated of Bonshaw, died a few months after this ransom litigation, for on 12th October, 1510, Edward Irving of Boynshaw witnessed a Holmains sasine.⁷ These are the only references I have found of these two generations who preceded the first recorded by Colonel Irving, namely, Christopher Irving of Bonshaw, 1520-1542, who is reputed to have been slain at the Battle of Solway Moss. It was this Christopher who bought Stapleton from William Johnstone of Gretna.⁸ The next Laird Edward perished at Dryfe Sands.⁹ His son and heir, Christopher, drew yet closer the bonds existing between the Johnstons and the Irvings by marrying Margaret, daughter of John Johnston of Johnston. It must have been one of these three lairds, probably Edward, that built the present tower of Bonshaw. That does not mean that the previous owners did not inhabit this site. But it predicates another habitation, probably a timber

⁶ *Book of the Irvings*, p. 28. On 29th August, 1506, Wm. Irving of Boynshaw was infeft in the £3 land of Ecclefechan on precept from Andrew Lord Herries (*Lag Charters*).

⁷ *Holmains Charter Chest*.

⁸ *Raehills Papers*, p. 16.

⁹ *Book of the Irvings*, chart facing p. 36. But on p. 50 it is stated that Edward died in November, 1605. Similar inconsistencies appear elsewhere in the volume.

tower with a palisade surround—the “ peile ” that gives its name to our Peel Towers.

This tower during its four centuries of existence has seen some stirring times and distinguished visitors. If we omit, on grounds of lack of evidence, the traditional visit of the Brus and another alleged visitation by the wrathful Edward Longshanks, there is still a fine residuum of interest. In the clan wars between the Maxwells and the Johnstons that were to terminate at Dryfe Sands, Maxwell in 1585 took and burnt Johnston's tower at Lochwood. Johnston sought refuge with his relatives at Bonshaw Tower, which was beleaguered by Maxwell. Holinshed describes what followed: “ At what time he (Maxwell) so battered the Castell (Bonshaw) with artillerie that the house was almost gotten; which being perceived of those within they fell to parlee whereby in the end the matter was wholly compounded between them by the mediation and furtherance of the Lord Scope of England.”

A few years later another meeting at Bonshaw is recorded. In 1591 the “ bonny Earl of Moray ” had been slain by the Earl of Huntly, and no steps were taken to bring the murderers to justice. It was indeed openly said that the King himself was not free from complicity in the murder, for the “ bonny Earl ” was a great favourite of the Queen. But his kinsmen were determined on vengeance, and Andrew Stuart, Lord Ochiltree, was active in enlisting support and organising rebellion in 1593. He joined forces with the Earl of Bothwell and enlisted the help of Johnston of Lochwood and Irving of Bonshaw. This is what the chronicler says: “ At this tyme the Lord Ochiltree road to the Lochwood and after conference with Johnston there quho had sworne and promist to him to concur as one of the friendis in the revendge of the slauchter of the Erle of Moray, they baithe read forward that nicht to the Bonschaw quheare the Earle of Bothwell and Sir Robert Maxwell of Spotts (brother-in-law of Johnston) met thame on the morne and theare they all subscryvit ane band to go forduard in the revendge of the same at all occasions and with diligence. Lykas it was promisit and appoyntit amangis thaim and theare hail

friendis to that effect that they should meit in Dalkeith second Apryle 1594."

But the meeting at Dalkeith never took place. Dryfe Sands was fought in December, 1593, and Maxwell slain. The King, after a semblance of disfavour with Ochiltree and Johnston, made Ochiltree Governor of Edinburgh Castle and Johnston Warden of the Western March, and the conspiracy consequently broke up. It is not always wise to grasp nettles too firmly in the hand.

Yet another reference we have to a visitor—involuntary this time—to Bonshaw; one who may have languished in that black hole which we call the prison. In 1585 a company of foot formed the Royal Garrison at Lochmaben Castle. Captain Richard Maxwell, apparently of the Crustanes family, was in command, and on 10th February was sent out by the warden depute to arrest some Johnstons. The Johnston clan at once rose in arms, and were joined by the Grahams of Netherby and Irvings of Bonshaw. A body of 400 of them suddenly descended on the Captain and his small force of 50, slew many, dispersed the rest, barbarously cutting the throats of the dead with "braig knyveis." Prisoners were taken but shamefully murdered two hours later. The Captain was dangerously wounded in the head and back and taken captive to the house of Tundergarth. Three days later he was removed to the house of Bonshaw and held prisoner without medical attention. When James Young, chirurgion, came from Dumfries to attend to him he was refused access to his patient and robbed of everything he stood in. How it ended we know not, but the Captain was sufficiently recovered by 21st December to appear in court.¹⁰

No less than twice has the Irving habitation here been devastated. In 1544 Lord Wharton, the English Warden, on returning from a raid, burnt Bonshaw and Robgill and all the homes, peels, steads, and corn in their way;¹¹ and again in 1570 the Earl of Sussex crossed the Border with 4000

¹⁰ *R.P.C.*, IV., 56, 57, and 130.

¹¹ *Book of the Irvings*, p. 29.

men, burnt Annan and Dumfries, cast down Hoddam and Cowhill. "The Castell of Carlavrok was demoliest and destroyit with gunpowder, Closeburn, Tynnell, Bonshaw and divers uther houssis and careyit away great spulzie."¹²

One cannot expect a minute accuracy in the description of these destructions, but we are entitled to draw this inference from them. In 1544 Bonshaw was burnt—I suggest, because it was made of wood. There is nothing in a tower like this to burn. In 1570 it was destroyed by gunpowder—I suggest, because it was built of stone. The damage was repaired, and it has ever since been much as we see it now. History therefore deduces a date for this tower as between 1544 and 1570, which corresponds with the architectural evidence.

It makes little difference to the clan of which the late Colonel Irving was so proud if this tower is 13th or 16th century. It still remains the symbol of their imperishable story, a story that is interwoven with every page of Border history. Colonel Irving could look back on a long line of roisterous, reckless, hard-living ancestors, fine fighters all; he could recall how James Irving of Bonshaw, the persecutor of the Covenanters, "the wild Bonshaw" of Wandering Willie's Tale, captured by luck in 1681 Donald Cargill, on whose head there was a reward of 5000 merks; how at Lanark he tied Cargill's feet beneath the horse's belly till the blood sprang and drew from Cargill the rebuke, "You will not long escape the just judgement of God, and if I am not mistaken it will seize you in this very place," which was fulfilled within a year, when, quarrelling with a comrade over the reward, Bonshaw was run through the body by a sword in the streets of Lanark. With such an historical and traditional background to his family, with this grim tower—the epitome of his race—in his possession, we need not wonder at the proud declaration of Colonel Irving when we parted with him 30 years ago: "I would rather be Irving of Bonshaw than King of England."

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Excavations at Birrens in 1936.

By ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

The excavations carried out at Birrens in 1895,¹ by this Society in conjunction with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, marked an epoch in the study of the Roman military occupation of Britain. For the first time a virtually complete fort lay-out was recovered, and it became possible to use it to interpret the results of less complete excavations elsewhere. Moreover, the work at Birrens, and that done in the following years at Burnswark and Raeburnfoot, gave a stimulus to antiquaries elsewhere, not merely in Scotland (though a remarkably fruitful series of Scottish excavations was to follow), but on the line of Hadrian's Wall in England, in particular at Housesteads in 1898, and in Wales. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the work at Birrens, in which this Society played so honourable a part, was the first serious step in the remarkable advance that has been achieved in this sphere in the past half century.

In 1920 Sir George Macdonald gave this Society a paper on "The Romans in Dumfriesshire,"² in which he brought back the results obtained on other sites in the intervening quarter of a century, and in their light was able to offer a reinterpretation of much of the anatomy and history of Birrens in particular, largely as the outcome of his own fruitful researches on the line of the Antonine Wall between Forth and Clyde. My own excuse for coming to deal with the same subject is, that seventeen years of still more widespread and intensive research have provided a wealth of additional information, and indeed have focussed interest once more on the Roman occupation of Dumfriesshire. And just as Sir George Macdonald came down from the Antonine Wall to repay some of the debt all archæologists owe to

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XXX., 81-199; Macdonald and Barbour, *Birrens and its Antiquities* (1897).

² These *Transactions*, 1920-21, Vol. VIII., p. 68.

James Barbour and his colleagues in the pioneer excavations at Birrens, so I wish to offer a contribution in the same sense from those whose work has been for the most part on the line of Hadrian's Wall.

It is perhaps natural that Sir George should have approached his subject as part of the history of the Roman occupation of Caledonia; and in the new edition of his great work on the Roman Wall in Scotland he has taken Birrens as a touchstone for the vicissitudes of the northern line.³ That alone would have been sufficient justification for further digging at Birrens, to put to the test of the spade the interesting hypotheses as to its history that Sir George has felt himself able to advance. But I must emphasise at the outset that my own point of view is a different one, and that it is as a part of Roman Britain that Birrens and Dumfriesshire demand our attention.

In the first place, we are sufficiently aware, thanks to the ancient geographers, of the southward limit of Caledonia; it was about the isthmus between Forth and Clyde. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, Ptolemy, the second-century geographer of Alexandria, and the elder Pliny, combine to give us that result. Secondly, it is only recently, as archæologists count time, that Dumfriesshire became part of Scotland; like northern England and the eastern lowlands as far as Edinburgh itself, it was formerly a part of Anglian Northumbria, where Romanised natives seem to have coalesced most readily with the immigrants from across the North Sea, to produce the remarkable outburst of artistic life to which the crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle testify no less than the writings of Bede. Finally, recent research, in the north of England and further afield as well, enables us to say more now about the district north of Hadrian's Wall in the first three centuries after its building.

The results of recent research fall under two or three main heads. First, excavations at Risingham and High Rochester (the first two forts on Dere Street, northwards from Hadrian's Wall, on the main Roman road to the Forth):

³ Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2nd ed., pp. 480-1.

chance finds at Bewcastle, further to the west: and a re-examination of an inscription from Netherby (the post intervening between Birrens and the Wall, on the main trunk road from Carlisle to the Clyde), have shown that these outliers were still held, not merely throughout the third century, but well into the fourth; and the accompanying sketch-map (Fig. 1) emphasises the equal relevance of Birrens to the southern line. That alone might be enough to justify the suspicion that Birrens, too, continued to be occupied

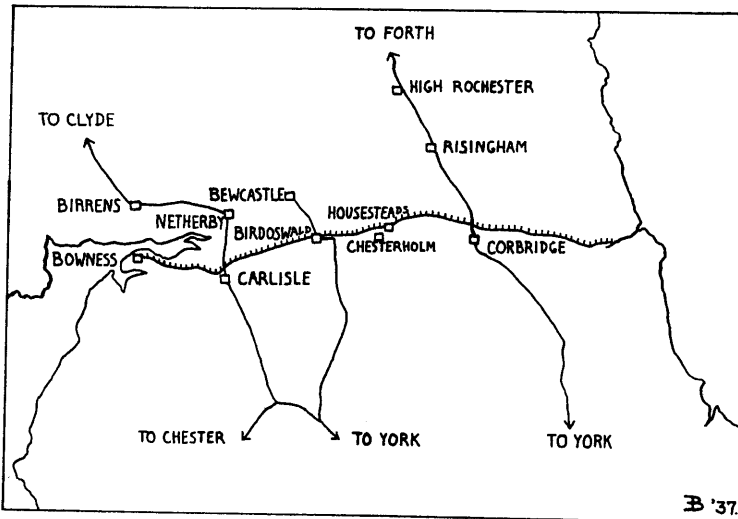


Fig. 1.—Hadrian's Wall and its outliers.

after the close of the second century, when Sir George Macdonald would have us suppose that it was finally abandoned by the Romans. Furthermore, an examination of the inscriptions from Birrens suggests that two or three of them, though they are not dated, ought to belong to the third century rather than the second: I instance, in particular, the two dedications to Mercury by the college of his worshippers, whose style best fits the later period, and the altar set up by the architect Amandus in honour of Brigantia; as Professor Collingwood has recently observed, the other known dedications to that goddess all seem to belong to the

third century—when the Brigantes were no longer a danger, and the worship of their goddess (we may suggest) no longer politically undesirable.

