

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1957-58.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXXVI.

EDITORS

R. C. REID and A. E. TRUCKELL, F.S.A. Scot.

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EDITORIAL.

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ARTICLE I.

The Priory Of St. Mary's Isle.

By DR. R. C. REID.

No documented account of St. Mary's Isle is known to have appeared and it is desirable to put on record such documents as have survived and what is known of the history of the Priory. The legendary account of the foundation is well known and a translation of it is given by McKerlie in Vol. IV., p. 174.¹ But there are chronological difficulties in accepting it. The episode there narrated in which King David I. (d. 1153) and Alwyn Abbot of Holyrood (retired 1150) figure must have happened before 1150, yet the *Chronicle of Holyrood*² asserts that Fergus took the cloister habit of the monks of Holyrood in 1160, during the reign of David's grandson, Malcolm the Maiden. It is, of course, possible that there were two somewhat similar episodes which have been confused and that whilst Fergus's taking of the habit, c. 1150, was in the nature of a disguise, the real taking of the habit of a canon regular of Holyrood was in 1160, though a footnote to the chronicle (p. 137) indicates the possibility that on 6th January, 1161, Fergus was not yet a canon of Holyrood on that date.

Dr Easson has suggested³ that Fergus was received into the "fraternity" of Holyrood and never became a full-blown canon living within the monastic community, but whilst continuing to live in the "world" (i.e., outside the monastery, following his usual avocations) was made a kind of honorary canon which enabled him to participate in all the special spiritual benefits of monastic life, and entitled him to be buried in the monastic habit at Holyrood, though there is no evidence that he was buried there. Such grants of "fraternity" by monasteries to their benefactors were very common. The custom of commemorating lay founders and

¹ From the Bannatyne Miscellany, II., 19.

² Scottish History Society, pp. 136-9.

³ *Per litt.* 5/9/56.

benefactors of a community can be instanced in the tenth century; but a new value came to be set on spiritual association as a consequence of the belief in the special sanctity of the "religious" life and the special virtue of monastic masses and prayers. *Fraternitas* became a privilege to be conferred on layfolk for favours bestowed and was sought as enhancing the welfare of their souls. Innumerable letters of fraternity were granted by the monasteries throughout the Middle Ages—between 1314 and 1534 nearly 200 were recorded at Durham alone. Such may have been the status of Fergus at Holyrood.^{3a}

In the year 1160 King Malcolm, then a youth of 19, returned to Scotland from the English army of Toulouse where his presence had been much resented by the Earls in Scotland. Fergus lord of Galloway seems to have taken part in this discontent. Malcolm is stated by the Chronicle of Melrose to have led an army three times into Galloway.⁴ There was no severe fighting.⁵ Unsupported tradition may suggest that under compulsion from Malcolm, Fergus became a monk of Holyrood, but history only states that he took the habit and gave to that monastery the village of Dunrod together with its church.⁶ It is safest to follow Laurie^{6a} who describes the history of the foundation of St. Mary's Isle as fabulous and suggests that when Fergus granted to Holyrood his island of Trail with the lands of Galtway the canons established there a cell which in later times became a Priory. Fergus died on 12th May, 1161; his son Uchtred was murdered in 1174; but there is no reason to suppose that either of them or their descendants undertook to build a priory. Holyrood must have seen to that undertaking.

^{3a} Mr John Durkan has drawn my attention to Father Backmund's statement that Fergus was a conversus (= a lay brother) of Holyrood. *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, ii., 109 note.

⁴ *Scots Peerage*, IV., 136, says that Malcolm's invasion of Galloway was caused by the participation of Fergus in the rebellion of Donald MacHeth. But that event occurred in 1156, when Donald was captured at Whithorn (*Early Sources*, II., 232). This must have been one of Malcolm's three invasions of Galloway.

⁵ *Chronicle of Holyrood*, S.H.S., pp.136-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

^{6a} *Annals of King Malcolm*, pp. 67-8.

By a charter which must be dated 1189-96 King William the Lion confirmed a grant to the Priory and Canons by Roland son of Uchtred of the church of [blank] together with 2 carrucates of land "of the said town of Eggirness."⁷

This church can only be the tiny and long extinct parish church of Kirkmadryne in which Eggirness stands, close to Garliestown, a site that must go back to the early days of Christianity in Galloway and now is in the enlarged parish of Sorbie. Its deserted ruins still stand some 6 ft. high. Included in Roland's grant was the gift to the Priory of the 10th of the provisions of Roland's house at Kirkcudbright, in food and drink, wax and tallow. This was known as the "second tithes" as opposed to the primary tithes of agricultural produce. The latter we know were often difficult to collect, providing endless litigation and sometimes not a little violence. They were unpopular and were frequently grudgingly paid. But a tithe of household provisions, which was not obligatory, must have been a thousand times more irritating—with the result that they did not long survive the granter. It is obvious that its collection must have led to friction and concealment. No housewife to-day would tolerate it. The monks soon found that unless they had a representative in the household they would derive very little benefit from their second tithe. We can follow the working of the system in the records of Inchaffray Abbey. The earl of Strathearn had given his second tithes to the Abbey and we are presented with the curious picture of an official of the Abbey (called a minister) living in the earl's household, boarded at the earl's cost and treated as one of his servants. His duty was to demand and receive the second tithes for the Abbey. It was inevitable that such an arrangement must breed friction in the household and we soon find these second tithes commuted by grants of land or money. The earl's successor chose a money payment.

Alan son of Roland added to his father's and grandfather's benefactions. His charters have not survived but a confirmation of them by William the Lion which must be

⁷ See Appendix No. 1.

dated (1210-14) was acquired at a London saleroom in 1898 at the Phillips sale by the late Mr C. S. Romanes, C.A., of Edinburgh, who published it in the Berwickshire Naturalists Club, vol. XVI., p. 263. The priory is not mentioned and the grants are definitely given not to the Priory nor to the Abbey of Holyrood but to the churches of St Cuthbert and Kelton, both of which belonged to the Abbey. The church of Kelton was one of a group of churches whose foundation is unknown but had belonged to the monastery of Iona. The group was however dissevered from Iona by William the Lion and granted to Holyrood Abbey.⁸ The Abbey sent a canon down to Kelton as vicar on a meagre stipend and retained the rest of the emoluments for the Abbey's use. Actually under a confirmation of 1287 they used the fund derived from Kelton for maintenance of the fabric of the Church of Holyrood at Edinburgh.⁹ Thomas Prior of Whithorn and that Convent also confirmed the arrangement.

The church of St. Cuthbert must be identified with the church of St. Cuthbert de Desenesmor (Kirkcudbright) which along with the church of Tungland was granted to Holyrood by Uchtred.¹⁰ Desenesmor signified the rural deanery of Desnes an office held by one Mathew in the twelfth century.¹¹ This Iona group consisted of Kelton, Kirkcormack, Kirkandrews and Balnecross. It is rather remarkable that these two charters by Alan are granted to churches and not to any monastic community and it may perhaps be inferred that the Priory did not exist in 1210. Indeed it is not till the reign of Robert I. that the Priory as such is mentioned in a damaged document relating to the teinds between Cree and Nith, where is mention of canons living *apud Insulam beate Marie de Trahill*.¹² This charter and its confirmation by David II. are fortunately preserved in a transumpt of 1427 now in the Register House.¹³

⁸ Charters of Holyrood, p. 41.

⁹ Charters of Holyrood, pp. 72-3.

¹⁰ Charters of Holyrood, p. 24.

¹¹ Charters of Holyrood, p. 40.

¹² Charters of Holyrood, p. 87.

¹³ See Appendix No. 3.

THE PRIORS.

The office of Prior of St. Mary's Isle had a number of features peculiar to itself and not to be found in any other Scottish priory. It was a non-elective dignity in the gift of the abbot of Holyrood. The abbot's right of provision was confined to the members of the convent or at least to a professed member of the Augustinian order. This was made quite clear in a papal mandate of 23rd June, 1470, on the petition of Archibald abbot of Holyrood.¹⁴ The provision was revocable at the will of the abbot and was from year to year. There seems to have been no permanent stipend and the yearly value for taxation purposes was £45 sterling. Further there was attached to it the cure of souls. It is scarcely surprising therefore that later holders of the office are to be found petitioning for papal ratification in view of doubts as to the validity of their provision by the abbots. In the period of Flodden the crown had to intervene in order to protect the structure of the priory from the neglect of the priors. Insecurity of tenure had led to neglect of repairs and decay. Another undoubted cause was that the priorship had become a source of endowment for whoever held it, and that the priors sought not monastic responsibility so much as emoluments. It was the period of commendators, when monastic life, especially in the small houses, sank to a low ebb. The Rev. D. E. Easson, D.D., who has made a full and careful study of Scottish monasticism has suggested^{14a} that

The priory of St. Mary's Isle must have been a small and perhaps a very small, house of the type described, e.g., in papal letters, as non-conventual. It would probably have only one or two canons along with the prior. We do not know precisely how the cell came into being. There are known examples of the Augustinian custom of sending two or three canons to serve a monastery or appropriated church: in certain cases a small group of canons might be sent to reside on one of the monastery's properties — "from economic rather than spiritual

¹⁴ C.P.L., xii., 735.

^{14a} *Per litt.*, ii., August, 1956.

motives."^{14b} I take it that the cell at the Isle was a matter originally of sending a few canons of Holyrood to reside on that monastery's property there and that it took the form of a little community with a prior in charge who would keep up religious observance at this distance from the parent house. But the cell was not regarded as an independent unit; it was simply a colony, a group of canons resident on an outlying property who might be recalled or replaced at any time. The number of canons would probably depend on what was available for their support. In James iv's time the house had become virtually independent, which means that the prior was acting as if its properties and revenues were his own and not Holyrood's. The prior at this stage had evidently come to hold St. Mary's Isle as a kind of personal benefice and one wonders whether there were any canons there in the sixteenth century or any religious observance. The mediæval monastic set-up was full of anomalies and St. Mary's Isle is a case in point. Blantyre, an Augustinian cell of Jedburgh must have been in much the same position; it is described in the sixteenth century as "usually held by a canon of Jedburgh . . . and . . . non-conventual."^{14c} The small religious houses in Scotland are a headache to the monastic historian.

The following list of priors must be regarded as provisional:

WILLIAM prior of the Isle, "the beloved and familiar clerk" of Alan lord of Galloway in 1220^{14d} has been identified as William the Clerk author of the Arthurian poem *Le Roman de Frejus*.^{14e}

William was probably the unnamed Prior mentioned in a Papal Letter of 22nd February, 1219/20.¹⁵

^{14b} J. C. Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p. 157.

^{14c} *Formulare*, ii., No. 354.

^{14d} Bain, i., 754.

^{14e} D. and G. Trans., xxvii., p. 165.

¹⁵ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, No. XXXII.

DAVID, prior of the Isle, witnessed the foundation charter of Sweetheart Abbey, 10th April, 1273.¹⁶

WILLIAM DE KARS as prior of St. Mary's Isle in 1347 witnessed a document.^{16a}

PATRICK WITHERSPOON had been prior till 1423 when he became abbot of Holyrood. It would seem that there had been some disturbing influence within the abbey for he succeeded Henry de Driden "now canon then abbot of Holyrood."^{16b} Henry, thus demoted, took Patrick's place as prior in St. Mary's Isle.

HENRY DE DRIDEN. Patrick had placed his resignation of the priory in the hands of Alexander bishop of Whithorn who at once collated Henry therein. A licentiate of Canon Law who had been dispensed as the son of a married man and an unmarried woman Henry had received provision to hold any benefice, even of a priory, of the Augustinian order. He now (1424) was granted papal confirmation as the Pope had learnt that the priory was still void.¹⁷ Whether by intrigue or otherwise he was prevailed on to resign the abbotship, but was allowed to retain a yearly pension of £30 of old sterling to be paid by the abbot for the time being.¹⁸ But there were other claimants as was often the case. In 1423 the Pope had granted the supplication of John of Inverkeithyn canon of Holyrood and vicar of Kirkcudbright for the priory vacant by Witherspoon's renunciation.¹⁹ Another claimant was Richard of Aberdour the claustral prior of St. Colme Inch.²⁰ He had papal provision on 19th March, 1424, where the stated value of St. Mary's Isle is given as £160.²¹ But Henry de Driden was the prior till the benefice became void by his taking peaceful possession of the vicarage of Falkirk to which he was provided *anew* on 11th May, 1429.²²

¹⁶ Laing Charters, No. 46.

^{16a} C.P.L., iii., p. 396.

^{16b} C.P.L., vii., 346.

¹⁷ C.P.L., vii., 368.

¹⁸ C.P.L., vii., 454.

¹⁹ Cal. of Supplications, ii., 24, 140.

²⁰ Ibid, 67.

²¹ Ibid, p. 54.

²² Ibid., ii., 125.

JAMES CAMERON canon of Holyrood was then provided to and collated in the priory and sought papal ratification wherein it is stated that provision to the priory was revocable at the will of the abbot of Holyrood.²³ Through the medium of Gilbert Forrester canon of Brechin, Cameron obliged himself for the annates of the priory on 7th September, 1433 (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol. 27, f. 320). It was Cameron who in 1427 caused transumpt to be made of two of the few documents relating to the priory which have survived.²⁴ In March, 1430/1 Cameron as prior was granted *in commendam* the chapel of St. Mary Forgan in the diocese of Dunkeld.²⁵

JOHN WARDLAW canon of Holyrood and prior of St. Mary's Isle is recorded in 1467 as a witness.²⁶ He was a chaplain to James ii.²⁷ He had resigned the priory by May, 1481.²⁸

ROBERT BELLANTYNE canon of Holyrood was provided by that monastery to St. Mary's Isle on the resignation of John Wardlaw and received a papal mandate directed to the archdeacon of St. Andrews to collate Robert if found fit, to the priory not exceeding £45 sterling in value.²⁹ On 28th June, 1481, he undertook to pay the annates of the Priory to the Roman Curia (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol. 29, f. 468). On 8th March, 1483/4 he was provided to the abbey of Holyrood and received absolution from all sentences of excommunication.³⁰ Robert was a crown auditor in 1483.^{30a}

JOHN GAUFRIDE was collated to the priory on provision of Abbot Bellantyne, having had dispensation on account of illegitimacy as the son of an unmarried man of baronial race and an unmarried woman. Doubting the

²³ Ibid., ii., p. 143.

²⁴ See Appendix No. 3.

²⁵ C.P.L., viii., 391.

²⁶ Reg. House Charters, No. 406.

²⁷ Baxter's *Copiale*, p. 480.

²⁸ C.P.L., xiii., p. 732.

²⁹ C.P.L., xiii., 732.

³⁰ C.P.L., xiii.

^{30a} Ex. R. IX., 209.

validity of his collation Gaufride sought in April, 1484, papal provision to the priory which was not conventual nor a dignity and was dependent on Holyrood.³¹ On 17th April, 1484, he obliged himself to pay the annates for the priory. In the Register he is named John Crawford (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol. 29, f. 534).

JOHN prior of St. Mary's Isle in 1512 may be identical with the previous John Gaufride. It was during this priorship that the crown intervened in the affairs of St. Mary's Isle. It had been a condition of the original foundation that the abbot and convent of Holyrood should be allowed to appoint one of the brethren as prior of St. Mary's Isle and it had been the practice of Holyrood to make only a yearly appointment. But certain persons "hating the yearly change of office" demanded a permanent stipend and appointment for life. The result had been a relaxation of control of Holyrood and neglect of the priory buildings which "threaten to fall in ruin." The prior could not easily reform the house unless the abbot had access to the place which was to be reformed. The crown therefore sought that the pope would reunite the priory to the abbey and on the death or resignation of John then prior, grant it *in commendam* to the present abbot of Holyrood, George Crichton for life, so that the ruined priory might be restored.³² This does not leave us with a very bright picture of affairs at St. Mary's Isle. But perhaps the abbots of Holyrood speedily effected the necessary repairs, for 16 years later the crown was seeking that an annuity of £20 should be paid from the priory's endowments towards the maintenance of a youthful scholar, one John Leslie who has not been identified.³³ If the crown had secured repairs to the priory it was determined to get its rake-off. It is difficult to say how seriously should be taken the crown's ostensible interest in the reform of the monastery, for this was the period in which the Crown was making a display of concern for the state of the monasteries and at the same time exploiting their revenues.

³¹ C.P.L., xiii., p. 168.

³² *Letters of James IV.*, p. 231.

³³ Appendix No. 5.

GEORGE CRICHTON abbot of Holyrood held the priory *in commendam* until 1522 when he was elected to the bishopric of Dunkeld. On 14th August, 1525, George obliged himself for the annates of the priory vacant by the death of John Eretoun (sic) (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol. 32, f. 70).

WILLIAM DOUGLAS, prior of Coldingham, succeeded Crichton as abbot of Holyrood. His provision to the priory of St. Mary's Isle *in commendam* has not been traced but on 17th July, 1526, he obliged himself for the annates of the Priory (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol. 32, f. 118). His occupancy of both offices was brief. On 11th July, 1527, he arranged as abbot to exchange the provostship of Methven and the priory of St. Mary's Isle for the priory of Coldingham held by Adam Blakater.³⁴ But the exchange may have fallen through for Douglas is mentioned in a court action of 17th December, 1527, as abbot of Holyrood and prior of St. Mary's Isle.^{34a} Douglas died in 1528.³⁵ The provision of William Douglas to the priory must have been contested for on 3rd June, 1530, David de Voyles cleric of St. Andrews diocese and brother of Dom. John de Voyles obliged himself for the annates of the priory, vacant *certo modo*, into which Douglas had intruded (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol., 32, f. 152).

The chapter of Holyrood at once took action and selected dene John Lamb as prior of the Isle and seems to have sought papal confirmation. But the crown was on the alert to these proceedings and in October, 1528, the lords of Council quashed the election on the grounds that it came within the provisions of an Act of Parliament anent the purchase of benefices at Rome.³⁶

Mr ROBERT ERSKINE. The crown at once wrote to the Cardinal of Ancona to seek papal confirmation to the provision of Erskine. The letter has survived³⁷ but has been

³⁴ R.S.S., i., 3839.

^{34a} A.D.C., xxxviii., f. 69 v.

³⁵ Holyrood Charters, xxxiii.

³⁶ A.D.C., xxxviii., 184.

³⁷ Reg. House Ecclesiastical Papers, No. 4a.

overlooked and omitted from the recently published *Letters of James V.*³⁸ Erskine who was a priest was duly collated on 24th December, 1528.³⁹ In January, 1531/2 he is found appointing procurators.⁴⁰ There is nothing to show that Erskine was a professed member of the Augustinian order or a member of the convent of Holyrood, so it appears that the conditions of the original foundation had been abrogated. Erskine must have died in 1536 when his successor obliged himself on 11th November for the annates of the Priory (P.R.O. Roman Transcripts, Vol. 33, f. 47).

DAVID PANITER canon of St. Salvator's, St. Andrews, was commendator of St. Mary's Isle by 20th June, 1539, giving a tack of the teinds of Anwoth to James Gordon of Lochinvar.⁴¹ To cover the cost of the papal bulls containing his provision to the priory as well as the taxes and general contribution of the convent to the crown, Paniter on 15th September, 1543, granted to James Halkerstoun some lands in Wigtownshire which hitherto have not been associated with the priory—the manor house of Bogy of Etoun with the Mars croftis, the lands of Skellery, the lands of Balfarne, the lands of Stewarton and the lands of Orchardton, in feu paying 45 merks yearly.^{41a} In 1543 he was appointed an Auditor of the Exchequer.⁴² He was secretary to the king and frequently abroad in the capacity of ambassador, at one time being absent in France for no less than seven years. In his absence some provision for the administration of the priory must have been made and on 7th August, 1545, the crown admitted Dom. James Stevin chaplain, to the temporalities.^{42a} In November, 1547, Paniter was provided to the bishopric of Ross.⁴³

Mr ROBERT STIRLING was commendator by 1549⁴⁴

³⁸ See Appendix No. 5.

³⁹ See Appendix No. 4.

⁴⁰ A.D.C. et Sess., xliii., f. 151.

⁴¹ Acts and Decrees, xii., f. 153.

^{41a} R.S.S., iii., 472, 473.

⁴² Reg. Ho. Charters, No. 1319.

^{42a} R.S.S., iii., 1794.

⁴³ Dowden.

⁴⁴ Acts and Decrees, iii., f. 32 v.

and in some court proceedings dated 11th February, 1548/9 it was alleged that he had been in possession of the priory since November last.⁴⁵ He was still commendator in 1557 when he is also described as vicar of Glasserton.⁴⁶ Robert Stirling's commendatorship was just a political reward. His brother — Stirling of Glorat had been placed as Constable in command of Dumbarton Castle where he had been vainly besieged by Lennox with large Irish forces. The castle was deemed impregnable. Yet Glorat in 1545 was induced to deliver the fortress to the governor, Arran, for a high reward (Tytler (1841) V., p. 337). One item of these rewards was that Glorat's brother Robert Stirling should be given the commendatorship of St. Mary's Isle. In April, 1546, Arran sought the pope's provision on the basis that Paniter should resign in favour of one Robert Johnstone who would hold the office till Stirling was "apt" (Appendix No. 5a).

JOHN HESLOP. On Stirling's death the convent of Holyrood, in the absence abroad of their Commendator, at once exercised their ancient rights and on 29th March, 1558, presented to the bishop of Whithorn for collation dene John Heslop.⁴⁷ But it is uncertain whether the bishop proceeded to collation, for the crown must surely have regarded Heslop as nothing better than another dene John Lamb.

Mr ROBERT RICHARDSON was the next Commendator of the priory. He was vicar of Eckfurde and arch-deacon of Teviotdale and was busy amassing properties for his illegitimate offspring James, Stephen and Janet.⁴⁸ He was the progenitor of the Richardsons of Smeaton. As Treasurer to the Queen he granted in 1563 a tack of the teinds of Anwoth to Thomas McClellan of Bombie.⁴⁹ He could have had little time to look after the affairs of St. Mary's Isle and seems to have demitted the office of commendator in favour of William Rutherford retaining however so substan-

⁴⁵ A.D.C. et Sess., xxv., f. 80 v.

⁴⁶ Acts and Decrees, xiv., f. 340.

⁴⁷ See Appendix No. 6.

⁴⁸ R.S.S., xxv., 7.

⁴⁹ Reg. House Charters, No. 1910.

tial a life interest as to deserve the designation of Usufructuary of St. Mary's Isle.

Richardson and Rutherford disposed most of the lands of the priory in 1572 to James Lidderdale and Thomas his eldest son. This property extended to a 20 merkland and comprised the 10 merkland of Grange the $2\frac{1}{2}$ merkland of Torris and the $7\frac{1}{2}$ merkland of Little Galtway, less 8 acres reserved for the minister of Little Galtway.⁵⁰ This probably did not include the whole temporality of the priory which must once have included the 10 merkland of Eggirness near Garlieston in the ancient parish of Kirkmadryne the teinds of which, set in assedation for £10 Scots in 1561, certainly belonged to the priory.⁵¹ Yet further properties of the priory are revealed in a feu charter of 6th March, 1558/9 by Mr Robert Richardson to John Dunbar of Mochrum and Elizabeth Mure spouses of the £5 lands of Bankhill in the parish of Kirkmadryne.⁵²

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

1189-96. Charter by William King of Scots whereby he grants to [the Priory of St. Mary's Isle] of Trellesholm and the canons thereof the church of [] with the lands teinds offerings and other privileges pertaining thereto, which Rolland son of Uchtred gave to them, and further two carrucates of land in the said town of Egerness with common pasturage and other easements as contained in the charter of the said Rolland, saving the King's service therefrom; Also the tenth of the provisions of the said Rolland's house in food and drink, in wax and tallow and everything else pertaining to his table at Kirkcudbright.

At Edinburgh (castellum puellarum).

Wit.: Hugh the Chancellor, Archibald Abbot of Dunfermline, Simon Archdeacon of Glasgow, Richard de Prebenda

⁵⁰ R.M.S., 1546/80. 1979.

⁵¹ Appendix No. 7.

⁵² Abbrev. of the charters, i., f. 79 v.

clerk, Earl Duncan, William de Lindsay, William de Moreville, Philip de Valonis, Randolph de Solis, Walter Corbet, Walter de Berchelay Chamberlain, William de Vallibus and William de Cunnichebure.

Portion of seal remains.

Reg. House Charters, No. 14.

No. 2.

[1210-14.] Jan. 7. Charter by William (the Lion) King of Scots confirming (i.) gift by Alan son of Roland, Constable of Scotland to the church of St. Cuthbert of Kirkcudbright, of that part of Sipland which Kenneth held, and also (ii.) gift by the said Alan made to the church of St. Oswald the martyr of Kellston (Gelston) of 32 acres of land within territory of the said vill. to be held in free pure and perpetual alms as freely and quietly as in the charters of the said Alan.

Wit.: Thomas earl of Atholl, Philip de Valonis chamberlain, William Cumin, Justiciar of Scotland, Oliver the chaplain, William de Bosco our clerk, Thomas de Coleville, and Richard the son of Hugh.

Printed in the Berwickshire Naturalist Club XVI., p. 243.

No. 3.

1427, June 1. Instrument of transumpt taken at Holyrood at the hand of Henry Thomson, presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews at the instance of George Lessalys esquire as attorney for James Cameron prior of the Isle of St. Mary's of Trayle, of a charter of confirmation dated at Edinburgh 1361 by David ii. confirming a charter by Robert i. to the abbot and convent of Holyrood for the support of the prior and canons of the said Isle of St. Mary—of the tenths of the royal pleas between the waters of Creth and Nyth, dated at Berwick on Tweed, 1 May, 1328.

witnesses to the charter—Bernard abbot of Aberbrothoc chancellor, Walter steward of Scotland, James Lord of Douglas and Alexander Fraser chamberlain.

witnesses to the confirmation—William bishop of St. Andrews, Patrick bishop of Brechin chancellor, Robert Steward of Scotland earl of Strathearn, Patrick earl of March and William earl of Douglas.

witnesses to transumpt—Peter of Benyng vicar of Kirkcudbright and John of Wardlaw canons of Holyrood, William Bothwell chaplain, Robert Gray, Thomas Welchington and John de Stair.

Reg. House Charters, No. 274.

No. 4.

1528/9, Jan. 4—Instrument at the hand of William McGoune and Alexander Corbrick, N.P.s, narrating that on letters of collation or confirmation dated at Holyroodhouse 24 Dec. 1528 to Henry Bishop of Whithorn and of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, Herbert Dunne Commissary of Kirkcudbright and [rural] dean of the same collated Schir Robert Erskyne in the rights and pertinents of the Priory of St. Mary's Isle of Traill near Kirkcudbright in the diocese of Whithorn.

Done in the church of St. Mary's Isle.

Wit.: Schir Patrick Arnot archdeacon of Whithorn, Andrew Fowlartoun of Cariltoun, Henry Arnot, John Makilewane residing at mill of Grange, James Lyntoun, schirs John Carsone, Alexander Finlasonn, Peter Makgunzeane and Herbert Bell chaplains and Mr John Wilzemsone.

Reg. House Charters, No. 1034.

No. 5.

1528/9, March 5 (Translation). James by the grace of God, king of Scots, to the reverend father in Christ and lord, the lord Peter, bishop of Sabina, cardinal of Ancona, most worthy promoter of the affairs of our kingdom, Greeting Most reverend father, we have written to His Holiness, asking him to bestow upon our well beloved Mr Robert Erskine the office of prior of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary, called "of the Isle" (*ab Insula nuncupatum*), of the Order of St. Augustine, in the diocese of Whithorn, which is vacant by the death of William, abbot of Holyrood, to whom it was

granted *in commendam*. In the same letter we besought His Holiness to confer an annual pension of twenty pounds money of our realm from the revenues of that monastery upon John Leslie, clerk, now in his thirteenth year, who has been sent far from here to foreign schools, on account of his excellent talents and an unusually early aptitude for literary studies. As our petition is both just and worthy we trust that the Pope will by no means oppose it. Bend your efforts to ensure that his Holiness does this willingly and speedily and take care that this business is carried through with all possible haste. Most reverend father, Almighty God grant you a long and happy life.

From our town of Edinburgh, the fifth day of March, A.D. 1528.

Reg. House Ecclesiastical Papers, No. 4a.

No. 5a.

1546, 8 Kal. April. At Stirling. The Queen (per Arran) to Rudolph Cardinal Carpi.

Holy Father, we write to ask that the very ancient Augustinian Priory of St. Mary's Isle, vacant by the resignation of the commendator, David Painter, be conferred on Robert Stirling with reservation of a pension of 40 merks Scots to John Stevinson our "cubicularius." This priory is truly owed [to Stirling] because it was by the aid of his brother that the governor was able to take the well defended fort of Dunbarton from the English, and this priory was among the promised rewards. And because at the time Stirling seemed less apt, David Painter was induced to resign in favour of a certain Robert Johneson (sic), who would cede to R. Stirling when he became apt. We perceived that such a resignation would make us false to our promise and as Painter was still in possession, and as letters should not have gone to Rome since Royal License was required for every provision to a prelacy. John Stevinson our servitor will explain all. This resignation of Painters should not vitiate the Governor's promise. Vale.

(Signed) ARRAN.

Blair's MSS. Royal Letters, No. 101, f., 128-9.

No. 6.

1558, March 29. Letters of presentation directed to Andrew bishop of Whithorn and of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, by schir Alexander Smeberd, vicar of Urr, canon of the monastery of Holyrood near Edinburgh and steward and syndie in spiritual charge of the said monastery in the absence of Robert commendator thereof in parts out of Scotland and beyond the sea, conform to commission of the said commendator granted to him thereupon and by the convent of the said monastery of the order of St. Augustine in the diocese of St. Andrews—narrating that the priory of St. Mary's Isle commonly called Inchetrail in the patronage of the said monastery and at the collation of the bishop was vacant by the death of umquhil Master Robert Strirueling the last prior and possessor thereof and presenting to the bishop dene William Heslop as a fit person desiring him to admit the said dene William to the said priory and to induct him, or his lawful procurator, to the rights and profits thereof restraining all gainsayers by the exercise of his episcopal authority.

Done at the said monastery. signed by

- D. Alexander Harcas
- D. Andreas Blackhall
- D. Thomas Maxual
- D. Petrus Blakwod
- D. Alexander Forester
- D. Andreas Wilson
- D. Alexander Smeberd yconomus
St. Crucis
- D. Johanes Ramsay prior
- D. Johanes Ged
- D. Jacobus Abercrumby
- D. Stephanus Litster

Reg. House Charters, No. 1749a.

No. 7.

1560/1, Jan. 27. Instrument at the hand of Peter McIlwyane, N.P., narrating that George [Makgee] rentaler

and assedator of the teinds (*garbarum decimalium*) of the 10 merklands of Eggirness and Carsquhill, constituted John Dunbar of Mochrum his lawful assignee to all right and title to the said teinds; paying to the Prior and Commendator of St. Mary's Isle £10 Scots.

Wit.: Archibald Mure brother to the Laird of Rowallan, Adam Mure and William Dunbar servitors to the said John Dunbar.

Galloway Charters.

ARTICLE 2.**The Commissioners of Supply for Dumfriesshire,
and their Proceedings, 1692-1711.**

By W. A. J. PREVOST.

From a very early period to the middle of the seventeenth century parliament had provided for the extraordinary necessities of the government chiefly by granting subsidies, which were raised by an impost on the people in respect of their reputed estates. Landed property was the chief subject of taxation. The taxation thus imposed was based on the valued rental.

In Scotland the valued rents of lands have been generally ascertained for many centuries back, the first returns having been made in 1280.

These valuations were reviewed and reassessed subsequently to that date, and in particular in 1474, during the reign of James III., when it was found necessary to take measures for ascertaining and fixing what was called the "new extent," an up-to-date and more precise valuation.¹

What was afterwards called the "valued rent" of lands was computed in 1656 by order of Cromwell and in due course confirmed by act in 1670. "Old extent" refers back to the first valuation of land made out in 1280.

The subsidies granted in parliament to defray the public expenditure for the current year were called "supplies" and it was in this sense that the word "supply" was used in a letter dated 27th December, 1666, from Charles II. to Edinburgh in which he pointed out the necessity for funds for the provision of his forces and recommending to the Scottish Parliament "to take the most easie and expedite way" of raising them.

The following January the committee of the Convention, after several meetings and consultations concerning the supply

¹ Dr Singer. "View of the Agriculture . . ." 1812, and Boyd's "Justices of the Peace," 1787, vol. 2, pp. 794-841.

to be offered to His Majesty and the means of raising it, submitted to the Convention the draft of an act for so doing, which was approved. At the same time the Estates nominated and appointed the Lords of the Privy Council, the Justices of the Peace within their respective shires, and also 13 influential landowners in Dumfriesshire to be commissioners for the supply, for the "Sherifdom of Nithsdale."²

Their first responsibility was the valuation of the "land teinds" or the preparation of the valuation roll of all lands and heritages for the purpose of assessment but, as will be seen, these responsibilities were added to from time to time. Then, as Commissioners of Supply, they were in close affiliation to the Justices of the Peace, the Commissioners of the Militia and the Commissioners of Excise. Certain of the leading and perhaps the most public spirited landowners in the county were involved in all the aforementioned departments of shire administration.

That the drawing up of the valuation rolls was at first the only duty of the Supply seems confirmed by a complaint considered by the Privy Council in 1675 when three landowners of the shire of Dumfries, who were grievously alarmed at an excessive land tax which had been imposed by the Commissioners of Excise, had appealed to the Council for redress.³ The chief function of the Excise was naturally the raising of the excise and customs on dutiable goods. This provided a constant yearly revenue to help to maintain the forces and ships for guarding the seas. The Commissioners of Excise had been appointed by Cromwell in 1655 to cause the same to be collected and, *inter alia*, were given powers to impose fines, to imprison offenders and to administer oaths.^{3a}

At that time commissioners were nominated and appointed by the Lords of the Privy Council. In 1677 the Lords appointed the Earl of Carnwath, Sir James Douglas

² A.P.S., 23rd Jan., 1667.

³ R.P.C., 1675.

^{3a} (1) A.P.S., 1655, VI., ii., 827 a and b. (2) 1657, VI., ii., 908a. (3) Boyd's "Justices of the Peace," vol. II., book IV. Customs and Excise.

younger of Kelhead, and John Scott of Rennalburne in the place of "three of the justices of peace and commissioners of excyse and for the militia in the shyre of Dumfreice and Stewartry of Annandale" who had recently died.⁴

Further nominations as commissioners for the supply appear in an Act of the Convention of Estates the following year for a new offer to His Majesty of eighteen hundred thousand pounds Scots to be raised in Scotland over a space of five years. The King, with the advice of his Estates, appointed "Commissioners to the effect" in order that the aforesaid supply might be raised. A list of the names of the 23 men appointed for Dumfriesshire is included in the act.⁵

These commissioners had no say in deciding the amount of the supply to be raised. This was fixed by the Estates and it was left to the commissioners to see that the monies were uplifted.

According to the Act of 1690 the Estates agreed to offer a supply of £2,019,733 6s 8d Scots, to be raised out of the country over a period of 28 months. This averaged out at £72,133 6s 8d Scots cess per month, and four months cess at this rate was to be paid before the following July, two months cess at Lammas, and a further two months cess at Martinmas in the current year. The balance was to be spread over the years 1691, 1692, 1693 and 1694, and to be raised at the terms of Candlemas and Lammas yearly in equal portions. The proportionate sum due from each shire was clearly stated and to uplift it from the sherifdom of Dumfries 34 commissioners were appointed.

A second act passed in 1695 imposed six months' supply upon the land rent, to be paid by 1st August and 1st February the following year, while a third act passed in 1698 imposed a 16 months' supply, payable quarterly at the terms of Candlemas, Lammas, Whitsun and Martinmas. On this last occasion over 60 new commissioners were appointed.⁶

⁴ R.P.C., 1677, page 241.

⁵ A.P.S., 10th July, 1678.

⁶ A.P.S., 1698.

The cess or land tax imposed by the commissioners was usually at the rate of 48 shillings Scots upon each hundred merks of valued rent, payable at the term. In the two anxious years of 1694 and 1695 the commissioners were forced to raise the rate to £2 19s 0d, £3 12s 0d and £4 2s 6d Scots, an imposition which bore heavily upon the county.