More suggestive still is the evidence from the line of Hadrian's Wall for what I may call the main framework of the Roman occupation. In 1895 people still tended to think of the Roman occupation as a single period; and it was one of Mr Barbour's greatest services that, at Birrens, he understood and put on record the evidence for reconstruction after disaster, and fresh planning of the interior arrangements of the fort. But it had been no part of his business to recover a cross-section of the occupation; and it is only in the last ten years that we have learned what to expect at such a site. The excavations at Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall, in Cumberland, just west of the River Irthing, in 1929⁴ finally cleared up the history of that frontier after its completion: it was overthrown and re-built on three occasions before its final abandonment—about A.D. 200, about A.D. 300, and in A.D. 367; each destruction left its traces in the overthrow of buildings, and each re-building involved a new lay-out over the levelled debris of the earlier period. Mr Richmond's excavations at Risingham and High Rochester in 1935 told the same story⁵; and the results at the latter fort are of particular interest, because until 1895 no Roman site in the north of Britain had been so completely examined. As in the case of Birrens in 1895, High Rochester, in the middle of last century, was examined, though less completely, with a view to obtaining a plan of its interior arrangements, and the excavators found traces of two distinct periods of occupation—though they lacked Mr Barbour's skill in interpreting and planning what they had found. Mr Richmond has been able to show that, in place of the two periods revealed by the early digging at High Rochester, there were as many as five, the last three of which correspond historically to the first three periods of Hadrian's Wall, carrying the occupa-

⁴ Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions*, N.S., XXX., 169-205.

⁵ *Archæologia Æliana*, 4th series, XIII., 170-198.

tion of the site well into the fourth century. That is itself enough to suggest, what indeed our excavations at Birrens in 1936 have shown, that the two periods distinguished by Mr Barbour, and taken by Sir George Macdonald to cover the whole occupation of the fort, were only a part of the evidence to be obtained there by further digging.

Besides assuming that there were only two periods of occupation at Birrens, Sir George felt it possible to suppose that the second and closing period was inaugurated by the work of the second cohort of Tungrians in A.D. 158, attested by the fine dedication slab of the headquarters building, which formed the most important single discovery of the excavations of 1895. His argument was as follows⁶: The circumstances under which it was found show that the slab was still in position when Birrens was deserted for the last time; therefore it must have been set up when the headquarters was re-built, not when it was originally constructed. In passing, it must be observed that dedication slabs, found in similar circumstances at the forts of Bar Hill and Rough Castle on the Antonine Wall, unquestionably belong in each case to the original construction, and not to either of the two periods of re-occupation which intervened before the final abandonment of that line. But there is clearer evidence to show that the inscription of A.D. 158 belongs to an earlier structural period. This evidence comes, in part, from an altogether unexpected quarter—not from Britain at all, but from the province of Raetia. A military diploma,⁷ discovered at Eining in Bavaria, shows that in A.D. 147 a vexillation of the second cohort of Tungrians was serving in Raetia. The regiment, at full strength, was a thousand strong, like six other cohorts of the fifty or more that were stationed in Britain in the second century; and it seems clear that, for some reason, half of the regiment had been transferred for a time to strengthen the garrison of Raetia, where it counted as a *cohors quingenaria*. While it was on duty there, some of the men in it became due for discharge from the army on

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 478.

⁷ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XVI., 94.

the completion of their twenty-five years' service, and so it came to be included in the diploma which set forth the grant of the privileges customarily accorded to soldiers qualified for honourable discharge, and named the regiments in the province which had men so qualified. One consequence was, that the gaps in its ranks had to be filled by fresh recruits, enlisted or conscripted in the normal way, at this period, in the province where the unit was serving, Raetia. That explains the occurrence, on an altar found at Birrens, "about the year 1812," of men from Raetia serving in the second cohort of Tungrians. As Sir George Macdonald has pointed out, the accommodation in the fort is sufficient for a *cohors milliaria* at full strength; that is to say, the detachment of the second cohort of Tungrians had been recalled from Raetia by A.D. 158, bringing with it these new recruits. But it brought something else as well.

There is a remarkable feature about the central block of buildings at Birrens; not only the granaries, but also the headquarters and the building to the east of it which seems to have been the *prætorium* or commandant's house, are provided with frequent external buttresses (cf. Fig. 2). In the case of granaries that is a regular feature, so far as Britain is concerned; and it is often met with in bath-houses as well. But the case is quite different with headquarters buildings and *prætoria*; I know of no other fort in Britain where such buildings are treated in this way. But in Raetia, and as far as I have been able to discover in Raetia alone, that is a common method of construction. In other words, there is good ground for supposing that the period distinguished by Mr Barbour as primary, in the central block of buildings, must be associated with the inscription of A.D. 158, and that the unusual features of these buildings must be attributed to the fashion brought back to Britain by the half-cohort which had been serving in Raetia. Mr Barbour only indicated one structural period as following that "primary" construction in the central block; but an examination of his plan seems to indicate at least two such periods: for the buildings numbered X. and XIV., though marked as "primary," plainly

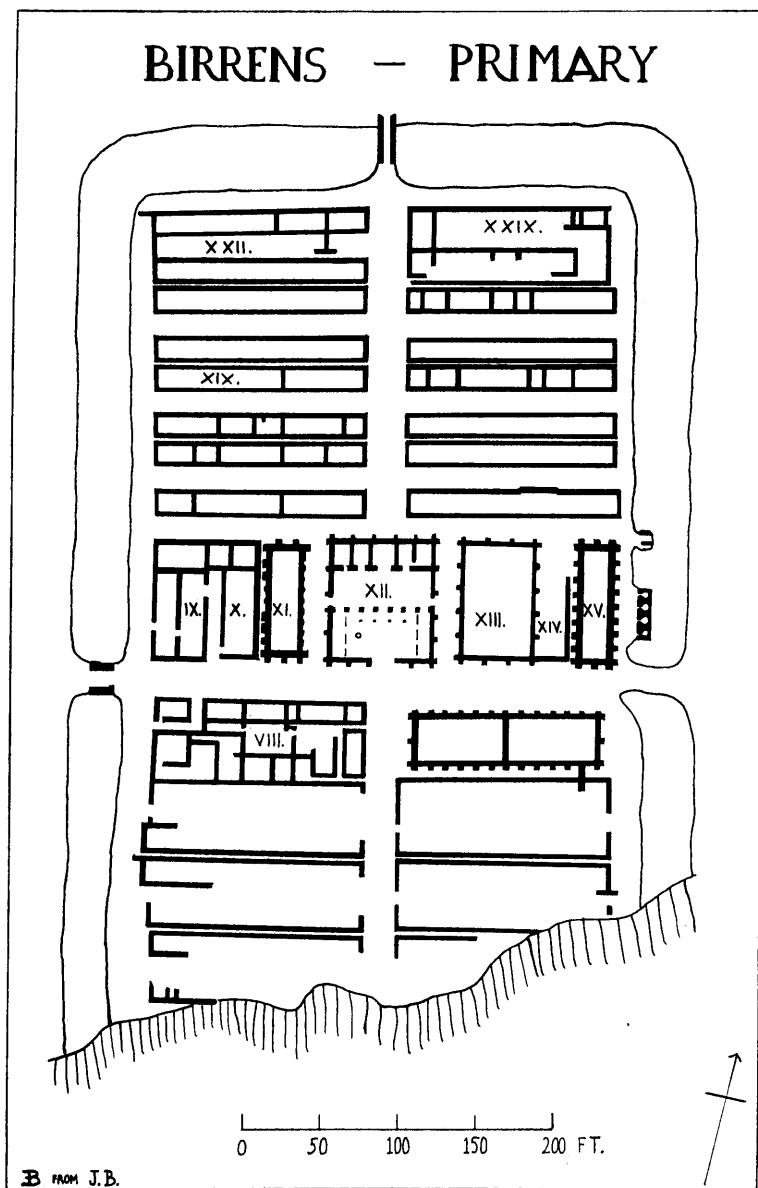


Fig. 2—"Primary" structures at Birrens; after Barbour.

interfere with the symmetry of the block; X. makes an awkward junction with IX., and leaves no room even for pedestrian traffic on the west side of the granary XI.; similarly, the insertion of XIV. has obliterated the street which must originally have separated XIII. from the granary XV. In the case of IX. and X., Mr Barbour's plan indicates no "secondary" work; but XIII. and XIV. are overlaid by some—there, then, we have two structural periods following the Raetian type of plan that we must associate with the inscription of A.D. 158.

It is now time to turn to the results obtained by the trial excavations carried out at Birrens by this Society in 1935. Their object may be summarised as follows: It seemed clear, for reasons which have been set out above, that the two periods distinguished by the original excavators could not represent more than a part of the structural history of the fort; Mr Barbour's plan makes a careful distinction between walls revealed by digging, and those inferred between points uncovered; and it was decided to examine part of one barrack-building, where the plan showed that least digging had been done in 1895—for excavation cannot but disturb evidence, if it does not destroy it, and it was obviously desirable to find structures that had been disturbed as little as possible. The part selected was the west end of the building numbered XIX., in the rearward division (*retentura*) of the fort (Fig. 2). It may be said at the outset that the choice was justified, in the recovery of a sequence of structural periods, three of which underlay the "primary" building. But in one respect the results were disappointing, in that the total yield of stratified pottery was very small, so that, while the structural sequence was clear, its chronological setting was not completely established.

It will be convenient to describe the successive structures in the order of excavation, rather than of erection; the record-plan (Fig. 3) is accompanied by separate plans for each of the stone buildings. The highest of these, period V., is shown on Mr Barbour's plan as "secondary"; none of its walling remained—as on other parts of the site, it had been removed

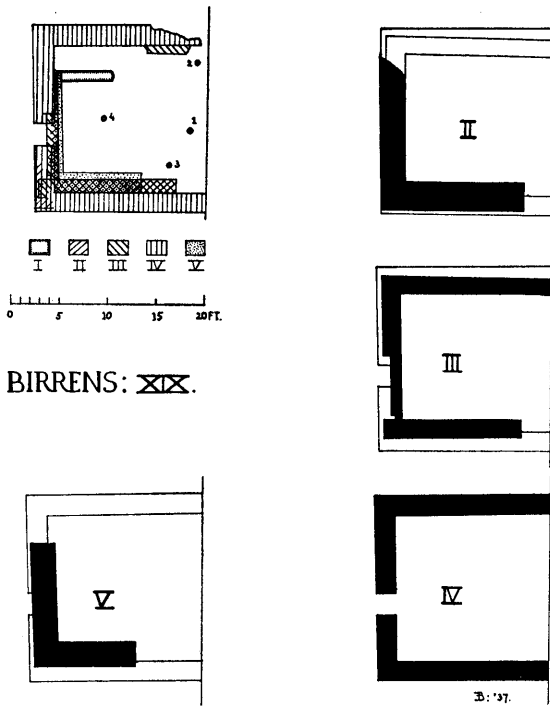


Fig. 3—Record-plan and period-diagrams, west end of building XIX. (excavations of 1895 and 1936).

after planning, so that it has been necessary to draw it out by enlargement from the published plan. In any case, it was a mere fragment, the south-west corner of a building whose size and shape must remain unknown. The highest surviving building, period IV., Mr Barbour's "primary," had a narrow door towards the southern end of its west wall; in so much of the interior as was uncovered, the southern third was floored with rough flags, which had settled in places over the remains of earlier occupation; among the debris of destruction which still overlay part of this floor was a rim-fragment from a cooking-pot of a type normally met with on Hadrian's Wall towards the close of the third century or later, suggesting that the vanished floor of period V. had been laid not earlier than the end of that century. When the flags of period

IV. had been removed, they were found to have covered a slightly smaller patch of flagging, and the south wall of an earlier building, period III. ; this had a wide doorway, with a threshold of three well-worn slabs, at the south end of its west wall, and another door, whose width we did not ascertain, in the south wall; the north-west corner of the building had been removed when the structure of period IV. was built, but a small portion of its north wall remained, to show that it had been somewhat narrower than the later building. The removal of the flags of period III. revealed a yet smaller area of flagging in the floor of the earliest stone building, period II., whose surviving walls were on the same alignment as those of period III., but rather thicker; in this building there was no door at the west end, but an entrance in the south wall at the same place as that used in period III. Finally, below the level of the period II. floor, in digging down to the till, we came across four post-holes — easily recognisable, because the points of posts, left in them when the later floor was laid, had perished, leaving cavities gaping when the covering clay was removed—and the sleeper-track in which a beam had been fixed. Post-holes and sleeper-track testify to a wooden building, period I., though they are insufficient in this case to show its shape; the only pottery from this level was part of the rim from a samian bowl of Curle's type 11; it is too far developed to be taken as indubitable evidence for a Flavian occupation of the site, and in any case it might have been dropped at the time when the stone building of period II. was being put up.

Immediately north of No. XIX. there was a little stratification preserved in the alley-way separating it from the next building; the greater part of a jug was found, almost entirely underneath the north wall of period IV., and much of a mortarium some way to the east, not sealed by the later structure, but at the same level; both vessels seem to belong to the close of the second century, and serve to suggest a *terminus post quem* for period IV. To the west, a section was taken through the rampart of the fort, in line with the south wall of No. XIX. It is proposed to pay further atten-

tion to the structure of the rampart in 1937, so that it will be sufficient now to note that the section revealed at least three structural periods, in a rampart which had an outer face of turf, in the last two periods on a partial foundation of flags or cobbles; no evidence was found of an outer revetment of wood, such as Sir George Macdonald has postulated for Birrens,⁸ on the basis of one of Mr Barbour's sections, and it should be pointed out that Sir George's suggestion is based on a misunderstanding of the conventions employed by Mr Barbour.

The scarcity of pottery evidence on site XIX.—best explicable by interpreting the successive stone buildings as stables—suggested the need for extending our examination to another part of the interior; accordingly a small portion of the building or succession of buildings marked VIII. on Mr Barbour's plan was uncovered; partly because the surface indications promised some depth of undisturbed stratification, partly because the published plan, though marking all the walls as "primary," seemed to give evidence of two or more structural periods. In the portion examined, period I. was again represented by post-holes; it was followed by three surviving periods of stone-built structures, this time with floors of earth or clay: the floor of period II. was covered by a layer of wood ash, containing large and small pieces of charred wood, to a depth in places of three inches; this layer yielded one or two interesting pieces of metal-work, and a quantity of glass, representing more than one vessel, broken into small pieces and some of it partly fused by intense heat; there was very little pottery. The floor of period III. yielded a fair amount of pottery, however, all of types assignable to the latter part of the second century; and it may not be unreasonable to suggest that the layer of burning underlying that occupation bears witness to the destruction that preceded the fresh building on the site, by the second cohort of Tungrians, in A.D. 158. The floor of period IV., such of it as survived, was immediately below the turf, and there was no deposit of pottery surviving on it; but one surface find of some

⁸ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, LXVII., 288-9.

interest must be recorded: a rim-fragment from a wide-mouthed cut-glass bowl, another piece of which had been found in the excavations of 1895.

There was one other feature of the 1895 plan which invited and received attention in 1936. The north and west gateways of the fort differed markedly from those known elsewhere, and to judge by Mr Barbour's plan, and Dr. Christison's account, it seemed possible that both gateways might belong to a late stage in the history of the fort. In the event, we met with less success than we had been expecting. At the north gate, where work of two periods had been found in 1895, considerable search failed to show any certain trace of either structure; we could only conclude that here, as with the walls of period V. on site XIX., demolition had followed planning. At the west gate we were more fortunate, in that we found much of a gate-passage surviving; but it was not the gateway of the published plan; that, too, had been completely removed, and it was its predecessor which remained for us to uncover. This was a passage ten feet wide, edged by walls of a roughness quite unfamiliar in Roman masonry, which Mr Richmond has been able to explain convincingly as the rubble filling of a timber framework. Originally the gate-passage must have been eighteen feet long, as shown on the accompanying diagram (Fig: 4), with four upright beams recessed into each side at the ends and at one- and two-third intervals; the same diagram also shows, for comparison, an enlarged copy of the gate-plan recovered in 1895. The type of construction is an interesting one, familiar in a number of Roman forts on the German *limes*, but not met with hitherto in Britain; a fuller description is reserved for Mr Richmond's report on the excavations of 1937.

It will be seen that, for all the scarcity of pottery (and the only coin discovered was so far decayed that nothing could be made of it), sufficient evidence has been recovered to suggest a provisional dating of the five periods of occupation. Period I., with timber buildings, apparently on an entirely different lay-out to that of the existing fort, may well be assigned to the time of Agricola; though no pottery was found

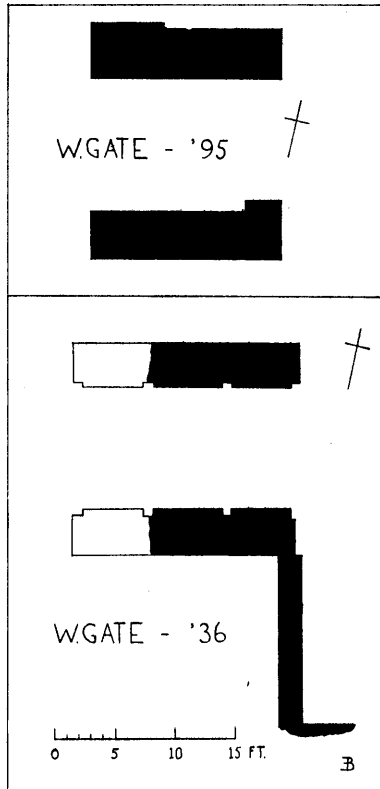


Fig 4.

in 1936 which must be dated so early, among the small collection of material found in 1895 that is preserved in this Society's museum in Dumfries, Mr Shirley showed me part of a cooking-pot that must certainly be Agricolan. Period II. ends in destruction by fire (at least on site VIII.); period III., with pottery of the latter part of the second century, goes well with the re-occupation in A.D. 158 attested by the building-inscription already referred to; among the debris covering the floor of period IV. on site XIX. was part of a late third century cooking-pot, which suggests that that period covers the third century, and that period V., as at High Rochester, opens with the Constantian reorganisation

of the northern frontier about A.D. 300. It must be the object of the forthcoming season's work to secure sufficient material to confirm or correct this dating, in a building or buildings where there were not horses but men living,⁹ as well as to complete the examination of the west gate and the rampart of the fort, which already promise structural features of unusual interest. Finally, if the headquarters building and the other "primary" structures in the central block really belong to period III., as the above analysis suggests, there should be remains of earlier headquarters, of a less exotic type, awaiting discovery; and though there can be no question of a complete examination, such as has proved practicable at Chesterholm, it will be worth while seeing what the earlier building was like.

It remains for me to express the Society's thanks, in the first place, to Mr James Mackie, the proprietor of the fort, for his welcome interest, and his kindness in allowing that rich grazing land to be disturbed in the pursuit of knowledge; to our President, Mr R. C. Reid, for collecting the funds with which the work was done, and for undertaking much of the labour of organisation; to Mr W. L. George, of St. Chad's College, Durham, who shared in the supervision of the excavations; and to my colleague, Mr I. A. Richmond, for his assistance in the interpretation of the structural evidence. It is indeed fortunate that Mr Richmond is prepared to share in the forthcoming continuation of the digging which the present paper records.

12th September, 1936.

Despite unpromising weather conditions a party of 24 members set out to visit several places of archæological interest around Newton-Stewart. Many members from Galloway joined the party en route, so that it was about 60 strong when the first halt was made at Bargaly. Here Mrs Blair Imrie of Bardrochwood gave a delightful address on

⁹ Nos. XXII. and XXIX. (fig. 2 above) appear to promise the best results.

Andrew Heron, the noted naturalist, and also on the historical associations of the district. Heron's tomb nearby was inspected and also the layout of the gardens and grounds. A vote of thanks to Mrs Blair Imrie was proposed by Mr Reid, and cordially approved.

After lunch, the party visited Bardrochat Mote, where Mr Adam Birrell gave an interesting paper on the Mote and on the old lead mining industry and village at Blackcraig. Mr Birrell was cordially thanked on the motion of the President.

By the kind invitation of Miss Armitage and Miss Southern, the next place visited was Kirroughtree House. Here the speaker was Mr A. S. Morton, Newton-Stewart, who, in the course of a very interesting address, gave a history in brief of happenings at Kirroughtree from earliest times. Mr Reid, in expressing the thanks of the Society to Mr Morton, referred to an excavation made by inexperienced persons already at one of the mounds nearby, and suggested that at some future date the Society might be allowed to make some further excavations at some of the hitherto unexplored mounds.

The next halt was at the Cruives of Cree, where an inspection was made of the old Chapel of St. Ninian, the story of which was given by Mr James Murchie, Newton-Stewart, who added also an account of Castle Stewart and its owners, the remains of the building being seen at a little distance but not visited. A short address on the old fishings at the Cruives was added by Mr Adam Birrell, and both the speakers were thanked on behalf of the Society by Mr Reid.

The last place on the itinerary was Skaith Mote, where the speaker was Mr T. L. Taylor, Hon. Secretary of the Society. In asking him to accept the hearty thanks of the members, Mr Reid said there were more Motes in the three Southern Counties than in any other district of Scotland, and much might be added to our historical knowledge if these Motes could be analysed.

The company then left for Newton-Stewart, where tea was served at the Galloway Arms Hotel, and Dumfries was reached about 9.30 p.m.

Andrew Heron of Bargaly.

By Mrs BLAIR IMRIE.

Andrew Heron was born at Kirroughtree about the year 1660. His family had lived in the neighbourhood for over three hundred years, and according to the values of those times and the district they were considered wealthy people and large landowners.

Andrew was the third son, and his father was also an Andrew Heron. Old Andrew Heron made what was called a pre-mortem distribution of his property many years before his death, and in the deed he gave or left the estate of Bargaly to his third son, Andrew.

His second son had Kirroughtree. His eldest son was not mentioned in the deed, and although he died rather young he was alive then, and from the remarks about him one was led to suppose that he was perhaps not really capable of managing his own affairs.

Young Andrew married his first wife, Mary Grahame, of Floriston, in Cumberland, and for the first three years of their married life they lived with his parents at Kirroughtree. At the end of that time the farm of Larg, through the death of M'Kie of Larg, was empty, and Andrew Heron rented it and he and his wife went to live there in a small, humble way. It was there that their five eldest children were born. They lived there for seven years, but during much of that time they had difficulties, legal and otherwise, with M'Kie's heirs of entail, and at the end of seven years he moved to Bargaly.

Old Andrew Heron did not die until 1695, but several years before that young Andrew had begun planting trees up and down that lovely glen. Then he built and laid out the gardens and followed that by building a small house for

his wife and family. It was in 1691 that he and his family moved from Larg to Bargaly, and two more children of the marriage were born there.

Mary Grahame, of Floriston, died in 1706 and two years later Andrew married his second wife, Elizabeth Dunbar, widow of M'Kie of Palgowan. A tomb had been built in 1729 by Andrew Heron, and it was concluded that Elizabeth, his wife, died in that year. Andrew himself died in 1740 and was buried there beside his second wife.