A volume of the proceedings of the Commissioners of Supply for the County of Dumfries from 1692 to 1711 is preserved in the National Library of Scotland,^{6a} and from these manuscripts may be obtained an inkling of the commissioners' responsibilities and ramifications which were, generally speaking, mainly concerned with finance. In particular they collected the cess or land tax which constituted the supply according to act of parliament, the poll-money which was additional to the supply, and finally the excise for which they were made commissioners to "the effect."

As a body they were entitled to name a convener and to appoint a clerk with a reasonable salary. They elected a collector of the supply and satisfied themselves that he had found suitable and sufficient caution. They, in association with the Justices of the Peace, were responsible for the repairing and maintaining of highways and bridges.⁷ They initiated the making roads and building of bridges and raised funds for those purposes. They were the authority to whom the Presbytery appealed in the event of non-compliance by the heritors with the Act for Settling of Schools. They had much to do with the raising of the militia and were made

^{6a} It is not known how the volume reached the National Library, for the records in the County Buildings at Dumfries begin in 1667 and with no apparent break continue to 1867, the first volume beginning on 30th May, 1667, to June, 1697, and the second volume July, 1697—March, 1712. The first volume contains much relative to the Militia. There are also some minute books of several Statute Labour Trustees and some Bridge Trusts from about 1780. The minutes contained in the volume in the National Library have in every case been signed by the preses. They are probably the original drafts but it seems that copies of these minutes may exist. The committee, at one of their meetings, ordered the clerk to give them "a full double of the valuation book of sederunts of the shire," for doing which he was to receive an allowance. At another meeting the committee ruled that a sederunt book was to be shown to any gentleman when called for.

⁷ R.P.C., 7th March, 1671.

responsible under the Act of 1693 for the Militia Levy. They were the officials to whom any expenses incurred in the apprehension, custody, prosecuting or punishment of criminals were submitted.⁸

Commissioners of Supply functioned in Scotland till the passing of the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889, which set up a new body in counties called a "County Council" to which was entrusted "the management of the administrative and financial business" of the county. To the new council were transferred the whole powers theretofore exercised by the Commissioners of Supply, save only as regards the constitution, qualification, admission, and making up lists of commissioners, and the powers left with the commissioners as regards appointing a quota to the Standing Joint Committee and powers as commissioners of the land tax. The Commissioners were to meet annually and the county clerk acted as clerk to the commissioners.

The Local Government Act of 1929 abolished Commissioners of Supply altogether and their final year of office expired on 15th May, 1930.⁹

The qualifications of a Commissioner of Supply as defined by an act of Queen Victoria consisted in being the proprietor, or husband of a proprietor, of lands of the yearly value of £100; or the eldest son of a proprietor of lands of the yearly value of £400; and a factor of a proprietor of lands of the yearly value of £800 was empowered to act as Commissioner of Supply in his absence.¹⁰

The Manuscript of the Proceedings, 1692-1711.

The manuscript of the proceedings of the Commissioners of Supply from 1692 to 1711 consist of 204 pages of which 70 are blank. They contain the minutes of over a hundred "sederunts" of the commissioners which record that up

⁸ J. E. Shaw. "Local Government in Scotland," 1942, pp. 8-9. See also Hutcheson's "Justices of the Peace," 1815, vol. I., pp. 351-352.

⁹ Sir William Whyte. "Local Government in Scotland," 1936, and Barclay-Chisholm. "The Justices Gazette," 1894.

¹⁰ See also Mabel Atkinson. "Local Government in Scotland," 1904, and J. E. Shaw, "Ayrshire," 1953.

till 1700 the commissioners met on an average about seven times every year, and from 1701 to 1711 on an average only about four times every year. Between 27th April, 1708, and 11th May, 1710, there is only one record of a sederunt, an unusual state of affairs which suggests that the records of the sederunts are incomplete. There are, however, frequent references in the proceedings to the fact that meetings had not been held for a long time, "to the infrequencie of their meiting," and several instances of the meeting having been unable to transact any business because there were not enough commissioners present to do so.¹¹

On one such occasion "the commissioners, considering the paucity of ye number and that probably yr may be some more of the commissioners in toun the morrow," adjourned themselves until ten o'clock the following day, but the next meeting was held at Thornhill a week later.¹²

On the other hand the militia levy of 1696 added considerably to the work of the Supply. There were nine meetings held during the five months between 20th August and 15th January when the clerk recorded in the minutes "that they have had frequent meetings annent the Levie and militia qch has been very very troublesome" and, "for preventing the trouble of ane oyr meeting," they then and there imposed the next Candlemas term's supply.¹³

The procedure at the majority of the meetings followed similar lines. The names of those present were recorded, the name of the "preses" duly noted, new commissioners if any took the oath and the main business of imposing the tax for the term and approving the collector's accounts was then dealt with. In due season the clerk's salary and the collector's expenses were agreed and authority given for payment thereof. Any other business followed and the proceedings were always signed by the preses.

The meetings were always held in Dumfries with the exception of four at Thornhill and one at Drumlanrig.

¹¹ MSS., 11th Feb., 1696 and 31st July, 1694.

¹² MSS., 6th Feb. and 13th Feb., 1694.

¹³ MSS., 15th Jan., 1697.

Two of the meetings at Thornhill were arranged specially for the Duke of Queensberry, who had expressed a wish to attend the first "but being necessarily diverted desired they would adjourn themselves till Wednesday at ten of the cloack, being the twentie sixth instant at this place, wher his Grace resolved to be present and to concurr with the commissioners in everything that related to the service of the Government and weell of the country."

On the Wednesday, two days later, his grace again "excused himself, he declaring that he cannot be present this day."¹⁴ He did, however, attend a meeting at Drumlanrig on 8th September the following year, and this was the only occasion on which he was present. Together with Sir Robert Laury of Maxwelton, Walter Riddell of Friershaw, Mathew Hairstains of Craigs and William Douglas younger of Fingland, he swore the oath of allegiance and "oath de fideli administratione."

The Oath of Allegiance.

The swearing in of all persons in positions of public trust had been ordained by various acts of parliament, under the assumption that the taking of an oath was a security to his, her or their majesties' governments, and latterly to the upholding of the Protestant religion.

Charles II., in 1661, ordained that all officers of state, commissioners and their deputs and clerks, and all magistrates and Council of Royal Burghs must take the Oath of Allegiance.¹⁵ Thirty-one years later another act specifically named the Commissioners of Supply and their collectors and clerks to do likewise,¹⁶ while the all-embracing act of 1693 ordained that all persons in offices and places of public trust, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military, must take the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance.¹⁷

A meeting of the Supply held at Dumfries in 1693

¹⁴ MSS., 24th August and 26th August, 1696.

¹⁵ A.P.S., 27th Feb., 1661.

¹⁶ A.P.S., 1690, p. 148, and Boyd's "Justices of Peace," vol. II., p. 318.

¹⁷ A.P.S., 19th May, 1693.

illustrates the importance attached to carrying out this ritual.

" Sederunt the Earle of Annandale, Sir James Johnstoun of Westerhall, William Charters of Brigmure, Sherriff dpt of Drumfres, Mr Thomas Rome, the Lairds of Grantoun, Steilstoun, Elshesheills and Girthhead and John Sharp."

" The Earle of Annandale preses."

" The said day the Earle of Annandale, the sherriff deput and the Laird of Grantoun qualified themselves as commissioners of ye shyre by yr taking the oath of alledgance and assurance."

" The Commissioners having enquired anent ye reason of John Sharp ye clerk his not officiating, They find that it is byon ye accompt of not quallifeing himself in ye statione, And so having this day qualified himself the commissioners readmitt him ye Clerk."¹⁸

The clerk's strict attention to procedure was not unreasonable, for at a later date plaintiffs in the Court of Session claimed that " the Commissioners of Supply, not having qualified themselves, by taking the oaths, to entitle them to act under the act of Parliament, imposing the supply, their deeds were null."¹⁹

John Sharp had regularly taken the oath and when elected commissioner for Dumfries in 1686 he had then journeyed to Edinburgh and, in the presence of the Estates, " did take the oath of Allegiance, and the act of Parliament, and likewise swore the Test upon his knees, and subscribed to it."^{19a}

The forms of the oaths thus taken had been legalised by parliament and were used by all public bodies in Scotland. Both these oaths appear in the Proceedings, first in 1708 when they were separately subscribed by 14 commissioners,²⁰ and again on the last two pages in the volume of the manuscript when they were subscribed by 38 commissioners.

¹⁸ MSS., 7th Nov., 1693.

¹⁹ William Morison, "The Decisions of the Court of Session," pub. 1802, vol. V., page 2436 for the year 1751.

^{19a} A.P.S., 11th June, 1686.

²⁰ MSS., 27th April, 1708.

On the last occasion the oath of Assurance contains a clause referring to the "Old Pretender."

"Wee doe sincerely promise and swear that we shall bear faithfull and true alledgance to her Majesty Queen Ann, so help us God."

"Doe in sincerity of heart assert, acknowledge, and declare that her Majesty Queen Ann is the only lawfull undoubted sovereign of this realme, as well de jure, that is of right Queen; as de facto, that is in possession and exercise of the government. And yrfor wee doe sincerely and faithfully promise and engage that wee will, with hearts and hands, lives and goods, mentain and defend her majesties title and government against ye pretended prince of Wales (now taking upon himself title of king of this realme) and his adherents, and all other enemyes who, either by open or secrete attempts, shall disturb or disquiet her majesty in the peaceable possession and exercise thereof."

For the better understanding of the Proceedings and of the working of seventeenth-century county administration it is necessary to hark back some 20 years before the first recorded meeting and review the abortive efforts of Dumfriesshire to deal with the roads and bridges acts, and to the story of the raising of the militia.

Roads and Bridges.

At the beginning of the century little or no attention was given to the making of roads and bridges. It is true that a clause of an act of 1617 placed the responsibility of making certain roads on to the shoulders of the Justices of the Peace,²¹ but there were neither the means nor the organisation to deal with the problem on a grand scale. Private enterprise produced some results and there is the example of Robert Fergusson of Craigdarroch, who built and maintained a bridge over the Cairn near Moniaive at his own expense. The bridge carried a great deal of traffic and in 1661 Fergusson was empowered to demand a toll of twelve

²¹ A.P.S., 1617 and 1661.

pennies Scots for every beast off all drovers and two shillings Scots for every 20 sheep.²²

It was not until 1669 that the Highways and Bridges Act made the Justices responsible for the good order of roads and bridges within their shires. This act added considerably to their duties and it seems that the Justices were quite ineffectual and did little to implement the act. In order to help them the Commissioners of Excise were appointed Justices.²³

Still nothing was accomplished and in March, 1671, the Council were constrained to appoint overseers from among the leading men in the country.²⁴ Lord Drumlanrig and the Earl of Annandale were chosen to supervise the work in the shire of Dumfries and Stewartry of Annandale respectively, a change which was to yield no better results, though the Commissioners of Excise were each fined 40 pounds Scots for their neglect in the prosecution of the trust committed to them.²⁵

Two years later the Council issued a new commission and additional commissioners were appointed, the Earl of Queensberry for Dumfries, James Carruthers, steward depute of the Earl of Annandale, for Annandale and the Earl of Nithsdale for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.²⁶ The prestige of the two noble earls and of James Carruthers evidently carried little weight for they, together with the Justices, were accused of lack of diligence and of not making as much progress in repairing highways and bridges as was within their powers.²⁷

The labouring on the roads was in the hands of the heritors who were responsible for seeing that cottars and tenants worked a certain number of days every year, repairing ditching and fencing the highways which by law were to be made 20 ft. wide. This system was unsatisfactory and the upkeep of roads remained a problem for many years to

²² A.P.S., 1661.

²³ R.P.C., 1670.

²⁴ R.P.C., 7th March, 1671.

²⁵ R.P.C., 20th July, 1671.

²⁶ R.P.C., 7th March, 1673.

²⁷ R.P.C., 6th May, 1674.

come. In fact it was not until the 1820s, when Telford did so much for the roads and bridges in Dumfriesshire, that any satisfactory and permanent results were achieved.

A last despairing effort of the Council to get something done was their passing of another act in 1686 for repairing highways and bridges, and for "the more effectual prosecution thereof" appointed the Commissioners of Supply to meet with the Justices of the Peace.²⁸

There are only three meetings of the commissioners recorded in the Proceedings which contain any reference to roads and bridges.

In 1693 they considered the maintaining of the bridge at Dumfries and the bridge at Drumlanrig for which purpose they appointed a committee. The two bridges, Devorgilla's at Dumfries and the "Bridge of Drumlanrig," were the cause of a dispute in 1681 between the Burgh and the Shyre when the Estates decided that the Burgh had the right to maintain and collect tolls off the former while the commissioners were responsible for the latter. However it would seem that the commissioners were now empowered by the act of 1686 to maintain both and to provide funds from the land rent for that purpose.²⁹

In 1699 the commissioners planned to build a bridge over the Water of Evan at Beattock, a plan made possible by an act of the Treasury which appointed the collector of the vacant stipends in Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright to pay over to the commissioners 2000 merks Scots for this enterprise. William Whyte, Stewart Clerk of Annandale, was made manager, and heritors of adjacent parishes were to be asked to help by carting stones, lime and other materials "lest the fond allowed will not complete the work."³⁰

Lastly, in 1705, "the Bridge upon the water of Cloudan called the New bridge" was like to become ruinous, and the

²⁸ A.P.S., 1686.

²⁹ MSS., 31st Jan., 1693, and M'Dowall, "History of Dumfries," page 384.

³⁰ MSS., 5th April, 1699.

commissioners appointed three of their number to "take advyce of workmen annent the expense necessar for upholding ye sd brige" and, as the bridge was on the boundary between the two shires of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, to "raise letters in name of ye commissioners of this shire for chargeing the commissioners of ye Stuartrie to concurr in ye necessar expense of repairing ye sd bridge."³¹

Nevertheless it was six years before the Stewartry had concurred and raised the funds required, when the Dumfries commissioners immediately contracted with two Dumfries masons, William Mean and John White, to do the work "with all convenient despatch," for 30 pounds sterling.³²

The Militia.

The militia was instituted immediately after the restoration of Charles II. to the throne in 1660, and with the authority of the Act steps were forthwith taken in England to create the militia as the act directed. It was not until March, 1667, however, that a letter from the King to the Council in Edinburgh authorised and required them to "model" a militia of horse and foot in the several shires of the kingdom of Scotland, and explained that the object of so doing was for the militia to "join with our forces" against "intestin commotions" and foreign invasions.

The several shires referred to in the royal letter did not include any of the counties in the south with the exception of Roxburgh and Selkirk and Berwick, and it would seem that the instructions were being tardily obeyed, for in July the following year Charles wrote again.³³

"Wee expected ane accompt from you of the setleing of the militia according to our orders, and now we most againe quicken yow in the dispatch of that business. . . . We intend or long to send to yow our particular commands for setleing a militia in the shyre of Dumfreice and further securing the peace of the western shyres." On 13th August,

³¹ MSS., 9th May, 1705.

³² MSS., 31st October, 1711.

³³ R.P.C., 14th March, 1667.

some three weeks later, the Privy Council were ordered to "settle" the militia in the shire of Dumfries, the same procedure to be adopted as in the case of the several shires previously mentioned. At the same time the militia was to be raised in the shires of Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew and Wigton.

Detailed instructions for the raising of the militia, with the establishments clearly defined, had been received from Whitehall early in May, but certain appointments were at the discretion of the King, who nominated the Earl of Annandale to command the foot, and the Earl of Queensberry to command the horse, according to the proportions of the act 1663.³⁴ It was left to the council to appoint a Lieutenant-Colonel to the foot³⁴ and a Lieutenant to the horse. The instructions for the "commissioners for the militia" referred to above were recast and amplified by the Privy Council and sent by them to the "justices of the peace" and "commissioners of excyse" of the shires concerned.

On 3rd September, 1668, the Council despatched a letter to the Earl of Annandale, appointing a commission for raising the militia in Dumfriesshire, nominating "the justices of the peace and commissioners of excyse of the shire of Dumfreice and the collonell, leivtennant collonell, majour and captaines and leivtennants of horses appoynted by us to command the militia of the said shyre, to be our commissioners for setleing and ordering the same. . . ." They were to meet in Dumfries on 17th September and to list the number of 800 foot and 88 horse.

The duties of the commissioners for the militia were, *inter alia*, "to stent the number of horse and men upon the paroches, heretours and lyfrenters in their respective shyres in the usuall maner," to appoint the number of men to be in each troop and to appoint the number of companies of foot. They were to provide colours, drums and cornets, to "sie the foot armed with picks and musketts at the expense of the heretours according to each man's proportion" and "to sie

³⁴ Note. In 1678 Sir Robert Dalryell of Glenae was Lt.-Colonel of the militia regiment of foot. R.P.C., 1678, p. 433.

the horsemen conveniently mounted and armed with sword and pistols at the heretours charges." They were to draw up nominal rolls and to maintain the establishment and to appoint days of rendezvous for mustering. They were responsible for the appointment of captains of foot and lieutenants of horse, with the approval of the colonels and superior officers.³⁵

For the especial benefit of the Dumfries militia the Council added some useful advice for the better arming and equipping of the rank and file, together with directions as to the rates of pay.

"Yow are to sie the foot armed with pickes at 15 foot long and musketts of one bore of sextein baalles to the pound at the expenses of the heretours . . . and those who are unprovdyed of armes, as wee suppose most are, they may have good musketts at Leeth of the right bore from Alexander and Robert Milles, merchands in Linlithgow, for eight merks the piece, and under 24s Scotts the bandileers, and the pickes may be had in the countrey, good and cheap, made by Alexander Hay, the Kings bowmaker, in the Cannongate, and uthers, from whom yow are to provyd yourselves, being as cheap as anywhere else."

"The heretours of the shyre are ordered to give fitt allowance to the horsman and foot sojourns for keeping the saids dayes of rendezvous, not exceeding sex shilling a day for ilk footman and eightein shilling for ilk horsman."³⁶

The punctual keeping of the "rendezvous" was important, and this was stressed in a letter dated 12th June, 1669, from His Majesty for the benefit of his commissioners.³⁷ The rendezvous, the muster parade at a place appointed, took place once a year. These parades were attended by the "muster master generall or his deputts" who visited each shire in rotation according to a prearranged itinerary.

In 1675 the rendezvous for the Roxburgh and Selkirk contingents was at Ancrum Bridge on 12th July, for the Earl

³⁵ R.P.C., 6th May, 1688.

³⁶ R.P.C., 1688.

³⁷ R.P.C., 12th June, 1669.

of Annandale's foot and the Earl of Queensberry's horse at Dumfries on 20th July, while the troop of horse commanded by the Earl of Galloway in Wigton was timed to meet at the standing stones of Torhouse on 27th July. Lord Maxwell's horse in the Stewartry met at Bridge of Orr (Urr) on the same day.³⁸

The provision of stores, equipment and meeting certain other expenditure for the benefit of the militia was at first undertaken by the Excise, but this arrangement was modified by the Estates in May, 1693, when they centralised shire administration by appointing the Commissioners of Supply to be also Commissioners of Excise.³⁹

The maintenance of the militia, who were only to be made use of in the event of an invasion, as well as a standing army, was very necessary. Louis XIV. had a fleet and transports ready in 1689 when England declared war on France, and four years later a threatened invasion was forestalled by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue. The raising of money to keep up the forces was therefore a matter of some urgency.

The Commissioners of Supply, in their capacity of Excise, increased the excise on "all Ale and Beere browne" and "Aquavitae," and also, in their capacity of Supply, imposed poll money, a tax for which everyone was liable, and which was designed to relieve heritors and others subject to land rent. This added another burden on to the commissioners, for though everyone was liable to a poll of 6s Scots per head, there was in addition a scale of payment, fixed according to rank and means, which had to be assessed by commissioners appointed for the purpose.

Thus cottars having a trade paid 12 shillings Scots, all seamen 12 shillings Scots, all heritors of twenty pounds and below fifty pounds of valued rent paid 20s Scots, while "All Gentlemen so holden and repute, and owning themselves to be such, and who will not renounce any pretence they may have to be such . . . £3 pole money."

³⁸ R.P.C., 1675, page 344.

³⁹ A.P.S., 19th May, 1693.

At the same time and "considering the present dangers" Parliament passed the Act for the Levy (1693) which ordered the shires, stewartries and burghs to "put out and deliver when they shall be thereto required," and "Which Levies and proportions the Commissioners of Supply which now are, or shall be hereafter in the said shyres and stewartries, with ane or two magistrates for each Royall Burgh, are herby fully Impowered to make effective."⁴⁰

There is no mention of this in the Proceedings, and it was not till the passing of the Act for the Levies two years later that any action was taken.

Act for the Levies, 17 July, 1695.

By passing this act Parliament legislated for an annual levy of 1000 men from the whole country, and to meet this demand a committee was appointed by the Supply to deal with the "oultreik" or the equipping of 37 men which was the proportion of the whole number for which Dumfriesshire was responsible. The cost of outreiking each man was 6320 merks and the committee had to calculate the proportion of money due from the various parishes in the county. This was done and the committee detailed it in the following manner.

" . . . The paroch of Tinnald 3075 merks, Caerlaverock 2527 merks, Ruthwell 595 merks, outreiks ane man. The paroch of Moffat valloued to 6206 outreiks ane man. The paroch of Aplegarth and Dinwoodie 4200 merks, the paroch of Kirkpatrickjuxta except the lands of Earshag valloued to 2062 merks, outreiks ane man. The paroch of Drysdale valloued to 3775 merks, Earshag in Kirkpatrickjuxta 280 merks, Stenrieshill in Wamphray 82 merks, Willies 75 merks, Garrogill 75 merks, the mylne ther 112 merks with the haille paroch of Tundergarth and St. Mungo except Castlemilk lands and Blackfoord valloued to 1945 merks, outreiks ane man. . . .⁴¹

The men thus outreiked were chosen by lot from idle and

⁴⁰ A.P.S., 23rd May, 1693.

⁴¹ MSS., 19th March, 1696.

vagabond persons and from young unmarried men who lived by wages or hire, and this had been done by 2nd April when a Lieutenant Charles Ross produced at a meeting of the Supply a commission from Sir Thomas Livingstone and Colonel Hill⁴² and a warrant from himself ordering the commissioners to have the men "instantly in readiness" when the Lieutenant would at once pay them the twenty pounds Scots which was their due under the act, and also give the commissioners a receipt for their delivery, a receipt which the commissioners demanded.⁴³

It is not surprising under the circumstances that Ross had reported some of the men "insufficient," or unfit for service, and the commissioners, after investigation, found some of the men complained of as fit and others incapable of carrying out their duties.

The commissioners were unable to pass judgment on one of the Earl of Annandale's men and in default they "therefor ordained him to be considered by ane chirurgeon in regard of runing sores alleged upon him and accordingly he being sighted by ane or two of that employ they gave in their testificate finding him yrby not disabled for ye service."

The problem of non-fulfilment of their obligations by certain heritors had also to be dealt with, and a sederunt of the commissioners, when the Provost of Dumfries, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn and the lairds of Isle and Cloudens were present, instructed the clerk to represent by letter to the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Annandale that the "Dutches of Buccleugh is refractive in furnishing her proportion yrof," and it was hoped that they "would take notice of ye same that the Shire be not burdened therewith and to represent what trouble ye shire hes formerly mett with upon that accompt. . . ." ⁴⁴

In the last week of December the commissioners received orders calling out half of the foot militia of the shire and

⁴² Both these men were involved in the Massacre of Glencoe the year before, and the orders were issued under their signatures.

⁴³ MSS., 2nd April, 1696.

⁴⁴ MSS., 30th April, 1696.

they forthwith remitted "ye same to a comittie" to model and lay down rules for the 400 men whom the order affected. They also nominated the junior officers for the several companies, a rendezvous for each company and appointed 7th January as the day upon which the call-up was to take place. The establishment of each company was 50 men, and 8 companies had therefore to be officered and organised. The officers appointed were as follows:

The Colonel's Company. Young Enoch his captain, and John Dalrymple of Watersyde his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Thornhill.

The Lieutenant Colonel's Company. James Hunter in Breckensyde his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Marjorymure.

The Major's Company. William S . . . ding of Mains his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Ecclefechan.

Elshiesshiells a captain, and John Young of Broomrig his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Lochmaben.

Caitloch a captain, and Robert Broune of Inglestoun his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Newkirk of Dunscore.

Wm. Copeland of Colliestoun a captain, and John Corsane of Meickleknox his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Dumfries.

James Scott of Craighalgh a captain, and James Huggan son of John Huggan of Westwater, his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Langholm.

John Johnstone of Westerhall a captain, and Bell younger of Goatsbridge, his lieutenant. Rendezvous at Hutton kirk.⁴⁵

Unfortunately the mobilisation of the Dumfriesshire militia did not work according to plan, and the commissioners were compelled to apply to the Privy Council for a delay of 10 or 12 days in "delivering their men or money in regards to the shortness of time allowed by the proclamation and the spaciousness of the shire."⁴⁶ However the contin-

⁴⁵ MSS., 24th December and 31st December, 1696.

⁴⁶ MSS., 7th January, 1697.

gent at Marjorymure was in action only five days after the date appointed, for Lieutenant Hunter was granted a certificate to the effect that he had exercised his company once a week for eight weeks commencing 12th January.⁴⁷ Seven was the regulation number of exercises required to conform to Act of Council.

There was also a shortage of arms, notwithstanding the representations made to the Council and the efforts of a Colonel Rolley and his men to collect them. The commissioners therefore ordained "that open proclamation be made at ye mercat cross of Drumfreis yt all persones having any of ye sd militia armes, drums or collors exhibit or produce them before the commissioners the fifteen instant, with certification if they fail that they shall be punished for Imbazlars of his majesties magazine."⁴⁸

Beggars, Vagabonds and Egyptians.

As early as 1574 an act was passed for the control of vagrants and beggars. Five years later a second act was passed which aimed expressly at gipsies or Egyptians who were in future to be punished as vagabonds and to be forced to leave the country under pain of death.

Afterwards, from time to time, orders were issued for the control of beggars, the punishment of innkeepers for harbouring masterless men and vagabonds, amongst whom the Egyptians were included. The Justices of the Peace were responsible for enforcing these acts.

In 1661 the commissioners of the shires received orders to put these acts into full execution against these beggars and vagabonds, and against those "persons who are comonlie called Egyptians."

The acts were still in force in 1697^{48a} when a sederunt of the Commissioners of Supply considered "the great abuses comitted in the country be egytians, vagabonds and other

⁴⁷ MSS., 7th March, 1697.

⁴⁸ MSS., 7th January, 1697.

^{48a} William and Mary, 31st July, 1694. A Proclamation for putting former Acts and Proclamations anent Beggars in Execution.

vagrant persons goeing together in crouds and companies." They therefore, "for extrudeing ym furth of the shyre and stewaterie," empowered all his Majesty's subjects to apprehend all such Egyptians and vagabonds and to hand them over to any Justice of the Peace. For their trouble they were to be allowed twelve pounds Scots for each man and six pounds for each woman so delivered, the reward to be paid to them by the Collector of Supply. The commissioners, when imposing the term's supply, made allowance for the building up of a small fund in the collector's hand for putting the laws into execution.⁴⁹

Minutes of a meeting held in August the following year record the commissioners' appreciation of the good service done to the country by James Carruthers, chamberlain to the Duke of Queensberry, in apprehending William Bailie, an Egyptian, "and some weemen his consort," whom "he found troubling the countries in crouds and bringing them to ye prison at Dumfreis." Payment of the sums allowed to Carruthers was authorised.⁵⁰

Bailie and his unfortunate wife were still in prison in February, 1699 when it is recorded that application had been made to the Lord Advocate for a warrant to transport them and "for easing the shire of the burden of yr maintenance." The meeting also noted the great expense incurred in sending expresses through both the shire and the Stewartry "with ane information of yr crimes and witnesses names" . . . "which ye Commissioners haveing taken to yr consideration, they ordain ye collector to make payt to ym of forty shillings sterling for reimbursing ym of ye expenses bestowed on," and "for yr alliement dureing yr imprisonment," eighty pounds Scots.⁵¹

The only other reference in the Proceedings to these undesirables is contained in a proclamation in which heritors, ministers and elders were to make efforts to maintain the poor in their own parishes and to prevent them from

⁴⁹ M.S.S., 24th June and 29th July, 1697. (Folios 33 and 39.)

⁵⁰ MSS., 4th August, 1698.

⁵¹ MSS., 1st February, 1699.

begging.⁵² This is surprising, for in 1711 the Justices of the Peace of Lanark had received information that there were a considerable number of vagabonds, sorners and Egyptians passing through the country armed with swords, guns, pistols, dirks and other such like weapons; "and especially in the hilly and mountainous places of the said shyre and of the shyres of Tweddall and Nithsdale and Steuartry of Annandale and other places adjacent thereto," who were daily committing crimes of robbery, theft, housebreaking and "assassinating and invadeing the persons of men and women" and robbing them.⁵³

The Act for Settling of Schools.

In 1696 the Scottish Parliament passed the Act for Settling of Schools in which it was ordained that a school and schoolmaster were to be established in every parish which was not already provided for. It was the responsibility of the heritors to find a commodious house for a school, and to settle a salary for the schoolmaster which was not to be under 100 merks nor above 200 merks and to be paid at Martinmas and Whitsun in equal portions. It was also decreed that, if the heritors did not carry out these instructions, the Presbytery were to apply to the Commissioners of Supply who were empowered to take the necessary action.

The act was intended to bring education within the reach of the poorer classes. There were no opportunities for learning available in sparsely populated country districts, though there are many references to schools in burgh records of an earlier period. Moffat owed its grammar school to a bequest by Dr Robert Johnstone who died in 1639, and Peebles engaged a schoolmaster four years later "to teach, examine and instruct the youth in all things to his knowledge and there capacitie."⁵⁴

⁵² MSS., 12th October, 1699.

⁵³ Scot. Hist. Soc. "The Minutes of the Justices of the Peace for Lanarkshire, 1707-1723," pub. 1931. Edited and transcribed by C. A. Malcolm, Ph.D.

⁵⁴ Scottish Burgh Records Soc. "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Peebles," 1652-1714.

The first reference to schools in the Proceedings is under date 26th October 1697 when the minutes record the representations of various ministers and others informing the commissioners that the heritors of certain parishes had not complied with the terms of the act which they requested the commissioners to enforce.

The commissioners, having heard the report of a committee for the "planting of schoolls," they allow for a schoolmaster in the parish of Hoddam "eightie pounds Scots and recommends to His Grace the Duke of Queensberry and [to] Hoddam to add twentie pounds scots to ye sd sum, And appoynts the shoollhouse to be kept at or near the kerk . . . "

"And allous for each ane of ye parishes of Kirkpatrick-fleming and Dornock Ane hundred merks which sums are to be payed the respective schoolmrs of ye sead parashes, and appoynts ye Schooll houses of ye last two parashes to be at ye parash churches (sic). And hereby ordaines all the life-renters, heretors and oys within the sd bounds lyable in the forsd cellaries to schoollmasters, to make payment yrof in manner proscribed by ye act of parliament." There were four other parishes whose heritors had failed to stent themselves.

Next year there was trouble with the heritors of Lochmaben and six commissioners were appointed to meet there and settle the matter for them. The commissioners were also curious to know what Tinwald had "to say against setling of ane schoole."⁵⁵

However, it was not till 1700, after an abortive attempt to meet at Lochmaben, that the commissioners conformed to the power given them and stented the parish. At the same meeting "Mr Thomasone, minister of Tunnergarth, representing that the parish is very long and narrow, wherby ther will be a necessity of keeping two schools yrfor, desereng ye Commissioners would take ye same to consideration and impose a suitable fond yrfor, which the Commissioners haveing

considered, they impose threescore twelve pounds scotts yearly; And leaves it to the heretors to keep ane or two schoolmasters within ye said parish as they shall think fit.”⁵⁶

Pest Control in the Shire.

14th Feb. 1700. “The said day the commissioners having considered ane representation made to them by some of ther own number, that the greatest part of the country is greatly abused and damnified by foxes and other vermine which destroy much catle, & that the nighbouring shires have fallen upon an exact method for destroying the same within ther bounds which has had good effect hitherto, by employing of fit and quallified persones” . . . who “keepe such number of hounds and terries (terriers) as were requisite for that purpose” . . . “Therefor it is ther opinion that the like measure ought to be prosecute and followed in this shire which the commissioners are confident will be very conducive to ye advantage yrof. And for that end John Fergusone in Drumloaff, a persone known to the commissioners in partlar and the country in Generall, be employed, & that he have allowance of twelve pennies scots out of each hundred merks at ilk terme for defraying his sd expenses and trouble.”

14th Nov. 1700. Fergusson produced a “consent” under the hand of several gentlemen and gentlemen heritors agreeing to the terms of the former sederunt.

22nd May 1702. John Fergusson complained “that he hath only got three termes moieties in forme of payment these two years bygone.”

12th Aug. 1702. “The Commissioners considering ye paucitie of ye numbers thinks it is not convenient to medle with John Fergusson his petition for payment of his cellary for his service to the shyre, But leaves it till ye next meeting.”

28th July 1703. The commissioners, considering that there was two years’ salary due to John Fergusson at Lammas next for his hunting and destroying foxes, imposed the sum of two shillings Scots to be uplifted out of “ilk hundred merks of payable rent to ye subscribers of the consent.”

⁵⁶ MSS., 17th January, 1700.

17th Jan. 1705. " The sd day the commissioners being informed be John Fergusson huntsmaster that severall of ye heretors of ye shire are refracterie in giving him any gratification for hunting and destroying foxes and other vermin " . . . " they consider that the sd John Fergusson has done good service to ye shire in time past And ythfr recommend him to the heretors of ye shire, Stuartrie & five kirks that they may give him encouragment to be dilligent in ye sd office in time coming."

22nd Oct. 1707. On the recommendation of several noblemen and heritors, the commissioners appointed Lancelot Cairlyle as huntsman to the shire.

The Excise.

The Excise is mentioned only twice in the Proceedings. On the first occasion the commissioners, in order to obtain certain particulars required by the Lord Chancellor, formed themselves into sub-committees in order to make " a full enquiry anent the Excyse " in the various parishes in the shire.⁵⁷ On the second occasion, in 1710, the commissioners perused and considered accounts of the Supply and the Excise on Brandy which referred back to 1682. These accounts had been submitted by James Wallace of Carreild who is mentioned from time to time throughout the period covered by the Proceedings. They are never given a title but they were distinct from those submitted by the Collector of Supply who always presented his " charge " and " discharge " of the land tax which he had uplifted.⁵⁸

The office of collector was filled on many occasions by George Johnstone of Girthhead whose first recorded appointment was in 1692. For the seven years immediately following he was re-elected every year, and from 1700 to 1711 his name crops up from time to time as serving in that capacity. He shared the honours with William Crichton of Crawfordtown, William Johnstone of Corehead and others. He received an annual payment of 400 merks Scots.

⁵⁷ MSS., 20th April, 1697.

⁵⁸ MSS., 23rd October, 1710.

The Clerk.

The Clerk to the Commissioners was the connecting link between the various departments of shire administration. He was present at many of their meetings and in particular at special meetings convened for some specific purpose not necessarily concerned with either the supply or the excise. In this way he, together with the Provost of Dumfries, the Laird of Dornock, the Laird of Closeburne younger and Bearholme, "commissioners specially named by the act of asiesment," was present at a sederunt convened "for setleing ane pheir and pryce upon victuall above which the same is not to be sold in this shire untill the first of September inst and empouring them to put ane restrent upon transporting the same in manner mentioned in the act. . . ." The meeting fixed the prices of oat meal, bear meal, clean bear, mashloch meal, Great Whyte oats and "mixed or Brocked Corne" for the Nithsdale measure, the Moffat peck and measure, the Dumfries peck and measure and the Annan copsull.⁵⁹

The clerk throughout the 19 years covered by the Proceedings was John Sharp of Hoddam. He was paid £200 Scots for his labours. Sharp was associated with county affairs for at least a quarter of a century, a record of service worthy of recognition and of a niche in the roll of those men and women who have at some time served Dumfriesshire.

⁵⁹ MSS., 19th April, 1699.

ARTICLE 3.

The Glacial Geomorphology Of Mid-Nithsdale.

By J. C. STONE, M.A.