The tomb had been repaired in 1829, and again in 1929 it was repaired by the late Col. John M'Kie and the Duke of Bedford.

This Elizabeth Dunbar formed a link between the old and the new lairds of Bargaly, for it was a descendant of hers by her first marriage who now owned the estate.

Bargaly had not long been in the possession of the Herons when Andrew came to live there. It is possible that his father bought it for him at the time of his marriage. It consisted of one or two farms, chiefly hill farms and a little arable land. The farm of Cairn of Dallash was part of the estate, and is not to be confused with Dallash Farm which was on the other side of the river, and was quite a separate thing. It did not appear that Bargaly extended to the other side of Palnure, nor did it include, as it now does, the sheep farm of Bardrochwood, although Andrew Heron had rented Bardrochwood for thirteen years.

Bargaly Glen, which they undoubtedly owed to him, was one of the loveliest pieces of Scotland. Truly indeed could they say Andrew Heron was a very remarkable man and it was to be regretted that many people did not realise just how great a man he was.

The thing that struck one most concerning Andrew Heron was a sentence in Loudon's *Arboretum* which was as follows, "Bargaly is to us by far the most interesting seat in Scotland with respect to the introduction of foreign trees and shrubs."

There could be no doubt that Andrew Heron had a passion for trees and gardening, that he was celebrated for

his knowledge of horticulture among gardeners and foresters all over England and Scotland. To illustrate that there was a well-known story told about him.

In Loudon's Arboretum it was recorded of Mr Heron that he went to visit a garden in the neighbourhood of London and very much astonished the principal gardener, to whom he was a stranger, with the botanical knowledge he displayed. The gardener having shown him an exotic plant which he felt confident Mr Heron had never seen, exclaimed when Mr Heron readily named it, "Then, Sir, you must be either the devil or Andrew Heron of Bargaly."

It is difficult to understand how he learned all he knew. There were no props when he started planting, and very few books as compared with the present day. He must have travelled. He must have been an enthusiast. He planted trees there before he came to live himself. Perhaps the holly trees that were on the banks of the Palnure that day, and the alder buckthorn that grew in the glen, were from the trees that he planted, and the melancholy thistles, that were in profusion between the house and the ford and made such a purple carpet, were all put there by him.

Kirroughtree.

By A. S. MORTON.

The history of Kirroughtree may be said to begin in the days of Robert the Bruce. We have, however, abundant evidence in the many mounds and cairns scattered all over what is known as the great Plain of Kirroughtree to show that it was the scene of probably more than one sanguinary encounter centuries before that, but we are in the dark as to who the combatants were or why they came into conflict. It is true that certain historians tell us that here was fought a great battle between the Romans and the Picts on the one side and the Scots on the other. In Buchanan's *History* it is stated that in the reign of King Eugenius the Roman General, hoping to possess the whole island if he could only

destroy the two northern nations, pretended great friendship to the Picts and promised to concede to them the whole territory of the Scots if they would only prove sincere in their attachment to the Romans. The Picts, allured by the promises, willingly agreed to the proposals, and, in conjunction with the Romans, ravished the possessions of the Scots. Then we read: "The first engagement took place on the Banks of the Cree, a river in Galloway, where the Scots being inferior in strength were overcome by numbers. While they fled on all sides, the Romans, certain of victory, pursued without regularity, but in the midst of the pursuit the troops of Argyle and other remote districts who had not yet joined the Army arriving in good order fell upon and dispersed the Romans and occasioned a great slaughter. Eugenius, profiting by this circumstance, rallied as many as he could of the fugitives and held a council of war on the present state of his affairs, but, finding that with the forces he possessed it would be hopeless to renew the engagement, he retreated into Carrick." It is said that the slaughter on both sides was very great and that the Cree was discoloured with blood and almost choked with the bodies of the slain.

This narrative raises several questions, but it may be disposed of by saying that there is strong ground for the belief of the great majority of those best qualified to judge that no Roman army ever penetrated into this part of Galloway.

We are on firmer ground when we come down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, for there can be no doubt that an important battle was fought here in or about 1308 between the Scots under Sir Edward de Bruce and the English under Sir John de St. John and Sir Ingelram Umfraville, who, in addition to their own English forces, had with them many of the Galwegians who were opposed to Robert the Bruce. Umfraville was so renowned for his prowess and chivalry that he was distinguished wherever he went by a red bonnet borne before him on a spear. This bonnet was lowered on the Plain of Kirroughtree by Sir

Edward de Bruce. He had entered Galloway from Ayrshire, and although his forces were far inferior he boldly attacked the English and gained a complete victory. Barbour says that 200 of the flower of the English Army were slain on the field. Local tradition puts the loss at 1400, which, even allowing for those killed in flight, must be an exaggeration. The English fled precipitately to Buittle Castle, hotly pursued all the way. The Scots seized all the cattle in the vicinity of the castle, and, though the English saw this being done, they were afraid to venture out to offer any opposition.

St. John went to England for reinforcements and returned to Galloway with 1500 horse. Edward de Bruce, being informed where they were, placed his infantry in ambush and went with only 50 men at arms to make a surprise attack under cover of a thick mist, when suddenly the mist lifted and revealed the two parties within a bow-shot of each other. Nothing daunted, Edward made a vigorous onslaught, rode through and through the column three times and so terrified the English that they believed other contingents must be coming against them and took ignominiously to flight.

The Mounds.

Several of the mounds and cairns on Kirroughtree Plain have been explored at different times. In the Appendix to Symson's *Large Description of Galloway* the following interesting particulars are given of one which was opened many years ago: "Mr Heron one day making pitts for a plantation of firs in that plain was persuaded by a friend standing by him to open a large mount of earth standing in the middle of the ground, and to take the old earth to put into the pitts to encourage his trees to take root, and upon opening of it found it to be a Roman urn. The top of the mount was all covered over with a strong clay, half yard deep, under which there was half a yard deep of gray ashes, and under that there was an inch thick of scurff-like mug metal, bran-coloured, which took a stroak of the pick-

axe to break it, under which the workmen found a double wall, built circular ways, about a yard deep, full of red ashes like those of a great furnace. When these were taken out, at the bottom there was a large flagstone six feet long and three broad covering a pit of a yard depth, and when they hoisted up the stone they observed the bones of a large man lying entire, but when they struck upon the stone to break it they fell down in ashes. There was nothing more found in it. There is above a dozen of great heaps of stones detached over the plain in which were found several urns, but none so memorable as this."

In another opened in 1754 weapons were found. One resembled a halbert, another a hatchet or tomahawk, having on the back a projection like a pavier's hammer. A third resembled a small spade, and each had an aperture for a handle. They were found to be made of brass.

In the *Inventory* you will find described half a dozen of these cairns on Kirroughtree, and also the one beside the public road at the entrance to the football field. It is in good preservation, and, except for some prodding by a local antiquary, has not been excavated.

"Parliament Knowe" is the name of a place on the left hand or west side of the road leading to New-Galloway, and about half a mile east of Kirroughtree House, but why it is so named is not known. I have heard local people call it The Fort, and in the *Inventory* it is given as a fortified site, and described as "an oblong or circular rocky hillock standing at the edge of a bank which declines towards the east. Except in that direction, it is steeply scarped all around to a height of about 10 feet at an angle of 38 degrees, and from the edge of the bank on the south-east passing round towards the north-north-west there is visible a ditch, now shallow, measuring some 13 feet in width, the counter-scarp of which, to judge from the loose stones lying upon it, has probably been crowned with a wall. At the point where the ditch appears to terminate on the north-north-west there is a single upright stone in the line of the counter-scarp, and adjacent to it a row of stones may be seen

converging towards the base of the scarp. Around the summit on the crest of the scarp there is visible a stony mound except across the natural bank on the east, where a disordered mass of stones may indicate the previous existence of a wall. From this direction there is a suggestion of a road leading up the slope. The highest point of the interior rises to a height of some 9 to 10 feet above the level of the scarp at the sides. From north to south the area within the defences measures some 96 feet, and from east to west about the same."

Adjoining the fort on the north-west is a plot of ground which seems to have been enclosed and may have been cultivated or used as a cattle-yard, and farther on in the same direction among the rough ground between this and the path going over the hill is an old corn kiln or kiln pot.

Kirroughtree was the portion of the hassock of land between the waters of Palnure and Penkiln that fell to M'Lurg, the youngest of the three sons of the widow of Craigencallie, as a reward for his services to Robert the Bruce. Tradition is that the line of the M'Lurgs ended in an only daughter heiress who married a Captain Heron belonging to a well-known family in Northumberland, and this is supported by a statement in the Macfarlane MS. where the information given suggests that the marriage took place in the early part of the 17th century. The available records are not always clear as to the succession or the extent of the estate, which has varied greatly at different times. It is certain, however, that the Herons came to Galloway and were associated with Kirroughtree, centuries before this. We find it recorded in 1456 that Thomas Aheroune had sasine in the 8/4 land of Carowchtre, a merkland of Lessens, and the 5/- land of Dyrnmore. The prefix "A" is the Galloway equivalent to the better known prefix "O," and was quite common in early Galloway surnames, but was dropped by the end of the 15th century. As the "A" indicates a grandson, the inference is that he was the third generation at least of the Herons in Galloway. Taking three generations to the century, the probability is that

Thomas Aheroune's English progenitor came here about 1330-60. We can only surmise how he was allowed to remain. It may be that he was captured and found favour, or that he was wounded and submitted, and afterwards married the M'Lurg heiress, according to the tradition. Whatever lands he acquired would be held not from the Crown but from the Lords of Galloway, who left no records. After the forfeiture of the Douglasses and the Resumption of Galloway by the Crown in 1455 we have administrative records, and the very next year we meet Thomas Aheroune, as already mentioned. Three years later he appears in a different rôle. He was fined at a Justice Ayre, charge not stated, and on the ground of poverty a third of the fine was remitted. So far there is no mention of any M'Lurg connection, but in 1487 he, or another of the same name, is described as Thomas Heron of Camloddan M'Lurg, when he transferred all his lands to his brother, John. They amounted only to a 40/- land, a trifling holding compared with Kirroughtree Estate in its zenith. John Heron must have been succeeded by another Thomas Heron, for in 1512 the escheated goods of John M'Nacht, fugitive, were sold to Thomas Heron of Kerachtre. Three years later this Thomas Heron must have been dead, for in 1515 the ward and marriage of the heirs of Camloddan M'Lurg and of Carruchtre was granted to Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis. The heir came of age in 1521, when Andrew Heron was infeft in the lands. I do not intend to follow up the persons and possessions of the family, but you see that the Herons had a footing in Galloway very much earlier than has been generally understood.

The Herons of Kirroughtree for many generations took a foremost part in the affairs of the Stewartry. The National Covenant of 1638 for the Parish of Minnigaff bears the signature of Andrew Heron of Kirroughtree. After the Restoration the Parliament of 1661 voted Charles £40,000, of which the Stewartry had to provide about £350, and among the Commissioners appointed to collect it was Andrew Heron of Kirroughtree. The following year when the Act

of Indemnity was passed Heron of Kirroughtree had to pay a fine of £600 Scots for nonconformity.

Twenty years later we find the Laird of Kirroughtree again in trouble with the Government of the day. The Privy Council had the case before it in January, 1683, and the following interesting letter was written to the Secretary :

“ My Lord,

“ There being one Andrew Herron of Kerrochtree, pursued before his Majesty's privy council, for harbouring, resetting, entertaining, and intercommuning with Patrick Herron his second son, Anthony McGhie late of Glencard, and other rebels : and the said Andrew having come voluntarily to the lord high treasurer before any citation given, how soon he understood the hazard he was liable to by law, and confessed that out of ignorance of the laws of the kingdom, and on account of his near relation to his said son, and his wife's nephew, he had sometimes seen and conversed with them, and palliate a small trade of cattle, which his son brought from England : having confessed his crime humbly, and begged his Majesty and the council's mercy : the council having considered the specialities in his case, do recommend to your lordship to interpose for a remission both as to his life and estate. But that others may be deterred from harbouring and resetting rebels though never so nearly related, the council desire that your lordship may procure a letter under his majesty's royal hand, empowering and authorizing them in this case (even though the crime be capital in itself) to impose such a fine as they think fit and just. This, in the council's name, is signified by

“ Your lordship's etc.,

“ ABERDEEN, CANCEL, I.P.D.”

When intercession had been made for a remission as to his life and estate, the managers wanted a fine from him before he was dismissed. Accordingly, on March 8th, “ Andrew Heron of Kerrochtree in Galloway, compears, and

is libelled, for being at house and field conventicles, and intercommuning with, and resetting his son Patrick Heron a ring leader at Bothwell Bridge, and his son in law who had been likewise there. The lords of his majesty's privy council fine him in 5000 merks and appointed him to lie in prison till he pay it." On March 17th, 1683, the cash-keeper reports he has paid his fine.

In a field known as the Green Doon on the north-east of Kirroughtree House is a large stone called The Preacher's Stone, around which Conventicles were kept during the Religious Persecution.

This son Patrick did a great cattle trade with England and had charge of the famous Park at Baldoon belonging to Sir David Dunbar. This park was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth, and could keep, winter and summer, 1000 cattle. After his father's death in 1695 Patrick came to Kirroughtree, and in 1719 built Kirroughtree House and the Doo-cot, to both of which I intend to refer later. He then started to plant trees, build dykes and enclose parks. Other landlords adopted a similar course, and this led to the removal of many herds, cotters and small tenants. These took the law into their own hands, and in 1724 they levelled all the recently erected dykes in the Stewartry. The Stewart Depute ordered the landowners to assemble at the Steps of Tarff with their best horses, arms and ammunition in order to proceed against the Levellers. The latter at once ordered their supporters to come armed to the other side of the Tarff. Large parties gathered on each side and a sanguinary engagement seemed imminent. Fortunately Patrick Heron of Kirroughtree persuaded his colleagues not to risk an engagement, and then, unattended, and hat in hand, he approached the Levellers and proposed a conference to try to settle their differences. This was agreed to and the insurgents dispersed. In a statement of their grievances the Levellers complained that Heron, younger and elder of that Ilk, had put out all their tenants and made the little town of Minnigaff belonging to them only a nest of beggars since they enclosed all the land

about it. A reply was made, in which these statements were denied.

Patrick Heron, senior, became M.P. for the Stewartry in 1727, and continued to be Member for several years. Patrick Heron, younger, was Convener of the Commissioners of Supply for the Stewartry in 1742-43. He married the second daughter of MacKie, Palgowan, and this, with other circumstances, eventually brought the whole estate of Larg to the Herons. It was joined to Kirroughtree and the two erected into one Barony under the title of Heron. The name Heron appears in official documents and such like, but it was never adopted by the people, few of whom though living on the land could have told where the estate of Heron was. He died in 1761, aged 60, and his father died three weeks afterwards, aged 89. The latter was succeeded by his grandson, Patrick. He was one of the partners of the Douglas-Heron Bank which came to such a tragic end. It was established in 1769 with a capital of £150,000. The head office was in Ayr, and there were branches throughout Scotland. Through bad management it crashed in 1772 with liabilities of not less than 1¼ millions. There was no "Limited Liability" then, and the loss to the partners was estimated at about £663,500. In order to meet the calls on his shares he had to sell valuable estate in Lincolnshire, and Kirroughtree would probably have been sold also but for the fact that it was strictly entailed. He, however, cut down his establishment and retrenched in the most rigid manner till all the claims against the bank were met.

In 1795 Patrick Heron became M.P. for the Stewartry, and he was again M.P. from 1796 to 1802. He was the Heron of Kirroughtree praised by Burns in the Stewartry Election Ballads as "the man of independent mind," "the independent patriot," etc. Burns wrote an inscription for an altar to Independence which Heron erected in Kirroughtree grounds. This has disappeared, though some of us are not without hope that it may yet be found. Burns also wrote a song named, from the opening words, "Here is the Glen,"

to a tune entitled "The Banks o' Cree" by Lady Elizabeth Heron. Burns refers to her as "a particular friend of mine," and described the Cree as "a beautiful romantic stream." While he was on a visit to Kirroughtree he happened to be in the Inn at Minnigaff and scratched a verse with his ring on a pane of glass in one of the windows. This pane of glass was removed some time afterwards by Miss Heron Maxwell to Creebridge House, and has been lost, and we have no record of what the verse was.

Patrick Heron died at Grantham in 1803 and was buried in the family tomb in Minnigaff Churchyard, one of the most elaborate tombs in any churchyard in Galloway. Kirroughtree then passed to his only surviving child, Stuart Mary, who had married Sir John Shaw Maxwell of Springkell in 1802, and who remained in possession till her death in 1856. She was succeeded by her second surviving son, Michael, who assumed the arms and name of Heron. He became a Captain in the 87th Royal Irish Fusileers. He retired and took Holy Orders and was Vicar of Heddon-on-the-Wall, Northumberland. He died in 1873 and was succeeded by his eldest son, John Heron Maxwell, who had been Captain in the First Regiment of the Royal Scots. He was M.P. for the Stewartry from 1880 to 1885. In 1883 Kirroughtree was disentailed, and in 1889, after being exposed at £85,000, it was sold at £60,000 to Major A. C. Armitage, whose memory is still cherished by all those who had the privilege of his acquaintance. Now, the greater extent of the estate has been taken over by The Forestry Commissioners, but Kirroughtree House, with the policies and the lands immediately surrounding it, is owned by Miss Armitage and her friend, Miss Southern, to whom our warmest thanks are due for allowing us here to-day.

I mentioned that the house was built in 1719. Robert Heron, the Galloway writer, passed here in 1792, and refers to it as "a large house modernized and repaired with additions within these last fifteen or twenty years." It has since then had several alterations and additions, to make

it the magnificent mansion you see now. It has a most desirable situation amidst beautiful surroundings, and with the Bay of Wigtown in view from the windows.

Kirroughtree Doo-cot has nothing to equal it in the South of Scotland. The one at Blackwood, Dumfriesshire, could no doubt house more pigeons, but neither in appearance nor position can it compare with the doo-cot here. Kirroughtree Doo-cot stands on elevated ground overlooking the golf course, and can be seen from a great distance. It is octagonal in form, each side being six feet six inches across, thus giving a circumference of over 50 feet. The walls are two feet thick. It is about 18 feet high, lighted from the roof, and has 448 nests, ranged tier on tier all round from about three feet above the floor. The traps were operated by a rope from the ground, and three or six pigeons as desired could be liberated at a time.

The Hermitage, with its beautiful summer house and other rustic erections, was in a grotto between Kirroughtree House and the Mid Lodge, and up till 60 years ago attracted many visitors.

Cruives Chapel or St. Ninian's.

By JAMES MURCHIE.

We are now at the Cruives of Cree, which recalls the familiar rhyme :

“ Frae Wigtown to the Toon o' Ayr,
Portpatrick to the Cruives of Cree,
No man may hope for to bide there
Unless he courts a Kennedy.”

These lines show the importance to which the Kennedy family had risen after the downfall of the great Douglasses. In 1478 Sir John Kennedy received a crown grant of the Barony of Myretoun as a reward for putting down outlaws and rebels. In time their power passed, and by the year 1540 the Barony of Myretoun had passed into the hands of the M'Kie's.

But here we have an interesting relic of the time of the Kennedy's—the ruin of St. Ninian's Chapel, or the Old Kirk of the Cruives of Cree. Little of the chapel remains but the eastern gable, as you see; the other walls have all long since disappeared, though the plan of the church can still be traced from the earth mounds covering the old foundations. The church lies naturally almost due east and west. The measurements, it may interest you to know, are: From east to west, 42 feet 6 inches, and from north to south 23 feet 9 inches. It was built by a well-known member of the Kennedy family, the Sir John Kennedy of Blairwhan, of his day. We learn that in the year 1507 Sir John Kennedy set forth on a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury and of St. John at Amiens. On his return the following year, in 1508, he built and endowed this chapel in the Barony of Myretoun called the Cruives of Cree. It was dedicated to St. Ninian, and so bore the names of St. Ninian's Chapel and also the Church of The Cruives of Cree. The endowment amounted to the sum of £8 10s Scots per annum. This was the chaplain's stipend, and owing to the situation of the chapel it is quite possible that it never had a resident chaplain but was served by a priest of the neighbouring chapel. It is possible that its situation was selected because of the excellent fishing which the Cruives of Cree provided, for the Kennedys were keen sportsmen and would often visit this place in search of sport.

It seems likely that it soon fell into disuse and decay, possibly at or soon after the Reformation period. We can learn little about it until 1684, when Symson mentioned the chapel and stated that even then it was in a state of ruin, only 76 years after its erection.

I have searched the records of Penninghame Kirk Session from 1692 to 1755, and the chapel is never mentioned during all that period. The Session were frequently discussing the need of a permanent place of worship for this northern end of the parish. The situation of this building would have been excellent, but it is never once mentioned,

though services were held fortnightly at Beoch, two miles off, during this period. It is only half a mile from here to what was then the most important residence in the district, Castle Stewart, but in all the records relating to the Castle no mention is made of the Chapel. So we may conclude that even then it was a complete ruin or on its way to ruin. Sixty years ago a man then 80 years of age told me that it was in the same condition in his boyhood as it is to-day. That takes us back at least 130 years. He remembered a burial in the old burial ground and thought that that was the last burial there. He also remembered the dykes being built to enclose the burial ground.

In view of all these facts I think we may safely conclude that its period of service was short, and that with the passing of the local power of the Kennedys, and likely with the cessation of the endowment from Alloway, the chapel of St. Ninian or Kirk of The Cruives of Cree ceased to be used as a place of worship.

Castle Stewart.

By JAMES MURCHIE.

This castle has gone under the name of Castle Stewart from about the middle of the 17th century, but there is little doubt there was a much earlier building, the name of which was "Calcruchie." On 2nd May, 1646, it was owned by a member of the Gordon family of Kenmure. Some time later it was acquired by Col. William Stewart. He was a descendant of Anthony Stewart of Clary, eldest son of Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies. Col. William Stewart is described by Simpson as an expert and valiant soldier who fought in the German wars of 1630 under the command of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. In those wars he made a considerable fortune, with which he purchased the barony

of Calchruchie, later naming it Castle Stewart. Later he fought on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland—about 1641. He also owned the barony of Bardrochwood in the parish of Minnigaff, and represented Wigtownshire in the Scottish Parliament. In 1662 he was fined £600 for adherence to the Presbyterian Church.

Col. William Stewart married Elizabeth M'Clellan, daughter of William M'Clellan, of Senwick, Parish of Borgue. They had a daughter who married John Gordon of Cardoness. They in turn had a daughter who was heiress to Castle Stewart, and who succeeded her grandfather, Col. William Stewart.

In the Parish Rolls, signed by James Calhoun, Episcopal Minister of Penninghame, dated 29th September, 1684, Elizabeth Gordon (Lady Castle Stewart), and her waiting maid are reported as withdrawing from public worship. She married in 1676 the Hon. William Stewart, who was the fourth and youngest son of James, second Earl of Galloway. He succeeded to Castle Stewart through his marriage, and was the founder of the town of Newton-Stewart, obtaining from King Charles the Second a charter dated 1st July, 1677, making it a Borough of Barony and a weekly market town. He built the first few houses at his own expense, and in 1679 both he and his wife were denounced as Rebels for espousing the cause of the Presbyterian Church. He was Member of Parliament for Wigtownshire in 1685, and again in 1700 to 1707. He voted for the Union, and is said to have been influenced by a bribe of £300. He died about 1714 and was succeeded by his son, William Stewart. About this time his affairs had got into a state of great confusion, and he had to go abroad to get clear of heavy debts against the estate. On the 11th April, 1718, he appointed as his trustees, Dame Elizabeth Gordon, his grandmother; James, Earl of Galloway; Alexander, Lord Garlies; Brig. Gen. John Stewart; Sir Alexander Maxwell of Monreith; William Agnew of Castlewig; Col. William Maxwell of Cardoness;

Patrick Maxwell of Cassenarie. An inventory of the estate in 1719 was as follows :

Lands and baronies of Castle Stewart, including the lands of Kirkcala, Castlemickle, Castle Ochiltrie, Glenvernock, Glenlochoch and also, Kirkhoble, Knockville, Nether Glenhaple, Upper Glenhaple, Glenrassie, Castle Stewart and fishing thereof, Skeath, Shalloch, Corssbie, Ffoord House, now called Newton Stewart with the freedom of a borough of barony.