During the most recent and probably the fourth major advance of ice in the British Isles in relatively recent geological times, a great ice sheet blotted out Dumfriesshire and swept as far south as Flamborough Head and Southern Ireland. It left evidence of its advance in Dumfriesshire and elsewhere which has been the subject of such writers as J. K. Charlesworth,¹ S. E. Hollingworth,² F. M. Trotter,³ and R. J. A. Eckford.⁴ But while the nourishment and forward motion of ice forms one aspect of glacial geomorphology, so mode of recession as seen in the associated features existent to-day forms a further aspect. It is these latter features of an ice sheet which retreated from South Scotland within the past 15,000 years that are extremely numerous over much of Dumfriesshire. They are frequently to be found in the most accessible parts of the county, and are readily visible to the traveller who chooses to stray neither from his car nor the main roads. But to the observer who will forsake roads, and tramp the valleys and hill slopes, a more balanced and complete picture of the retreat features and their distribution is available. Having mapped such features over a sufficiently wide area, he is in a position to attempt their correlation and to give a picture of ice recession in its stages.

During the present century, the classical concept of a step-like recession of ice along a single front of "live" ice has been challenged by the stagnation hypothesis. This latter hypothesis has gathered considerable force within the past 15 years from the work of such Scandinavian writers as C. M. Mannerfelt,⁵ V. Okko,⁶ and K. Virkkala.⁷ Mannerfelt and his contemporaries do not necessarily lend support to the stagnation hypothesis in so far as it conceives of a dwindling ice sheet of still considerable depth becoming motionless over areas of 100 square miles or more due to lack of nourishment at its source. They do, however, stress the

concept of "down-wasting," or ablation over the whole surface area of a glacier which will result in a corresponding recession at the snout, as opposed to the concept of "back-wasting," or ablation confined to the proximity of the snout of the glacier. Scandinavian writers have thus recently given their support to an essential feature of the stagnation hypothesis. It is in the light of this present state of affairs in the controversy as to mode of recession that a small area of Nithsdale was studied in some detail.

In keeping with the rest of South Scotland, Dumfriesshire is practically virgin territory for the glacial geomorphologist. In 1928, J. K. Charlesworth published his study of the glacial geology of the whole of the Southern Uplands west of Annandale and Upper Clydesdale, which included the recessional features of Nithsdale mapped on a very small scale of just over six miles to the inch. Apart from this work, which must be further considered, the only other published work on Dumfriesshire is J. W. Pallister's rather more detailed study of the melt water channels in the neighbourhood of Ecclefechan.⁸

In the following discussion, reference will be made to features shown on the O.S. 1:25000 sheet NX 98, which gave the writer arbitrary and approximate boundaries while carrying out the field work. Alternatively, the reader may perhaps find that occasional reference to the O.S. one inch (Scotland) popular edition, sheets 84 and 88 is helpful.

The Nature of the Glacial Drift.

The term "drift" includes "all deposits made by glacier ice, and all deposits predominantly of glacial origin made . . . in bodies of glacial melt water."⁹ It is conveniently divided into till, or unstratified drift, and stratified (water-laid) drift, though there is not necessarily any sharp division on the ground. The mapping of drift requires very frequent cross-sectioning which was beyond the scope of this work, but a fairly accurate picture of the distribution may be obtained, based mainly on the Geological Survey 1:10500 sheets,¹⁰ and also on ground observations of available surface

exposures in the form of cultivated land, mole hills, rabbit warrens, stream exposures, etc.

Stratified drift is the most extensive deposit within the area examined, forming an unbroken boundary to the river alluvium on both banks of the Nith. It is most extensive around Holywood where it stretches in an unbroken sheet west from the Nith to the alluvium of the Cairn. Its limits along the west valley slope of the Nith are approximately a line joining the following farms: Newhouse, Upper Kilroy, McCubbington, Edgarton, Cuil Bridge, Hillend, and along the 200 ft. contour above Blackwood. Between this line and the Nith it forms a surface sheet broken only by occasional pockets of peat and alluvium. Similarly on the east slope of the Nith valley it forms an extensive spread masking bedrock, and with the 300 ft. contour as an approximate upper limit except north of Auldgirth where it falls closer to the 200 ft. contour.

The stratified drift of Nithsdale consists of stones and boulders of size varying from the finest gravel to boulders of 2 or 3 ft. in diameter, but all well rounded, and set in a matrix of fine to coarse yellow or yellow-brown sand. Cross-sections further reveal the water-laid nature of this material, showing alternate fine and coarse bedding in frequent current bedding. Above the stratified drift, there is often 1 to 3 ft. of super-glacial till (ablation moraine) consisting of angular stones and boulders set in a clayey matrix, non-stratified and poorly compacted material, having accumulated on the surface of the ice before slumping down on to the stratified drift. The most strikingly characteristic feature of the stratified material is the extremely well rounded and water worn nature of all pebbles, stones and boulders. The deposit is composed mainly of purplish Silurian greywacke with some Permian sandstones and breccia, though a few fragments of basaltic and andesitic rock were found, both of which outcrop in Upper Nithsdale. Interesting exposures of stratified drift which display the features described are to be conveniently found:

1. In the sand pit 500 yards west of Friars' Carse and 200 yards east of road A76.

2. 300 yards north of Auldgirth School House, and 100 yards east of "Dumfries 9" milestone on A76.
3. On the east side of A76 at Barburgh Mill.
4. Most strikingly, in the Locharbriggs quarries and gravel pits.

Unstratified drift, or till, deposited by lodgement beneath active ice is frequently found on the valley slopes above the stratified drift. Till does not always supersede stratified drift on upper slopes in Nithsdale however. In fact, it is remarkable for an irregularity of distribution which is difficult to explain. For example, there is a marked absence of till on the slopes above the upper limit of stratified drift for a mile east and west of Dalswinton Wood, and also on the upper slopes above Blackwood. On the other hand, there are extensive spreads on Annfield Moor and Fulton Moor, north of Amisfield Tower. It is noticeable, however, that deposits of till are best preserved on the more gentle slopes where they would be less subject to removal by the processes of mass movement.

Sections are less numerous in till, being of no commercial value, but there are several excellent sections due to undercutting of the Goukstane Burn, 500 yards north-west of Ae Village. These reveal at least 15 ft. of basal till consisting of angular to subangular stones of the order of half to three inches in diameter and set in a non-stratified matrix of brick-red clay and fine sharp pebbles. Boulders are not common except in the foot or two of super-glacial till overlaying the basal till. The deposit seems to be composed almost entirely of purplish Silurian greywacke.

As would be anticipated, there is a marked relation between drift and land forms. Thus depositional features are largely confined to the area of stratified drift, while erosional features are best developed in, though not confined to drift free areas and those of till. The clearest example of a sharp change in land forms coinciding with the meeting of stratified drift and till occurs looking north from Longbank Farm, which is on the north-south road, half a mile north-west of

Duncow. Here the smooth and well rounded forms of the stratified drift give way quite sharply to a formless surface of irregular knolls and hummocks, characteristic of subglacial deposition.

Glacial Retreat Features.

(a) DEPOSITIONAL FEATURES.

i. Kames.

A kame is a mound of stratified drift which accumulated in contact with ice. They may be of two types according to origin: firstly, crevasse fillings, sediment being deposited by melt waters in openings on the surface of stagnant or nearly stagnant ice, the ice later melting away to leave a mound of stratified drift, and secondly, those consisting of deltas built out from the edge of ice, the ice again melting away to leave a slumped mound of stratified drift. It is the former type which are so well developed along the levels of the broad valley of the Nith. The latter type are probably uncommon, though they are always difficult to recognise with certainty from surface form without cross-sectioning to reveal delta-bedding radiating fan-wise from the slumped ice contact face. They vary in height in Nithsdale from a foot or two, to 30 to 50 ft., such as the fine example, the crest of which runs parallel and 100 yards west of the road to the west of the more northerly of the Locharbriggs quarries. Sections, such as the example already cited through a kame (page 55, exposure No. 2) reveal the range and the frequent changes in sizes of particles, frequent deformation of beds by slumping and faulting, and a layer of super-glacial till at the surface. Such are the characteristics of ice contact sediments.

ii. Kettles.

"A kettle is a basin in drift, created by the ablation of a former mass of glacier ice that was wholly or partly buried in the drift."¹¹ In depth they are of the same order as the height of kames, which may form the bounding walls of the depression, but they vary in width in Nithsdale from a few feet to over 100 yards. They are particularly clear cut features and appear in association with kames along the

lowest valley slopes of much of mid-Nithsdale. An example of kame and kettle topography in a remarkably fine state of preservation is readily accessible on mounting the slope above the road to the west of A76 and immediately south of Auld-girth Bridge. Here is to be found, within the few acres between Holmhead and Hillend, a truly startlingly vivid association of kames and kettles which readily permit the observer to envisage their mode of origin. Both deep and shallow, wide and small kettles are bounded by steep-sided ridges, whose composition of well rounded gravel and sand is clearly seen by kicking one's heel into the turf, or glancing at the several small surface exposures. Such are the contortions of the surface of the ground that its use is confined to pasture, whilst the drainage of the crests of the kames due to their composition is so perfect that the grass must frequently be stunted in summer through lack of moisture. A feature well seen in this particular example of kame and kettle topography, which is characteristic of mid-Nithsdale, is the inequality in the height of kame crests. There is frequently a range of height of many feet in adjacent kames. This is an important indicator of the state that sedimentation reached around the stagnant blocks of ice. Where kame crests are approximately accordant in height, it may be assumed that the blocks of ice lay wasting away *in situ* over a long period of time, and the crevasses between were completely in-filled. But this is clearly not the case in mid-Nithsdale so that the wasting away of the last remnants of the Nith glacier must have been fairly rapid.

Further and more extensive spreads of kame and kettle topography may be observed for over a mile both north and east of Kirkton; also in the area bounded by the railway line and A76 from Auldgirth to Barburgh Mill, together with several smaller occurrences on the lower levels of the Nith valley.

iii. Kame Terraces.

Such terraces are formed of stratified drift laid down by braided streams flowing between a glacier and the adjacent valley slope. Their value lies in the fact that they mark a

line along which the upper margin of the ice lay, so that they are valuable indicators of a retreat stage if they can be correlated over some distance. Unfortunately, kame terraces are not well developed features in mid-Nithsdale. Their distribution is restricted and they are narrow and discontinuous in form. However, their poorly developed state is itself significant, and may be taken as suggestive of no prolonged halt during later stages of retreat, since coincident with such a halt one might expect to find considerably broader and larger kame terraces than at present exist. The best developed series of kame terraces, though even these are far from clearly defined in comparison, say, with those on the north flank of the Lammermuir Hills, is a series of three which are again readily accessible and may be viewed looking north from the west of the ridge 400 yards west of Portrack House and 100 yards east of A76.

iv. Eskers.

Eskers are sinuous ridges of stratified drift deposited sub-glacially by streams flowing in stagnant or almost stagnant ice. Rapidly moving ice would destroy the feature. Their mode of origin has been the subject of much thought both in Scandinavia and North America, where eskers are found to be continuous over a distance of many miles. In mid-Nithsdale, however, they are far from well developed. In fact, only two small occurrences were found in the area examined, though more may be buried beneath stratified drift which accumulated at a later stage in the decay of the ice. One occurrence is to be found within an extensive area of till, 500 yards north-east of Lanrick Hall, on Annfield Moor ($1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north of Amisfield Tower). This low steep-sided sinuous ridge winds across a very shallow valley and is breached by the Park Burn. It must have been formed beneath "live" ice which down-wasted away before any degree of sedimentation could take place in crevasses and fissures.

A rather larger esker is to be found 500 yards south-east of Jericho, Locharbriggs, where the steep-sided ridge arises from a kame (no doubt of later origin built over the

esker) and is breached this time by the Lochar Water. This particular esker is exploited commercially as a source of sand and gravel, the excavations providing most interesting sections both parallel and at right angles to the line of the esker. Features to note are the finely developed current bedding in sand and gravel, faulting near the sides of the esker which followed the decay of the ice wall, some well rounded boulders of a foot or more in diameter which give an indication of the former transporting power of the sub-glacial stream, the increasingly larger material towards the topmost beds showing increasing turbulence as melt waters mounted in volume, close association of fine and coarse beds representing sudden fluctuation in the volume of the stream, and a layer of super-glacial till overlying the stratified drift.

v. Other Features.

Two common depositional features are absent in the area examined. Drumlins are more commonly associated with piedmont glaciers than valley glaciers. Hence, drumlins are to be found according to Charlesworth¹² where the Nith glacier lost the confines of the valley slopes and spread out on to the Solway plain. The other well-known depositional feature which is absent is the terminal moraine, a crescentic ridge of drift associated with the ablation of the snout of an active glacier. Extensive spreads of kame and kettle topography suggest that the final phase of recession took the form of stagnation of ice over a distance of several miles and its decay *in situ* rather than step-like recession of the snout of a "live" glacier with terminal moraine deposited at temporary recessional halts.

(b) EROSIONAL FEATURES.

i. Marginal Channels.

Marginal channels, cut by melt water flowing along a glacier margin, are a common feature in mid-Nithsdale, but are frequently short in length. They are commonly associated with kame terraces with which they may alternate, the same stream becoming alternately depositional and erosional. Unfortunately, marginal channels are too frequently tapped

by sub-glacial chutes, and kame terraces too poorly developed to illustrate this relationship in Nithsdale. A well developed example of a marginal channel cut through drift and bedrock is to be seen 200 yards north of Dalswinton school. A foot-path leads to the crest of Doctor's Knowe from which an excellent view may be obtained. Further examples are to be seen on the slopes half a mile to the north-east.

ii. Sub-Glacial Channels.

But more striking than the work of marginal streams in mid-Nithsdale is that of sub-glacial streams. A fully developed melt water drainage system may include sub-glacial, super-glacial, englacial, marginal and pro-glacial segments, the first two leaving little or no trace of their existence. That streams flow on to glacier surfaces, falling into crevasses and fissures in the ice and emerging again at the snout has frequently been observed on present-day glaciers, and it might therefore be anticipated that such streams will at times erode the ground beneath the glacier. In particular, Mannerfelt has drawn attention to the work of sub-glacial streams, and channels so formed are prominent on many of his glacio-morphological maps and anaglyphs.¹³ There are many excellent examples to be seen in mid-Nithsdale.

Sub-glacial channels flow at right angles across the contours, as opposed to marginal channels which flow almost parallel to the contours. Most of the sub-glacial channels of Nithsdale are completely dry at the present time, without the slightest trace of marshy or ill-drained ground in their bottom, which would deny that they are of recent stream origin, but does not preclude the fact that they could be of pro-glacial or early pro-glacial origin. But if this were the case, one would expect the channels to be continuous. Discontinuity is their most striking feature and is in keeping with their sub-glacial origin where streams frequently and alternately become englacial.

The existence of so many sub-glacial channels suggests the fragmentary nature of the ice during down-wasting. Frequent crevassing is further indicated by marginal

channels which turn through 90 degrees to flow down slope (becoming sub-glacial). An example of a marginal channel becoming sub-glacial is that now utilised by the Pennyland Burn half a mile east of Dalswinton, which turns sharply 200 yards south-east of Boghall. A remarkable series of sub-glacial channels may be seen on the slopes south of Duncow Common. They are also well developed on the hill slopes two miles to the west of Holywood between Greenhead and Sunnyhill.

iii. Pro-Glacial Channels.

A third category of channels was formed in valleys leading away from the melting ice sheets. Many such streams carried considerable volumes of melt water and were armed with a heavy load enabling them to carve deep channels, usually in pre-existing valleys since their flow was unhindered by one or two walls of ice. The mapping of pro-glacial channels is important in that their headwaters indicate the position of an ice sheet during its recession.

The largest pro-glacial channel system in the area considered is centred on the valley of the Pennyland Burn, east of Claughrie Hill, Blackcraig Hill and Mullach. The first utilised part of this system during down-wasting, would be the highest section, that is, east of Claughrie Hill, where a poorly developed channel would seem to have been utilised for a brief period of time by ice in the Claughrie Burn, Back Burn area. Then, following further down-wasting to approximately 650 ft. the finely developed pro-glacial channel of Glenloy (north of Blackcraig Hill, south of Claughrie Hill) must have been utilised by melt waters for some considerable time. Glenloy is a deep, steep-sided, flat-bottomed valley with only the merest trickle of water flowing along its sediment covered floor. The steep sides are to be attributed to undercutting by the glacial melt waters while the flat bottom is the result of deposition from the braided melt water stream. The channels show that during one phase of recession, ice lay to the west of Claughrie and Blackcraig Hills, at a height of 650 ft., and its melt waters finding an outlet over the col between the two hills into the valley of the

Pennyland Burn. With ice at 650 ft., a tongue of ice must have dammed the Pennyland Burn valley between Mullach and Shaw's Hill forming a glacial melt water lake north of the dam. Alternately, since there are no visible signs of a glacial lake on the valley sides, the melt waters may have found a way of escape into and beneath the ice dam. A comparison of the form of the Pennyland Burn valley north and south of its confluence with Glenloy shows what a powerful stream that of Glenloy must have been. To the north of the confluence, the Pennyland Burn flows in a V-shaped valley. To the south the burn immediately commences to meander across a wide flat expanse of sediment. The best view of the whole system is obtained by following the drove road through Glenloy to the south-east spur of Claughrie Hill.

But even before the formation of the Pennyland Burn system, a spectacular pro-glacial channel had been cut into the upper slopes of Whitestanes Moor, one mile south-west of Ae Village. This remarkable steep-sided, V-shaped, dry valley, known as Pishnick, is cut 30 ft. into fine-grained, well jointed greywacke and must therefore have carried a most actively erosive stream. Its present extremely irregular floor must be largely due to mass movement on the valley sides of which there is plentiful evidence at the present time in the form of terracettes and scree, and which was probably even more rapid in the tundra climatic condition which Dumfriesshire would experience during deglaciation. On the south side of the channel, and a few tens of yards below the upper extremity of the channel, a V-shaped nick some 6 ft. deep forms a valley "hanging" away from the main valley of Pishnick, and probably a former course of melt waters which received relatively little use before the water changed course for some unknown reason and cut out Pishnick.

The existence of Pishnick is the first indication of a recessional halt, the first trace of incision coinciding with the lowest point on the saddle between Cocklet Hill and the high stretches of Whitestanes Moor. This infers water in the region of Dalswinton Common at a maximum surface level of 825 ft. This state is most likely obtained by down-

wasting of ice to approximately 825 ft. with an ice dam from south of Cocklet Hill, west, to south of Wardlaw. A glacial lake would then form on Dalswinton Common. The difficulty with this explanation is that Pishnick is continuous to below 700 ft., which means that an ice dam at 825 ft. on Dalswinton Common is coincident with ice receded to below 700 ft. on Whitestanes Moor, less than a mile. This is too steep an ice gradient to be acceptable. The two feasible explanations of this apparent anomaly are firstly sub-glacial erosion for much of Pishnick, or secondly that Ae valley ice was a much weaker stream than Nith ice, which seems probable on considering the source. Further mapping of the Ae valley features, and their correlation with those of Nithsdale are required.

A further and less spectacular example of a pro-glacial channel runs from Greenhead to Blackpark ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Holywood). The origin of this channel is also confused by the fact that more than one stream of ice must be taken into consideration. In this case the channel lies between Nith valley and Cairn valley ice streams. It is difficult to decide whether several of the channels in this region are of sub-glacial, pro-glacial or marginal origin, since they flow not approximately parallel to, or directly across, the contours, but obliquely across the contours. However, the continuous nature of the channel from Greenhead to Blackpark, over a distance of almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in the bottom of a shallow pre-glacial valley, is suggestive of a pro-glacial origin from ice in the valley of the Glengabo Burn, west of Greenhead.

iv. *Roches Moutonnées*.

Several *roches moutonnées* are to be found on the high moor in the region of Dalswinton Common. Examples are Pyot Craig at 750 ft. on Dalswinton Common, and also one at 900 ft. on the north-east slope of Big Craig on Glenmaid Moor. They are no help in tracing the recession of ice in mid-Nithsdale since they show the direction of movement of ice at or near its maximum extent. However, they are proof of the former extent of ice from which recession must have taken place.

The Mode of Recession of Ice.

Having considered the nature and extent of drift, and then the types and distribution of retreat features, some conclusions may be drawn as to mode of recession. Above the upper limit of stratified drift numerous channels cut by the erosive powers of melt waters have been discussed. The particular position of several such channels enable a picture to be envisaged of the conditions existing over areas larger than the immediate neighbourhood of the channels. These systems of melt water drainage channels, together with the few kame terraces, are strong evidence of down-wasting. The writer has attempted the correlation of all retreat features of mid-Nithsdale¹⁴ and the proposition of retreat stages interrupted by halts, the wider the correlation of features and the greater the features themselves, the more prolonged the halt in recession. However, such proposition of retreat stages is of doubtful validity in the case of mid-Nithsdale, since the most important generalisation one can make about the features is their apparent lack of correlation. This, in itself, is significant, and evidence of a retreat uninterrupted by any prolonged halt. Yet the numerous occurrences of retreat features show that interruptions in recessions of short duration were frequent. The picture envisaged of down-wasting is therefore one of a jerky, yet fairly continuous recession.

On down-wasting down to the height of 150 to 200 ft., an important change in the state of the ice took place. The dwindling glacier seems to have been no longer active but to have become stagnant and to have become shattered by great fissures and crevasses into blocks of "dead" ice which wasted away *in situ*. The bounds within which this change took place may be fairly accurately located from the distribution of kame and kettle topography. The limits coincide quite closely with the upper limit of stratified drift, of course, though there is one major anomaly to this coincidence. To the west of Holywood, extensive spreads of stratified drift are disturbed only by a few erosive features. The complete absence of kame and kettle topography in this area, together

with the series of kame terraces already described west of Portrack House, suggests that down-wasting was complete west of A76 at Holywood, and stagnation was largely confined to area beyond the slight rise to the east of Holywood. A series of borings in a line east-west across the Nith valley, to enable the construction of a cross section of depth of drift above bedrock might be very revealing. There is reason to believe that some scooping out of the Permian sandstones by the glacier at its maximum took place, which would be thus revealed. Unfortunately there are only two records of borings,¹⁵ one revealing a depth of 38 ft. of sand, gravel and clay at Sunnyhill, and the other 56 ft. of sand and gravel at Holywood.

Applying this picture of mode of recession of ice in mid-Nithsdale to the two opposing hypotheses of ice recession, a compromise is reached. On the one hand down-wasting of ice to a height of 150 to 200 ft. took place, which would be accompanied by the retreat back up the valley of the snout of the glacier. Thus, when stagnation finally became dominant it was confined to the last remnants of a glacier in the valley bottom, and not widespread over a great area including the Solway Firth still choked with ice.

In conclusion, the writer would like to acknowledge his debt to the great many property owners in Nithsdale who freely gave access to their land. Without their generosity, this work would not have been attempted.

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ARTICLE 4.

Some Local Heretics.

By JOHN DURKAN, M.A.

The first Galloway name associated with the Scottish Reformation is that of the Dominican friar, John MacDowell. He fled to England in the summer of 1534 at which time he was prior of Wigtown.¹

John MacDowell.

MacDowell was one of a group of Dominicans from Scotland licensed as bachelors of theology by the General Chapter of their order in 1525.² The others included John MacAlpine, prior of Perth, and James Hewat, who is said to have influenced the Protestant family of Wedderburn in Dundee. They are sometimes thought to have studied at St. Andrews, where their provincial, John Adamson, had been active in restoring their house of studies in the university. MacAlpine, however, we know to have been a student at Cologne, and it is possible that MacDowell studied there, too. The international nature of the friars' organisation laid them open to all sorts of intellectual influences from abroad. The sole surviving sample of MacDowell's reading matter, a copy of the works of St. Bernard, hardly suggests this admittedly, but it was nevertheless true.³ It was presumably for the purpose of teaching theology that he was incorporated, along with his prior, on the 26th February, 1530, in Glasgow University. He was then subprior of Glasgow.⁴ In the period 1533-1534 he was prior of Wigtown.

It is probable that he had left by the 8th May, 1534, when the provincial of the Dominicans was among those summoned to the presence of the Lords of Council "to put remeid to the freris that are tholit to pas furth of the realme

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, xvi., 366.

² *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Prædicatorum*, iv., 206. His name is given in the form, "Makdorod." Hewat is "Cheuvot."

³ *Innes Review*, ix., 126.

⁴ *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii., 156.

in apostasy," and also to prevent their friars from preaching sermons in favour of new opinions, of a Lutheran character.⁵ The abandonment of Rome in 1534 by Henry VIII naturally attracted Lutheran sympathisers over the border. MacDowell's mind was apparently in a somewhat confused state when he took refuge in Rye with a certain Peter Cochrane, variously described as a physician and a Scots priest, who had been in Rye since about 1530.⁶ In Rye MacDowell was shown the *Enchiridion* of Eck, the famous opponent of Luther, and as a result had delivered a fiery sermon in the London Blackfriars denouncing the new learning and its supporters who should have their heads placed on a stake, his provincial's among them. He would like to see Henry VIII die a violent and shameful death, and he knew from his science of necromancy that the new learning would be suppressed and the old restored by Henry's foreign enemies. His sermons were certainly vivid.

It could hardly be expected that such a sermon would meet with the approval of Henry VIII's vicar general, Thomas Cromwell. Yet in September, 1535, MacDowell was obviously in the confidence of the man whom he later called his Maecenas. "Maister John Maydewell comenly callyd the Scotyshe frere" had been presented to a chantry belonging to the London Carthusians, who interviewed him and after an hour left him as they found him. Cromwell's agent, Jasper Fyloll, asked the Carthusians to be contented to hear MacDowell preach at least one sermon once a week. They at first agreed but next day refused, because he preached against the honouring of images and saints, and was a blasphemer of saints. On the 2nd October Fyloll again reported to Cromwell that MacDowell had stayed three nights in the Charterhouse examining books that Fyloll thought erroneous. He asked Cromwell should MacDowell linger, "the man is very honest, but he hath no money to paye."⁷ The Carthusians, who were to be martyred, persisted in their refusal.

⁵ *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, pp. 422-4.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, ix., No. 846: xiv., pt. 1, No. 154. He said he fled to England before Corpus Christi.

⁷ E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 420-4.

By the May of 1535, his fellow-friar, John MacAlpine, had become chaplain to Bishop Shaxton of Salisbury, known for his radical opinions. It was perhaps through his influence that MacDowell too became chaplain to Shaxton.⁸ It has to be remembered, however, that Thomas Cromwell himself had been given quite a say in appointments to vacancies in Salisbury.⁹ In any event by the Lent of 1537 MacDowell was in Salisbury, under the patronage of Bishop Shaxton, who had already stirred up opposition among the civil authorities for his zeal for the Reformation, and his determination to revive Salisbury as a bishop's burgh. Shaxton commissioned the ex-friar to preach the Sunday Lenten sermons in the cathedral and he at once aroused civic wrath, first by denouncing the pope, which the authorities asserted was not in his text anyway. The mayor had turned a blind eye when the royal dispensation to eat white meats in Lent was torn down on the Monday of Passion week, a dispensation which MacDowell published verbally in church. But a Franciscan had been attacked for preaching against Henry on another bill posted up in church, and yet the council had not failed to punish the offender who posted it. On Palm Sunday MacDowell preached in St. Edmund's, New Sarum, attacked the mayor and council and in consequence was thrown into prison. He wrote to Cromwell complaining on the 27th and 28th March, and also to Shaxton pointing out that the council had forwarded three indictments of heresy against their bishop to the Lord Chief Justice, the pope's name had not been deleted from their missals and fresh papal dispensations were still being published. MacDowell had been accused before Bennet, the chancellor of the diocese, for eating eggs. Cromwell wrote to the mayor and council on MacDowell's behalf, and on the 6th April they accepted securities for his future conduct.

However, after the execution of Anne Boleyn in May, 1536, the position of MacDowell's patrons was not quite so secure. Nevertheless MacAlpine was naturalised in April,

⁸ *Letters and Papers*, xii., pt. 1, Nos. 746, 755-6, 824, 838.

⁹ *Ibid.*, x., No. 623 is wrongly dated 1536.

1537, and MacDowell appears also to have been naturalised a few month later.¹⁰ One complaint of the council's against him was that he was a Scot, and had used himself uncharitably and slanderously against them. On the 28th July, 1537, the vicar of Croydon was being examined by Cranmer and complained against Latimer and others, including the Scots friar MacDowell who "damns all singing and reading and organ playing."¹¹ No doubt the vicar had heard MacDowell in an earlier period, but it may be that he had taken temporary refuge in London. He may have married, but his wife and children are not recorded as naturalising till the sixth year of Edward VI.¹²

On the 13th October, on the presentation of Bennet, now chanter of Sarum, MacDowell was instituted to the rectory of Hawkchurch in Dorset.¹³ On the 7th January following Shaxton sent him to Cromwell, commending his appointment, explaining that where it was complained that MacDowell had not been naturalised he was so in fact three months before presentation, although he himself had not realised this when he had admitted another candidate presented by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Cromwell replied on the 19th offering his support. However, MacDowell once again fell foul of the civic authorities and was imprisoned in Salisbury towards the end of Lent, 1538.¹⁴ On 4th April, Shaxton again wrote to Cromwell on MacDowell's behalf, asserting that he would do more good in setting forth God's word than many such as his rival for Hawkchurch.¹⁵ However, Shaxton's appeal does not appear to have succeeded.

The subsequent fall of Thomas Cromwell and the forced retiral of Shaxton to live in obscurity as a simple parish priest and eventually to recant his Reformed views deprived MacDowell of his patrons. What happened to him in this period is not known; perhaps he went abroad. If he did, he returned late in the reign of Edward VI., however. On

¹⁰ *Letters and Papers*, xii., No. 1103 (12); xiii., pt. 1, No. 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xii., pt. 2, No. 361.

¹² *Aliens in England*, p. 160.

¹³ *Proceedings Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, vol. 72, 116.

¹⁴ *Letters and Papers*, xiii., pt. 1, Nos. 43, 319, 425.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii., pt. 1, No. 674.

the 30th November, 1550, the funeral took place in the church of St. James in London of Christopher Machyn, merchant tailor, and "Maydwell dyd pryche for hym."¹⁶ He was not however given a licence to preach till February of 1552, at which time he was described as a bachelor of divinity.¹⁷ Presentations can be found for a John Madewell, first in September, 1550, to Swanshead rectory, Lincoln diocese, and later after Mary Tudor's accession, on the 10th November, 1555, to Inworth, London diocese, but he can only doubtfully be identified with the ex-friar.¹⁸ There is no doubt that before Mary's reign had proceeded far MacDowell had gone abroad with the rest of the Marian exiles, and he is to be found in the two exile lists. It is not certain where he went, perhaps to Friesland, perhaps to Germany. When Knox wrote his history he was a burgermeister in the "Steads," that is in a city of Germany or Friesland. His further history is not known.

Donald Makcarny.

What influence did MacDowell have on his native Gallo-way before or after he left? On the 4th February, 1539, Dean or Brother (*dompnus siue frater*) Donald Makcarny, Premonstratensian of Holywood, was accused in Glasgow before the inquisitor, George Lockhart, professor of theology, having been delated to him as a follower of heretical pravity and holder of various heretical articles set out more fully on a paper bill, of his own free will and uncoerced recognised them as heretical and abjured them and asked to be absolved. He was then received back to the fold and absolved *simpliciter*.¹⁹ It is probable that he was associated with two others, a Franciscan, Jerome Russell, and a young man with poetical gifts called Kennedy, who were not so fortunate. Russell's

¹⁶ *Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Society), p. 3. If he continued to live in England, he may be the John Medwell, scrivener's servant, described by Foxe as recanting his heresies in Henry VIII's time. (*Martyrs*, iv., 586, v., 39).

¹⁷ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii., pt. 2, 276.

¹⁸ *Patent Rolls, Edward VI.*, iii., 326; *Ibid.*, *Philip and Mary*, iii., 110. Inworth had another rector by June, 1556.

¹⁹ Riddell Collection No. 9, f. 13r (National Library of Scotland).

parentage is unknown : but he and his brother Simon were legitimated on the 9th January, 1511. On the 7th November, 1538, Lord Wharton wrote to Thomas Cromwell that " one Frere Jerom, a learned man, has been taken at Dumfries, and lies in irons like to suffer for the Englishman's opinions, which, however, thank God, are spreading."²⁰ Russell stuck more steadfastly to his views and suffered martyrdom, according to Knox prophesying the eventual triumph of the cause for which he died.

Mr William Johnstone.

The connection of Mr William Johnstone with the area is less obvious. He was a burgess of Edinburgh, an advocate and eldest son of James Johnstone, burgess there, and Katherine Adamson. His grandfather, George Johnstone in Marjorybanks, married Margaret Herries, with whom he apparently received the lands of Lockerbie. He is frequently mentioned as a procurator before the court. Thus on the 11th December, 1522, he acted for John Marjorybanks. In 1533 he was ordered to accompany the bishop of Aberdeen on an embassy into England.²¹ By that date the English Reformation was reaching its crisis, and Johnstone's heresy was doubtless due to this contact. His non-appearance before the archbishop of St. Andrews in 1534 was followed by his condemnation as a heretic, and his escheat was granted to William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen, on the 16th September, 1534.²² He may then have recanted, but in April, 1538, he was again before an ecclesiastical court, sentence of heresy being pronounced by James bishop of Ross and the bishop of Aberdeen who once more received his gift of escheat. Perhaps the aged bishop may have wished to safeguard the interest of his former colleague by securing his escheat. When the bishop died Sir John Stewart of Minto as his heir took over the escheat, as we shall see. Johnstone's brother, Mr

²⁰ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, i., 2180; *Letters and Papers*, xiii., pt. 2. 777. Makcarny was in Dumfries on the 5th January, 1540. *Protocol Bk. of Mark Carruthers*, No. 77.

²¹ A.D.C., xxxiii., f. 83; A.D.C. et Sessionis, iv. f. 18.

²² *R.S.S.*, ii., 1583.

Andrew, who was prebendary of St. Andrew's altar in St. Giles in Edinburgh "left the land for heresy" before the 26th May, 1535.²³ However, on the 18th April, 1543, the Queen wrote to Paul III pointing out that William Johnstone, layman, bearer of the letter, after following the new doctrines wished after giving the matter serious consideration to return: *sepe studuit mystico Christi corpori redintegrari*.²⁴ After fleeing the realm and abjuring later, he now relapsed again and sentence to that effect having been given by the spiritual judge he once more suffered escheat, this time to Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, probably as executor to Stewart; his escheat took place on the 30th September, 1550.²⁵ On the 29th December, 1563, his half-brother, Andrew, asked the General Assembly for reduction of sentences against him and his brother pronounced by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Judges were deputed, but they came to no decision, so on the 27th December following, the Assembly concluded that the articles were not heretical and that a godly interpretation could be put on all of them.²⁶ In April, 1569, his brother took action against Sir John Stewart of Minto for the cancellation of the bishop of Aberdeen's infeftment in the "great Ludging in Liberton's wynd" and on this action is based the pedigree of the family of Johnstone of Lockerbie.²⁷

John MacBrair.

The history of John MacBrair, ex-Cistercian of Glenluce, has been adequately dealt with by King Hewison in a previous issue of these *Transactions* (3rd Series, vol. ix.), and here it will only be necessary to make a few additions and corrections. In the first place it is now clear that MacBrair

²³ Lees, *St Giles*, p. 551.

²⁴ *Letters and Papers*, xix., pt. 1, 358.

²⁵ *R.S.S.*, iv., 909.

²⁶ *Buke of the Universall Kirk*, i., 41, 56.