He was succeeded by his son, John Stewart, and owing to his restricted income nothing eventful happened during his lifetime, except that his name appears in various documents regarding the disposal of parts of the estate.

He was succeeded by his son, William Stewart, about 1775. It would appear he was struggling under the debt he inherited, and he had to part with the barony. The purchaser was William Douglas, described as a merchant of London and Glasgow. He purchased the property in February, 1784.

The career of William Douglas was short. He changed the name of the Barony and the Town to Castle Douglas and Newton Douglas. He erected large cotton and other mills, which were unprofitable ventures and obliged him to resell the property. The town and mills were purchased by John, 7th Earl of Galloway, and the original name of the town was resumed about 1800.

In 1802 Patrick Lawrie of Urral was in possession of part of Castle Stewart Barony, and in 1825 the greater part of the Castle Stewart lands were known as Penninghame Estate and were purchased by James Blair, who had made a large fortune in the West Indies. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Col. Stopford Blair, and the estate was held by their descendants until about fourteen years ago, when it was purchased by Mr Henry, Oxley, who now holds the property.

Notes on Creetown and District.

By ADAM BIRRELL.

When the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian and Natural History Society visited the Creetown district I have been honoured in being their local guide, and though Creetown has been visited on several occasions, little has been said of that Burgh of Barony. It may be remarked that it is probably the Port or Ferry of Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*. Its history does not go very far back. Several houses bear dates in 1700. Its original name was *Creth*, Gaelic, signifying a boundary. Time does not permit me to go into the stories connecting it with the smuggling times, but one thing I think it can safely claim, along with the Abbot of Tungland and also Stirling, that it is one of the cradles of aviation.

The Story.

One man in Creetown named M'Connel and nicknamed "Beardie" conceived the idea of flying, and made himself a pair of wings out of weights. For the benefit of some here I will tell what a weight was. It was made of a sheep-skin stretched by a rim of hazel rod around it, and was used for carrying peats, of which there was a plentiful supply in Creetown, brought from the Flow of Muirfad which you have just crossed. On the day arranged for the trial flight, before a good assemblage M'Connel mounted the bridge leading up to the church and leapt off, with the expected result—he fell in the burn, breaking his leg. The bridge is still named after him, "Beardie's Brig."

Leaving Creetown about a mile, you pass the road-end leading to Knockdoon Ferry, which was in operation until some 45 years ago, from which Creetown takes the name, Ferry-toon o' Cree or "The Ferry" for short.

Cassencarie Ford and the Ferny Thorn, which was its landmark, still exist. You have now passed along and over Muirfad Flow. Time will not permit me to explain why the road was made over here, and you left this road at Muirfad Farm. It was here or hereabouts that Muirfad Castle stood,

and I have visited the supposed sites with others, and we differ a little as to the exact spot. It may not be out of place to give my own opinion, and that is it was on the present site of the farm buildings.

The Legend of Muirfad Castle.

You will notice the name of Graeme creeps in. The same happens in Denniston's *Legends of Galloway*, where a Graeme is the chief actor in the "Standard of Denmark." I do not think we are here in a Graeme locality. The castle does not figure prominently in the history of Galloway, but there are one or two traditions associated with it. It belonged at one time to a branch of the Gordons of Lochinvar. Graeme, the outlaw of Galloway, was then plundering the less powerful houses in the province, exacting blackmail and carrying off everything he could take with him. He had sent his spies to learn the surroundings and the strength of Muirfad in men and munitions. Their report showed that there were so few men at the castle that little or no resistance would be offered to the attack, especially if made suddenly. Graeme accordingly mustered his forces and set out for Muirfad. Gordon, however, had somehow got a hint of what was brewing and sent a message for instant help to all his friends within reach, and they hurried with dependants to his assistance. Gordon had just placed them in ambush when Graeme and his followers appeared and walked into the trap. Though taken completely by surprise they fought fiercely, and a desperate struggle ensued. Some of the bandits were killed, and Graeme himself was severely wounded but managed to escape. He vowed a terrible vengeance, and Gordon, knowing he would likely return, kept the castle well manned and prepared for any sudden attack. Graeme bided his time and watched his opportunity. Again and again he sent some trusty follower to spy out the position, and months passed ere he decided to strike. Suddenly he appeared before the castle with an immense following, and this time it was Gordon who was taken completely by surprise. He had only a few men and it would have been madness to engage in a conflict, but they

did what they could and closed the castle gates and then waited fearfully for what would happen.

Graeme demanded the surrender of the castle, and Gordon made no reply but kept the doors secured. Graeme ordered his men to pile faggots and brushwood against the castle walls and swore he would burn the "vermin out."

When Gordon saw what was being done he begged for a parley with Graeme, and this was carried on through a grating in the door. A compromise was at length effected under which Gordon agreed to pay a sum of money down and an annual sum for Graeme's forbearance in the future. These terms having been finally settled, Graeme received the stipulated sum through the grating, and then, remarking that they might as well part friends, he extended his hand and Gordon did the same. The moment that Graeme got Gordon's hand in his he pulled it through the grating and held on to it till a noose was put round Gordon's wrist, and he was kept there while a staple was driven into the wall, to which he was fastened by a chain. Then Graeme, with fiendish delight, with his own hands set fire to the faggots and burned Gordon alive behind his own door. All the inmates perished, and the castle and its contents were destroyed.

After leaving Muirfad we passed underneath the railway, and might have noticed some of the old shafts in connection with the lead mines which I hope to mention further on in this paper. The Palnure burn was on your left, and the tide flows up to the Bogue Bridge which you will cross. Ships were built near here and lead was shipped before the bridge, which is now being demolished at Palnure, was built about 1812 to speed up the mail coach.

Sir Herbert Maxwell in his *Place Names of Galloway* mentions Bardrochwood, pronounced Bardrochat, meaning in Gaelic *Barr drochid*, the Bridge hill. Bardrochat in Colmonell parish was written Bardrochwood in the older Ordnance maps, but when the later survey was in progress it was altered on his suggestion to Bardrochat. The owner of Bardrochwood in Minnigaff, however, withheld consent

to the change in his case, lest it should affect his title to the property.

Bardrochwood Mote.

As we will be hearing more of the history and construction of motes later I will merely give the dimensions of this mote. It is on a narrow gravel ridge rising to a height of 15 or 16 feet, with a gradual slope from the north-west and with a scarp at an angle of 33 degrees at the south-east. The highest level continues for a distance of about 65 feet, with a narrow crest of an average breadth of 8 feet expanding slightly towards its south-east, and where it forms a plat with a breadth of about 10 feet. At both ends of the ridge and along a part of the west side there are visible the remains of a trench some 18 to 19 feet in width and with a depth of from 2 to 3 feet.

Lead Mines at Blackcraig.

I am sorry the 'bus will be unable to go over the Mines hill, although private cars may, so we will be unable to see the old lead workings, and, alas, the ruins of the village there. The inhabitants were all lead miners, and it was a happy, contented community. I could mention many of the old names. [M'Cleary, Smith, Bortwick, Marr, M'Caul, Findlay, Allison, Skimming, Rice, M'Kie, etc.] To show their character it was a common saying "that a Blackcraig funeral was better than a Minnigaff wedding."

The 1793 *Statistical Account of Scotland* states that the military road from London passes through this parish for several miles. It was in making this road in 1763 that a piece of lead ore was accidentally discovered by a soldier who was at work. This important discovery was first made in the property of Mr Heron of Heron. It produced at one time about 400 tons of ore per annum to Mr Heron and those who were in company with him. At present, it is stated, the yield is only about 30 tons. It was found that the veins leaving Mr Heron's property went into those of Mr Dunbar of Machermore, and that was successfully wrought. Some years it produced 400 to 500 tons of ore. The ore when

smelted yielded for every three tons of ore two of lead. It brought in the market £18 per ton when smelted and £8 in ore. It had been assayed but did not bear the expense of extracting the silver. It was not carried above a mile by land till they put it on board small vessels and carried it to Chester, to which place they ran with a fair wind in 18 to 20 hours.

It was worked from that time until some 45 years ago, when the price of ore fell below cost to obtain, and was forced to close down much as Wanlockhead has had to do lately. At one time there was a migration of miners from Wanlockhead to Blackcraig, and many of the existing surnames are similar.

Cruives of Cree.

Mr James Murchie has already given you his paper on the genesis of the Cruives of Cree Church, of its builder and subsequent history, and in one of my papers before the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiquarian and Natural History Society at Dumfries I explained the great weirs at the mouth of the Luce River, and also of the remains of some others, although of a different kind, in Wigtown Bay between Creetown and Wigtown.

Much of the same type as you see in the season at Kirkcudbright were used in Cree until the passing into law of the Solway Act about 1860. One in particular was used opposite Spittal Farm, near the Ferry House at Knockdoon, which I have already mentioned. Its foundations often gave us trouble in going to and from the sparkling fishing, and was named "Jonnie Kie," after the last man who fished it. Little of the Cruives of Cree are left, but the abutment of same can be seen near Penninghame House, and on the opposite side some of the old woodwork can be seen when the water is low. Close by on the road is a small bridge, near which is an old house in ruins, with one corner stone with the letter G. and a date, 1700. From this bridge is a small burn some 30 yards long paved with stones, no doubt used for a harbour for the boat used in the operations of the Cruive. There is an island in the

river here, and one of the river tracts is said to be artificial, but I think it is natural, where the Loch Cree ends. ("Loch Cree," however, is only a widening of the River Cree.) There are in "situ" three stepping stones which has been the way over to the island. They are in a most unusual place, and from their size I would say they have been brought there on ice when the loch was frozen. The island has been inhabited, and trenches and earthwork can be seen. Another Cruive of a much later date was at the junction of the Cree and Minnock, but nothing remains to point out its site but several hewn squared granite stones.

The enclosed letter from Mr W. J. Menzies, Fishery Board for Scotland, explains the working of a Cruive.

Fishery Board for Scotland, Edinburgh,
15th November, 1937.

Dear Birrell,

In the old days there were two forms of cruive in use in Scotland. One was employed in tidal lochs, and consisted of a loosely constructed dry-stone dyke extending in an arc facing up the loch, with the top of the dyke about level with the water surface at high water. The theory of its working is that as the tide ebbed the fish drop down the loch and into the open arm of the cruive, from which they did not escape by turning up the loch and round the corner of the dyke, but were gradually left stranded as the water receded through the dry-stone dyke and out of the loch. Herrings and flat fish were very largely caught in this way, but sea trout and salmon also no doubt fell victims. In fresh waters the cruive consisted of a dyke constructed across the river with one or more openings. In these openings a trap, usually constructed of wood and of the conventional fish trap design, was placed. At times of high water fish could get over the top of the dyke, but at other times the whole or the majority of the flow was through the cruives, and when going through these openings the fish were taken in the traps. On the top side a blind of canvas or wooden baulks or a wooden sluice were used to cut off the water when it was desired to remove the fish from the traps.

I was interested to see some of the strange fish you

caught this year at the Royal Scottish Museum not very long ago. I hope you had a satisfactory season, and that the good prices helped to make the fishing profitable.

Yours faithfully,

W. J. MENZIES.

[NOTE.—The Barony Mill in Creetown is still in working order, and bears a date on the wall inside early in 1700, but I think the mill is much older. It was the scene of a smuggling event, the exit still being pointed out.]

Skaith Mote.

By THORNTON L. TAYLOR.

Skaith Mote presents many interesting difficulties. First of all, what does the name Skaith mean? M'Kerlie in his *Lands and their Owners in Galloway* offers five suggestions: (1) From the Norse *Skatta*—to pay tribute, or (2) land paying, the duty called *scat* (or *skatt*)—either of these might suit, as Skaith is never likely to have been an independent holding; (3) from the Scots *skaith* or Norse *skaga*, meaning a projection or headland, but this seems rather pointless on this site. The next two are also perhaps more ingenious than probable: (4) From the Scots *skaithie*, a fence, or (5) from the Gaelic *sceach*, meaning hawthorn. While fenced land was unusual, or unknown, in the days of the Mote, its palisaded mound and counterscarp might supply the connection. The Norman fortification also frequently boasted a thorn hedge on the slopes as a further means of defence, and this might possibly justify No. 5 above. The absence of hawthorn on the site to-day need not be given undue weight. Mr James Murchie, who remembers this site 70 years ago, assures me that there were many hawthorn trees in the immediate neighbourhood then, and furthermore tells me that up to about 60 years ago farmers were superstitiously unwilling to dig up hawthorns on old dwelling sites, but that since then they have diligently uprooted them. I am not, however, suggesting that Skaith Mote means the Mote of the Hawthorns, as

thorn trees were a feature common to the type rather than peculiar to this site.

The second difficulty which presents itself is: Why should anyone have chosen this spot for a fortified residence? Apart from the marshy nature of the land round about, which would facilitate defence, the site has little to recommend it; and yet someone obviously thought it worth his while to erect a stout little fortified house in the midst of this waste land. As a rule the Norman Mote was planted in a dominating position to overawe a turbulent neighbourhood, or, more commonly, in the heart of a fertile district so that its owner could compel the obedience of its inhabitants and live on their labour. Yet at no time does it appear likely that the immediate surroundings of this Mote offered either rich lands or numerous followers.

The plan of the Mote is unusual, being roughly a square (60 feet by 60 feet at the base, tapering to some 40 feet by 32 feet at the summit of the 10 foot high cone). Another unusual feature is that the broad defensive ditch surrounding the Mote was obviously designed to carry a considerable volume of water, whereas the more usual practice in the construction of a Norman Castle was to have a dry ditch. ("Mote" has no connection with "moat," meaning a wet ditch, but is derived from the Norman French "motte," a clod of earth, as the Norman Castle was built on a mound, frequently made of the earth thrown up from the surrounding ditch.) The water at Skaith was probably obtained by natural drainage from the higher marshy ground to the south of the Mote, though there is a small pond to the south-east which may at one time have provided the water for the ditch. It is interesting to note that the ditch varies in breadth to suit the lie of the land. It is 22 feet broad at bottom on the south side facing the higher ground, and only some 10 feet wide on the other three sides.

The wet ditch demanded special construction in the Mote and surrounding counterscarp. Examination of these will reveal a foundation of huge boulders (particularly

noticeable on the east slope of the Mote), and the large number of smaller stones is a more noteworthy feature of the earthworks when one realises the paucity of stone in the immediate vicinity. As a rule an artificial Mote, as this one is, consisted merely of packed earth cast up from the surrounding trench, and the presence of so much stone in the construction of the Mote and Counterscarp indicates that special pains were taken to make this site impregnable.

The next surprising feature about Skaith is the smallness of the area of the top of the Mote. The greatest over all measurements are 40 feet by 32 feet (the E.—W. measurement being the greater), but the space actually available for a building is considerably smaller, so that the wooden castle must have been no more than about 25 feet by 20 feet. Had there been a large dependent Bailey this lack of space on the Mote would have been less surprising, but there is no indication of there ever having been a Court of any kind. The absence of a Bailey suggests that the Mote may be of late date—perhaps as late as the first half of the 13th century—as the original Norman settlers preferred the dual fortification of Mote and Bailey since they required the additional area to house their men-at-arms, horses, and cattle. Indeed in the larger establishments the Bailey was a complete village in itself—with huts, chapel, granary, smithy, stables, and pens. The later Norman Castle was less a garrison headquarters and more of a fortified residence, such as Skaith appears to have been.

An interesting feature about the top of the Mote is that the edge is raised some two or three feet above the level of the rest of the top area. It is a little difficult to see the reason for this, as the crest of the Mote would be surrounded by a palisade of stakes in any case. Then at the S.-E. corner is a small mound some two to three feet high. To the west of this mound is a break in the parapet, and it seems likely that a drawbridge led diagonally across the ditch from the S.-W., and that this mound served as a look-out post and as a position to command the one means of entering the castle. In their report on Skaith Mote the Ancient Monu-

ments Commissioners, who visited the site in June, 1911, say that without excavation it is not possible to determine whether this L-shaped projection is a mass of rock or building. To-day, however, I think the excavations of rabbits have made it sufficiently clear that this eminence is neither rock nor building but an artificial mound whose possible purpose as a vantage spot to command the entry I have just indicated.

There is a considerable vagueness about the date and plan of the earthworks, and, unfortunately, there is an even greater lack of information as to its early owners or occupiers. Mr R. C. Reid, who is probably our greatest local authority on the history of the families in our counties, has shown that the lands of Skaith were at one time part of the lands of the Kennedys of Blairquhan.* One must, however, bear in mind that this is a Norman site, and so far it has not been possible to trace any reference to its history, or even existence, till long after that period. In fact the extant account deals rather with the four merkland of Skaith, which formed part of the Barony of Frethride, alias Myretoun, alias Calcruchie, and by the end of the 15th century, when this record begins, the earthworks of Skaith Mote may very possibly have been as deserted as they are to-day. Mr James Murchie tells me that the site has not changed in the last seventy years except that the surrounding ditch is now dry—the cut to the N.-E. in the outer scarp is either recent or has been recently deepened to drain off the collected water. Long after they had lost their original residential character, however, Motes frequently remained in use as court hills, seats of judgment, parliament knowes, or the gathering point of the associated territories.

The earliest traceable reference to Skaith (*R.M.S.*, 1424/1513, No. 1025) tells that Nigel M'Corde resigned the

* For the later history of (the 3-, 4-, 6- merkland of) Skaith see *R.M.S.*, 1424/1513, Nos. 1025, 1336, 2410, 2636, 2943, 3040; *R.M.S.*, 1513/46, No. 2576; *R.M.S.*, 1546/80, No. 2866; *R.M.S.*, 1608/20, Nos. 1738 and 1758. *Laing Charters*, No. 340.

lands of Skeich in favour of John Kennedy of Blairquhan in 1471. I have sought in vain to learn more of Nigel M'Corde, when or from whom he got the lands. And so the history of Skaith begins, in this tantalising fashion, somewhere in the middle. It does not appear an easy task to go further back than 1471 till more information comes to light about Nigel M'Corde, as he is, meantime, the only link with the earlier and more interesting history of the district which may have some bearing on this site.

The Long Cairn Site at Glaisters.

Visited 11th October, 1935.

By R. C. REID.

[This report was prepared at the request of the Ordnance Survey for the proposed Government Map of Neolithic Scotland, and is printed here as a record.]

The *N.S.A.*, 1845, was written by Rev. John Crockett, who died about 1863, after a ministry of 53 years. There is still living in Kirkgunzeon a tailor named Carnochan, aged 82, a sprightly octogenarian with mental faculties unimpaired, who as a boy often talked with Mr Crockett, and who is the recognised authority on the traditions and past stories of the parish. Carnochan had never heard of a cairn or circle on Glaisters, though he knew the names of most extinct sheilings in the parish. He indicated a part of the moor where the remains of one was still visible. The schoolmaster, Mr Waters, had only been in the parish 11 years, had no archæological interests, but told me of an MS. parish history. This I ran to earth at the Post Office. It turned out to be the original of Crockett's *New Statistical Account*.

At Glaisters there is a non-resident tenant and a new farm manager who were of no assistance, but I met an intelligent rabbit catcher and ex-keeper, Mr Johnston, Milton Loch, who had trapped Glaisters for 16 years. He had never heard the story of the cairn or observed a circle, but he told

me there were a lot of stones single and heaped at the end of the moor, indicating the same location as the extinct sheiling of Carnochan.

So I tackled the moor. This extends to 1200 acres of the best heather I have ever trod in these parts. N.S.A. says the cairn was on a low part of the moor. The moor is a long flat space between 450-500 feet elevation, behind which the ground rises very steeply to 1000 feet, too steeply for any long cairn's site. I quartered the whole of the lower part. At only one point is there any likely site, and it adjoins the sheiling indicated by Carnochan and Johnston. This part of the moor had been burnt this spring, thus simplifying a search. The site has the necessary requirements of a Neolithic settlement. It is well watered on either side by the Shiel Burn and the stream that comes from the Forked Glen. It has an elevation of about 425 feet, and is a sandy ridge rising boldly between the burns, whereas all the rest of the level moor is thick peat. What is now a habitat for rabbits may well have been a suitable site for Neolithic man.

The foundations of the sheiling, now not more than two feet above the ground, lie within a stone's throw east of the Shiel Burn at an elevation of 375. Due east of the sheiling is gently sloping ground at 425 elevation, and within the circumference of an ancient turf and stone dyke are several heaps of massive stones and a number of isolated ones covering some two acres, which may be the remains of the long cairn, marked by a pencilled cross on map. There is nothing to indicate its size or axis. It is significant that a dyke which within vision extended a full two miles ran well within a quarter of a mile from the site, dividing the moor from the arable. I spent some time examining surroundings, especially some belts of bracken, but could nowhere find a stone circle, nor could I devise any combination of isolated stones that would justify such a description.

I ascertained from Carnochan that the sheiling had not been lived in within his long recollection. Its last inhabitant was named Donald Bane, and its name was Sheilaes.

**Note on Ancient Tomb Found on Millisle Farm,
Sorbie Parish, Wigtownshire.**

Police Constable DUNCAN FERGUSON, Garlieston, reports as follows :

About 6.30 p.m. on Monday, 29th April, 1935, I was informed that two labourers employed by Hugh Ramsay, farmer, Millisle Farm, Sorbie Parish, Wigtownshire, while engaged grubbing in a field on said farm known as the Common, had unearthed a grave containing human remains.

I proceeded to this field at once, and found what appeared to be an ancient tomb, containing part of a human skeleton in a very advanced state of decay. Only the skull (which crumbled into small pieces when touched), vertebra, part of the ribs and the arm bones were remaining, although the teeth were still adhering to the jaw bones and in a good state of preservation.

The tomb had been built of heavy slabs of dressed whinstone. I examined it for marks or carvings which might indicate the time of burial, but there was nothing of this kind. The bottom was then dug out and a careful search made for any valuables which might have been interred with the deceased, but nothing of this nature was unearthed.

The tomb was well built of heavy dressed whinstone, and measured 39 in. by 24 in. by 32 in. The deceased had been interred in a sitting position facing due east, and the stone cover, which had been dressed on the under side only, would weigh about 4 cwts.

I took charge of the remains and conveyed them to the Police Station in case further enquiry should be desired, but as nothing further was wanted in the matter they were re-interred and the tomb filled in.

I understand that what might be another of these ancient tombs is situated in the Cairn Wood, a distance of about 200 yards north of the site of the one referred to.

Presentations.

November 1st, 1935.—Town Council Minute Book, 1643-1650, by R. Gladstone, Esq., Liverpool.

Court of Session Paper, "Information for John MacDouall of Logan, pursuer, against John Henderson of Broadholm, defender, 1744," by R. Henderson, Esq.