²⁷ Acts and Decrees, xliii., f. 17. For some notes on his family I am indebted to Dr R. C. Reid. William Johnstone probably studied the law at Orleans about 1518, after graduating in arts at St Andrews in 1516 (*Early Records of St Andrews Univ.*, p.105), where he was a contemporary of Bishop Reid.

was incorporated in St. Andrews at St. Salvator's college in 1531, in which year he also determined.²⁸ In other words it is probable that he was in his third year then, and that his incorporation for some reason had been postponed. If so he may have arrived about the time of the burning of Patrick Hamilton. He may also have known Robert Richardson, later a canon of Cambuskenneth, with whom he was associated later in London: it is not impossible that the two were vaguely related.²⁹ When he left the Cistercians is not known; but he is almost certainly the dominus Johannes Makbrair who witnessed the testament of William Nesbitt, burgess of Ayr, who died at Pinkie in 1547.³⁰ The name Nisbet has, of course, Lollard associations, which may suggest that MacBrair had taken refuge among Lollards. He certainly had found some friends in Ayrshire. One of his associates, John Lockhart of Bar, was accused of violent theft, from parish churches in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham, of eucharistic chalices, altars and Mass ornaments, and of casting down and breaking choir stalls and glazed windows in the years 1545-48.³¹ According to a memorandum of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews the Glasgow diocese had been neglected by Gavin Dunbar, its archbishop, and he personally attacked the house of Andrew, lord Ochiltree, and himself incarcerated MacBrair against Ochiltree's will.³² When exactly this happened is none too clear, but on the 24th May, 1550, Alexander Forstar, pursuivant, had letters to charge the laird of Bar and his accomplices to find security for underlying the law for releasing MacBrair from Hamilton castle.³³ Apparently

²⁸ *Early Records*, pp. 127, 228.

²⁹ Marion, widow of James Richardson, burgess of Edinburgh, is mentioned as spouse of Nicholas Makbryar, alderman of Dumfries: A.D.C., xiv., 56. This marriage is not recorded in the notes and pedigree chart of the McBrair of Almagill in Edgar's *History of Dumfries*.

³⁰ Glasgow Testaments, Scots Record Soc., 20th October, 1548.

³¹ Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i., 353.

³² *Liber Officialis Sancti Andree*, p. 167.

³³ *Treasurers' Accounts*, ix., p. 413. Andrew, Lord Ochiltree's securities were given on the 4th March, and the escape was before the 22nd May, *Acts of L. of C. in Public Affairs*, p. 601.

Lockhart took him to his own residence at Bar under cover of night.³⁴ Associated with Lockhart was Charles Campbell of Skerrington. Among those who gave sureties for MacBrair's residence were Campbell of Cessnock and Dalrymple of Stair.³⁵ It must have been about this time that MacBrair first escaped to England and received his preaching licence from Cranmer.

We gather from some London registers that MacBrair became curate of St. Peter's Cornhill, where he married an unnamed lady called Ellen on the 2nd August, 1551.³⁶ He, and not Richardson, is probably "the Skott, the curett," who preached at the funeral of the widow of Henry VIII's master of ordnance on the 22nd May, and he is certainly "the Skott of saynt Peters in Cornhyll," preaching at the funeral of Lady Locke, widow of a former sheriff of London.³⁷ At an even earlier date he appears to have been hired as an occasional preacher for St. Gregory's church by St. Paul's.³⁸ On the 15th May he was presented to the vicarage of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, by Bishop Bonner, and on the 21st August following preached at the funeral of Sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of Edward VI's household.³⁹ On the 16th February, 1553, he was presented to Graveshurst rectory in the diocese of Lincoln.⁴⁰ He was involved in the Wyatt rebellion on the accession of Mary Tudor, and his name appears on a pardon roll of the 30th October, as "late of London, clerk."⁴¹ He fled overseas to Frankfort, and while in the English congregation there neither actively opposed or actively assisted John Knox in his liturgical quarrels there, which may account for the fact that Knox fails to mention him in his history. On his return to England he failed to take up office in Scotland, although,

³⁴ *Criminal Trials*, i., 352.

³⁵ *Treas. Accts.*, ix., 459.

³⁶ *Registers of St Peter's Cornhill, 1538-1660*, p. 222.

³⁷ *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 6, 13.

³⁸ H. B. Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation*, p. 294.

³⁹ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i., 687; *Machyn's Diary*, p. 24.

⁴⁰ *Patent Rolls, Edward VI.*, v., 124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, *Philip and Mary*, i., 453.

while chaplain of Best, bishop of Carlisle, in July, 1564, he preached to large audiences in Dumfries.⁴²

MacBrair was also vicar of Crosthwaite, near Keswick, the church on a site where St. Kentigern is said to have planted his cross. He was collated in 1567, being replaced in 1585.^{42a} During his incumbency, and because of the complaints of his churchwardens, on the 31st October, 1571, a radical reformation was ordered of "popish reliques" in the church. Chalices, pixes, chrismatories, albs and amices were to be sold, chasubles defaced and converted into cushions, and traditional feasts like that of St. George abrogated.^{42a} It may well be thought that one of the moving spirits in this reformation was the vicar himself.

Two ardent episcopal advocates of the English Reformation acted as patrons of MacBrair; by Best of Carlisle he was instituted as vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, on the 13th November, 1565, and on the 26th to the vicarage of Billingham by Pilkington, bishop of Durham.⁴³ He is a witness to several Newcastle wills.⁴⁴ Pilkington's successor, Richard Barnes, found him less satisfactory and on the 8th April, 1578, he resigned the vicarage in the bishop's presence, but became repossessed.⁴⁵

He had also gained a prebend of Carlisle cathedral, second stall, on the 18th January, 1566, but this he resigned in 1568.⁴⁶ On the 11th October, 1587, several witnesses, including the parish clerk of Billingham, complained of MacBrair's incumbency there; of ten children born all were christened by strange curates.⁴⁷ The complaints must have been retrospective as MacBrair was then dead. John Manwell was curate of Billingham in 1579.⁴⁸ In September,

⁴² *State Papers Foreign Eliz.*, 1564-5, No. 558.

^{42a} *Eeles, The Parish Church of St Kentigern, Crosthwaite*, pp. 47, 58 seq. But Eeles was relying on the date of collation of M'Bruir's successor.

⁴³ *Registers of C. Tunstall, etc.* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 165, 168.

⁴⁴ See *Durham Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc.).

⁴⁵ *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, pp. 284, 288. This also records his burial, p. 292.

⁴⁶ *Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, iii., 253. He gives 1556 in error.

⁴⁷ *Injunctions of Bishop Barnes* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 135-6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95. Manwell, too, was a Scot, previously curate of Wolveston chapel, *Ibid.*, p. 55.

1578, he was designated to preach in several churches including the general chapter after Christmas at Newcastle. After his death in November, 1584, Roger Robson took possession of his goods, which included 19 neats and one mare, a silver salt dish, a silk gprogram gown and a cassock.⁴⁹

May one conclude with some controversial suggestions? It is quite true that the Dumfries and Galloway area could not remain totally unaffected by the "Englishman's opinions" as they developed from 1534, nor by whatever pockets of Lollardy still subsisted in Ayrshire. Nevertheless, the seeds of the defection of MacDowell and MacBrair were doubtless Lutheran, originating in impressions gathered in the St. Andrews of Patrick Hamilton or in the schools at Cologne. Moreover, the behaviour of the Scots religious refugees in England shows that they were more radical than the English in general. MacDowell was certainly under Lutheran influence, when he attached such importance to the works of his life-long opponent, Eck. Was he also influenced by Martin Bucer, an ex-Dominican like himself? Bucer was, as early as 1530, in correspondence with the circle of Patrick Hamilton. Moreover, it has not up to the present been observed that, when Bucer was in England, he received from Robert Lockhart, a Scot, a letter, dated August, 1549, containing certain questions of conscience. One of these related to the lawfulness for Scotsmen continuing to support their Queen in the English wars, since she had violated the marriage contract with Edward VI.⁵⁰ Was this Lockhart related to the Lockhart of Bar who had forcibly released MacBrair? The likelihood appears overwhelming. In any event it is clear that there was heresy in Galloway before the return of George Wishart to Scotland and with him the first influence of the Swiss Confession of Faith, and so it is probable that, in the main, Protestant influence, encouraged though it was by the defection from Rome of Henry VIII, came directly or indirectly from Germany and that its character was Lutheran.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85 and note.

⁵⁰ Among the Bucer correspondence in Cambridge. References to English rewards in the period 1547-50 suggest that, for a time at least, Lockhart provided his own answers to these questions. Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, ii., 94, 103, 289, 499; iii., 103.

ARTICLE 5.

The Churchyard of Tynron.

By JOHN MORELL McWILLIAM, Minister of Tynron.

In these notes I give an account of all the available stones in the old churchyard of Tynron. I do not deal with the stones in the modern extension which was opened about 1914. In some cases I give all or nearly all the facts recorded on the stone or even a complete transcript, and when this is not so I give the earlier names and dates, adding "and others." I use obvious contractions. Quite a number of ancient stones have been discovered by probing. They lay under some three inches of turf and have been raised and with others that had been piled in a heap, have been placed against the church wall.

The churchyard is in good order and is well kept by the County Council. In the past stones have been displaced or possibly destroyed, for a good deal can happen in 300 years. But there is no reason to believe that we have lost many of our stones. The proportion of eighteenth-century stones is fairly high. It should be remembered that in the second half of the eighteenth century illiteracy was common and only those who read would be likely to erect tombstones with names and dates. Nor have our older stones in general become illegible. Most of them responded well to careful scrubbing. We are very fortunate in having so many interesting records of the past and so many fine examples of craftsmanship. We have records of people of different occupations, of different families and farms, over nearly 300 years.

I have noted the religious emblems on the stones. Roses are carved on many of them, usually in pairs but not always. There is an immense history behind the rose as an emblem, Christian and pre-Christian. Since very early times it has been associated with graves and has commonly been planted on graves, especially those of young people. It is still sometimes planted on graves in Scotland. As an emblem in mediæval times it was frequently associated with the Mother

of Christ. Possibly the reason why it is commonly found in pairs is that, in the stories and the legends, a red rose is often contrasted with a white rose. In nearly all cases it is merely the blossom that is shewn, carved in a conventional way, but one of our recent stones no. 29 has two finely carved sprays of roses. In Carnteel churchyard, Co. Tyrone, I have seen and photographed a stone, 1780, with a crude rose bush with seven blossoms carved on the upper part of the stone along with cherubs with wings. The lily, emblem of purity, also associated with the Mother of Christ, is found at Tynron. A vine branch with grapes appears. Funeral urns are very common sometimes draped, a legacy from urn-burial. Cherubs with spreading wings are on a few of the earliest stones and the horn-glass and the open book. Till quite recent times the cross is not found nor the letters I.H.S. The Lamb of God which is common in some churchyards, for example at Glendalough in Ireland, does not occur with us nor the passion flower. The well-known emblem of the skull and cross bones with Memento Mori is found on seventeenth-century stones. It seems that in origin this is a symbol both of mortality and immortality. In the very remote past before Christian times it was believed that for a body to be capable of resurrection the head and legs must be intact. This belief was widespread in Northern Europe and Asia. Hence it is recorded in the Gospel of St. John that at the Crucifixion the legs of the two thieves were broken but of Jesus "they brake not his legs" (see a letter by D. Sinor, Institute of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, in the Sunday Times, 13th June, 1954). As in other churchyards our stones normally face East. This allows me for convenience of description to divide the churchyard into an eastern section starting at the church steps, then a northern section behind the church and then the larger western section up the slope from the church. The transcription of these stones was done during about two months in the summer of 1958 and allowing for help given to me by others may represent about 24 hours' work in the churchyard.

I have especially to thank Mr William A. Wilson for his help in unearthing and cleaning the stones and Mr A. E.

Truckell for carefully verifying my transcriptions and making some necessary corrections. Other parishioners and friends gave generous help when asked. The footnotes are the handiwork of the editors of this volume.

At east end of the Churchyard starting at the head of the steps—

1. Flat stone. To Thomas Hunter, d. 2nd Oct., 1828, at Craignie, and Robert Hunter his son, d. at Derby, Nov., 1828 a(ged) 30; and others.
2. Table stone on six supports each carved with a rose. To Agnes Broun, wife of James Hunter in Pingarie, d. 22nd April, 1831, a. 69, and said James Hunter, d. 3rd July, 1839, a. 79; and others.¹
3. Upright stone in railings. To James son of Robert Hunter, Glenochar, d. 1833, a. 4 years. Also Grace Murray his wife, d. 2nd Feb., 1847, a. 46. Also Robert Hunter, Glenochar, d. 15th Feb., 1858, a. 69. Beneath this is a flat stone: Here lies the corps of Euphemia Duglas spouse to Robert Hunter in Dalmakirron, d. 4th May, 1746, a. 13. Also James Hunter, their son, who died 13th Mar., 1758, a. 14. Also hear lyes Andrew Hunter surgeon, son of Robert Hunter in Craigencoon, d. in May, 1789, a. 27. Also the body of Robert Hunter, d. in Craigencoon, 4th April, 1799, a. 82. Also Agnes Dinwoody his spouse, d. 24th April, 1803, a. 73.
4. To Jane Wallace, d. at Pingarie, 11th July, 1850.
5. To Jean Hewitson wife of Alex. Gibson, d. at Tynronkirk, 20th May, 1911, a. 80. Also the said Alex. Gibson, d. at Tynron, 7th Nov., 1922, a. 80.
6. Large table stone in railings. To Thomas Smith, d. in Manwholl, 3rd Dec., 1795, a. 77. Also Lily Smith his sister, who d. in Appin many years ago, and three of his children, Walter,

¹ The testament of James Hunter in Pingarie (penes Miss Effie Brown) dated 6th Jan., 1829, shows that he was tenant of the Duke of Buccleuch in the lands of Pingarie and Bennan in parish of Tynron and the lands of Auchentaggart-muir in Sanquhar parish and that his family consisted of three sons and four daughters. To his son, John, he left his lease of Pingarie and Bennan. To his son, Robert, the lease of Auchentaggart-muir. To his son Adam Hunter, doctor of medicine at Leeds, of whom much is known, £100. His daughters were Mary, spouse of John Charteris in Thornhill; Jean, spouse of Alexander Williamson in Radarroch (?); Eliza Hunter, unmarried, and Janet, spouse of Robert Kirkpatrick at Pingarie (see also No. 67). His trustees were his sons, Robert Hunter in Glenochar, and John Hunter in Bennan, with Samuel Moffat of Auchenthaistene as oversman. The family claimed to have been tenants in Tynron for 300 years.

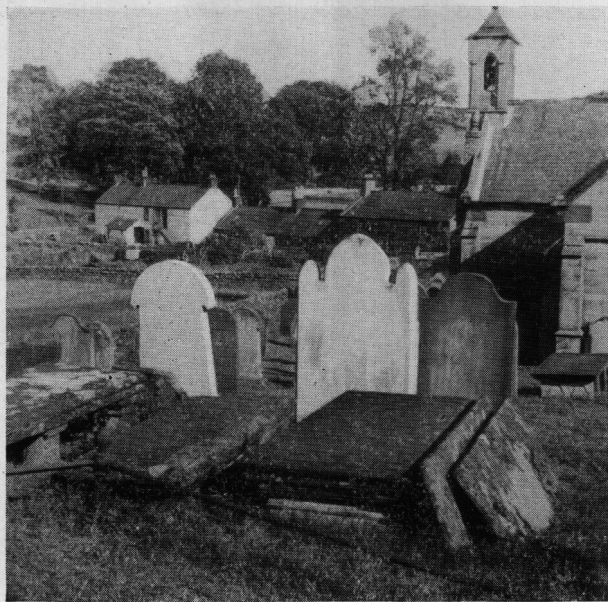


Plate I.—CHURCHYARD FROM THE WEST.



Plate II.—THE ANDERSON STONE, No. 36.



Plate III.—DISPLACED STONES SET AGAINST CHURCH.

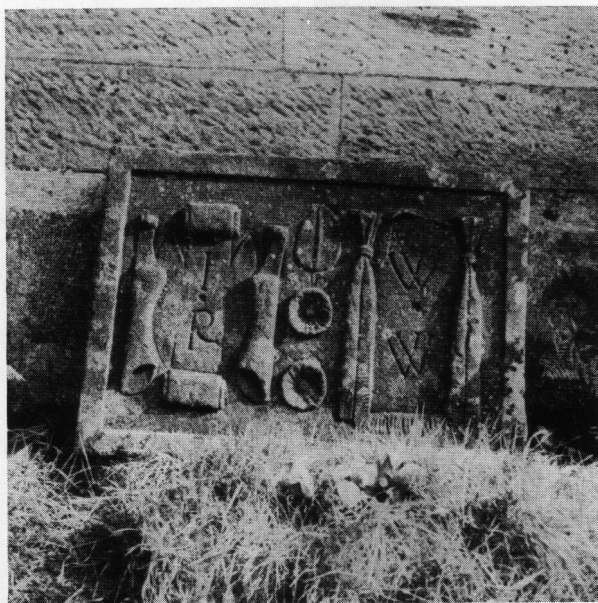


Plate IV.—SUPPORT STONE, No. 66.

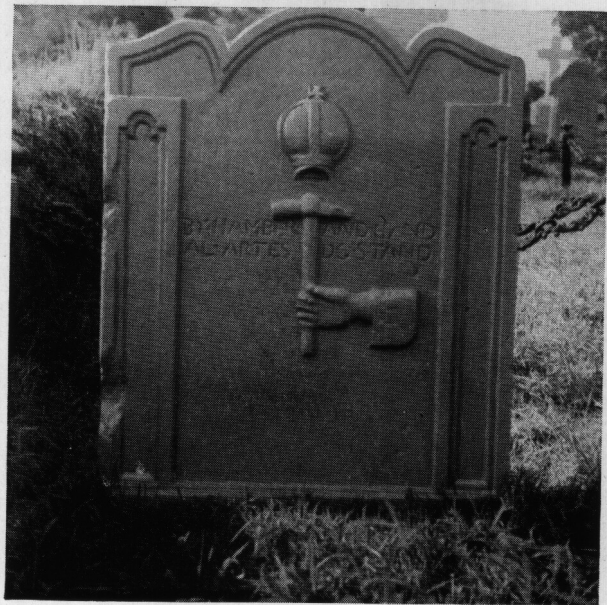


Plate V.—McCALL STONE, No. 118.



Plate VI.—DOUGLAS STONE, No. 7.



Plate VII.—BROWNRIGG STONE, No. 63.



Plate VIII.—McQUEEN STONE, No. 84.

- William and Jean Smith, also his son James Smith, who d. at Manwholl, 15th April, 1801, a. 34. Likewise Jean Crichton his wife, d. at Ingleston, 15th Oct., 1808, a. 81. Also Thomas Smith of Ingleston his son in law, d. 3rd March, 1825, a. 75. Also Margaret Smith his daughter, wife of the above Thomas Smith of Ingleston, d. 7th March, 1841, a. 84. Also Thomas Smith, Penfillan, nephew of said Thomas Smith, of Ingleston, and younger son of John Smith of Fauldhous, Lanarkshire, d. at Penfillan, 2nd Nov., 1849, a. 59.
7. Table stone. Hoc est sepulchrum Joannis Douglas de Stenhouse, 1683. Hourglass and skull and cross bones and Memento Mori separates the above from inscription, Major John Kirkpatrick was buried here, 3rd Jan., 1634.
 8. Flat stone.
 9. To James Goldie of Stenhouse who d. at Glencrosh, Nov., 1839, and Ann Gault his wife, d. at the manse of Kirkgunzeon, 1818; and others.
 10. Table stone. To John Broun in Auchingibbert d. 19th March, 1755, a. 66. Also Margaret Milligan his spouse; and others.
 11. Flat stone. Here lyes the corps of Isobell Pathison spouse to John Irving in Ford, d. 1st March, 1719, a. 55. Also their son William Irving, merchant in London, d. 18th June, 1757, a. 63.
 12. In large plot with chains; stone with draped urn. To Rev. Robert Wilson, minister of Tynron, d. at the manse, 27th Nov., 1870, a. 74. And Helen Dinwoodie his wife, and others. To Janet Wilson daughter of Robert Wilson in Auchingibbert, d. 17th Jan., 1814, a. 20. Also William Wilson son of the said Robert Wilson, d. at Auchingibbert, 28th July, 1819, a. 27. Also Margaret Crosbie, spouse to Robert Wilson, d. 6th December, 1832, a. 72. Also said Robert Wilson, d. 8th Oct., 1836, a. 87.
 13. Table stone to Rev. Mr Thomas Wilson, minister of the Gospel at Tynron, d. 8th May, 1784, a. 74, in the 41st year of his ministry. Seven lines of Eulogy.
 14. To Agnes McMichael spouse to James Broun, d. March, 1809, a. 62. Also James Broun, d. 5th Nov, 1814, a. 78; and others.
 15. Table stone to Rev. James Wilson, minister of Tynron, d. 23rd Sept., 1827, a. 72. and in 47th year of his ministry. Also Sarah Crichton his spouse, d. 22nd Feb., 1844, a. 60; and others
 16. Displaced table stone to James Wilson in Camling, d. 3rd Dec., 1713, a. 57. Robert Wilson in Camling, d. 1st Jan., 1733, a. 57. Also William Wilson, d. in Kirkconnel, 29th

- March, 1799, a. 85. Also Mary Clark his wife, d. at Ford, 1772, a. 50. This stone has an heraldic shield badly worn.²
17. Table stone on two supports one with a skull and Memento Mori, the other with a cherub head and wings. Illegible but a date 1692 is clear, perhaps recut. Possibly a Wilson of Croglin stone.
 18. To Catherine McMillan, d. at Stenhouse cottage, 29th May, 1893, a. 43; and others.
 19. To John Turnbull, d. at Airdlinn, Tynron, 23rd May, 1874, a. 74 and his wife Ann Maxwell.
 20. To Grace Lewis or Paterson wife of the late John Dalgleish Paterson of Christinburg, Demerara, d. 22nd Feb., 1917, R.I.P.
 21. Stone with cross to Christina Paterson, dau. of John Dalgleish Paterson, d. at Dumfries, 17th July, 1873, a. 41.
 22. To John Dalgleish Paterson, d. at Dalbeattie, 22nd Dec., 1886, a. 40.
 23. To James Paterson, d. at Rothesay, 15th September, 1849, a. 43.
 24. To William Paterson, late in Aird, d. 9th July, 1743, a. 52. Also Elizabeth Black his spouse, d. 6th March, 1763, a. 66; and others.
 - 24a. William Paterson in Craigieknow, d. 13th December, 1810, a. 75. Also Jean Dalgliesh his spouse, d. 16th May, 1824, a. 84.
 25. Stone with carved urn and roses to John Walker son of James Walker, d. at Stenhouse, May, 1800, a. 10; and others.
 26. To William Paterson who died at Craricknow of Durrisdeer, 4th Nov., 1855, a. 81; and others.
 27. Erected by David Bryce to Agnes Bryce, who d. at Corfarthing, 1st May, 1866, a. 2; and others.
 28. To William Bell d. at Auchinbrack cottage, July, 1891, a. 69, and Mary Adamson his wife d. 23 Nov., 1880, a. 57, interred in Carruthers church yard.
 29. Cross with finely carved sprays of roses. To Margaret wife of William Moss of Manchester, d. at Tynron, 7th Aug., 1886, a. 38.
 30. To Robert Armstrong, joiner, d. at Milton of Dunscore, 7th August, 1814, a. 26.
- ² There were Wilsons in Camling, tenants on the Lag estate, as early as 1623. Thomas Willison in Camling died that December, leaving a son, Thomas Willison in Craigturrow, and a daughter, Janet, who were his executors (Dumfries Tests, 19th July, 1624). They were probably unrecorded cadets of the Wilsons of Croglin (D. and G. Trans., xxviii, p. 135).

31. Large stone with urn, two roses and fan shaped pattern at corners. To Jane, dau. of James and Jane Johnstone, born 8th Jan., 1849, d. 24th May, 1856; and others.
32. Flat stone in north-east corner. To Elizabeth Watt spouse to William Hunter in Pingarie, d. 18th Dec., 1803, a. 26. As also Ann McTurk his spouse, d. 4th Aug., 1827, a. 60.³
33. To James Cowan late shepherd at Appin, who died there suddenly much esteemed by his employer, 27th Aug., 1839, a. 19. This tombstone is erected by a few of the neighbouring shepherds in testimony of the affectionate regard they entertained for him.
34. Stone in large plot with iron railings. Cross inside a laurel wreath. To Andrew Pringle of Borgue, M.D., d. in London, 17th January, 1858. Also Janet Lean Hunter his widow, later widow of Gideon Pott, b. 23rd July, 1827, d. 31st Jan., 1912.
35. To Andrew Armstrong, d. at Minniegrile, 29th March, 1828, a. 57. Also Agnes Hunter, his spouse, d. Dec. 1836, a. 60; and others.
36. To Janet Anderson relict of Andrew Williamson, d. at Stenhouse, 8th March, 1853, a. 80. On the reverse side there is carved an urn with two roses. Beneath there are two roses, a wreath and an urn with three roses carved on it and other decorations.
37. To John Watt son of James Menzies, d. at Tynron Kirk, 17th January, 1868, a. 2 years and 8 months and others. Lastly James Menzies, d. 30 Nov., 1907, a. 80.
38. Stone with urn and roses. To Janet Lason, d. at Killywarren, 29th May, 1851, a. 72. Also Thomas Maxwell her husband, d. there 26th July, 1854, a. 77.
39. To Elizabeth Wallace, widow of Thomas Artherton, d. at Moniaive, 1891, a. 69.
40. Stone with urn and two roses and fan shaped ornaments at corners. To William son of George Menzies, d. 4th Oct., 1849, a. 21, at Auchengibbert. Also Margaret his dau., d. 20th March, 1860, a. 23. George Menzies, d. at Auchengibbert, 22nd Sept., 1885, a. 93.
41. Stone with urn, two roses and fan shaped ornaments at corners. To Robert Newall, d. 12th Nov., 1842, a. 6½ months,

³ William Hunter in Pingarie was almost certainly father of James Hunter in Pingarie, who died in 1839 (see No. 9). There were Hunters in Pingarie in the 16th century, Thomas Hunter there dying in December, 1596, his executors being his brothers, William and Andrew (Edin. Tests, 15th Feb., 1600)

son of Robert Newall parochial schoolmaster of Tynron. Also Janet Hunter wife to Robert Newall, d. 5th Aug., 1863, a. 60. Robert Newall, d. at Penpont, 13th April, 1873, a. 75.

North section of churchyard behind the church—

42. A large plot in iron railings with two stones set in a wall and an obelisk about 14 ft. high surmounted by a draped urn with roses. To Thomas Hunter, M.D., d. at Minnyhive, 9th May, 1844, and Isabella Kennedy, wife of the above, d. 26th March, 1869. Also to William, d. at Dalmakirran, 9th Nov., 1847, a. 76; and others. Also Mary dau. of Robert Kennedy of Dalmakirran, d. 20th July, 1851, a. 7½; and of his wife Jane Murray, d. 24th Oct., 1851, a. 41.
43. By James Ritchie, shepherd, Auchenbrack, to Robert Ritchie his son, d. 1st June, 1853, a. 3½. Also said James Ritchie, d. at Auchenbrack, 20th March, 1887, a. 70.
44. Stone with carved urn and roses. To Jane dau. of James Johnstone, b. 8th Jan., 1849, d. 24th May, 1856; and others.
45. By William Glover, shepherd, Appin, to John Glover his son, d. 1st March, 1858, a. 17; and others.
46. By John Graham to Peter Graham his son, d. 14th September, 1865, a. 33; and others.
47. To Thomas Cowan, d. at Auchenbrack, 12th Dec., 1875, a. 66; and others.
48. By Thomas Prentice to his brother who d. at Kirkmahoe, July, 1856, a. 3½. Also John Prentice who d. at Appin, 14th Nov., 1846, a. 6. Also Ann Hiddleston his wife d. at Moniaive, 26th Feb., 1878, a. 71.
49. By Robert Hunter to Samuel Hunter his son who d. at Demerara, 16th June, 1833, a. 21. Also James Hunter, his son, d. at Burnfoot, Tynron, 12th May, 1843, a. 34. The above Robert Hunter d. at Larginore in the parish of Kells, 15th Dec., 1860, a. 84; and others.
50. To John Glendinning d. at Tynron village, 15th March, 1888, a. 5½; and others. A small incised cross.
51. Urn and two roses. To John Seaton d. at Stenhouse cottage, 12th June, 1827, a. 68, and Janet Maxwell his spouse d. at Tynron Kirk, 6th March, 1838, a. 78; and others.
52. Displaced table stone broken. Here lies the body of George Seaton in Alpin, d. 12th Jan., 1700, a. 90. Also Elizabeth Hunter his spouse d. 18th Jan., 1725, a. 70. Marion Porteous spouse to John Seaton, Milnhous, d. 1763, a. 36. The said John Seaton, d. 16th March, 1799, a. 86; and others.
53. By John Craven to Harriet Craven, d. 16th Dec., 1869, a. 3; and others.

54. To John Craven, d. at Stenhouse cottage, 24th Aug., 1888, a. 85; and others.
55. By William Grierson in Lochrennie, Dalry, to James Grierson his father who d. at Margmony, Tynron, 1st Feb., 1837, a. 77; and others.
56. To John Gibson, d. at Auchinbrack, 27th Sept., 1839, a. 38; and others.
57. To Annie M. Gray dau. of David Gray, Appin, Tynron, d. 15th Oct., 1891, a. 30.

Stones set against walls of church—

58. To John Glencross d. in McQueston, March, 1702, a. 67. Erected by William Glencross, his son.
59. Stone with gun and two dogs. To James Hunter, d. in Mains, 8th Jan., 1709, a. 78. Mento Mori.
60. To Ann Milar spouse to Robert Brownridge d. at Tynron Kirk, 12th Dec., 1848, a. 68, and of the said Robert, d. 30th June, 1864, a. 83.
61. To John Wallace, d. Nov. 1731, a. 55. Also Agnes McTurk his spouse d. April, 1739, a. 61. Also James Wallace their son, d. 31st Oct, 1784, a. 77.
62. Stone with hunting horn and two dogs. Here lyes the corps of Janet Mathison spouse to James Hunter in Mains, who dyed 1st May, 1712, aged 58. Here lyes William Hunter in Holmhead of Dalwhat, d. 12th Nov., 1758, a. 75. Also Mr Robert Hunter in Crawfordton, d. 28th Dec., 1763, a. 83. And James Hunter in Shancastle, d. 16th Dec., 1771, a. 84.
63. Here lyes the Corps of John Brownrig who lived and dayad in Carnecarft, his age 48, 1699.
64. Stone with cherub and wings, horseshoe hammer and pincers, corner broken off. This stone and burial place belongs to James G[] in Clod(drie?).
65. Two supports with skulls and stars and a support with Tempus volat hour glass and a bible.
66. Small stone with two roses and other emblems divided into two panels with the initials I.R. on the left and W.W. on the right. Possibly a support stone at one time.
67. To Robert Kirkpatrick, d. at Craigencoon, 12th Sept., 1832, a. 54. Also Janet Hunter his spouse who emigrated with her family to New South Wales in 1841 and died at Carcoar in that colony, 15th July, 1852, a. 66.
68. Here lies the corpse of Thomas Hunter sometime in Craigencoon, who departed this life on 24th Jan., 1727, a. 84. Also Jane Shitlington his spouse who departed this life 16th Jan.,

1714, her age, 69. Also the corps of James Hunter in Upper Craigencoon, who d. 8th Jan., 1763, a. 86. Also Helen Hunter and Mary Maxwell his spouses. Also Andrew Hunter in Upper Craigencoon, d. 5th June, 1781, a. 69. Carved at the foot are two dogs and Keep Trist.⁴

69. To Janet Hyslop spouse of Robert Armstrong, d. at Killie-warren, 21st March, 1812, a. 67. Also Jean Hyslop spouse of John Armstrong their son, d. at Laggan, 21st March, 1823; and others.

West end of churchyard starting at the head of the slope and working down to the church, ending at the head of the steps—

70. Large plot with walls and iron railings. Panels inserted in wall. To Isabella Hunter spouse to James McTurk, Esq., d. 7th Aug., 1815, a. 50. Also to said James McTurk, b. 6th Dec., 1755, d. 4th Dec., 1833, a. 78. Also to Thomas McTurk, son of James McTurk, d. at Kirkland, Kirkmichael, 21st Jan., 1834; and others.
71. To Margaret Beck spouse to James Edgar, d. at Graigencoon, 2nd March, 1836, a. 24. Also the said James Edgar, d. 29th April, 1842, a. 33.
72. By George Edgar, Craigneston to Margaret his dau., d. 24th April, 1856, a. 13. And to James Edgar his son, whose death took place at Appin by the falling of a bridge, 20th April, 1863, a. 22; and others.
73. By Adam Grierson, Stenhouse, to Mary Paterson, his wife, d. 18th June, 1868, a. 36. Also James Grierson their son, d. 9th Feb., 1860, a. 9; and others.
74. Large stone surmounted by a draped urn. To Mary Tyre wife of James Lawrie, merchant, Tynronkirk, d. 16th Feb., 1882, a. 37. Also James Lawrie, d. at Penpont, 18th July, 1916, a. 74. Also Mary Elizabeth Lamont wife of James Lawrie, d. 27th March, 1924.

⁴ The Hunters in Craigencoon and Glenochar seem to be inexplicably mixed up with the Hunters in Pingarie and may all have been offshoots of Auchenbainzie in Penpont. There was a John Hunter in Craigencone, who, in Nov., 1602, secured a Crown feu of the lands of Killelago and Nether Laggan in Dunscore parish, formerly the property of Melrose Abbey (R.M.S., 1593-1608, 1366). He died on 9th December, 1636, and his testament shows that he had four sons, Robert, William, Andrew and Archibald (Dumfries Tests, 21st Aug., 1638). The family of Shitlington or Setlington held the lands of Stanehouse as early as 1484 (D. and G. Trans., v., 190). That property belonged to the Douglasses of Stanehouse or Stenhouse by 1637.

75. To Henrietta Drummond wife of John Lawrie, schoolmaster at Tynronkirk, d. 22nd March, 1883, a. 47. Bessie Linton their dau., d. 10th Jan., 1892, a. 22, and Marion Glover his wife, d. at Penpont, 9th June, 1902, a. 57.
76. Table stone. To Margaret Williamson, d. 3rd March, 1795, a. 14 weeks, also John Williamson, d. 10th Feb., 1807, a. 13, children of James Williamson, merchant, Tynron. Also Elizabeth Broun spouse to said James Williamson, d. 12th Sept., 1825, a. 71. Also James Williamson, d. at Tynron Kirk, 22nd Oct., 1826, a. 75; and others.
77. Table stone. To Jane McAdam, wife of James Reid, surgeon, R.N., d. at Auchenbrack, 18th Sept., 1868, a. 75. Also said James Reid, d. at Auchenbrack, 31st May, 1870, a. 84.
78. Table stone. To James Williamson, d. in Auchenbrack, 6th April, 1787, a. 74, also Elizabeth Greenshields his spouse, d. 23rd April, 1803, a. 90; and others.
79. Table stone. To Samuel Williamson, d. in Auchenbrack, 12th Jan., 1807, a. 58; and others.
80. Flat stone. To William Watson, d. at Upper School, 1st Aug., 1789, a. 57. Also John Watson, schoolmaster, Tynron, d. 5th Jan., 1819, a. 73; and others.
81. Urn and roses. To John Anderson, d. at Cairniecroft, 10th July, 1850, a. 58. Also Catherine McQueen his wife, d. 17th Oct, 1867, a. 80.
82. Rose. To Marion Jane Lamberton, d. at Edinburgh, 14th May, 1894, a. 27. Also William Lamberton, d. at Craigen-coon, 5th July, 1913, a. 81. Also Jane Aird wife of William Lamberton, d. at Clonhead, Keir, 26th May, 1916, a. 84.
83. Large plot with railings and a wall surmounted with urns with panel inserted. To William Kennedy of Kirkland, d. 7th Dec., 1805, a. 56. Also Janet Steven his mother, d. 28th March, 1808, a. 94. Also Janet McTurk his wife, d. 1st Nov., 1819, a. 58. Also Robert Kennedy, tanner in Dumfries, d. July, 1827, a. 28. Also Sarah Carrick wife of William Kennedy, d. 4th Nov., 1850, a. 41. Also John Kennedy of Kirkland, d. 14th July, 1866, a. 72. Also Agnes McTurk his wife, dau. of James McTurk of Stenhouse, d. 2nd Feb., 1882, a. 87; and others.⁵

⁵ These Kennedys seem to have been a family of dyers. Kirkland may have been a small holding in Glencairn, for William Kennedy is described in his wife's testament as sometime dyer at Cairnmylne. His wife, Agnes Gracie, who had previously been spouse to John Gracie, dyer at Waulkmylne of Craigdarroch, died c. 1796 leaving an only daughter by her first marriage, Elizabeth Gracie, spouse of Rev. John Brown, minister at Kilmacolm. From this tombstone William Kennedy would seem to have had three wives. But there was a Kirkland in Tynron once owned by Kennedies.