A photograph of the Clochmaben Stone, Gretna, by Father Wrightson, St. Ninian's, Gretna.

November 29th, 1935.—Framed portraits of Mr M. H. M'Kerrow and Mr F. Miller, former Presidents, to be hung in Lecture Room. Presented by Mr M. H. M'Kerrow.

August 8th, 1936.—Iron implement, use unknown, found in a ditch at Birrens. It is 15 inches long and has been mounted on a straight shaft, being splayed out at one end to form a circular hole for that purpose. The other end is formed into an arrow head shape, but with only one wing. Possibly a fish spear.

Exhibits.

November 1st, 1935.—Stone axe found near St. Connel's Chapel, Tynron.

Stone with button moulds for casting lead buttons, dated 1682.

Both of these were found by Mr Wm. Wilson, Tynron.

Carved stone head from the moss at Collin.

Nodule of pyrites from the Lockerbie Road.

The above were exhibited by Dr. Semple.

November 29th, 1935.—A lead casting of a hand upraised and grasping a dagger, exhibited by the Secretary on behalf of Messrs R. J. Moffat & Sons, who wished to find information regarding it. Varied views were put forward, but no authoritative opinion was forthcoming.

December 13th, 1935.—Letter dated April 25th, 1592.

Letter from Dr. Munsey to Bailie J. J. Lynd, merchant in Dumfries.

Letter of guarantee by Messrs Broon, Harkness, to Robt. Threshie, 1836.

Broadsheet proclaiming David Armstrong to be a liar.

(Mr G. W. Shirley gave some information about this handbill, of which 300 were printed.)

Catalogue of paintings, statuary, natural history, etc., in the Exhibition at the Mechanics' Hall, 1865. Dumfries, Price 6d.

Collection of exhibits from a private collection of pictures, curiosities, etc.

Letter from Thomas Carlyle to Mr M'Kie, bookseller, Dumfries, written from Craigenputtock, March 11th, 1834.

January 24th, 1936.—Pamphlet, Laws and Regulations of Moniaive Friendly Society for 1805.

Copy of poem protesting against the removal of trees in Dock Park.

Playbill advertising a show in Dumfries featuring a "fire-resisting woman."

Newspaper with matter relating to Mary Timney.

(Notes on these by Mr G. W. Shirley will be found on next page.)

EXHIBITS—Continued.

February 21st, 1936.—Election poster, Dumfries, mentioning
“the Deserters.”

Notice convening a meeting of Dumfries householders to discuss Burgh Police Act, and dated 12th March, 1855.

“Ivanhoe: an Historical Drama,” published in Edinburgh, 1823.

Programme of Burns Centenary Celebrations, 21st July, 1896.

“Aberdeen or News Scots Almanac,” for 1792.

“Eminent Men of Dumfriesshire,” by Rev. J. Dodds, published 1873.

“Lord Brougham’s Speech ” on the Reform Bill, October 7th, 1831.

Two receipts, dated 1816, one signed David Sewars, May, and the other signed Mr Callender, March.

NOTES.

PRESENTATIONS

2nd September, 1937.

Mr M. H. M’Kerrow.

- (1) A Letter from Thomas Carlyle to Mr M’Kie, bookseller, Dumfries, 11th March, 1834, from Craigenputtock about books he wishes sold.
- (2) Letter of Guarantee from Messrs Broom, Harkness, etc., Nith Navigation Commissioners, to Robert Threshie of Barnbarroch for advances for operations on the River Nith, 1836.
- (3) Instrument of Sasine 25 April, 1592, in favour of Andrew Griersoun merchant burghess of Drumfries the house and garden in the said burgh in vulgo Newtown seu Friervennell between the lands occupied by John Schortrig on the west the lands of the Laird of Lag on the east the lands of John Makcom on the south and the said Kings way on the north lately pertaining to John Kirkpatrick. Witnesses: Archibald Hillo in Hillotoun, John Schortrig and William Makynnel, burghesses of the said burgh and Andrew Maxwell, Servitor, Herbert Cunynghame, notary public.
- (4) Dumfries Burgess ticket: William McNaught, spirit dealer, son of Hugh McNaught, innkeeper. 14th July, 1806.
- (5) Dumfries Burgess ticket: John McNaught, surgeon in Dumfries, son of Hugh McNaught, innkeeper. 1802.
- (6) Dumfries Burgess ticket: William Hamilton, shoemaker, son-in-law of John McMath, burghess of Dumfries. 1st March, 1779.
- (7) Dumfries Burgess ticket: Hugh McNaught, innkeeper in Dumfries, 6 July, 1778.
- (8) Bill Head: Commercial Inn, Dumfries, July 19, 1821.

NOTES—Continued.

EXHIBITS.

2nd September, 1937.

Mr M. H. M'Kerrow.

Collection of leaflets, bills and pamphlets relating to Dumfries, including:

- (1) Bill issued by Geo. B. Vair, Leith, 6th February, 1882.
 "Observe, I hereby declare David Armstrong, writer in Dumfries, to be a Rascal! a Liar! and a Coward!" David Armstrong succeeded in securing the hand of Miss Dinah Grive whom he married on 25 Feb. 1822. Dinah had engaged herself to Vair apparently under her father's pressure. Vair challenged Armstrong to a duel but the latter avoided it. The whole subject was explored in a Jury Trial 28 Feb. 1822, a verbatim report of which was published by Vair 1823. Armstrong was awarded £20 damages. He afterwards became Provost of Dumfries.
- (2) Verses relative to Dumfries Burgh Election, 1857.
 (a) Address to the Loyal and Independent Town of Dumfries affectionately inscribed to the Midsteeple [by David Dunbar] in support of William Ewart. (b) Reply by Young Dumfries.
- (3) Six Theatre Bills 1816-1819: Performances of Othello, Rob Roy, Heart of Midlothian, Mr Lloyd with his Dioastrodoxon, or Grand Transparent Orrery, 7 American Indian Warriors of the Seneca Nation; A Trades Hall Bill: Madame Girardelli, the Fire Proof Phenomenon, and an Assembly Rooms Bill: Mister Burke, Musical and Dramatic Phenomenon, seven years old.
- (4) Programme of Procession, etc. Centenary of Death of Robert Burns 21st July, 1896. 2 copies.
- (5) New Song on Burns' Centenary! [of his Birth].
- (6) Report of a meeting of the Committee appointed . . . to Consider and Report upon the Police Act 1850 held in the Council Chamber, Dumfries 12 March 1855. Pamphlet [? imperfect].
- (7) Bill: Halt! who goes there? Six Poor Creepers. Your Names?
 No. 1 David the Shepherd, Please Sir.
 No. 2 Tubal Cain, worker in Brass.
 No. 3 Mutton Curer, who smells Disease a mile off.
 No. 4 Stone, the Orator, who speaks and says nothing.
 No. 5 Cracked China and something more.
 No. 6 A Spiritualist and nothing more.
 Then follows a conversation between the Adjutant and Sergeant of the Guard that they were all deserters after a severe battle because David (No. 1) was not made an officer. A Skit on Town Council affairs about [] the individuals named being (1) David Lennox, (2) [].
- (8) Copy of Dumfries and Galloway Bulletin and Weekly Advertiser No. 356. Saturday, April 12, 1862, one penny, published by David Halliday. Preserved for Report of the trial of Mary Timney but perhaps a unique surviving copy of this paper which ran for several years.
- (9) Verses: The Lay of the Lime Trees, Dumfries, 1865. Concerning the Sheriff Court-case which arose over the rights of a tailor the wall of whose property the Lime trees on the Dock impinged upon. Apparently the Trees were mutilated to make room for the wall. In a footnote it is stated that the trees were planted in 1748 [at the expense of the Duke of Queensberry] and that the one particularly involved was blown down on 20th December, 1876.

The above have been presented to the Ewart Public Library.

New Members, 1935-36.

Birley, Eric, Chesterholm, Northumberland	1/11/37
Barbour, James, 1 Victoria Avenue, Maxwelltown, Dumfries	1/11/37
Rock, Rev. William, Manse, Irongray, Dumfries	13/12/35
M'Intire, W. J., F.S.A., St. Anthony's, Milnthorpe, Westmoreland	13/12/35
Borthwick, Major W., 92 Teubal Road, Lee, London ...	24/1/36
Butter, J., Cairnyard, Kirkcudbright	24/1/36
Clark, F., 10 St. Paul's Road, Bradford	24/1/36
Horne, J. G., Aberdalgie Cottage, Aberdalgie, Perthshire	24/1/36
MacDonald, A. Mackenzie, Glentarras, New Abbey Road, Dumfries	24/1/36
Morrin, James, Nithhill, Dumfries	24/1/36
Morrin, Mrs James, Nithhill, Dumfries	24/1/36
Tomter, Mr, The Bungalow, Collin	24/1/36
Kelly, Provost W. J., Dumfries	20/3/36
Law, Alexander, Glenview, Maxwelltown, Dumfries	20/3/36
Law, Mrs E. A., Glenview, Maxwelltown, Dumfries	20/3/36
Robertson, James, 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	20/3/36
Sloan, D., Pearmount, Maxwelltown, Dumfries	20/3/36
Stewart, H. C., Cargenholm, Dumfries	8/8/36
Callender, Mrs, Newton-Stewart	8/8/36
Bruce, William, Newlands, Thornhill	8/8/36
Crompton, C. H., Newbie, Annan	8/8/36
Smith, Miss M. E., Wyseby, Kirtlebridge	8/8/36
Telford, J. B., 5 Rosevale Street, Langholm	8/8/36

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1936.

INCOME FOR YEAR.			
Members' Subscriptions	...	...	£89 10 0
Interests from Investments	...	...	10 4 10
Donations towards Publication Funds—			
(1) Mr D. C. Herries	...	...	£2 10 0
(2) Mr E. Birley	...	...	4 10 0
			7 0 0
Sale of "Transactions"	...	...	4 1 6
Excursions, as per Statement	...	...	0 15 0
			£111 11 4

EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR.			
Rent of Library	...	...	£12 0 0
Insurance	...	...	1 6 0
Printing and Advertising	...	...	9 14 7
Miscellaneous—			
Subscription to Scottish and National	...	...	£0 12 6
Lantern Fee (Mr Black)	...	...	0 10 0
Lecturer's Outlays (Mr M'Crindle)	...	...	1 10 0
Secretary's Outlays (part year)	...	...	0 9 8
Postage, Addressing, and Delivery of "Transactions" (d o u b l e volume)	...	...	6 10 0
Treasurer's Postages, Com- mission on Cheques, Cheque Books, etc....	...	...	1 10 4
Overdraft Interest	...	...	0 17 0
			11 19 6
Transfer Donations to Publications Account			7 0 0
			42 0 1
Balance on year's workings	...	...	£69 11 3

CAPITAL.			
Capital at close of last Account	...	...	£348 12 11
Interest on Savings Bank Account	...	...	5 3 9
			£353 16 8
Invested as follows:			
War Stock	...	...	£218 10 0
Savings Bank	...	...	135 6 8
			£353 16 8

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS—Continued

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT.

Invested at close of last Account ...	£96 10 9	
Interest on Amount in Savings Bank ...	1 17 9	
Donations Transferred from Revenue ...	7 0 0	
	<u> </u>	£105 8 6
Invested as follows:		
Con. Stock	£50 0 0	
Savings Bank	30 18 1	
Bank on Current Account	24 10 5	
	<u> </u>	£105 8 6

EXCURSION ACCOUNT.

Deposit Receipt for £10 is a Reserve Fund.

BANK ACCOUNT.

Balance in Clydesdale Bank on Current Account ...	£104 1 8	
Less belonging to Publications Account...	£24 10 5	
Belonging to 1936-37 (20 Subscriptions)...	10 0 0	
	<u> </u>	34 10 5
		<u>£69 11 3</u>

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