84. Urn and two roses with fan pattern. To James McQueen, d. at Craigputtock, 10th Aug., 1815, a. 75. Also Katherine McQueen his dau., d. at Craigenputtock, 20th Dec., 1820, a. 15. Also Agnes Chesney his spouse, d. at Auchenbray, 31st July, 1839, a. 74.
85. Table stone. To David Dalziell son of Robert Dalziell in Clonrae, d. 29th June, 1810, a. 30. Also the said Robert Dalziell, d. at Calside, 22nd Nov., 1831, a. 81. Also Helen Gilchrist his spouse d. at Calside 12th June, 1835, a. 82; and others.
86. To the Rev. David Couper minister of Tynron for 42 years, d. at Selkirk, 22nd April, 1913, and his wife, Christina Jane Clark, d. 26th Feb., 1925.
87. Stone with urn. To Samuel Moffat late of Auchenhastnene, d. 1861, a. 78; and others. Below the above is a flat stone. To Jean Moffat, d. 11th June, 1771, a. 8 weeks, and other children. Also Jean Maxwell spouse to Alexander Moffat senior of Auchenhastnane, d. 7th Sept., 1812, a. 66; and others.⁶
88. Urn and two roses. To James Moffat son of the late Alexander Moffat of Auchenhessane, d. at Midlaggan parish of Parton, 12th May, 1844, a. 68. Also Margaret dau. of said Alexander Moffat, d. at Penpont, 28th Sept, 1856, a. 77.
89. To Walter Dickson, d. at Bennan, 22nd Jan., 1835, a. 25. Also Agnes McKinnell his wife, d. at Fell, 11th March, 1886, a. 82; and others.
90. Stone with two roses. To Margaret Smith spouse to Samuel Gracie, d. at Ford, 19th February, 1842, a. 74. The said Samuel Gracie, d. 21st Nov., 1843, a. 76; and others.
91. Urn, roses and fan pattern at corners. To Francis Roan son of James Roan in Stanhouse, d. 14th March, 1840, a. 10. Also James son of said James Roan, d. 31st Aug., 1844, on board the ship Nereid of London off Ascension Island homeward bound from China, a. 16.
92. To Elizabeth Douglas wife of John Gracie, d. at Minnyhive, March, 1845, a. 35. Also said John Gracie, d. at Tynron Kirk, 21st May, 1864, a. 57; and others.
93. Here lies the corpse of James McGhie, smith in Parkhouse who departed this life 1st Oct., 1748, a. 42. On the reverse of the stone a hand and hammer, mitre and pincers.

⁶ These Moffats, descended from the Moffats of Sundaywell, are fully recorded in *The Family of Moffat of that Ilk* (1908), by Robert Maxwell Moffat, M.D.

94. Table stone. To Janet Tait spouse to John Crosbie in Land, d. 15th April, 1779, a. 55, and Janet dau. of John Crosbie and Janet Tait, d. Oct, 1779, a. 17. Also said John Crosbie, d. 28th Sept., 1794, a. 68; and others.
95. Flat stone. Here lies the body of Gilbert Grierson of Grennan who d. 15th April, 1778, a. 73. Likewise Catherine Laurie his spouse. Also Robert Grierson in Craignie their son, who d. 4th Feb., 1772, a. 52. Also Ann Hood spouse of the said Robert Grierson, d. 8th Feb., 1782, a. 52.⁷
96. Flat stone. The lower two-thirds are covered with crude carvings including a cherub with wings and a thistle and candlestick. At the foot there are a hunting horn and two dogs resembling the carving on a Hunter stone of 1712. Leaning against the church wall, apparently an early Hunter stone.
97. Table stone. Here lies the body of Robert Grierson in Townhead of Auchenbenzie, d. 14th Jan., 1745, a. 46. Also Sarah Philip his wife, d. 22nd April, 1751, a. 54. Also Thomas Grierson, son of John Grierson in Townhead of Auchenbenzie, d. 10th Oct., 1772, a. 9. Also John Grierson in Townhead, d. 14th July, 1804, a. 71. Also Mary Hunter his spouse, d. 10th March, 1808, a. 80. Also Robert Grierson, d. in Knockelly, 28th Nov., 1835, a. 80. Also Sarah Grierson, d. 7th June, 1849, a. 77.
98. Table stone. Here is interred Thomas Shaw of Kirkland, d. 31st Oct., 1762, a. 68.
99. Table stone. To James Grierson, M.D., late physician in Bath, who d. at Marwhir(n)?, 15th Nov., 1787, a. 60.⁸
100. Table stone. To Francis Rogerson in School (?) Collin, d. 25th Dec., 1764, a. 86. Erected by Gilbert Grierson of Marwhirn. Also Mary Rogerson, eldest dau. of the said Francis

⁷ The details on this stone must be accepted with caution for they seem to imply that Gilbert Grierson achieved parenthood at the age of 15. It is remarkable that in Penpont churchyard is a stone—"this stone and burial place belongs to Gilbert Grierson of Grennan—erected anno 1733." The Grennan family provides the genealogist with many problems.

⁸ This medico was a younger son of Gilbert Grierson of Grennan. The latter was originally "in Dalmacurane" and obtained one-third of the 5 merk and 20 penny land of Measengerislandis alias Grennan, from John Neilson, writer in Dumfries, by disposition dated 15th October, 1714 (Capenoch Inventory, 126) and another one-third part from Sir Robert Grierson of Lag (Cap. Inv., 129). Gilbert was possibly son of another Gilbert Grierson of Chapel, alias Gleneslen, who died ante 1712 and had disposed the first one-third part of the lands to Neilson on 7th October, 1700 (Cop. Inv., 121).

Rogerson and spouse of Gilbert Grierson of Marwhirn, d. 13th Feb., 1776, a. 31.⁹

101. Table stone. To Ann Grierson dau. to deaceast Gilbert Grierson of Grennan, d. 15th March, 1796, a. 76.
102. Displaced stone. Here lyes Robert Grierson, sometime bailie to Craigdarroch, who departed this life the 20th day of Dec., 170- ? aged 78. Here also lyes Mary Gilchrist spouse to Robert Grierson at Tynron kirk, who d. 9th Nov., 1707, a. 31. Also his son Robert (Grierson) late schoolmaster in Tynron, d. 22nd June, 1730, a. 19. Skull and cross bones, hour glass and spreading wings with Memento Mori.
103. Displaced table stone. To Robert Grierson at Moniaive, who d. 8th Sept., 1705, a. 82, and the corpse of [] Grierson in Tynronkirk, 28th Feb., 1737, a. (illegible). Skull and bones, hour glass and spreading wings with Memento Mori.
104. Flat stone. Here lies the body of Thomas Grierson, who d. 6th Dec., 1686, a. 48. Erected by Thomas Grierson his great grandson.
105. To William Donaldson, d. at Marqueston, 20th April, 1827, a. 29.
106. Stone with rose. To James Eccles son of Robert Eccles, d. at Kilmark, 31st Jan., 1907, a. 8 years and 9 months. Also Elizabeth Cunningham youngest dau. of Robert Eccles, d. at Kilmark, 27th May, 1907, a. 13 months.
107. To James Stracey son of Charles and Jean Stracey, d. at Stenhouse, Aug, 1908, a. 8.
108. To Ewart Morrison, d. at Lann Hall Lodge, 1888, a. 56; and others.
109. To Francis Davidson, d. at Hillhead, 17th August, 1909, a. 59; and others.
110. Large stone surmounted by an urn. To Rev. James Pattison, A.M., d. 28th July, 1816, a. 62. Had congregations in Thornhill and Moniaive. Twenty lines of eulogy; and others.

⁹ Gilbert Grierson of Marwhirn (Glencairn) was the elder brother of Dr James Grierson. He had a disposition of two-third parts of Grennan from his father on 28th October, 1741 (Cap. Inv., 131) and on 29th February, 1748, he, with consent of his father, dispoined lands to Charles Maitland of Eccles (Cap. Inv., 132). Gilbert also had sasine of Marwhirn on 7th May, 1744 (Dumfries Part. Reg. Sas.). He married Mary, eldest daughter of Francis Rodgerson, and it has been suggested by Col. R. Greeves that he may possibly be identified with Gilbert Grierson of Grennan, who died 15th April, 1778, aged 73. Hamilton Grierson says that Gilbert Grierson and Mary Rodgerson had a son, Francis, and a daughter, Catherine, who married John Corson of Dalquhat and quotes sasines dated 3rd November, 1781, and 27th February, 1787, from Dumfries Part. Reg. Sas.

111. By Robert Patterson, Clonrae, to John Patterson his father, who d. there 10th Oct., 1865, a. 84. Also Margaret Martin, wife of the said John Patterson, d. 15th Oct., 1871, a. 82; and others.
 112. By John Tyre, farmer, Maqueston, to his dau. Eliza Lambie, d. 22nd April, 1809. Also John Tyre, d. 6th March, 1886, a. 82, and Marion Lambie widow of John Tyre, d. 6th March, 1895, a. 82; and others.
 113. Urn and two roses, with fan pattern at corners. To Jane Borthwick dau. of Alexander Borthwick, shepherd at Shinnelhead, d. 27th March, 1844, a. 17 months; and others.
 114. To Jane Hargraves wife of Adam Broun, Bennan, d. 4th Dec., 1871, a. 43. The above Adam Broun d. at Bennan, 7th Jan., 1892, a. 65, and their son, John Hunter Broun, d. in New Zealand, 15th Nov., 1918, a. 66.¹⁰
 115. To the children of William Gray and Catherine Gray. Janet, d. 1871, a. 5; and others.
 116. To Mary Ann Glencorse dau. of James Glencorse, d. at Holmhouse, 27th Jan., 1873; and others.
 117. To Jane McMurdo wife of Archibald Fisher, third dau. of John McDuff, who d. at Craigturra, 21st May, 1874, a. 20; and others.
 118. Blacksmiths stone carved on the foot a hand and hammer and a mitre and "By hammer and hand all artes do Stand." On the reverse, To Agnes Dalrimpil, Margaret Cheen (?), Isobel Heslop spouses to James McCall, smith at Goukthorn. Also John, Robert, Thomas, Janet and Margaret McCall, his children.
 119. To Thomas Waugh, d. at Penpont, 6th June, 1910, a. 45; and others.
 120. To James Seaton, d. at Chanlochhead, 20th Nov., 1851, a. 65; and others.
 121. Table stone. To Thomas Smith, joiner, Tynron, d. 22nd May, 1892, a. 82. Also to Jane Crosbie his wife, d. 12th May, 1878, a. 68; and others.
- ¹⁰ Adam Brown in Bennan, spouse of Jane Hargraves, was a grandson of Adam Brown in Gateslack (Durisdeer), who died in 1811. His father, John Brown (1783-1828), had been tenant of Bennan before him, perhaps inheriting the lease of it through his wife. Adam had three sons and two daughters, one being Stephen Brown of Boreland of Dryfesdale, whose eldest daughter, Miss Effie Brown, recently presented to the Ewart Library a typed copy of an MSS entitled *Glenshinnel or Clan Hunter*, a tale in three cantos believed to be the work of Dr Adam Hunter, second surviving son of James Hunter in Pingarie and Bennan by his wife, Agnes Brown, daughter of Adam Brown in Gateslack. Attached to this MSS are a number of notes on the Brown and Hunter families.

122. To Thomas Smith, joiner, d. at Tynron Kirk, 23rd Nov., 1906, a. 67. Also his wife Margaret Gracie, d. there 31st Jan., 1925, a. 85.
123. Urn and two roses. To Elizabeth McClounie spouse to Robert Smith, d. 10th Feb., 1813, a. 30.
124. To Alexander Smith, joiner, Tynron, d. 5th April, 1914, a. 45.
125. Displaced table stone. Here lies interred the body of Janet McCall spouse to William Deugane in Killywarren, d. 18th Jan., 1718, a. 47. Erected by William Deugane.
126. To Robert Crinean, d. at Birkhill, 10th Jan., 1874, a. 75. Also Jane Anderson his wife, d. 30th June, 1857, a. 56; and others.
127. To Joseph Anderson, d. at Corriedow, 31st March, 1869, a. 74. Also Isobella Findlay wife of above, d. 31st Dec., 1873, a. 75; and others.
128. To Owen McVae d. at Tynron, 5th Jan., 1833, a. 55. And Agnes Smith his spouse d. there, 28th May, 1828, a. 33; and others. Also to John McVae their son, d. in Australia, 12th Nov., 1851, a. 34. And to Hugh McVae, d. at Kirkconnel, 10th Feb., 1855, a. 35. Also Jessie McVeigh their dau., d. at Brierbush, Penpont, 17th Nov., 1867, a. 44.
129. To Margaret Shaw wife of Thomas Irvine, gardener, d. at Drumclyer, Irongray, 31st May, 1898, a. 43; and others.
130. To Janet Riddick wife of John Dunlop, d. at Lann Hall lodge, 2nd Aug., 1874, a. 75. Also John Dunlop her husband, d. at Castledykes, 17th July, 1889, a. 89.
131. By John Gibson, Tynron Kirk, to Janet Gibson his dau., d. at Thornhill, 30th Jan., 1867, a. 18. Also Margaret Clark his wife, d. 1st Jan., 1874, a. 62. And said John Gibson d. at Minnygrile, 23rd July, 1888, a. 75; and others.
132. To William Hunter, McMunnies, d. at Shinnelhead, 1909, a. 57; and others.
133. Displaced stone against the churchyard wall. To Mary Williamson spouse to James Broun in Grennan, d. 30th Nov., 1757, a. []. Also Thomas Broun, son to said James Broun, d. 20th [], 1738, a. 21. Also John Broun son to said James Broun, d. 20th Dec., 1766, a. 61; and others.
134. To John Glencross, d. 16th July, 1798, a. 42. Also his wife, Jean Geddes, d. 5th June, 1808, a. 54.
135. Here lies John McDarroch in Airdmill, who d. 29th Oct., 1746, a. 74. And Barbra Grierson his spouse, d. 23rd April, 1748, a. 84. Also their son John McDarroch, d. 21st Oct., 1730, a. 21.

136. Displaced stone against churchyard wall. Here lies the corpse of John Milligan son of William Milligan in Auchengibbert, who d. 9th Jan. (illegible). A later date on this stone is 1724 (reverse is buried).
137. Stone with roses. To James Hastings, d. 9th May, 1945, a. 87. Mary Suttie his wife, d. 29th Dec., 1954, a. 93; and others.
138. To John McGladrie, d. at Tynronkirk, 4th March, 1840, a. 70. Also Hannah McGladrie his dau., d. 18th March, 1845. Also Sarah Curtis his wife, d. 28th March, 1847, a. 77. Also Sarah their dau., d. 20th Nov., 1874.
139. Stone with roses. Erected by Thomas McMillan in Scroughouse, 1786. On the reverse side, Here lies the body of Mr Robert McMillan, student of divinity, d. 16th July, 1782, a. 24, son to Thomas McMillan in Scroughouse.
140. By Robert Walker to his dau. Jane, d. at Auchenbrack, 22nd Feb., 1863, a. 24; and others.
141. To Sarah Johnstone wife of John Gourlay, d. at Upper Pingarie, 9th May, 1880, a. 79. Also said John Gourlay, d. at Upper Pingarie, 25th Oct., 1885, a. 84; and others.
142. To Elizabeth Cumming, d. at Midshinnel, 19th Sept., 1801, a. 18. Also William Cumming, d. there 15th April, 1809, a. 70. Also Elizabeth Hunter his spouse, d. at Clackleith, 3rd Aug., 1822, a. 77.
143. To John Clark, d. at Birkhill, 27th March, 1870, a. 50, and Janet Brown his wife, d. 22nd Nov., 1883, a. 66; and others.
144. To Janet Smith wife of William Lorimer, d. 3rd Dec., 1920, a. 75. William Lorimer, d. 11th Feb., 1923, a. 79; and others.
145. To James McTurk, merchant, Minnyhive, d. 22nd April, 1852, a. 71. Christina McTurk his dau., d. 17th Dec., 1854, a. 27. Christina Proudfoot his wife, d. at Moniaive, 25th June, 1855, a. 72.
146. Stone with rose and fan pattern at corners. By Adam Craven to his son John Craven, d. at Linn cottage, 20th June, 1880, a. 3. Also Janet Austin his wife, d. 29th Feb., 1916, a. 70. Adam Craven, d. 22nd Jan., 1928, a. 83; and others.
147. Samuel McKinnell, d. at Cairneycroft, 23rd July, 1887, a. 86. Also his son John, d. at Falkland Islands, 4th Aug., 1876, a. 35.
148. John Armstrong, d. at Craigencoon, 26th May, 1881, a. 74. Isabella Linton his widow, d. 22nd Feb., 1888, a. 84.
149. Urn and two roses. To Robert McGaw, d. at Cormilligan, 14th Feb., 1820, a. 32. Also William McGaw, shepherd, at

- Cormilligan, d. in New Zealand, 6th April, 1902, a. 84. The names of eight of his grandsons follow who were killed in the war, 1916-1918.
150. To John McGaw, d. 2nd Dec., 1864, a. 81. Margaret Grierson his wife, d. 7th Sept., 1863, a. 77; and others.
 151. By James Scott, Penpont, to Agnes Anderson his mother, d. Jan., 1835, a. 62. Also William Scott, her husband, d. 24th Jan., 1854, a. 70; and others.
 152. To James Shaw, for 34 years parochial schoolmaster in Tynron, d. at Upper Schoolhouse, 15th July, 1896, a. 70.¹¹
 153. Table stone. Here lieth William Smith son to William Smith in Hill who for his adhering to the Covenanted work of Reformation was shot at Minnyhive Moss the 29th day of March, 1685, his age 19 years. This deed was not done by a council of war but by countrey men without (as) syse. I, William Smith, now here do ly once martyred for Christ's verity. Douglas of Stenhouse, Laurie of Maxwellton, caused Cornet Bailie give me martyrdom. What cruelty they to my corps they used Living may judge. The burial they refused. There is no date given for the erection and it is not stated by whom it was erected.
 154. Marble Cross. To Mary widow of Major-General Francis Archibald Reid, C.B., and daughter of the late Murdo Mackenzie, Esq., of Ardross and Dundonnell, Ross-shire, d. at Shinnelwood in this parish 19th Jan., 1896, a. 90.

¹¹ James Shaw was appointed schoolmaster of Tynron by the heritors in October, 1862. He was a native of Renfrewshire, being the eldest son of Mr Archibald Shaw, joiner in Barrhead. Bred to the business of a pattern designer, he became a partner in a firm in his native town before turning to the teaching profession which proved his sphere in life. He did much to imbue his pupils and others with a love of natural history and antiquarian pursuits and was for long a valued contributor to the D. and G. Society. His first known contribution was to the *Graphic* (1880) on the growth of Reason in Animals and he even addressed the British Association at one of its Glasgow meetings. To this society he contributed the following papers: Place names of Nithsdale (1862); First Blossoming of Plants in Tynron (1884); Botanical Finds at Kirkconnel (Kirtle) (1886); Folk Lore in Tynron (1888); Dumfriesshire Words found in Chaucer (1889); References to Dumfriesshire Flora in Shakespeare (1890); Location of Dumfriesshire Surnames (1892); Words from Dumfriesshire Dialect (1894), his most valuable contribution, and lastly Thirty Years' Residence in Tynron (1895). Some of his poetic work figures in Murdoch's *Recent and Living Scottish Poets*. He was unmarried (see also *Dumfries Standard*, 18th July, 1896).

ARTICLE 6.

Tynron and Penpont Tenants, 1695.

By A. E. TRUCKELL.

Some 11 years ago, when the writer first took over at the Museum, he found in a drawer of the converted box which served as a desk a dozen or so sixteenth-seventeenth century documents, obviously assembled by the late G. W. Shirley, pre-war Curator.

Prominent among these, held together by a strip of gummed paper, was a document of 24 foolscap sheets irregularly numbered and written in several hands. It comprised accounts kept by the Chamberlain of the Queensberry Estates covering, in all, the period from 1662 to 1695. Several pages are made up of personal expenses of the Ducal family, ministers' teinds and the like: but the greater part of the volume is taken up by lists of arrears of rent owed by tenants in the Barony of Ross, the Barony of Torthorwald, and the Parishes of Kirkbride, Durisdeer, Dalgarno, Closeburn, Morton, Penpont, Tynron, and, for the purposes of teinds and feus, Glencairn and Glenesslin. Though by its nature not a complete rental it is clear that a large proportion of the tenants in the parishes mentioned were in fact in arrears as in most cases nearly every farm in the parish is mentioned. Rents unpaid in Tynron or Penpont amounted to the large sum of £13,913 10s 11d of which James Hunter in Auchinbainzie alone was due £1683 0s 2d. No explanation can be offered as to these arrears unless that there had been considerable laxity in collection and that a new chamberlain had been appointed to tighten control. It was, of course, Scots money, i.e., 1-12th of sterling. "Broken tenants" implies that they had been evicted. The list forms a very useful source for the genealogist as for the student of place-names. It is from this record that the following list for Penpont and Tynron has been extracted to form a supplement to the paper on Tynron Kirkyard.

Drumlangrig,

11 Octor., 1695.

Note of Rests given up be Archbald Douglas of Fingland, due be the severall tennants in his Charge, at Whitsunday, 1695, d. at his Compting, with his Grace James Duke of Queensberrie, for the years and termes of Whitsunday and Matimas, 1693, Whit. and Mart., 1694, and Whitsunday, 1695, being two years, and a halfe, Which is Receav'd and allowed, as an Article of his Discharge, for the said years, as followes.

PENPONT & TINERON PAROCHS.

POLGOWN—Wm. Gibson yr; Ja. Thomson yr; Jon. Gibson sometime yr; Wm. March yr; John Atkens yr.

CRAIGBOWY—Tho. Milligain yr.

POVERTORRS (illegible)—John Ker yr.

GLENWHERGAN—Tho. Mccall yr; Ja. Braidfoot yr; Wm. Gibson yr.

GLENMANNO—Jon. Mccall, yr.

DALZEEN—Jon. Dowglass yr; Jon. Kerr yr.

HALSCARR—Tho. Sloan yr; David Egger yr.

CHANLOCKHEAD—John. Haning yr; Rott. Gibson yr; Ja. Tait yr.

CHANLOCKFOOT—Allexr. Ker yr; Jon. Ker yr; Rot. Patterson yr; [] Patterson younger yr.

WOODEND—Jon. Carmichael wth. his son Wm. yr; John Carmichael yor. there; Allexr. Ker yr; Archd. Mcclig now in Glengar.

GLENSCEBEN—Ja. Gracie yr; Tho. Milligain yr; Jon. Mcclig now in Over Alton; Tho. Ker yr.

CHAPPELAND—Rot. Dowglass; John Hunter yr.

DRUDELL—Ja. Hunter yr.

MARKLAND—Rot. Mccall yr; Wm. Glencorse yr.

DUNDUFF—Tho. Niven yr; Barbra Braidfoot sometime there; Wm. Hunter yr; Jon. Paterson yr.

AUCHENGASLE—Rot. Lorimer yr; Jon. Hislop there.

HOLME—Andrew Hunter now in Alton; Ja. Hunter yr; Jon. Lorimer yr; Geor. Hunter yr.

AUCHENKNAIGHT—Jon. Mcclannie yr; Elizabeth Davidson sometime yr; Tho. Hunter yr.

TOWNHEAD—Ja. Hunter yr.

AUCHENBANZIE—Ja. Hunter yr.

GLENGAR—Jannot Milligain sometime yr; Jon. Sidlington sometime yr.

LADYWELL—Wm. Hunter there; Jon. Hunter there.

ARKLAND—Gilb. Gilkrest yr.

MIDSHINNELL—Rot. Charters, his mother now in Dunduff.

CRAIGENCOON—Tho. Hunter yr.

NEYR. CRAIGENCOON—Jon. Hunter yr.

AUCHENBRAK—Wm. Hunter now in Pengarie; Tho. Hunter yr.

PENGARIE—Marry ferguson yr.

BENNAN—Allexr. Willson and his mother yr.

CORFERDEN—Andrew Hunter yr; Jon & Wm. Blacks yr.

BROKEN TENNENTS IN PENPONT AND TINNERON.

POLGOWEN—Ja. Reid; Adam Reid.

AUCHENGASLE—Andrew Ker.

WOODEND—Tho. Hunter.

LAUGHT—Tho. Harkness.

POLGOWN—Jon. Howetson.

CRAIGBOWY—Ja. Howetson.

GLENGAR—Culbert Bannoch; Tho. Miller sometime yr.

NINEAN—[] Steel sometime yr.

DRUDEL—Jon. Hunter.

MARKLAND—Tho. Hunter.

AUCHENBRAK—James Hunter; Jon. Tait sometime in Campell.

MIDSHINNELL—Tho. Hunter.

ARTICLE 7.

The Antiquarian Jaunts of Thomas Johnston.

By MARRYAT R. DOBIE.

Among the manuscripts of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a notebook (MS. 371) of Thomas Johnston, in which he records his antiquarian researches in Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry from 1825 to 1827. An extract from it (to be described below) is published in this Society's *Transactions*, and he is mentioned in the Ancient Monuments Commission's Report on Dumfriesshire, No. 142, but the whole does not seem to have been published or extensively used.

Johnston calls Kirkcudbright his native parish (f. 40 of the notebook), but at the time he was writing it he was living at Milnhead, Kirkmahoe. Robert Trotter, in his novel *Derwentwater* (Edin. 1825), p. 185, writes of him: "Thomas Johnston, Esq., of the Island of Jamaica, residing at Milnhead, in the county of Dumfries, a liberal-minded, worthy gentleman, and a learned antiquarian"; and adds that he was writing a history of Scotland, the MS. of which was destroyed in a fire. Isabella Trotter, Robert's sister, whose MS. journal is in Broughton House, was for a time employed in Johnston's family as governess, and mentions his antiquarian interests.¹

He had a brother William, whom Trotter calls *Johnstone*, at Kirkcudbright. He, too, was a keen antiquary and drawings by him of the Ewart monument and slab are with Thomas's notebook.

There is also an account of the brothers in Alexander Trotter, *East Galloway Sketches*, Castle-Douglas, 1901, p. 309.

Thomas wandered about the country, seeing "Druid temples," "Danish camps," and other remains of antiquity.

¹ Thanks are due to Mr John Graham, Fernlea, Kirkcudbright, for taking much trouble in identifying Johnston.

He is something of an Oldbuck, and allowance must be made for his enthusiastic imagination. Everywhere he sees stones on which the Druids have inscribed their lore in hieroglyphics. Like others of his day, he knows all about Druids and their ways; so, if he finds a "temple of worship," he readily infers a corresponding "temple of sacrifice," no longer visible, at the appropriate spot in relation to it. Of the remains that he mentions, some have been fully described since, and some may be figments of his fancy, but it is possible that he records some monuments or details of them that have now disappeared or been overlooked.

The following summary may, therefore, be of some interest. It is merely a list of what Johnstone saw, or thought he saw, with enough detail to enable a man who knows the country and its antiquities better than I do to judge whether a place is worth investigating. "A.M." followed by a number refers to the Ancient Monuments Commission's *Report* on the county.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.

KIRKMAHOE PARISH.

Cairn Hall or Auchencairn.

Druidical circle (f.2v.). Near the farmstead. Mostly dispersed stones (with hieroglyphics) built into dykes, etc.

Circle or cairn (ff.2 v., 3 v.). On higher ground, west of the aforesaid one. Surrounded by hundreds of stones, one of which, 150 ft. N.W. of the centre, measures 60 by 18 by 13 in., while another, 72 ft. north of this, measures 27 by 23 by 20 in. "We" set them up. (One of these may be the standing stone, A.M. 349.)

Two circles (f.2 v.). In the same field as the latter. Clearly defined.

Dalswinton.

"Stane Castle," Townhead, a Danish camp (ff.5, 16). (This is the Stone Fort, the Belt, A.M. 342.) Johnston gives many details, some of which may have disappeared.

Circular houses (f.18). One Cooper told Johnston that there had once been many ruins of these, east of the camp.

A smaller Danish camp (f.5 v.).

"Castle Royal," camp (f.30). On Townhead, north of and near the road, about half a mile north of Dalswinton camp and about half a mile from the Nith. Circular.

Camp (f.8 v.). On lower ground west of the "British camp" on Castle Hill described below.

Large stone with "hieroglyphics" (f.13). At the side of the gateway of the mill (or of Dalswinton House as approached from the mill).

Remains of chapel and burying-ground (f.29). In Chapel Park, south of the road, next to the village. (Perhaps Chapel, A.M. 353).

Dalswinton old village (f.29). It was S.E. of the present one, and consisted of half-fortified buildings.

North of Dalswinton-Auldgirth road.

Apparently remains of a circle (ff. 12, 29).

Duncow (Castle Hill).

British camp (f.8 v.). Gates on the east and west. (A.M. 341).

Circle (f.9). On same farm, under a quarter of mile from the "British Camp," on lower ground. Diameter 100 ft., surrounded by embankment 25 ft. broad, entrance on east.

Circle (f.9). West of the above, 100 ft. circumference, formed of field stones 6-8 ft. high. Centre hollow.

Broomdykes.

Circle (f.9). Half a mile south of the more westerly of the Duncow circles. (Perhaps this is represented by one of the Standing Stones, A.M. 349 or 350).

Gallaberry.

Large cairn and cist (f.10). These were below Broomdykes and nearer the Nith, south of the King's road to Dalswinton. All destroyed within the last 12 years.

Clonfeckle.

"White cairn" and burial (ff.10, 13). Three-quarters of a mile east of the farmhouse. (The Long Cairn, A.M. 351).

Knowe Buckle, Quarrelwood.

Two Druid temples (f.10 v.). A mile along the King's road from Clonfeckle to Dalswinton, and north of it, on a ridge on the farm and near the village of Quarrelwood. Made of gathered field stones, one about 250 ft. in circumference and 10 ft. high; the other, 550 ft. to the N.W., 226 ft. in circumference.

Foregirth.

Temple (f.11 v.). South of the Dalswinton road. Only two upright stones remain; one 5 ft. high, with bevelled top and a cross on its smoothest side; the other smaller, with (?) cup-marks on one side. Johnston set them up.

Braehead.

Stone coffin and body (f.12). Found under a cairn close to the house; cleared away in the last 15 years.

Mullach Hill.

Danish camp (ff.13 v., 14 v.). Described as in A.M. 339 (Vitrified Fort), but with more detail; e.g., gates on east and west and signs of one on north.

Watchman Moor.

Piles of stones, perhaps a camp (f.13 v.). Four miles east of High Auldgirith. (This may be one of the Small Cairns on Shaws Moor or Watchman, A.M. 345/346, but four miles is too great a distance for them.)

Gledenholm.

Danish camp and circle (f.14). Inside diameter 100 ft., wall 14-16 ft. high, causeway round camp, gateway (4 ft.) on N.W., stone "Justice seat" inside.

Ellerlie.

Mound (f.19 v.). On brink of high land, about three-quarter mile west of the cairn at Cairn Hall. Oval, 105 by 126 ft., a little higher at the east end.

Perhaps remains of two small circles (f.19 v.). To the east and west of the aforesaid mound.

Small cairn (f.19 v.). On rising ground south of the farmhouse, within quarter-mile of Cairn Hall. Now gone.

Newlands.

"Vast number of chiseled monuments of Druid learning" (ff.19 v.-20 v.).

Two forts close to each other (f.20).

Remains of a circle (f.20 v.). Near the farm buildings, S.E. of them and east of the road.

Kilblane.

Foundations of early church (f.26). On Kilblane farm, half-mile east of the present parish church. Built on soil laid in a swamp. 40 by 33 ft. Paved entrance on north.

"Written stones" (f.26). West of the Kirk Holm (which is north of the old church).

Fort (f.26). Used to exist in a pond a few hundred yards west of the old church. The place of the drawbridge is still pointed out. (Perhaps A.M. 340).

Knowe Head.

Cairn (f.27). On ridge half-mile S.W. of the ruined church of Kilblane and half-mile east of the new church of Kirkmahoe. Almost entire. Johnston excavated a cist containing burnt bones.

Carnsalloch.

"Hieroglyphic" stone (f.26 v.). At or near the gate, under an oak by the highway.

Carzield.

Roman camp (f.31). Fosse on north 600 ft. long, on east, 525 ft., on west, 475 ft., natural bank on south, 675 ft. Seems to be the one mentioned by Chalmers in *Caledonia* (Johnston's remark).

KIRKMAHOE OR DUMFRIES PARISH.**The Green.**

On the road from the Knowe Head cairn to Locharbriggs. Circle (f.27). South of the road. 30 paces in diameter.

DUMFRIES PARISH.**Locharbriggs.**

Roman urns with bones (f.33). Found "on the west side

of the road, near to the two bridges, but on the end nearest the village."

Cairn and cists (f.34). Opened on Mr Ellison's farm, west of and near Locharbriggs, in 1827.

Large blocks, perhaps from a Druid temple (f.34 *v.*). Near and to the north of the cairn.

TINWALD PARISH.

Amisfield.

Roman camp (f.7). N.W. of the stable. Perfect preservation. N.E. end, 200 ft., S.W. end, 100 ft., sides, 150 ft. (Perhaps this is the Enclosure, A.M. 583.)

Tinwald.

Camp (f.8 *v.*). On higher ground, to east of Castle Hill "British camp."

Hunt Hill.

Uncertain remains (f.14).

Barshell.

Camp (f.28). Oblong. (Probably the Fort, Barr's Hill, A.M. 581).

A Battlefield.

(f.33 *v.*). About $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the camp. Many Roman and British weapons found there in recent years.

KIRKMICHAEL PARISH.

"Carmichael."

(presumably Kirkmichael).

Roman castellum (ff.7, 36 *v.*). In the Minister's garden, on the edge of the Kirk Burn. 200 ft. west to east, 100 ft. north to south.

Castellum (f.36 *v.*). Opposite, across the burn. Pentagonal.

Small mound in churchyard (f.36 *v.*).

Mound (f.37). Less than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of the manse, between the burn and Ae Water. Circular.

CAERLAVEROCK PARISH.

Caerlaverock.

Old and new castles (f. 21). (Much detail, but probably nothing new. A.M. 33 (1) and (2)).

DUNSCORE PARISH.

Friars' Carse.

British camp (f.38). (This is Fort, Temple Wood, A.M. 142).

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.

TONGLAND PARISH.

Kirkconnell.

Druid " temple of sacrifice " (f.39). On the moor, following the Tairth (Tarff) up, on a little rising ground near the river. Entire; stones laid flat round the rim, making a level walk, 150 ft. round.

" Temple of devotion " (f.39). S.E. of the above. About 72 ft. round; large erect stone with 10 smaller ones round it.

(One of the above may be one of the Cairns, Lairdmannoch or Kirkconnel Moor, A.M. 442, 443, or the Stone Circle, Park, A.M. 446.)

Two circles (f.39 v.). On a little knoll near the above. Large stones, close laid. The outer circle about 98 ft. round, the inner, 27 ft. (reported by William Johnstone).

Road to Dunjop and Glenlochar Bridge.

Standing stone (f.39 v.). On a farm at the bend of the road.

" Queen Mary's Bridge."

(f.42 v.). East end rested on masonry pier, now gone; west end on rock.

Roman station near by (f. 42 v.).

Stone circle (f.42 v.). 3-4 ft. high. All carried away in 1780.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT PARISH.

Torrs Point Farm.

Circle (f.40). Overlooks Solway. Upright stones round a central one; entrance on east. (Perhaps Balmore, A.M. 238).

Dun's Wa's.

(f.42 v.). (A.M. 274).

RERRICK PARISH.

Kirkcarswell.

Earthen circle (f.40 v.). South of and near roadside. (Perhaps Fort, A.M. 415).

Large earthen circle (f.40 v.). About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the other, and one mile north of Dundrennan Abbey. (Perhaps the Mote, A.M. 400).

Dundrennan.

Monument (f.40 v.) of Sir Patrick McClellan, with epitaph quoted in *A Journey through Scotland*, 1723, p. 6, was not to be seen.

The Suie, Culnaughtrie.

Danish camp (f.50). (The Hill Fort, A.M. 407).

Danish camp (f.50). In the Hause, a narrow pass, apparently near the other.

Rascarrel.

Castle Muir camp (f.50 v.). (The Fort, A.M. 409).

Dun's Wa's. Johnston refers vaguely to a place of this name, apparently near Castle Muir.

KELTON PARISH.

Kirkcormack.

Circle (f.41). "A temple of worship" must have existed at St. Ringan's Well.

"Temple of sacrifice" (f.41). One may have been on the site of "the Camp, as we used to call it," at the old church.

Tomb of Patrick MacClellan in churchyard (f. 41). (He gives the inscription as in A.M. 190, but , , , "obiit Año MDXXXIV. año XVIII. Aet.")

Stone inscription, " J. McKom, 1691 " (f.41 v.) in churchyard.

Church (f.41 v.). Door on N.E. and perhaps one on S.W. (A.M. 190.)

Bishop's house, garden and offices, Minister's house and offices, and other buildings (f.41 v.). All a few yards N.W. of the church. Seen by Johnston in 1790.

" The Moat " (f.41 v.). A mound *inside* the edge of the churchyard. Surrounded by a shallow fosse. (Perhaps A.M. 191.)

Two small tumuli, formerly used for putting the stone (f.41 v.). " In a small bog, in the Park, called the Kirkhill," a little east of the church.

Cairney Ends.

Stone tumuli and stone coffins containing burnt bones (f.42). Later broken up.

Lower Netherthird.

Earthen temple of sacrifice (f.45). In S.W. corner of Meadow Park. Entrance on south, trench round base, circumference 180 ft. at top, 216 ft. at base; excellent preservation. (Perhaps the Fortified Site, A.M. 195.)

Circle or place of defence (f.46). In sheep-ree in second field from the march with Culdoach.

Johnston concludes his account of Kirkcormack with reminiscences which are worth giving in his own words, for they present a picture of the Stewartry and its characters as they were in his day. The ghost-story with which they begin, however, has been published in the *Transactions*, 3rd ser., vol. i. (1913), p. 246 (perhaps from another copy, for there are some slight discrepancies), and need not be repeated here. It will be enough to point out that James Thompson, the miller, was 70 years old, not 20, and to give the passages which are omitted.

James Thompson is decribed as " a harmless, inoffensive good creature, by far too indolent and too honest for the change of times and the alteration in agricultural pursuits! What pity he did not die where he was born, where his

grandfather and father were born and buried!'' The spot where he saw the ugly black sow was '' in the Kirkhill bog, close to the Kirk of K., but within the late Mayfield. . . . Except hearing a groan issue from the ground, coming near Tarff bridge one frosty morning, no other earthly (*sic*) thing did the honest, kindhearted miller ever see or hear, no, not even at the March Cleugh! though hundreds of times he had driven hame his own and his father's horses under the dark cloud of night from that unhallowed spot.'' Of James's grandfather (whom the fairies so troubled by letting on the water), Johnston writes, '' This auld man believed in the fairies as devotedly as in his Bible, but never saw ' Onything fearfu','' nor did James's father.

'' Nor did auld Barbara Kenyon, though she lived near a hundred years, below the thorn tree near the mill, on the march fence of Netherthird and Kirkcormack, close to the river. She remembered King William and his fleet being put in to the Parkyett bay, and that was about the 1690s. At the time she was with her father at Kirkbride (Kirkcudbright parish, herding sheep (he)). She died somewhere about 1796.

'' Alas! how much of traditional tale is lost, by her and other old folks in this very precinct, such as old Billies, and Arkland, two brothers, Tibbie Sharper, old . . .¹ Haugh who died on Milnthird, William McNielly, Lower Arkland, the tenant of Culdoch (Kissock), George . . . (Billies), Samuel McRabbing, Robin Brown (Billies), Willie Kirk (Billies), Robert Graham (Dildawn), . . . Brown (Dildawn), and many others, near neighbours, and another man, a shoemaker in Stockerton, or High Arkland, or Lochdougan, Moor by name.² Also Robert Dalling in Boat Croft, a perfect chronicle himself.

'' Some of these died very old. Old age is not always a blessing. Poor Macrobbin on his deathbed expressed a wish to see an old master (Mr Jno Kissock, Culdoch), who not being at home, Mrs K. visited him, and signified a wish

¹ The dots represent gaps in the MS.

² Or perhaps 'or Lochdougan Moor, by name'

to be of use, and said her husband was then from home but would soon return and call on him. The old man appeared tranquil and satisfied, and said with great *sangfroid* that, as he was dying, he wished to enquire if Mr Kissock had any word to send to his (Mr K.'s) father."

APPENDIX.¹

The checking of Thomas Johnston's list began with "Stane Castle," in The Belt, between High and Low Townhead farms. This well-preserved stone-walled fort is very fully described as No. 342 in the A.M. Inventory, and their description tallies well with Johnston's. The site is in a wood and this wet season was very much overgrown: but it was clear that there had been no destruction in recent times. This site, with the interior structures mentioned by Johnston and the Inventory, would well repay excavation. Johnston also says that one Cooper told him that there had once been many ruins of circular houses in the field east of Stane Castle: close investigation on the ground revealed a suggestion of a cobble-revetted terrace on the meadowland ridge above the glen and on this terrace firmly set stones could represent the remains of the footing of circular huts. The "smaller Danish camp" Johnston refers to may possibly be identified with the large tumble of field-stones in a hollow just east of the terrace mentioned above. This seems to comprise two elements, a heap of fairly fresh unweathered stones, probably brought up by deep ploughing, on top of larger and much more weathered stones with a suggestion of an encircling kerb. A long-dead sheep among the stones discouraged too close investigation.

Near this is a curious enclosure formed by the diversion of the last 50 ft. or so of a stone dyke; in that 50 ft. the tumbled ruins of the old dyke diverge only some 5 ft. from the newer line: one wonders why this should have been done.

Johnston's "large stone with hieroglyphics" at the side of the gateway of Dalswinton Mill, or of Dalswinton House as approached from the Mill, could not be traced at all. However, at the side of the Dalswinton House gateway nearest the Mill there is an apparently unrecorded marriage stone built into the walling—GM . IC . 1710—referring to the marriage of George Maxwell and Jean Campbell, also commemorated by the "wedding bell" now in Dumfries Museum. This has obviously come from the older mansion at Dalswinton. If covered by moss in Johnston's time this just might be his stone. A young lad at the Mill reported a "Roman Cairn" on the south bank of Pennyland Burn opposite

¹ Compiled from reports of Mr Angus MacLean, Major-General Scott-Elliot and Mr A. E. Truckell.

the old ruinous Sawmill, and said that the local tradition was that the Romans had worshipped there on their way up the Roman Road. However the "cairn" when examined turned out to be just one or two stones set on one another and to have no appearance of any age. Johnston's "Castle Royal" is shown on the map as a name but not as an antiquity at the top of the field just south of Dalswinton village; it is a meadowland ridge the top of which seems to have been scarped slightly and which is rather stonier than the rest of the meadow. Across the north end of the scarped area a shallow but distinct trench can be traced. The impression is of an earthwork almost completely ploughed away. Johnston's "Remains of chapel and burying-ground" at Dalswinton seems to tally with the Inventory and the 6 in. Ordnance map; but some 200 ft. south-east of the low terrace marking the "chapel" site, and like it running under the modern dyke into the wood, is a much more strongly marked terrace with considerable stonework visible.

At Knowe Buckle, Quarrelwood, Johnston mentions "two Druid temples." One of these seems to be represented by a site in the second field south of Smithfield farm. This is a striking circular structure 18 yards in diameter, its outer perimeter at least of drystone construction, and standing on the side where the field level is lowest, some 10 ft. high. The raised interior is flat and slightly hollowed. A hundred yards away the footpath on the line of "The King's Road" or "The Roman Road" from Clonfeckle—which near here is a sunken way of mediæval type—runs along the north-west margin of the field. This is an important and exceptionally well-preserved structure; known, with the hillock it stands on, as "the Roman Hill" to the children of Smithtown farm. It is indeed remarkable that it is not in the Inventory and is only marked as a topographical feature on the Ordnance map. All these sites are on Ordnance 6 in. sheet XLI. S.W.

Castle Hill, Duncow, A.M. 341, is described by Johnston much as in the Inventory: the West gate can be seen but Johnston's East gate is not so clear. The "circle" he mentions a quarter of a mile from the Castle Hill site is not visible unless one of the two standing stones nearby be the remains of it. The two upright stones mentioned by Johnston on Foregirth farm are not now above ground: one of them, he said, had a bevelled top and bore a cross: the other was smaller and bore ? cup-marks on one side. The farmer's wife was interested but positive that they were not now visible and emphasised that there was not a stone-dyke on the farm. Examination of the stonework of a little bridge on the farm road had negative results. Johnston's Druidical Circle near Auchencairn farmstead, which even he describes as "mostly dispersed stones built into dykes," is not now known: the circle or cairn, and two circles, in a field uphill from the farm, are

probably part of a cluster of stone-heaps along the course of a little stream: two at least of these heaps seem to have definite cairns under them, but gathered field-stones almost obscure the original structures. The upper edge of this field is known to the farmer as "the Stane Wa's" and he states that limestone as if for fertilising cottage gardens has been ploughed up there: he thought it was an old village site. There is nothing visible on the surface. Attracted by the farm name Auchenrath—the place of the rath—a glance was cast towards it in the gathering dusk, and what did look very like a rath was visible just below the farmhouse: however, it might be a quarry-hole or another tumble of stones: further investigation here would be desirable. Castle Hill and the sites following it are on O.S. sheet XLI. S.E. The above sites were all examined by A. MacLean and A. E. Truckell.

HUT CIRCLES ON WATCHMAN MOOR AND WHITESTANE MOOR, DUMFRIESSHIRE.

6 in. Sheet, 2nd edition, 1900, XLI. N.W. Visited on 10th November, 1958, by Maj.-Gen. Scott Elliot and Mr A. McLean. A.M. 344.

The group first examined is on Whitestanes farm due south of the small gully named Pishnish and 330 yards slightly south of east of the bench mark on Cocklet Hill. The map shows 16 tumuli—the term used on the map—in two equal and contiguous but irregular groups with a larger circular structure in the more northerly group. The tumuli are now for the most part small mounds of stones about 18 inches high overgrown with grass and heather but a few still show more clearly as small rings of rough stones. Other less distinct but similar mounds are almost certainly the same structures which have been more or less completely robbed and have become overgrown. The circular structure is formed by a circular ridge three yards wide overgrown with grass and heather, but still clearly marked. This was not excavated but consists apparently of a fallen wall of stones surrounding an enclosure of which the internal diameter is about 20 ft. This also is covered with heather. It is cause for surprise that so much has remained on the site as a long dry stane dyke crosses the moorland on the south within 100 yards. The position of these circles is of some interest. It is on a dry hard platform of turf extending well beyond the circles on all sides. It commands a wonderful view of a great semi-circle of country eastwards from a north and south line roughly from Queensberry to Criffel passing through the wood on Watchman Hill. To the westward the moor rises slightly. The site is completely exposed with no evidence of defensive structures. The nearest streamlet now is about a quarter of a mile away on the east. Excavation of these circles would appear to be an easy operation.

Proceeding southward to examine the tumuli indicated on the map close to the east side of Watchman Wood we found another group of somewhat similar structures which do not appear on the map. These are within 300 yards of the group described and almost due south of it and are of rough stones. In this case the surviving work, in some cases at least, appears to be more rectangular than circular. We did not make an exhaustive search but noted some 10 sites. No circular ring was observed. These also are on dry ground.

As we approached Watchman Wood on a line slightly east of north we found again traces of similar low circular mounds within 200 or 300 yards of the wood. These are less distinct and perhaps the stone has been more thoroughly robbed.

We located the two tumuli (so called) on the map within 70 yards and 130 yards respectively on the east of Watchman Wood. There is evidence of others in the area. These are not conspicuous.

THE MULLACH.

A.M. 339. Dumfriesshire 6 in. Sheet XLI. N.W.

This was visited by A. McLean alone on 19th November, 1958. At the highest point there is a prominent outcrop of the native rock. There is now no visible sign of structural work on this summit where the comparatively level area, while only some square yards in extent, would be ample for the location of a large beacon fire. Below the summit grass and a strong growth of bracken prevent a clear impression of the site and obscure the defensive nature of the position to some extent from which in clear weather there must be a magnificent view with all lines of approach clearly exposed.

There is still evidence of two very roughly circular walls, inner and outer. These are at some little distance from and some 20 ft. below the summit. They have disappeared from a wide segment on the north-west-north and north-east—where the slope is broken by outcrops of rock and is much steeper. They can be traced for much of the remaining and much larger segment on the east south and west. While the lines are not continuous there are here and there small lengths of fallen stones which might suggest rough undressed dry stone walling with much smaller stones as infilling. The distance between the ridges varies. It is about 30 yards but exceeds this on the west. There seems to have been little spoliation since the A.M. account was written. Without spade-work little can be written about this site.

On a small platform within 100 yards from the summit and to the south-west of this there is a conspicuous group of large stones which may give the impression of being a small ring only

a few feet in diameter. In the centre there is now a pile of smaller stone fragments. The whole may be no more than the debris of a very large block of whinstone disintegrating in a long period of weathering.

CLONFECKLE CAIRN.

A.M. 351. Ordnance Sheet, 2nd edition, 1900, XLI. N.W.

This was visited by A. MacLean alone on 22nd November, 1958. The cairn is not easily located as the surviving stones are embedded in the grass. It may be described as being a few yards eastwards of a line joining the memorial tower on Clonfeckle farm and the south-west corner of the wood on Watchman Hill and 1000 yards north-east of the tower. It can be reached most conveniently through the fields of Whitehall farm from Newlands House. The description in the official report of the Ancient Monuments Commission covers the scanty remains adequately for little remains above ground save a very incomplete ring of low stones with one conspicuous circular depression about 12 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep towards the southern end. This is overgrown with grass but seems to be lined with stone. It may be added that the site is in the centre of a great basin with the moorland rising around it save to the south-west where the view passes over the Nith estuary and Criffel.

GLEDENHOLM.

Tumuli on Gledenholm Moor visited by A. MacLean on 26th November, 1958. The tumuli visited are those marked on the Dumfriesshire 6 inch Sheet, 2nd edition, 1900, XLI. N.E.

The first and most easterly group located is some 650 yards in a direct line south-west of Gledenholm farm steading and 120 yards south of the old sheep fold. On the map these tumuli are six in number consisting of small roughly circular mounds of stones a few feet in diameter and they are at present obscured by a very strong and close growth of bracken through which wanders an old but metalled track. Mounds other than those marked on the map were noted and between the two sections of this group there are other less clearly defined stone foundations.

The second group recorded on the map is at the south-western end of the old dyke which passes the sheep fold and at a distance in a direct line of just over 1000 yards from the farm steading. These resemble the foregoing in being low mounds of rough stones obscured by grass and bracken. The detached tumulus about 100 yards to the south of this group is of greater interest. It is much larger, being about 20 ft. in diameter and about 4 ft. at its peak above the adjacent low ground. It appears to have been built up with stony spoil. There has been an excavation in its

northern side. Between these two groups of tumuli there are other similar examples lying to the south of the old dyke mentioned in the open grass-land as yet free from bracken.²

TUMULI ON SHAWS MOOR.

Visited by A. MacLean on 27th November, 1958. A.M. 345. Dumfriesshire 2nd edition, 1900, 6 inch Sheet, XLI. N.W. Johnston's reference to these is uncertain.

The map indicates two closely adjacent groups of tumuli half a mile south-east of Shaws farm buildings and within a quarter of a mile west of Duncow Burn. They can be described also as lying between the small Shaws plantation and Duncow Burn. The tumuli are scattered along a slight ridge of moorland which drops slightly on the west to a moorland drain and on the east to the gorge of the Duncow Burn. Neither the map nor the account in the Ancient Monuments Commission Report does justice to this site. There are many more structures than either suggests. The structures vary. The most numerous type is a small more or less round heap of rough stones partly covered by soil and overgrown with grass. Another type shows more clearly an outer ring of fairly large stones enclosing a sunk floor. These two types are scattered irregularly for more than a quarter of a mile north and south along the ridge also spreading eastwards. There occur, however, larger less comprehensible stone groupings which are elongated and not round. Well to the south of the main group on the map there are stones suggestive of a small long cairn even with some kerb stones. Again to the south-east and on a lower terrace within 200 yards of the burn there is a clearly defined circular enclosure 25 ft. in internal diameter with the lower courses of the stone walls still in position. There is a clearly marked entrance passage on the east. This structure is reminiscent of the Duns of Strath Tay concerning which Mr Feachem submitted a paper at the Scottish Summer School of Archaeology at Pitlochry in June, 1958.

This is a site of much interest with the number and variety of stone foundations. Clonfeckle Cairn is within half a mile to the south.

One is tempted to picture a complete village excavated here and preserved on the Dumfries moors to parallel in completeness and interest the Skara Brae of the Orkneys. The position is within half a mile of the metalled road and Shaws Farm is quite accessible.

² Mr MacLean mentions that A.M. references 347b and 348 do not tally with the above.

KILBLANE.

Kilbane Farm visited by A. MacLean on 25th November, 1958.

Dr James Hutchison Cockburn in his book on Saint Blane states that he saw the site pointed out to him by Mr W. B. Duncan of Newlands in August, 1953. In the current very wet autumn I could see no sign of any foundation above the water in the swamp where the map places this site.

These sites at Kilbane must be taken with the utmost caution. The late Mr Cameron Smith, whose MS. Collections on Kirkmahoe are in the Ewart Library, was of opinion that the tradition of a chapel dedicated to St. Blain at Kilbean was quite unfounded and based, as a pure guess, on the Statistical Account of 1835, which had been followed by the Ordnance Survey (D. and G. Trans., XII., 236). But Dr R. C. Reid points out that in the late thirteenth century Kyrkblane was a vicarage (Bagimont's Roll, S.H.S. Miscellany V., p. 123), but must not be confused with Kirkbean vicarage (*ibid.*, p. 104). The site has been much eroded and flooded by the freestone quarries and gravel pits adjoining.

Johnstone refers to a fort in a pond a few hundred yards to the west of the old church site. The old farm buildings now derelict are on the edge of a swamp which may have been a pond 100 years ago. An irregular ridge projects into this swamp and but for a few feet cuts it into two sections. The ridge may be a fort—the site fits the description—but it is now completely grassed over and without spade work nothing can be made of it. A small well said to be stone paved and deep was pointed out to me at the east end of the ridge.

KNOWEHEAD. The ridge is most probably that overlooking the Ballochmyle Brick Works alongside the Locharbriggs-Riddingwood road. There is now no sign of any cairn on this ridge.

Editor's Note.

The checking of Johnston's notes has been by no means useless labour: two outstanding results are the striking and perfectly preserved dun-like structure at Knowe Buckle and the discovery that the hut and cairn (can the "cairns" be tumbled "cletts" for drying mutton?) complexes on the Pennyland-Watchman-Whitestanes-Gledenholm moors between Nith and Ae are even more numerous, and much more varied, than the map or the Inventory suggest. It is clear that on this marginal land many centuries of occupation and evolution of house-type are preserved.

A. E. TRUCKELL.

ARTICLE 8.

The Galloway Lands in Ulster.

By RONALD GREEVES.

At the beginning of 1177 John de Courcy marched north from Dublin with the avowed intention of invading and conquering Ulidia, that part of Ulster which more or less corresponded to the modern Counties of Down and Antrim. On 1st February he succeeded in capturing Downpatrick and during the subsequent few months he followed up his initial success. For 27 years he ruled the country, organising it on Norman lines and building castles, mostly of the "mote" or "mote and bailey" type, from Newry to Coleraine. He made grants of land to many of his friends and relatives, who built their own mote-castles on their lands; and Counties Down and Antrim are studded with these, many of which are of imposing dimensions.

In 1197 de Courcy built the castle of Kill Sanctan on the Bann near Coleraine¹ and about the same time he made a grant of lands near Coleraine to his kinsman-by-marriage Duncan of Carrick.² The latter was a son of Gilbert de Carrick and grandson of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and had been created Earl of Carrick by William the Lion in 1196. He was a first cousin once removed of de Courcy's wife Affreca, daughter of Godred, King of Man, and the attached pedigree shews the relationship between them and also with other members of the Galloway family.

De Courcy was superseded in 1205 by Hugh de Lacy, who was created Earl of Ulster on 29th May.³ The latter,

¹ AFM (= *Annals of the Four Masters*) sub 1197. Orpen (*Ireland under the Normans*—Oxford, 1911, vol. ii., pps. 134-5) says that this was after a punitive expedition by de Courcy in revenge for his brother Jordan's murder by an Irishman. The original mote castle was probably what is now called Mount Sandal, at the Cutts above Coleraine, but there is a stone castle about two miles higher up the river near the site of the church of Kilsanctan in the townland of Fishloughan. (See *An Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor*—Rev. James O'Laverty, M.R.I.A.—Belfast, 1887, vol. iv., pps. 150 sqq.).

² Orpen, loc. cit., vol. ii., p. 134, quoting Roger of Hoveden, iv., 25.

³ Calendar of Gormanston Register, 189.

however, fell under the displeasure of King John through sheltering William de Braose and his family, with whom the king had a violent quarrel. John came over to Ireland in 1210 and arrived at Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, on 19th July. The castle, held by de Lacy and his brother, fell after a nine-day siege; the de Lacys escaped to Scotland, but Duncan de Carrick captured de Braose's wife and son William and handed them over to John⁴ who had them starved to death. Duncan was rewarded with a grant of lands extending to 50 ploughlands and comprising all the district from Larne to Glenarm, part of what had been in earlier years the kingdom of Dal n'araidhe or Dalaradia.⁵ De Courcy's earlier grant does not seem to have been confirmed, but Duncan also had a grant from the king of "Balgeithelauh" which was thought by Reeves and O'Lavery to be Ballygally between Larne and Glenarm, but I think it possible that this was Ballygelagh near Portstewart north of Coleraine, and perhaps part of de Courcy's grant.⁶

Sometime before 19th October, 1219, Duncan was disseized of his lands, on the pretext that he had been in rebellion. On the above date Henry III. confirmed the lands to Duncan and ordered the Justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, to give him seizin, as he had not, in fact, been in rebellion;⁷ on 2nd March, 1223-4 the Archbishop of Dublin, then Justiciar, was ordered to restore "the remainder of the lands granted by king John,"⁸ and in July of the same year Duncan wrote to the king complaining that he had not yet had seizin.⁹ This was followed by a further mandate to the Justiciar, dated 4th August, 1224, to enquire into the present ownership of the lands of Balgeithelauh of which Hugh de Lacy had disseized Duncan, and to restore these lands to him.¹⁰

⁴ Bain, vol. i., No. 480.

⁵ Cal. Canc. Hib., vol. ii., p. 354; C.D.I. vol. i., 907; Bain, vol. i., 879. The lands were "Wulfrichford" (Olderfleet or Larne), "Inverth" (Inver) and "Glinarn" (Glenarm).

⁶ C.D.I. (= *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, by Sweetman), vol. i., 1200.

⁷ C.D.I., vol. i., 907.

⁸ Bain, vol. i., 874.

⁹ Bain, vol. i., 873.

¹⁰ C.D.I., vol. i., 1200; Bain, vol. i., 879.

There were other members of the Galloway family who received lands in Ulster. Duncan's cousin, Alan FitzRoland of Galloway, had a demand from the king to send 1000 men to Chester before 19th August, 1212, to give help to the king's forces in Ireland.¹¹ Presumably as a reward for this and other help, the king granted to Alan lands amounting to 140 knight's fees,^{11a} comprising the whole of North Antrim from Larne to Coleraine and the districts of Keenaght and Tirkeeran in Co. Derry, "excepting twenty fees near to the castle of Kilsantan: that is to say ten this side of the Bann and ten beyond the Bann which we retain in our hands for the custody of the castle of Kilsantan, excepting also ecclesiastical rights and all things belonging to ecclesiastics, excepting also the lands given to Duncan de Karrach and all fees which have been granted to others."¹² Alan sent over to Carrickfergus his uncle (probably Fergus, his father's younger brother¹³) with another knight and a clerk to receive the lands, and John de Gray, then Justiciar, having before him at Carrickfergus "the knights and better and more

¹¹ Bain, vol. i., 527.

^{11a} These 140 knights fees seem exaggerated. Brus held Annandale by service of 10 knights, the Flemings held the earldom of Wigtownshire by five knights, and Walter FitzAlan held Renfrewshire by similar service. The document is printed in Latin by Reeves in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore*, p. 323. The district is a large one, stretching from Larne to Derry and comprising most of the two counties of Antrim and Londonderry. In the remote parts of Ireland the service by which lands were held in the first days of conquest may not have corresponded to the description of the lands later as fees. The lands may have been divided originally into knights fees in an arbitrary manner, without much knowledge of their real extent and later, when more was known about them and their status as arable, woodland, bog, etc., the services were greatly reduced. The services by which the earls of Ulster held that earldom do not appear to be recorded.

¹² C.D.I., vol. i., 427; Bain, vol. i., 573. Original letter from the Justiciar to the king printed in Reeves—*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore*, pp. 323 sqq. The lands are described as "all Dalrethe (Dalriada, which at this time seems to have included only a limited portion of its original extent), the isle of Rathlin, the cantred of Kynilalmerathe (probably Killymurris, in 1603 Killiomorrie), all the lands of Gweskarde (*recte* Tweskarde—the north-western portion of Antrim) and of Latherne (Larne) with the two cantreds of Kunnoche (Keenaght) and Tirkehik (Tirkeeran) beyond the Ban." The spellings are slightly different in the confirmation charters.

¹³ See Balfour-Paul, *Scots Peerage*, sub "Galloway."

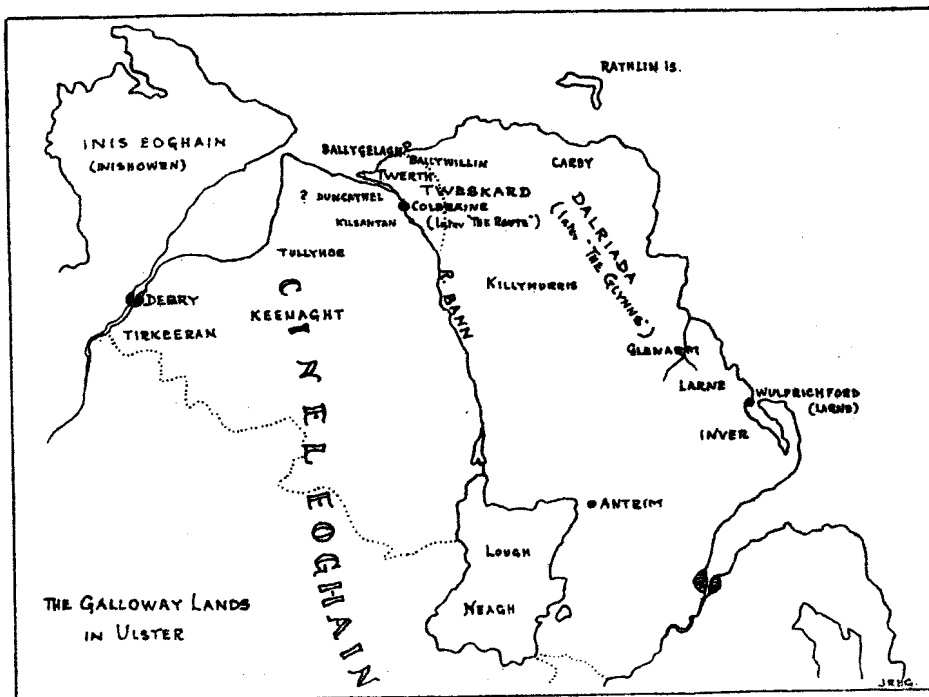


Fig. 1.

prudent men of the province," delivered the lands to Alan's messengers¹⁴ and a grant of the forests, fairs and markets on the lands followed on 15th July, 1213.¹⁵ This enormous grant was confirmed by a Royal charter dated 27th June, 1215.¹⁶ After King John's death, Alan got into trouble with Henry III., but, on his doing homage, the latter, on 16th June, 1220, confirmed him in all the above lands.¹⁷

Alan's brother Thomas of Galloway, Earl of Athol (in right of his wife Isobel, daughter of Henry, Earl of Athol) called "Thomas MacUchtry" by the Irish (from his grandfather Uchtred of Galloway), seems to have had his fair share of lawlessness. In 1212 he, in company with the sons of

¹⁴ C.D.I., vol. i., 427; Bain, vol. i., 573 as above.

¹⁵ C.D.I., vol. i., 463.

¹⁶ C.D.I., vol. i., 564; Bain, vol. i., 625. The lands were to be held for the service of ten knights.

¹⁷ C.D.I., vol. i., 936, 937, 942; Bain, vol. i., 764.

Ranald MacSomhairle, ancestor of the MacDonells, plundered Derry and Inishowen,¹⁸ while in 1214 he and Ruadhri Mac Ranald again plundered Derry and the Abbey of Coleraine, after which Thomas built a castle at Coleraine, using the very stones of the abbey;¹⁹ this castle was dismantled in 1221 by Hugh de Lacy,²⁰ and is not to be confused with Kilsantan which was a short distance to the southward. It is to be supposed that these forays were undertaken with the approval of King John as, on 24th July, 1213, Thomas had a grant "of that part of the vill of Derekoneull (Derry) which belonged to O'Neal in Kenlion (Cinel Eoghain) besides the cantred of Talachot (Tullyhoe, Co Derry) which had been retained in the King's hand, and the land which the King gave to Alan, brother of Thomas, to hold by the service of three knights,"²¹ and this was followed on 28th July by a grant of three knights' fees on each side of the Bann, which had been retained in the King's hand when he gave Alan his lands.²²

On 27th June, 1215, King John granted to Thomas, Earl of Athol, "Kilsantan with the castle of Culrath (Coleraine), ten knights' fees in Tweskart on the Bann and ten fees beyond the Bann in Keenaght, near the castle, together with Duncathel, all Twerth and Clinkinmolán, to hold by the service of two knights."²³ On 19th June, 1219, Henry III. confirmed

¹⁸ A.F.M. 1211; A.U. (= *Annals of Ulster*) 1212.

¹⁹ A.F.M. 1213; these are consistently one year too early about this period.

²⁰ A.F.M.

²¹ C.D.I., vol. i., 468. Derekoneull represents Derrycolumcille, the full name of Derry; Cinel Eoghain was the country of the O'Neills, and at this time comprised the counties of Derry and Tyrone, and part of Armagh. Talachot has been thought to be Tullyhogue in Co. Tyrone, but seems much more likely to be Tullyhoe in Co. Derry. Presumably Alan's land was some portion of Cinel Eoghain of which the grant is missing.

²² C.D.I., vol. i., 474.

²³ C.D.I., vol. i., 565; Bain, vol. i., 626. Keenaght is a district of Co. Derry, some distance west of the Bann; Duncathel is perhaps Dun Ceithern, (Dunkeherne A.U.) now "The Giant's Sconce" in Dunboe Parish, Co. Derry; Twerth is the ancient district of Tuagh, now called Dooey, the triangular area between the Bann and the coast west of Portstewart; Clinkinmolán is perhaps Ballywillin, the parish in which Portrush is situated, or Ballywoolan in North Derry. This grant possibly included the three knights' fees on each side of the Bann previously granted, which do not appear in Henry III.'s confirmation.

Thomas in his lands.²⁴ Meanwhile, on 30th June, 1215, the Justiciar had been instructed to hand over to Thomas the custody of the King's castle of Antrim,²⁵ and on 18th July, 1223, Thomas had a mandate to guard the castle against Hugh de Lacy; and if he should not be in Ireland, to cause the castle to be delivered to the Archbishop of Dublin.²⁶ On 11th December, 1225, he was allotted 100 marks of expenses for his services in Ireland,²⁷ but whether this was paid at that time is doubtful, as he had another grant of 100 marks on 5th January, 1226-7.²⁸

About October or November, 1224, Alan wrote to the King asking for confirmation of the lands granted both to him and to Thomas.²⁹ This was probably in anticipation of the regrant of the Ulster lands to Hugh and Walter de Lacy; as a result the Galloway lands were expressly excluded from this regrant which was dated 12th May, 1226.³⁰

It will be seen from the foregoing and from the map that the Galloway family possessed nearly all North Antrim and parts of Derry. Their reign, however, did not last long. Thomas, Earl of Athol, died in 1231; his son Patrick was murdered in 1242 by Walter Byset, leaving no male heirs; Alan of Galloway died in 1234 leaving only heiresses, and Neil, son and heir of Duncan of Carrick, died in 1256 leaving an heiress who was mother of Robert Bruce, King of Scots.³¹ For some unexplained reason the lands in Ulster did not descend to the heiresses, and when Walter Byset and his nephew John fled to Ulster after the murder of Patrick of Athol they got from Hugh de Lacy, then Earl of Ulster, a grant of Rathlin Island and a great part of the lands in Antrim which had belonged to the Galloways, stretching from Glenarm to Carey and including most of what was known as "The Glynnns" (the district including the "Glens of

²⁴ C.D.I., vol. i., 879.

²⁵ C.D.I., vol. i., 567.

²⁶ C.D.I., vol. i., 1126, 1127.

²⁷ C.D.I., vol. i., 1334.

²⁸ C.D.I., vol. i., 1473.

²⁹ C.D.I., vol. i., 1218.

³⁰ C.D.I., vol. i., 1371, 1372.

³¹ See *Scots Peerage*, sub "Galloway" and "Carrick."

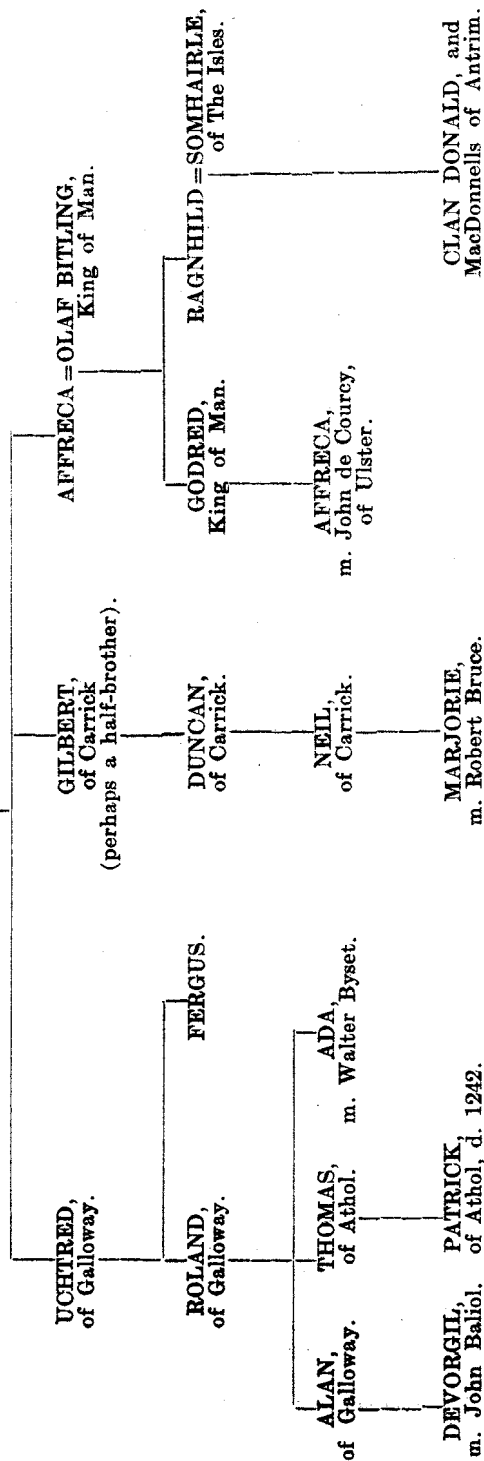
Antrim ''); which finally fell to the MacDonells through the marriage of Margery Byset, heiress of the Glynnns, to John Mor MacDonnell.³²

J. R. H. GREEVES.

³² See *The MacDonnells of Antrim*—Rev. George Hill. Mathew Paris (Chron. Maj. III., 304) says that Hugh de Lacy, whose daughter Alan of Galloway had married (as his third wife), interfered after Alan's death with the succession of the Galloway Fief in Scotland and Ireland. The husbands of Alan's daughters received their rights in Scotland, but no specific mention is made of the Irish lands, and it is evident that de Lacy succeeded in getting his clutch on the lands in Ulster.

Pedigree shewing relationship between Galloway, Carrick, de Courcy, etc.

FERGUS of Galloway = ELIZABETH, nat. dau. of Henry I.



ARTICLE 9.

James Carruthers (1788-1849), Clockmaker.

By A. STANLEY CARRUTHERS.

James Carruthers was born in Langholm on 28th June, 1788, and was the eldest son and only surviving child of John Carruthers and Janet Armstrong, his wife.

James's father, John Carruthers, was born in 1744¹ and was almost certainly the son of James Carruthers, farmer, in Bankhead, Middlebie parish,^{1a} for his relict, Mary Johnstone, who had died on 28th January, was buried in Langholm Kirkyard on 30th January, 1790.² (Bankhead was part of the Springkell estates.) John, and his brother James (born 1746)¹, were manufacturers of cotton thread, candlewick, checks, etc., and seem to have been in quite a considerable way of business, for in its prime the mill employed upwards of 90 persons.³ At first they had a mill at Whiteshiels, on the Ewes road, about a mile out of Langholm, but in 1789 they established themselves in New Langholm at Meikleholm Mill. In 1793 Dumfriesshire passed through a period of financial stress and work was suspended at the mill for a time. In 1794, however, work was resumed and the brothers carried on the business until sometime prior to Whitsunday, 1802, when a new lease of the mill for 99 years was granted to George Millar.^{3a} Subsequently it became a flour mill, and at the turn of the last century was in a ruinous condition and is now non-existent.

According to a ledger of the Buccleuch Estates (unfortunately destroyed in a fire at Irvine House some years ago) John Carruthers rented property in Meikleholm, No. 38 in E Street in 1778, with arable ground and pasture for a cow on the hill in 1779 and 1795. The rental payable was 2s 8d for area, 6s for ground, and 18s for grass, a total of £1 6s 8d per annum. At Whitsunday, 1800, John Carruthers apparently moved from No. 38 in E Street to No. 6 Buccleuch Square, and occupied it till his death.

John Carruthers and his brother James were intimately

associated with the founding of the Associate (Burgher) Congregation in Langholm. In 1788 John appeared as a Commissioner from the Congregation requesting the Presbytery of Kelso to appoint a Moderator over them in electing a Pastor. The Rev. John Jardine was duly called in 1789 and it is noteworthy to recall that he was the first Minister in Scotland to introduce Sunday Schools for the young. In connection with the founding of the Church John Carruthers in 1784 had advanced the sum of £12 3s 0d (a quite considerable sum in those days) and this was repaid as to £7 on 11th December, 1795, and the balance of £5 3s 0d on 5th July, 1797.⁴ His brother James also had made an advance to further the building of the church; and he was one of the first Elders of the Congregation, being elected and ordained in 1787. (See "Langholm as it was."—*Hyslop*, for an account—based on the Session Records—of the founding of this Congregation.)

The Dumfries Register of Sasines records several transactions by John Carruthers and his brother (see 1781-1820, P.R. 25-132, 195, 196, etc.), but a sufficient account has been given of James Carruthers's father, John Carruthers. As previously mentioned John married Janet Armstrong, who died 13th December, 1793, aged 39, and is buried in Langholm Kirkyard.¹ John Carruthers, died 1st December, 1810, and is also buried in Langholm Kirkyard.¹ They had three children:

1. James (see below).
2. John, died 30th June, 1807, aged 17 years.¹
3. An unnamed child, who was buried on 23rd November, 1793.²

It may be that James Carruthers (John's eldest son) was apprenticed to Philip Corrie, Clockmaker in Langholm,⁵ with whom the family had had business dealings, but at the age of nearly 20 years, in 1808, he was working with Blaylock's, the well-known Carlisle Clockmaker.⁶ This is apparent from the advertisement which appeared in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* of 1st April, 1828, when he set up in business for himself in Dumfries;

CLOCK AND WATCHMAKING.

JAMES CARRUTHERS

"Begg leave to inform the Inhabitants of Dumfries and its vicinity, that he has taken the Shop of the late Mr Chisholm, situated at the head of Buccleuch Street, next door to the Post Office, where he intends carrying on the above trade in all its branches.

"James Carruthers, having for the last 20 years been employed in the Shop of Mr Blaylock, Watchmaker, Carlisle, where he has been accustomed to execute the most difficult Jobs in the Common, Patent Lever, Duplex, Horizontal and Repeating Watches, flatters himself that from a thorough knowledge of his profession, he will be found deserving of the support of the friends of the late Mr Chisholm, as well as the public at large."

This shop may have been at the corner of Buccleuch Street and Castle Street, since although in the advertisement it is given as Buccleuch Street, just over a year later, on 19th May, 1829, in the same paper, he is recorded as having subscribed 10s 6d to a fund for "... the Poor, and suppressing of public begging in Dumfries, 5th February, 1829," and his address is there given as Castle Street.

James Carruthers attended the Associate Burgher (Buccleuch Street) Church whilst in Dumfries, and the Session Minutes of that Congregation record that during 1828 he was invested with the Office of the Eldership, and was chosen as Session Clerk. At this time the famous (and witty) minister was the Rev. "Wattie" Dunlop. James was last present at a Session Meeting on 2nd May, 1833.⁷

During his sojourn in Dumfries James Carruthers was one of the promoters and founders of the Dumfries Temperance Society,⁸ having signed the Constitution along with 27 other persons. The Constitution was in these terms:

"We, whose names are subscribed, believing that intemperance and its attendant evils are promoted by existing habits and opinions, in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors and that decisive measures for effecting a reformation are indispensable, do voluntarily agree, to abstain entirely from the use of ardent spirits, except for medicinal purposes,

and although the moderate use of other liquors is not excluded, yet as the promotion of Temperance in every form is the specific design of the Society, it is understood that excess in these necessarily excludes from membership."

Sometime between 2nd May and 22nd June, 1833, James, his wife and family, removed to Carlisle, for he set up in business at 73 Scotch Street (vide *Carlisle Journal*, 22nd June, 1833), and six weeks later, on 2nd August, the "Moderator reported . . . James Carruthers and Wife as intending Communicants by Certificate . . ." (Fisher Street, Carlisle, Presbyterian Church Session Minutes. This church was then a Congregation of the Associate Presbytery). Seven months later on 3rd March, 1834, the "Moderator reported that he had waited upon James Carruthers, who declined in the meantime being put in Nomination for the Eldership on account of the uncertainty of his continuing resident in the Bounds of the Congregation."⁹ The Session were anxious evidently that James Carruthers should be added to their number as on 31st July, 1835, it was reported that they " . . . unanimously requested the Moderator to make another application to James Carruthers requesting him to take Office as an Elder . . . "⁹ The Moderator reported on 4th December, 1835, " that James Carruthers had now consented to officiate as an Elder in this Congregation and the Session unanimously instructed the Moderator to take the necessary preliminary steps for his admission as a Member of this Session and further agreed that he be admitted on the last day of the year. . . "⁹

However, the " necessary steps " for some reason not explained were not taken and there is no reference to the matter until 26th March, 1843, over seven years later. On that date it is recorded in the Session Minutes that " In pursuance of Intimation from the Pulpit on the 12th, a Congregational Meeting was held on the 13th for the purpose of Electing an additional number of Elders in this Congregation when after a suitable discourse from I Timothy V and 17 the Congregational Meeting was formed, Mr Hunter in the chair when the following individuals were proposed and seconded and unanimously elected to the Office of Ruling

Elder in this Congregation subject nevertheless to the approval of the existing Session (viz.) James Carruthers, Andrew Paterson, James Rutherford, James Briggs, Alexander McKie, John Raffle . . . And whereas James Carruthers had been previously Ordained an Elder in the United Associate Congregation at Dumfries and the Session considering him duly qualified to hold Office in this Congregation at a meeting of Session held this day in pursuance of Intimation from the pulpit all the Members being present appeared James Carruthers and no objections being stated to his Admission to Office in this Congregation he after giving satisfactory answers to questions in the Formula was formally admitted as a Member of this Session and the Right Hand of Fellowship given him by the Moderator and other Members of Session . . . ”⁹

James held office for some six and a half years until his death on 27th November, 1849, when the following Minute is recorded on 30th November of that year: “ The Session also Deem it their Duty to Testify their Sense of the Loss which they and the Congregation have sustained in the Death of James Carruthers, who departed this Life on the 27th of November, 1849, in the course of the week previous to the Dispensation of the Lord’s Supper in the Congregation after having been a most efficient Member of Session in this Church and an Ornament to the Church with which he was connected for nearly 40 years. He died in his sixty-first year.”⁹

James Carruthers was buried in Stanwix Churchyard, the tombstone also bearing the name of his sixth child, James, who had died 31st July, 1848, aged 11 years. (This tombstone, in sandstone, near to the wicket-gate leading to the Old Brampton Road, has lost its inscription owing to flaking, but it was clearly readable in the 1930s.) James left no Will and Letters of Administration were granted on 3rd April, 1850, the estate being less than £200.¹⁰

Of his fine craftsmanship as a Clockmaker and Watchmaker there is ample evidence, and there are, after well over a century, Grandfather Clocks and watches of his manufacture still keeping accurate time. (The writer has two Grand-

father Clocks and a watch made by James Carruthers in his possession, and has seen several others in Border homes.)

James Carruthers married, on 29th October, 1824, Christiania Jardine, daughter of the Rev. John Jardine (the Langholm Associate Burgher Congregation's first Minister) and his wife Ann Patterson (both of whom are interred in Wauchope Kirkyard). She was born 25th September, 1800, and died 16th March, 1869, being buried in Stanwix Churchyard. According to the Session Records she was admitted to the membership of the Associate Burgher Congregation in Langholm on 13th May, 1818.⁴

James Carruthers, on his return to Carlisle in 1833, set up in business on his own account, as has been previously mentioned, at 73 Scotch Street, and by 1837 he was at 17 Scotch Street (1837 Directory), living in Fisher Street. Later his business was at 32½ Scotch Street (1847 Directory), whilst he resided at Eden Terrace, Stanwix, where he died.

James and his wife, Christiania, had eight children, as follows:¹¹

1. John, born in Rickergate, Carlisle, on 15th September, 1825. In 1850 he was probably carrying on his late father's business as a Clockmaker at 32 Scotch Street, but in 1851 he emigrated to the United States of America, and later became Statistician to the Labour Bureau of the United States Government. He married twice: first, on 9th May, 1854, Mary Elizabeth Anderson (who was born 6th August, 1827, and died 2nd August, 1862); and second, in 1864, Sarah Jane Wales (who died aged 77 years on 11th October, 1915). He died 25th August, 1891. By his first wife he had three children, John (born 4th July, 1855), James (born 1st February, 1858), and Christiania (born 12th June, 1859); and by his second wife, George Malcolm (born 25th March, 1865). Details of their families will be found in "Records of the Carruthers Family," page 33 and Appendix.
2. Jardine, born in Rickergate, Carlisle, on 18th August, 1827. He founded the business of Jardine Carruthers and Sons, 10 Scotch Street, Carlisle (Ironmongers), and

took an active part as a member of Carlisle Corporation, being a member of the Council for a number of years. Together with Mr Robert Pattinson, and others, he was one of the founders of Charlotte Street Congregational Church, Carlisle, which contains a memorial to him. He married on 13th March, 1854, Sarah, daughter of John Peacock Redmayne of Preston, Lancashire (she was born 9th July, 1829, and died 22nd October, 1902). Jardine died 4th October, 1891, and was buried in Carlisle Cemetery. There were five children of the marriage: James (born 18th February, 1855, and died unmarried 7th October, 1910); John Samuel, who died in infancy in 1863; Eliza (born 4th May, 1861, married the Rev. Owen K. Hobbs (15th September, 1886) and died 25th December, 1929); Jardine (born 5th May, 1863, married Margaret Ann Dand on 10th April, 1889—by whom he had four daughters—and died 8th March, 1933); and Thomas (born 25th July, 1867, married Eleanor Oxberry Hutchinson on 2nd July, 1895—by whom he had two sons—and died 21st November, 1938). Jardine and Thomas succeeded to their father's business, which was carried on until 21st September, 1938, shortly before Thomas's death on 21st November, 1938. The premises were then disposed of to the Corporation and pulled down to make way for the new Police Station and Fire Station. Details of their families are set out in the "Records of the Carruthers Family," page 34 and Appendix.

3. Andrew, born in Dumfries on 5th December, 1829, and died in 1833.
4. George, born in Dumfries on 14th June, 1831, was a printer and publisher in Barrow-in-Furness. He married twice: first, on 25th December, 1850, Mary Giles Acton (who was born 10th June, 1831, and died 10th January, 1875); and second,—Grundy, of Nottingham. He died on 2nd March, 1879. By his first wife he had 11 children: Mary (born 10th February, 1852), James (born 5th November, 1853), Christiana Jardine (born 25th November, 1855), Thomas Acton (born 2nd Decem-

ber, 1857), Jane Anne (born 24th February, 1860), George Murray (born 14th February, 1862), Isabella Eleanor born 26th November, 1863), Elizabeth Fanny, born 23rd February, 1865), John William (born 29th November, 1867), Annie Jardine (born 22nd October, 1869), and Margaret Katherine (born 13th April, 1871); and by his second wife, Herbert Grundy. Details of their families are set out in "Records of the Carruthers Family," page 35 and Appendix.

5. Jane Anne, born in Stanwix, Carlisle, 15th March, 1834, and died unmarried on 24th April, 1899, being buried in Carlisle Cemetery.
6. James, born in Fisher Street, Carlisle, on 10th October, 1836, and died 31st July, 1848, being buried in Stanwix Churchyard.
7. Thomas, born in Fisher Street, Carlisle, on 22nd April, 1840, married 29th April, 1869, Isabella, daughter of John McNicol (of Carlisle) (she was born 19th August, 1840, and died at Purley, Surrey, 26th October, 1932, being buried in Colchester Cemetery). He was a partner in the Ironmongery firm of Hetherington and Carruthers, 25 English Street, Carlisle. He took an active part in the work of the Church and was a Manager and later Elder in the Fisher Street Presbyterian Church. Thomas left Carlisle in 1892 and later resided in Colchester, where he died on 25th September, 1908, and was buried in the cemetery there. They had one son, James Arthur Carruthers (born in Carlisle 1st October, 1871) who married on 23rd June, 1898, Sarah Ann, daughter of Robert Pattinson of Carlisle (she was born 18th February, 1872, and died 5th April, 1952). See "Records of the Carruthers Family," page 33 and Appendix, for further details of descendants.
8. Christopher, born in Fisher Street, Carlisle, 25th December, 1841. He graduated Master of Arts and entered the ministry of the Church of England, becoming Rector of Duncton, near Petworth, Sussex, and Rural Dean of Chichester. At an earlier date he had been

private chaplain to the Duchess of Abercorn, and he was also tutor to Lords Claude and Ernest Hamilton, and with them had been round the world. He married twice: first on 4th August, 1870, Kate Sandeman (born 3rd May, 1839, and died 6th December, 1892); and second, on 4th April, 1894, Jane Hamilton Fleming Macleod (who died 2nd February, 1951). There was no issue by either marriage. He died at 8 Hillside, Wimbledon, Surrey, on 8th July, 1919.

REFERENCES.

- 1 Tombstone, Langholm Old Kirkyard.
- 1a James Carruthers, farmer, in Bankhead, was baptised on July 14th, 1719, and was the son of James Carruthers, in Breckonhill, who, on October 5th, 1710, had married Agnes Davidson. He was thus descended from the Dormont family, through George Carruthers of Brydegill, fourth son of Francis Carruthers, 3rd of Dormont. For earlier details of this family see Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society—Vol. XXXV., p. 125, and "Records of the Carruthers Family"—Appendix, pp. 7 and 11.
- 2 Langholm Parish Register (1668-1819).
- 3 See First and Second Statistical Accounts of Scotland (Sinclair) (Vols. 13 and 21).
- 3a Buccleuch Estates Ledger.
- 4 Session Records (Langholm Erskine Church, formerly the Associate Burgher Congregation).
- 5 James's cousin, George Carruthers (son of James Carruthers—cotton thread manufacturer in Langholm), may also have been apprenticed with Philip Corrie. George later carried on business as a clockmaker in Langholm. He died October 1st, 1866, aged 76. George married Jane Hope (who died September 30th, 1867, aged 68) and had two sons, John (an artist, who died November 12th, 1851, aged 24 years) and Robert Hope (who died September 7th, 1837, aged 4 years). It is also believed he had a married daughter, with issue in Edinburgh.
- 6 "Dumfries and Galloway Courier" (April 1st, 1828).
- 7 Session Minutes (Buccleuch Street Associate Burgher Congregation)
- 8 This Temperance Society is earlier by at least four years than the "Dumfries and Maxwelltown Total Abstinence Society" formed on January 10th, 1837, and said by M'Dowall in his "History of the Burgh of Dumfries" to be the "original society" (pp. 731-2).
- 9 Fisher Street, Carlisle, Presbyterian Church Session Minutes.
- 10 Probate Office, Carlisle.
- 11 Particulars of the children of James Carruthers, clockmaker, are from personal family records, etc. Full genealogical details of the descendants of James Carruthers, and of his uncle, James Carruthers, manufacturer in Langholm, may be seen in "Records of the Carruthers Family."

Enterkin and the Covenanters.

By DAVID FORD.

The story of the rescue of a small band of Covenanter prisoners from their escort whilst on passage through the Enterkin Pass near Wanlockhead in the north of Dumfriesshire on a summer day in 1684 has been told many times during the past two hundred and fifty years, but all or nearly all of these accounts stem from but two sources. One of these, contained in the "Memoirs of the Church of Scotland" by the novelist Daniel Defoe,¹ purports to be based on evidence gleaned by the author from eye witnesses when he visited the district early in the eighteenth century. It is highly imaginative, written in romantic language and quite wrong in a number of facts, so that much doubt may be cast on the whole narrative. Many accounts are based on Defoe, including one in "Wilson's Tales of the Borders," this one being set in the depths of winter instead of the actual July and is even complete with love interest! The second source is in Robert Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland"² and is much nearer the truth, being based on an account written by a participant in the rescue. However, it is meagre in detail as the author had not access to the great mass of material which is available to the historian of to-day. A third account by the Rev. J. King Hewison, published in two of his books and a newspaper article,³ uses some but not all of the material now available. The present narrative is based mainly on information contained in the "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland" third series, vols. IX., X. and XI., which contains the evidence on oath of eye witnesses, official and semi-private correspondence, orders from and reports to the Privy Council, summonses, sentences, etc.

¹ P. 232 et seq. in a reprint, published in 1844 from the original of 1717.

² 1828 edition, after the original of 1721-2, pp. 67 and 172.

³ *Fresh Light on Enterkin*, in the *Scotsman* of 1st April, 1901; *The Covenanters*, 1908, vol. II., p. 430; *Dalgarnoe: Its Saints and Heroes*, 1935, p. 30.

The Scene.

The Enterkin glen forms part of an ancient highway between Dumfries and Edinburgh, providing a direct road from the centre of government to the south-west of Scotland with only one major river to cross and that, the Clyde, having been bridged north of Abington in 1661 probably made it the quickest and most used route.⁴ From Dumfries it lay along the right bank of the Nith, through Closeburn and Thornhill, leaving the main water to follow the Carron past the farming communities of Enoch, Drumcruil and Ingleston. It skirted the north side of the Dalveen valley, following the Deil's Dyke for a short distance before climbing over a spur of the Steygail and dropping down into the Enterkin glen, following it to the head and thence over the saddle between the Lowther hills and Auchenloan (East Mount Lowther) at about 2000 ft. above sea level before dropping down into the village of Leadhills, where it joined the present road to Abington, the Clyde, Biggar and Edinburgh. The traveller to-day can pass along most of the route by car but, from Carronbridge where the old path leaves the Nith to Leadhills, it can only be traversed on foot or horseback. This part of the route is still well-defined despite its having fallen into disuse since the beginning of the nineteenth century when the road up the Mennoch glen to Wanlockhead and Leadhills was made. Where it joins the Enterkin burn from the south it is comparatively flat and the way is easy for the first half-mile. Then, as it follows the burn to its source, the valley narrows to form a gulley and the road steepens; on the left the hill rises like a cliff and on the other side skirts a deep gorge where the stream has carved a path for itself so deep that it is hidden from the eye but not from the ear. The roar of its cataracts are dulled by the few stunted trees which line its banks, the highest point at which they grow hereabouts. This place is called "Kelt's Linn" and is the only part of the Enterkin Path

⁴ *The Roads that Lead to Edinburgh*, by H. R. G. Inglis. Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. L., fifth series, vol. II., 1915, p. 43.

where an ambush could possibly have been set with any hope of surprise and success. Hewison ascribes the name of the linn to "Sergeant Kelt," one of the escort,⁵ but this is most unlikely, no Kelt being mentioned in any of the contemporary accounts. Further up the glen widens and the path continues on its left side to the head of the pass and on to Leadhills. No map exists which shows roads as at the time of the Covenanters. It is probable however that the route was substantially as shown in Taylor and Skinner's "Survey of the Roads of Scotland."⁶ The map based on the military survey after the 1745 rebellion (Roy's Map) shows a curious error in that it places the path on the opposite, or eastern side of the Enterkin glen, a quite impossible route, owing to the steepness of this side of the valley. The road itself averages about 6 ft. wide except above the linn, where it has become covered almost to its outer edge by rubble fallen from the hillside above. Nevertheless it is still well-defined and no difficulty is experienced by the walker in finding his way up or down this ancient highway.

This then was the scene for high drama. The time was the summer of 1684. The reign of Charles II. had less than a year to run. Five years had gone by since the rebellion of Bothwell Brig but Covenanters who took part were still being hunted and hanged. The country, especially the southern part, was held in an uneasy peace by force of arms and the people were sullen, suspicious and unco-operative. Although declared treason by act of parliament, secret worship indoors and field conventicles were common and many men posted as "rebells and fugitives" lived in hiding in the hills and wherever else they could find shelter and safety. Fines, imprisonment, banishment to New England and the West Indies and hanging were commonplace and shooting of countrymen resisting or evading arrest were not unknown. The south-west particularly was a hot-bed of unrest.

Dumfries was a convenient collecting-place for prisoners

⁵ *Dalgarnoc: Its Saints and Heroes*, J. K. Hewison, 1935.

⁶ Published 1792.

awaiting escort to Edinburgh for trial in the high court or for shipment to the "plantations." The route through the Enterkin pass, although not the only one available, must have been used a fair amount for this traffic as it was for the ordinary coming and going of the country. Drumlanrig Castle in upper Nithsdale for instance was nearing completion and much lead for it was carried down the path from the mines and refinery at Wanlockhead.⁷

The Rescue.

One such batch of prisoners was to be taken from Dumfries to Edinburgh, the order for their movement by the Privy Council to General Dalziel being dated 2nd July, 1684.⁸ The prisoners named in it were Alexander Gordon of Kinsure, Grierson of Lochture and James Welsh of Little Cludden, all for trial in Edinburgh accused of taking part in the Bothwell Brig rebellion. Two others, Walter Welsh and Thomas Williamson, with "others," on their way to banishment, were to make up the party. Wodrow names also "John M'Kechnie, a singularly pious man in Galloway," as one of the prisoners,⁹ but little or nothing more is known of their antecedents or their crimes. Those under sentence of banishment were ordered to be delivered to "Robert Malloch, merchant, upon his finding caution to transport them to the plantations in Carolina and report a certificate of their landing before 1st November, 1685, under the penalty of 1000 marks for each person delivered to him." The fee for delivery at that time was £10 per head. In all there were about nine prisoners but their exact number is not known. The escort of soldiers numbered about 30 and it is probable that the sorry cavalcade left Dumfries on the 28th July, the prisoners on foot and the soldiers mounted. They rested that night at Thornhill and the next day the prisoners were provided with horses for the long climb over the Enterkin pass.

⁷ Wanlockhead papers, Stampfield MSS., M.P. bundle 279 in Register House, Edinburgh.

⁸ P.C.R., vol. IX., p. 31.

⁹ *Sufferings*, vol. IV., p. 172.

The rescuers, although to a man declared rebels and fugitives and therefore debarred by law from consorting with the ordinary people of the country or even with their relatives, living in hiding and hunted by the king's forces, from information gleaned by their friends knew well the approximate movements of the prisoners and their escort. For days they had been gathering in upper Nithsdale from the south and west of the country to await the departure of the party from Dumfries. As the time drew near, they appear to have divided either in two or three parties. The night before the rescue one of these, numbering about 16, assembled in the house of one Rowland Thomsone at Thirstane near the Enterkin glen. Another was reported afterwards as having been seen near the Devil's Beeftub north of Moffat and the third in Glengonnar. These latter two may well have been one party, seen at different times by different witnesses. It seems likely that, when it was known that the movement of prisoners was imminent, two ambushes were prepared to cover the three usual routes, through Annandale, by the Dalveen Pass and by Enterkin. The first could be covered most easily by an ambush in the neighbourhood of the Devil's Beeftub and the other two by another party awaiting in some convenient spot near the Dalveen and Enterkin valleys. As it happened, it was known in sufficient time that the prisoners were to be taken by Enterkin for those at the Devil's Beeftub to be warned and they could have marched as far as Glengonnar and spent the night there some way north of Leadhills. What preliminary arrangements were actually made is not known; certainly a determined and well-co-ordinated foray had been planned, the author of which unfortunately is not known, although several guesses as to his identity have been made in the past.

Although witnesses variously give the number of rebels who took part in the attack as anything between 20 and 40, only 20 can with any certainty be named whereas about 70 men were known rebels in Nithsdale at that time. Those certainly at Enterkin that day were :

Andrew Clark of Leadhills,

James and William Corsane of Jedburgh,

Robert Clark of Kirkop.

John Glencorse.

Robert Grier, chapman,

Adam, James and Thomas Harkness, sons of Fair Thomas
Harkness of Mitchelslacks and probably the father as
well.

William Herries of Kirkcudbright,

Thomas Hunter of Woodend,

William Hunter of Old Clachan,

Thomas Hunter of Breckinside,

Robert Lachlison,

Samuel McEwan of Glencairn,

James Macmichael.

Ringan Steel,

Robert Stewart of Manquahill,

James Todd,

Gilbert Watson of Glengonnar,

Thomas Wood of Kirkmichael.

The ambush was well laid in three parts, as previously mentioned probably at Kelt's Linn north of the shoulder of Stey Gail, and where Wether Hill and Thirstane Hill, a spur of Auchenloan, pinch the glen into a narrow defile and where the path rises steeply with the linn roaring in the gorge on its right and the hillside almost a cliff on the left. The parties were disposed " . . . one upon the one syde of the hill, the uther upon the uther syd of the way, the thrid laigh in the glen."¹⁰ That they were well hidden was vouched for by Robert Douglas of Drumcruil, a 60-year-old man who was on his way home from Hamilton. He said he was coming down the glen and saw no one until he had passed the King's party " the length of ane pike, at quhich tyme the rebells fyred upon them . . . " The vanguard of the dragoon escort also could have seen no one and the rescuers must have held their fire until the main body of the party were in the best position for attack. Defoe tells of a challenge from the rebels, a refusal by the officer in charge of the escort and

¹⁰ Deposition of Andrew McMath in Drumcruil. P.C.R., vol. IX.

a shot which killed him, but there is no suggestion of this in the statements of witnesses collected under oath within a few days of the event. From another of these it is confirmed that the rebels fired first and the soldiers promptly replied. Whether or not the engagement was prolonged is not clear, probably not, but that the soldiers found they had been bettered is certain for they retreated downhill, leaving some at least of their prisoners behind.

Although very little indeed is known about the fate or subsequent movements of the prisoners, it is certain that one man, Thomas Smith, was killed. He is not in the list of prisoners or known as a rebel of the period and therefore he could have been a dragoon. A prisoner, William Grierson of Lochture, was severely wounded and dragged some distance by his horse before being found by the rescuers. An attempt was made by his rescuers to carry him from the field but some now unknown alarm forced them to hide him in one of the small cleuchs nearby and to cover him with bracken.¹¹ There he was tended by the wife of John Hoatson of Dalveen and Marian Milligan, a 20-year-old servant girl from neighbouring Nether Dalveen and in the evening, blind from his wounds, he was taken by Hoatson's son and daughter and another youth to the sheiling of Thirstane where he was tended by Robert Forsyth and his family. There he lay for two nights until removed by his brother Alexander and nephew James who hid with him the third night in a wood near Fogiehall and then brought him to the Muir of Auchenshen. Later he was recaptured and after long imprisonment in Edinburgh, set free. According to Wodrow,¹² the prisoner, James McKechnie, was wounded in one arm but remained captive. The soldiers refused to allow anyone to tend his injury and he died of gangrene in Edinburgh 13 weeks later. There is mention of another casualty but as this is by a distant witness it is almost certain that he was William Grierson.

After remaining in the vicinity of the affray for about an hour, the rescuers dispersed into the hills.

¹¹ Bracken still grows in profusion near Kelt's Linn.

¹² *Sufferings*, vol. IV., p. 173.

The Enquiry.

News soon reached Edinburgh and both the "Comittie of the Counsale for Secreit Affaires" and the Lord Treasurer who was William, Marques of Queensberry, hastily ordered their chief commissioner for the area, "Sir Robert Dalzell, Closeburn and the rest of the Commissioners of the shyre to take the exactest tryle possible for discovering the resettters and conversars with thes rebels who appeared laityly at Crafoordmoor, and whense thes rebels come and went and by whom they were furnichd with meat and drink or concealed . . ." ¹³ The two letters were read at a meeting of the local commissioners held at Dalgarno on the 4th August, just six days after the affair. Those present immediately formed themselves into three "sub-committees" to carry out their instructions and all persons over the age of 15 who resided in the parishes of Kirkbride, Durisdeer, Morton, Glencairn, Keir and Tinron were summoned before them, a central place in each parish being appointed for the purpose. Each person was questioned on his knowledge of the rescue and anything else known about the rebels, all statements being written down and, if the deponent could, signed. A typical deposition is:

"The quhilk day, in presence of the Laird of Closeburne, compeared William Wilson in Wanlockhead, of the age of fourtie ane yeirs or thereby, married, solemnellie suorne and interrogat anant the assault at Enterkine on a partie of his Majesties forces with some prisoners on Tuesday the 29th Joul last, if he knew of any of the rebels assaulters, resset any of them, harboured or conversed with them, knew their number or if there were any uther parties in any uther place of the rode, and if he knew of any that resset rebels. As to all of which and to all the uther interrogators put to persones in his case and conditione, examined upon oath since the said assault, depones altogether negative. And this is true and knowes no more, as he shall answer to God.

(Signed) Will. Wilson "

¹³ P.C.R. vol. IX., p. 218.

In all, over 2000 people in Nithsdale were questioned but only about one in ten provided any information. A very few of these knew anything about the Enterkin affair, most giving evidence of forcible entry by fugitives seeking food and shelter, accidental meetings or telling of their own or their neighbours' hospitality to the rebels. Presumably out of deference to their employer, the Marquis of Queensberry, those engaged in building Drumlanrig Castle did not have to appear at Thornhill for questioning. Instead the master of works, William Lewcap, was empowered to carry out the inquisition on site and furnish a certificate to that effect. The number of men employed there at that time was 66, made up of 31 masons, 9 wrights, 2 smiths, 6 quarrymen, 16 barrowmen and 2 carters. The wives of 14 of the builders also were questioned, all "negative." As was to be expected most of the information about the rescue was gleaned from those living nearest the scene, in the farms of Drumcruil, where horses were hired to carry the prisoners to the top of the pass,¹⁴ the three Dalveens, Upper, Nether and Dalveen proper, Coshogle and Thirstane.

The depositions were sent to Edinburgh in batches. Evidently the Nithsdale commissioners sensed that the governmental wrath was about to descend on their own heads and that a word in high places might ward off the blow when the extent of the lawlessness of their people was revealed by the evidence, for Thomas Kirkpatrick, Laird of Closeburn, wrote to Queensberry pointing out that the Marquis himself along with the rest of the Nithsdale lairds was just as likely to be criticised for "... I fynd many of your Lordships peopell guiltie of resetting rebels, especialy the Heads of Scarr. Hou farr your Lordships comands have been neglected in this, both your Lordship and the whole countrie knous, bot, to be shortt, thair hath been too mutch of resett and converse with rebels in this shyre, especialy Glencairn and Tynrone." This letter is dated 9th August. On the same day and by the same courier, the Sheriff Depute, James

¹⁴ The rate for the hire of a horse and man was 3s Scots per two miles. *Acta Caroli II.*, 1881, p. 241.

Alexander, sent an official report to the Marquis as Lord High Treasurer, praising the diligence of the Laird of Closeburn during the enquiry and announcing with glee that Claverhouse (Colonel John Grahame of Claverhouse) whilst on his way to Thornhill, had captured six fugitives. The story of these men must be told at this point of the narrative although it constitutes a digression of some length.

Clark, Harkness and McEwan.

The names of four of the men captured are known with certainty. One was Thomas Harkness of Locherben, a hill farm east of Thornhill and near Mitchelslacks, the home of his parents. It is possible that his father was captured with him as it is known that he was taken soon after the Enterkin rescue and lodged in the tolbooth of Dumfries, from whence he escaped. Another was Andrew Clark of the mining village of Leadhills, a third Samuel McEwan of Glencairn parish and the fourth was Thomas Wood of Kirkmichael. According to Walker¹⁵ who met Harkness, Clark and McEwan in prison in Edinburgh, their ages were respectively nearly 30, 19, and 17. These three, with Wood, were taken to Edinburgh and, on the morning of the 15th August, tried for their lives. After a formal appearance, Wood's trial was postponed until a later date.¹⁶ They were charged with high treason, evidence of their capture, resistance to arrest and possession of arms being given by four "Dragooners in Lord Charles Murrays troupe." There was no defence and the prisoners did not speak. The "doom" pronounced by "James Johnstone Dempster of Court" was harsh in the extreme, ". . . to be taken to the grass mercat of Edinburgh this present fryday being the fifteenth of Agust betwixt two and fyve aclock in the afternoon and ther to be hanged on a gibbet till they be dead and all their lands heritages tacks steddings rouses possessions goods and geir whatsom (ever) to be forfault & escheat to our sovereigne Lord & so which was pronounced for doom." Thomas Wood's trial was

¹⁵ Patrick Walker, who wrote *Six Saints of the Covenant*. See vol. II.

¹⁶ Book of Adjournal, Old series, No. 15, 1682-85.

postponed several times, but eventually on the 9th December, 1684, with nine others, he received the same dread sentence, to be carried out at "the Gallowlie betwixt Leith and Edinburgh . . ." ¹⁷. Five of the nine did not receive the death sentence, having disowned the covenant and confessed their sins. One other, after sentence, repented and his life was spared. The remainder were hung with Thomas Wood.

The fate of Harkness, Clark and McEwan is of especial interest for two reasons. The first is because they left behind them a testimony or declaration of faith, ¹⁸ a document remarkable for its courage, clarity and serenity and a vivid insight into the minds of the ordinary people who lived during these terrible times. It was signed by all three, including THOMAS Harkness, although on the back is written JAMES Harkness, presumably a mistake by Wodrow. This error has led to some confusion in the past, James Harkness having been listed by one or two authors as having been the victim. Wodrow makes another rather curious error in that he says somewhat bitingly ¹⁹ that the publishers of the "Cloud of Witnesses," a collection of the last speeches and testimonies, etc., of Covenanters, did not include that of the trio as it was not in the strain of the others printed. In fact the first edition of the "Cloud of Witnesses," printed in 1714, seven years before Wodrow's "Sufferings" was published, included a note on pages 234 and 235 to the effect that the publishers knew of no such testimony. Later editions of the "Cloud" includes this testimony. ²⁰ The document, written on quarto paper appears to have been penned by McEwan. Although it has been included in many previous publications, this account would not be complete without it.

¹⁷ This *Gallowlie* was in the district of Pilrig off Leith Walk and on what is now the site of the tram garage. See *Old and New Edinburgh*, by James Grant, vol. III., pp. 154-5. For this reference I am indebted to the Rev. J. Scott Marshall.

¹⁸ Nat. Lib. Scot., Wodrow MSS., 3rd series, vol. 33, folio 86. An account by Wood of his examination at the hands of the Privy Council is preserved at folio 87 of the same volume.

¹⁹ *Sufferings*, vol. IV., p. 67.

²⁰ See also *Six Saints of the Covenant*, by Patrick Walker, vol. II., p. 218

“ Dear friends and relations whatsoever,

We think it fit to acquaint you, that we bless the Lord, that ever we were ordained to give such a public testimony, who are so great sinners. Blessed be he that ever we were born to bear witness for him; and blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ, that ordained the gospel and the truths of it, which he sealed with his own blood, and many a worthy Christian gone before us hath sealed them. We were questioned for not owning the king's authority. We answered, that we owned all authority that is allowed by the written word of God, sealed by Christ's blood. Now, our dear friends, we entreat you to stand to the truth, and especially all ye that are our own relations, and all that love and wait for the coming of Christ. He will come, and not tarry, and reward every one according to their needs in the body. We bless the Lord we are not a whit discouraged, but content to lay down our life with cheerfulness, and boldness and courage; and if we had a 100 lives, we would willingly quit with them all for the truth of Christ. Good news! Christ is no worse than he promised. Now we take our leave of all friends and acquaintances, and declare we are heartily content with our lot, and that he hath brought us hither to witness for him and his truth. We leave our testimony against popery, and all other false doctrines, that is not according to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which is the only word of God. Dear friends, be valiant for God, for he is as good as his promise. Him that overcometh he will make a pillar in his temple. Our time is short, and we have little to spare, having got our sentence at one of the clock this afternoon, and are to die at five this day. And so we will say no more, but farewell all friends and relations, and welcome heaven and Christ, and the cross for Christ's sake.

Thomas Harkness,

Andrew Clark,

Samuel McEwan.”

On the back of the original document another letter is written in the same hand, and must also be included here:

“ My dear friends,

I am this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truth of God; and I bless his holy name, that ever he honoured me, a poor country lad, having neither father or mother alive, to witness for him. And now I can set to my seal to all the truths in the Bible, Confessions of Faith, catechisms larger and shorter, national and solemn league and covenant, and to all the protestations and declarations given by the poor remnant, agreeable to the same word of God. Though much in weakness, yet I love all that is for his glory, and desire to hate all that he hates, with a perfect hatred. I desire you not to be discouraged, for, I bless the Lord, I am heartily content with my lot. It was my desire, though most unworthy, to die a martyr, and I bless the Lord who has granted me my desire. Now this is the most joyful day ever I saw with mine eyes. Farewell all earthly enjoyments and friends, in our sweet Lord Jesus Christ; and farewell Glencairn my native parish. Welcome my sweet Saviour; into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou art he, O Jehovah, God of truth, who hast redeemed me.

Samuel McEwan.”^{20a}

The other reason for its importance is that the deaths of these men marked the beginning of a considerable intensification of pressure against the Covenanters. It could be said that the rescue at Enterkin was a cold-blooded and impudent flouting of authority, indicating that the people of the area were a lawless and rebellious lot. At any rate, sentences became more harsh, when death was pronounced, invariably it was carried out the same day and the soldiers became more “ trigger-happy.” Some historians date the “ killing time,” which lasted until 1688, from the day that Thomas Harkness, Andrew Clark and Samuel McEwan were hanged.

^{20a} Wodrow, in printing these two testimonies, whilst following the general tenor, has taken considerable liberties. It is hoped that Mr Ford, who has collated the originals with Wodrow, will add a further note in the next volume of Transactions on the discrepancies with some further material.—[EDS.].

Further Measures.

Throughout the August of 1684, the questioning of the people went on. The evidence so collected, after study in Edinburgh, inevitably resulted in a spate of summonses which were brought to Dumfries by the Lord High Treasurer, the Marquis of Queensberry, accompanied by his son Lord Drumlanrig and Colonel John Grahame of Claverhouse. Armed with a warrant appointing them as “. . . Commissioners of Privy Counsell and Justiciary within our shyres of Drumfries and Wigtoune, steuartries of Annandle and Kirkcudbright . . .” they opened court there on the 2nd of October. Over 250 Dumfriesshire people, nearly 150 of Kirkcudbright and over 50 in Wigton were required to appear before “. . . William, Marquis of Queensberry, and the rest of the Commissioners of Council appointed . . . at Dumfries or wherever they may be . . . to answer for their contraventions of the acts made . . .”²¹. Two hundred and thirty-five persons appeared that day, 28 who were summoned did not and a few more were excused for reasons of health. All were remanded for two days and then until the 24th.

On the 5th the three Commissioners reported to the Privy Council which was meeting in Jedburgh that “wee find the gentry of this shyre in the generall weel affected to the government and have made to them no proposals till our return from Galloway, because wee know that they will be ready to complye with anything (that) can be proposed . . .” These proposals were not made public until the Commissioners again met in Dumfries on the 24th. They must have been backed with much persuasion for the result was that the Earl of Annandale presented an offer and address on behalf of the shire “. . . in all deutie and gratitude, and to give good example to other loyall shyres in there circumstances make offer to his Majestie of alse many moneths supplie yearlie, and to be continued for alse many years as his Majesties Privie Councill heir or secret committie thereof shall think fitt to appoint, by and attour the

²¹ P.C.R., vol. X., p. 335.

present supplie granted by the current Parliament." The "present supplie" was a levy for the upkeep of the army, payable in six-monthly instalments by all shires and burghs in Scotland, to the tune of £180,000 Scots in five years. Dumfriesshire's share was £2712 17s 0d and the burghs £200. This was levied in an act of 1678²² and renewed for a further five years by another.²³ The "offer" was in effect an extension of these payments for an indefinite time. A similar offer was received from the burgh of Dumfries the same day and both were accepted by Queensberry on behalf of the King.

Sentences.

The sentences that day were quickly passed. The majority were for minor breaches and not connected with the Enterkin rescue, 152 men "... confessed there fault and was greived for the same and intrated for the benefit of the Test, the saids Lords (Commissioners) allowed them to take the same in presence of Master James Alexander, sheref deput of Drumfreis, whom they appoynted for that effect, which accordinglie the saids persons solemnly upon there knees with uplifted hands and by repeating each word did take, suear and subscryve."²⁴ Similarly, 44 of the "... said women and ilk ane of them" had to "suear and enact themselves never to harbour, resett, converse with or intertain rebells or suspect persons in tyme coming but to delate them when seen to the next magistrat or officer of the standing forces conform to the proclamation and laues made theranent which accordingly they did." This "Test" was in the form of that laid down in an Act of 1681²⁵ and used as an oath of loyalty for those taking office under the Crown. As well as being used for its original purpose, it was a potent weapon for "testing" the loyalties of anyone as it contained a declaration of belief in the king's dominion over all things in the realm, ecclesiastical as well as civil and that the Cove-

²² Acta Parliamentorum Caroli II., p. 221.

²³ Acta, 1681, p. 241.

²⁴ P.C.R., vol. X., p. 568.

²⁵ Wodrow, *Sufferings*, vol. III., p. 295.

nants were illegal. Women were not usually required to take the Test. Instead when necessary, they had to swear to good behaviour in future.

Of the more severe sentences, three women and one man, the Glencairn schoolmaster, were "... to be scourged through the town of Drumfreis this day immediatlie by the hand of the common executioner ..." and "... the magistrats to see the same putt to execution ..." The schoolmaster, Robert Cogan, had harboured a number of rebels. One of the women, Agnes Rosper, wife of a fugitive, John Copland, of Druncork, had passed the vital information to the ambuscade of the route the prisoners were to take through Enterkin. The second was her daughter, found guilty of conversing with rebels, and the third, Margaret Corbett of Langbrig, had been accused with her father and brother of sheltering rebels who had taken part in the rescue. She had also guided one fugitive, Peter Coudan, from her father's farm to Dornockford on the Solway, a place often used by Covenanters for their departure to the comparative safety of England. It is probable that this traffic into England was considerable about this time as a circular dated 30th September, 1684, to all English magistrates, etc., ordered them to search for and apprehend "... persons who are accused of high treason within the kingdome of Scotland for raiseing rebellion and disturbing the government of that kingdome, which said persons are fledd and doe lurk and abscond in divers places of this kingdome."²⁶ Her father was imprisoned until he found surety in 1000 marks and her brother banished but his sentence was reduced to a 500 marks fine. The sentence of banishment was passed on 14 men and nine women in all, but six of the men and one woman were able to buy their freedom, the price being fixed by the Commissioners at between 200 marks and £2000 Scots. Banishment was severe enough but the remote chance of a deportee finding his way back to Scotland from the other side of the Atlantic was hampered and recapture made almost certain

²⁶ P.C.R., vol. IX., p. 412.

as an ear was cut from each man and the women were branded on the face to make recognition easier.

For harbouring and feeding many rebels, Helen Grier, wife of Archibald Brown of Auchinchain was required " . . . upon the first Sunday of November next to acknowledge her fault publictlie att the paroch kirk of Glencairn and to stand ane hour in the joggs, and that the elders of the said paroch see the same done and to report to the sheref deput of Drumfreis and he to the Lords; and in the meantyme to continue prisoner till she find cation under the pain of fyve hundred punds." Nineteen others were remitted to Edinburgh but surprisingly only one appeared before the court there when he was released.

These sentences relate only to the Nithsdale parishes. Naturally they were the most numerous as they were closest to the place of rescue but the opportunity was taken to sweep through Annandale, Wigton and Kirkcudbright, so that not a few in these parts were fined and some saw the inside of prison. The effect of the rescue therefore spread far and wide, many who otherwise might have escaped detection being caught and punished.

The last official action directly attributable to the Enterkin rescue appears to have been the appointment of " . . . Generall Lievtennent Drumond, Master General of our Ordinance . . . " as justice for the southern and western shires. He was provided with a substantial backing of arms, " . . . the half of the troupe of His Majesties Life Guards, four troupes of Collonell Grahame of Claverhouse his regiment of horse, which are the said Collonell his oune troop, the Erle of Belcarres, Earls of Airlie and Lord Rosse troupes, the sex troupes of dragounes of Generall Dalyells regiment with two hundred foot out of the Earle of Marrs regiment . . . " quite a formidable force and a measure of the anxiety of the government. His instructions were terse and very much to the point, " . . . and with them yew are to persew, take, apprehend and kill the forsaid rebels and ther resettters." But how he carried out his orders is another story.

ARTICLE 11.

“Auld Lag” and the Covenanters.

ATHOL MURRAY, M.A., LL.B.

The family papers of the Griersons of Lag, which were discovered among the burgh archives of Dumfries, were found to include a number of documents relating to Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, first baronet, some of which concerned his activities as “The Persecutor.” A selection of these forms an appendix to this article. A full account of Lag’s career is not possible here, but an attempt will be made to trace its main events, particularly during the years 1683 to 1688, as they are reflected in his papers and correspondence.¹

It is perhaps hard to remember that “Auld Lag” was a young man, only in his early thirties when the Revolution of 1688 brought his active persecuting career to a close.² By then, however, he had been Laird of Lag for over 20 years having succeeded to his cousin, Robert, who died on 17th March, 1667. After receiving his education at Glasgow and St Andrews³ he made an early entry into political life, sitting in Parliament as Commissioner for Dumfriesshire in 1678, soon after attaining his majority. Already, by his marriage to Lady Henrietta Douglas in 1676,⁴ he had secured a power-

¹ This article is based on the unpublished material in the Grierson Papers in the Ewart Library, especially the series of letters (Section B/8). A selection of documents (Section C/2) is printed as an appendix. Some information about Lag is to be found in the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd series (R.P.C.). The only full biography of him, *The Laird of Lag*, by Alexander Fergusson, suffers through having been written before the discovery of the family papers. I have modernised the spelling and punctuation in the quotations.

² The date of Lag’s birth is not known. His parents’ marriage contract is dated 26th June, 1654, but as he was under age at the time of his own marriage contract, 21st September, 1676, he must have been born after September, 1655. If he was over 21 in 1678, the year of his birth was probably 1656. On 29th December, 1679, he revoked certain deeds granted during his minority (Grierson Papers, No 251).

³ There are three letters relating to his education, 23rd September, 1672-20th March, 1675, in the Grierson Papers (Section B/17, Nos. 13-15).

⁴ Marriage contract dated at the Castle of Sanquhar, 21st September, 1676 (referred to in Nat. Lib. MS. 211, p. 1).

ful brother-in-law in the 3rd Earl (later 1st Duke) of Queensberry. Queensberry's influence, especially after he became Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in 1682, may help to explain the appointments which Lag secured; Commissioner of Excise for the Stewartry in 1683, Commissioner for the Borders in 1684, in which year he was also named in the Commission to prevent the importation of Irish victual, horses and salt beef into Scotland.⁵ His most important post, that of Stewart of Kirkcudbright, he owed to the Earl of Nithsdale, who granted him the office during his son's minority.⁶ Lag was the Earl's deputy until the latter's death in 1683.⁷

Letters from Queensberry and his associates form a large part of Lag's extant correspondence. On 1st July, 1683, he wrote in connection with "the late horrid plot against the life of his Majesty and the Duke" (the Rye House Plot) instructing Lag to take measures for securing the Border.⁸ The following year, in May, 1684, Lag was acting on his behalf with regard to the estate of M'Kie of Larg, of which Queensberry had obtained a gift.⁹

His papers show Lag to have been very active in 1684. He had to make arrangements for settling garrisons in certain places in the Stewartry, with which task he was occupied in June.¹⁰ In August, Queensberry, as Treasurer, and the Treasurer-depute granted a commission to him and John Sharp, sheriff clerk of Dumfries, to report on the value of some estates in Wigton and Kirkcudbright which had been forfeited by a decree of the Justiciary Court.¹¹ From September onwards he was collecting the rents of rebels' lands and gathering in their moveable goods and debts.¹² At the same time he held special courts in certain parishes, to which all the inhabitants were called for questioning on

⁵ *R.P.C.*, viii., pp. 205, 411, 682.

⁶ By disposition dated 14th September, 1681. Shortly after the Earl's death Lag renounced all financial benefit from the office, on 23rd April, 1683. Grierson Papers, No. 259.

⁷ *R.P.C.*, viii., p. 148.

⁸ Letter No. 5.

⁹ Letters No. 9, 10, 12; Hugh Wallace, of Ingliston, to Lag, 16th May, 28th May, and 18th June, 1684.

¹⁰ Letter No. 11. Thomas Lidderdale, of Isle, to Lag, 2nd June, 1684.

¹¹ Grierson Papers No. 283.

¹² Documents Nos. 6, 8, 9, *infra*.

their attendance at church and dealings with the rebels.¹³ These investigations were followed in October by special Circuit Courts held by the Commissioners of Privy Council and Justiciary in Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigton.¹⁴ The Commissioners, headed by Queensberry, gave Lag various instructions for his future activities.¹⁵

In December, 1684, and January, 1685, he was engaged in taking from "ilk heritor, wadsetter and liferenter" in the stewartry lists of all those on their lands above 16 years of age. Then from January to April, 1685, he had to tender the oath of abjuration, not merely in the Stewartry but also in Nithsdale, Wigtonshire, Carrick and Kyle.¹⁶ In this he had the assistance of Colonel James Douglas, Queensberry's brother, who allowed him to call on the services of "such number of dragoons, foot or horse out of the garrisons of Nithsdale or Galloway as can be conveniently spared." He is also found making arrangements for "repairing the castle of Torthorwald by putting it in ane condition fit for the garrison."¹⁷ Finally, acting on "intelligence," for which he paid a total of £271 8d scots, he seems to have had considerable success in killing or capturing a number of the rebels.¹⁸

In February, 1685, circumstances were altered by the death of Charles II. The new king, James VII., summoned Queensberry to Court, and the latter left Lag precise instructions for managing the elections to the new Parliament. "I have written to the sheriff depute that he intimate to the gentlemen of the shire that you and Sir Robert Dalryell be again elected to this Parliament. And for the stewartry of Kirkcudbright I desire you may procure Hugh Wallace to be commissioner, who is capable by his being infeft under the Great Seal in Larg McKie's estate. I have written to

¹³ The records of two of these courts are printed *infra*, Documents Nos. 5, 7.

¹⁴ The proceedings of the Circuit Courts are printed in *R.P.C.*, x., pp. 557-617. See also Document No. 14 *infra*.

¹⁵ *R.P.C.*, x., pp. 537, 594-5.

¹⁶ Document No. 12 *infra*.

¹⁷ Nat. Lib. MS. 211, No. 51; Lag to John Sharp, sheriff clerk of Dumfries, 1st January, 1685.

¹⁸ Document No. 12 *infra*.

my Lord Kenmore to the same purpose which I desire you may instantly send to him. I desire also that you may get Henry More elected for the burgh of Kirkcudbright and Robert Alexander for the burgh of New Galloway and to send to them to intimate this in due time. I think either Bailie Rome or Bailie Fingies are proper to be for the town of Dumfries, so let either of them you think most proper be made use of and let all these elections be done in time, so as it may be done without any trouble or alteration of persons." In a postscript to the letter Lag's responsibilities were enlarged. "I have written to Stenhou and Mr James Alexander that Bryce Blair be chosen for Annan, James Carruthers or Thomas Kennedy for Lochmaben and Robert Carmichell for Sanquhar. I entreat you use diligence and care that none of all these elections miscarry, for I am concerned more than ordinary at this time."¹⁹

Queensberry had ended his letter by telling Lag, "I am intimated of your loss in your serving the King in Kirkcudbright, which you shall have no cause to repent," and in a letter written on his instructions the following day, 6th March, 1685, he promised that he would not fail to represent to the King the pains and charge Lag was put to in his service.²⁰ Thus it is not surprising to find that the reward came to him less than three weeks later, when he was created a baronet on 25th March, 1685.

In May, 1685, the Highlanders were brought into the Stewartry under the command of Col. James Douglas, who asked for "a list of parishes and persons most disaffected, that accordingly I may treat them." But his plans were interrupted by the arrival of news from the north. On 12th May he warned Lag that "the alarm is hot with the Council of a rebellion."²¹ Lag's measures in this crisis were reported

¹⁹ Letter No. 18; 5th March, 1685.

²⁰ Letter No. 19; J. Richardson to Lag.

²¹ Letters Nos. 20, 21; 9th May and 12th May, 1685. An interesting example of Col. Douglas's methods is presented by Letter No. 4, 8th March, 1685 (?), giving Lag instructions for dealing with the Provost of Wigtown. "After you have him with ye, see what ye can learn of his proceedings and others, and if ye find him not free enough then tell him plainly I'm informed of all and will deal more severely with him, but if he discover things right he shall never be troubled or known. This I judge the best way."

to the Privy Council who approved his "care and vigour in the King's service."²² They had no anxiety about the issue of the Rebellion. "Argyll's business may disturb our peace and ruin rascals who will join him, but we hope be of no great prejudice to others except the expense of our forces." Lag was not in a position to share the Council's confidence. On the same day that the Council wrote to him from Edinburgh, 28th May, 1685, the Earl of Annandale wrote from Dumfries to say that, although he was "very sorry to hear of so much disturbance like to be in that place of the country where you are," he was unable to send any large part of his force out of Dumfriesshire to Lag's assistance, "till I have order for it either from my Lord Commissioner or some of the commanders of His Majesty's standing force."²³ In consequence he was obliged to rely on the forces at his disposal, including those under Lord Kenmure, who was joined with him in a commission to secure the Stewartry and to command the heritors and fencible men.²⁴

Lag disliked and distrusted Kenmure, despite the latter's protestation, "I am heartily sorry that ye conjecture that I should have prejudice at you, which truly I do declare there is none but what is spoken face to face."²⁵ Kenmure's conduct towards him after the Revolution was to justify Lag's suspicion, but in the meantime Queensberry wrote to reassure him. "The commission that's given to Lord Kenmure was never desired either to lessen yours, or that any great trust was put in him, but did singly proceed from a motion of your own desiring to be freed of some of those people that you had under you. And I saw no better way than to trust Kenmure with them and to make a trial of his fidelity by that means, wherein I have no great confidence. So you are to continue your trust and command as formerly and if

²² Letter No. 22; 28th May, 1685.

²³ Letter No. 23.

²⁴ *R.P.C.*, xi., p. 60.

²⁵ Letter No. 24. This may be contrasted with Wodrow's story of Kenmure's quarrel with Lag for his refusal to allow Bell of Whiteside to be buried. *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. II., p. 501.

Kenmure occasion you any disturbance or difficulty I entreat you let me know and I shall take care to redress it."²⁶

On 13th June, 1685, Claverhouse intervened. In a letter to Lag he told him, "You are as I wrote before to be in a particular manner assisting to Sir William Douglas at the Newton with the Teviotdale Regiment. My Lord Kenmuir is to do the like and all things relating to the King's service in these must be conjunctly carried on by you three, so for God's cause lay aside all humours and animosities, if there be any amongst you, and unite yourselves frankly in the King's service and your country's defence. It is all our duties and it will certainly be our honour and interest so to do."²⁷

With the drafting of additional forces into the South-West disaffection was quelled for the time being, but there is no record of this in Lag's surviving correspondence. The next information it provides concerning public affairs relates to events preceding Queensberry's fall from favour at Court. On 10th September, 1685, Hugh Wallace of Ingliston reported from Windsor, "Business goes here with my Lord as you can desire; particulars may best discover themselves after My Lord Chancellor and Marquis of Athole are here."²⁸ Five weeks later, on 15th October, 1685, "I find you are all alarmed there with our defeat here and it makes us very good sport. I assure you my Lord's affairs go very well, though his enemies have left no stone unturned to have it otherwise."²⁹ On 5th November, 1685, John Gibson sent even more reassuring news from London. "My Lord Duke's affairs go very well by all appearance but what the King's pleasure may be concerning our differences yet uncertain. My Lord has a great many enemies, the whole Church of Rome being on his back . . . Duke Hamilton, my Lord Duke's inveterate enemy is now certainly with you. He got nothing at all done with the King, only to stop his mouth they put him on the Secret Committee, which I believe will prove his

²⁶ Letter No. 25; 3rd June, 1685.

²⁷ Letter No. 26.

²⁸ Letter No. 31.

²⁹ Letter No. 34.

ruin. The godless, pitiful, faint-hearted proselite, our Chancellor, goes every day to Mass and is as bigot a Catholic as he was either Presbyterian or Church of England's man. There is yet no appearance of his resolving home and I believe he will wait the event of the English Parliament, which will either raise that faction altogether or put a stop to their growing insolence, which is now at a very great height . . . Go the world as it will, the King has assured my Lord Duke of his favour and protection as long as he lives. When the Chancellor or Melfort speaks to the King in any business he tells them he'll advise it with the Treasurer so ye may guess at their circumstances."³⁰ But Queensberry's triumph over his enemies was of short duration. In February, 1686, he lost the Treasurership and with it his leading place in the Government of Scotland and four months later he was deprived of all his remaining offices.

In the period between Queensberry's fall and the Revolution there is little information to be gained about Lag's activities. Perhaps the new ruling powers in Scotland entrusted fewer matters to him or perhaps he himself was not so willing to support them. Nevertheless a curious letter has been preserved, which illustrates the methods to which he and his associates resorted. On 25th June, 1688, David Boyle of Kelburn wrote to him from Kelburn, "I thought fit to advertise you that unless the heritors in this place be spurred up they will do nothing; if any gentleman in this place solicit you for any favour, you may hold high with them and let them come back again, and give me notice with the first occasion if I shall charge them with horning. It is our interest to carry on this affair with all cunning imaginable. I have begun with several of my own tenants to make them preparatives to the rest of the commons, and have got bond of them to come in will for the hail penalty of the transgression; I doubt not we may come some speed with the commons but they are just now going to the herring fishing." He added a postscript, "I desire you may give me a swingeing letter finding fault with me for my omission and carelessness

³⁰ Letter No. 35.

and suspecting my connivance with my neighbours, which I may show them, and send me your mind enclosed in another letter."³¹

In the autumn of 1688 we find Lag active once more. In October he was in consultation with Queensberry about measures for preserving the peace of the country³² and on 8th November, 1688, the Privy Council ordered him to "go express with orders to Master Robert Fletcher, Lieutenant of His Majesty's Artillery, and the heritors of Nithsdale."³³ In December, the Privy Council withdrew its support from James VII.'s policies, Queensberry came to power once more and Lord Chancellor Perth, attempting to escape to France, was captured and imprisoned. "I doubt not but you will be surprised with this news to see a man so unfortunate," wrote one of Lag's correspondents.³⁴ Through Queensberry's influence, the Council entrusted Lag with several important commissions. Together with Sir John Dalzell and the lairds of Closeburn and Maxwellton he was to disarm the papists and arrange for the holding of elections of burgh magistrates at Dumfries.³⁵ William Douglas wrote on 23rd December, 1688, to explain, "By this express there is ane order from the Council for the election of magistrates for the town of Dumfries and for the disarming all papists, which is procured by my Lord Duke. His Grace desires you will concern yourself to see such magistrates chosen as may be for his interest and the good of the place as also the papists disarming may be done effectually." Queensberry also wished Lag to send an express to him at Newcastle, where he would be on his way south to see the Prince of Orange, to "give him ane full account of the state of the country which is here represented to be in great disorder by invasion of the Irish, etc."³⁶ When Robert Maxwell of Barncleugh, the catholic provost of Dumfries, was arrested, Lag was one of those who were appointed by the Privy Council to search through the papers

³¹ Letter No. 43.

³² *R.P.C.*, xiii., pp. 307, 308.

³³ Grierson Papers No. 301.

³⁴ Letter No. 44; 22nd December, 1684 (unsigned).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Letter No. 45.

in his “ cloak-bag.”³⁷ Lag may have given an impression of zeal for the cause of William and Mary, but it did not save him. On 20th May, 1689, he declared himself well affected to the new government before the Earl of Annandale but the following day Kenmure seized him and imprisoned him at Kirkcudbright.³⁸

Lag spent several other periods in prison during the next 10 years, either because his loyalty to the reigning King was questioned or else because he was suspected of having dealings with the adherents of the late one, and in 1696 he was even accused of coining.³⁹ But he did not lack powerful friends. Queensberry died in March, 1695, having in his last illness sent word to Lag that “ When he finds himself so very weak that he’s past all hope, he’ll send ane express for you to come to him.”⁴⁰ But others remained, such as the Earl of Galloway, who hearing of Lag’s imprisonment at Kirkcudbright in May, 1699, informed him that, “ If at Edinburgh, where I’m going, or anywhere else I can serve you, you may assure yourself, I do it both readily and cheerfully so far as it’s in my power to serve you or yours.”⁴¹

During the last half of his life Lag lived quietly at his house at Rockhall in Dumfriesshire. He still remained a person of some consequence in local affairs. Thus we find a prospective Member of Parliament seeking to enlist his support⁴² and we also find evidence of his influence in the parish of Mouswald. More significant, both for Lag’s influence and for his reputation, is a letter, dated 3rd July, 1716, in which the writer states, “ I have a friend, Mr Whitet of Bonarick, who is applying to be made minister of Moushold, I must entreat the favour of your assistance to him I am sensible it will do my friend no service you appearing publicly for him, as being reckoned none of

³⁷ Letter from the Marquis of Atholl to the Council of Dumfries, 24th December, 1684, in Dumfries Burgh Records.

³⁸ *R.P.C.*, xiii., 384.

³⁹ See the fuller account in Fergusson’s *Laird of Lag*.

⁴⁰ Letter No. 60; William Stewart to Lag, 11th March, 1695.

⁴¹ Letter No. 79; 23rd May, 1699.

⁴² Letter No. 99; John Stewart to Lag, 19th August, 1714.

the Godly, but I entreat you to use your interest without being seen it it."⁴³

Lag was indeed not reckoned one of the "godly," and perhaps it seemed incomprehensible to the godly that after such a wicked career in his youth, he should live, unrepentant, to a great age. Certainly he did not prosper, for the fines imposed on him had ruined his estate. At last he died, in December, 1733, when he must have been nearing 90 years of age. The circumstances of his funeral gave rise to legends, suggesting that his master, the Devil, was quick to claim his own.

It is hard to distinguish between the historical Laird of Lag and the legendary one and certainly any attempt to vindicate his character would be misplaced. Perhaps it would be true to say that his first loyalty was to his relative and patron, Queensberry, and at least it must be assumed that the latter authorised or at least permitted his actions. Whether he was the instrument of Queensberry's policy or not, Lag himself was remembered in Galloway as "The Persecutor," a title not shared with others who were equally active in the persecution. They might justify the policy as being based on political necessity, but its effect is best described by Wodrow: "Meanwhile the Government could be in no manner of hazard from a handful of those people, and if anything of this nature could breed disturbance, it was the barbarous extremities they ran to with such of them as fell into their hands. But it was easy to have secured the peace against ten times their number, by gentler methods, than butchering so many scores of otherwise serious and religious persons; this, with many other unaccountable measures now taken, did very much lessen the King, sully his reign, and made the administration burdensome and grievous to multitudes of his best subjects."⁴⁴

⁴³ Letter No. 104; William Stewart to Lag, 3rd September, 1716.

⁴⁴ Wodrow, vol. II., p. 181.

Documents.

The following documents form part of the Grierson Papers in the Ewart Library (Section C/2) and were brought to the author's notice by Dr R. C. Reid, who had made transcripts of some of them. They illustrate "Auld Lag's" activities against the "rebels" in 1684 and 1685. A number of persons mentioned in them also appear in the "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland," Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," Vol. II. (1722) and his MS. collections in the National Library (especially Wodrow MS., 4to., Vol. 37), but I have only given references to these sources where they supply information illustrative of the documents printed here. Punctuation and capital letters have been standardised and the formal documents have been abridged.

1. 1684. "A list of the fugitives for rebellion and other treasonable crimes within the Stuartrie of Kircudbright."

Rolls of fugitives in each district were sent out by the Lord Advocate, with instructions for them to be corrected and returned before 15th December, 1683 (Letter No. 8). They were printed in May, 1684, as a schedule to a royal proclamation. The list for Kircudbright is printed by Wodrow, op. cit. Vol. II., appendix pp. 114-5, but the present list differs slightly in its arrangement and also contains some additional names and remarks on some of those mentioned, as follows (the bold type names appear in the printed list):

John Rae in Slakgarie. John Rae smith in Kirkmuirhill tested.
John Corsan at the milne of Skyrburne. Reported to be tested.
Alexander Carsan merchant in Newton of Kells. Reported to have tested at Air. It was not before the Justices unless it be **Alexander Carsan** merchant in Air.

William McMillan in Arsalloch.

David Mckyle in Dalshangan.

James Clerk in Marbrack.

Gilbert McAdam in Crainginguilton.

Robert Greir in Luchinkitt.

James Guthrie.

Mr Thomas Miller.

Andro McMillan who haunts at Monygaff. Andro McMillan in Claterinshaw.

John Struthers ther reported to have tested but not before the Justices.

John McLurg smith ther.

[] Stuart sone to John Stuart in Larg.

Robert Gordon in Kilmair, Robert Gordon in Garscoblaire and Robert Gordon in Park tested.

} Reported to be asoylied
 at the circuit 1679 and
 found deserted.

} Rebel preachers.

Daniell McMichael in Largfoot.

[] Gibsone sone to Robert Gibsone in Overstrangassell. William Gibsone in Largfoot and Robert Gibsone in Larmanoch have tested.

Gilbert Mckewan in Carsfarie. Reported to be no such persone.
Absent receptors.

Robert Gordon in Mayfeild.

John McMin in Fuffock, John McMin in Logan at the milne of Butle tested.

William Mccall ther,¹ James Chapman ther. Tested before the provest and bailzeis of Kirkcudbright upon the tuentie eight day of February 1684 as the report bears.

James Mcnaught elder of Overtoun.²

James Mckowan in Stroan.

Alexander Mcmillan in Glenrie.

James Mcnaught in Newgaloway.

John Broune in Neather Strangassell. John Broune smith in Toynen bonded before the Stuart.

John Mcchesny in Holl. John Mcchesny in Clyns bonded before the Stuart deput of Kirkcudbright.

Robert Gordon in Clachan. Robert Gordon in Park and Robert Gordon in Barscoben tested.

John Auchinlek in Dalgraiden.

Robert Crichtoun in Auchinshinloch.

John Hislope in Midairds.

John Mcmillan in Dunveoch.

William Thomsone in Waterheid³.

These fyve were excused and continowed from Drumfreis to Edinburgh.

Relapsed upon the 18 Febry., 1684, and deserted on the tuentie day.

Tho: Gordone.⁴

2. 1634. "List of the haill persons fugitives for rebellion within the Stewartie of Annandale and for receipting and harboreing rebells and other treasonable crymes."

List printed by Wodrow, loc. cit. p. 116, with one additional name.

3-4. 1684. Administration of the Test (Abstracts).

Commission by William, marquess of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and John Drummond of Lundin, Lord Treasurer-depute, with consent of the Commissioners of Exchequer,

¹ These two names are deleted in the MS. list but appear at another place in the printed list.

² Deleted in the MS. list.

³ Deleted in the MS. list.

⁴ Signature of Thomas Gordon, clerk to the Justice Court.

to Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg to call and convene before him the respective sub-collectors, surveyors, waiters and others employed in and about H.M. Customs and Foreign Excise, between the town of Aitoun in Berwickshire and Portpatrick in Wigtownshire, and to administer the Test to each of them, by causing them kneel before him, holding up their hands, and repeating the words as the clerk (whom the said Sir Robert is empowered to nominate) reads the same, between the date of the commission and the 15th November next to come. At Edinburgh, 29th August, 1684.

(Signed) “J. Drummond; Tweeddale; Ja. Falconar; Ja. Foulis; Geo Mackenzie; W. Purves.”

Endorsed “Commission to Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg for administrating the Test to waiters, etc., betwixt Aitoun and Portpatrick, 1684.”

Copy of the Test signed (in accordance with the above commission) by Mr Robert Smith and John Broune of Nunland, conjoint collectors at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, John Leith and Patrick Shankiland, waiters there, Bernard Ross, surveyor at Alisonbank, Bryce Blair, John Eliot, Patrick Agnew, Alexander Litle, Thomas Jonstone, William Douglas, John Jonstone, John Airmstrang, George Forbeis, Harbert Cairlyle, Alexander Ross, James Douglas and Roger Griersone, collector at Cassiltoun. Signed by the parties named and notorially for John Armstrang, who cannot write, by Thomas Goldie, notary.

(Endorsed) “Test to be subscribed by the surveyors and waiters in the Borders and south ports.”

5. 22 Sept., 1684. Minutes of Court: absence from church, etc.

COURT.

Home,⁵ Sept., 22 16—6

Compeired Agnes Thomsone spouse to William Mcturke ane constant withdrawer from the ordinance, she compearing and confessing the same, whereupon the Judge fines her conforme to the Act of Parliament, declares she cannot write but hes given comand.

William Mcall compeart, acknowledged that notwithstanding ther wes ane minister within the parish he went with his child to Mr John Cant indulged minister in Kells who cristened his child and aleadgeth his reason wes not only the ministers⁷ absence which he the minister positivly denyes, but ane aleadged licence from Captan Strachan.

Compeared Mary Meadam spouse to John Hannay in Moss,

⁵ Holme, in Carsphairn parish. Wodrow gives an account of this court, vol. II., p. 449. A list of inhabitants of Carsphairn is printed in *R.P.C.*, ix., pp. 576-9.

⁶ Torn.

⁷ Peter Pearson, who was afterwards murdered. His character is described by Wodrow, vol. II., p. 467.

solemnly sworn and interrogat depones that this two yeire she hes not been in the church but once, whereupon fynes conforme to the Act of Parliament, declares she cannot write but hes given comand.

X Compeared James Meadam servitor to Rodger Gordone in Gerriehorne, solemnly sworn and interrogate, depones that he hes been but thrice in the church this twelve moneth, declares he cannot write but gives comand.

X Compeared Androw Mculloch ther, sworn, depones he heth not been in the church but twice this half yeir past, and fynes him conform to the Act of Parliament therfore. Christian Morisone his spouse depones she hes been but onc in church this twelve moneth, and therfor fynes conform to Act of Parliament, declares they canot writte but hes given comand.

X Compeared Agnes Mcmillan spouse to William Mcwhinie in Woodhead and depones she hes not been in church this tuo yeires. Thir marked with a cross are to give satisfacione to the church.

Compeared Mary Mcmillan servitor to John Mcmillan of Brocklock, depones she hes not been in the church this twelvmonth but twice, declares she canot write but gives comand.

Compeared Margaret Welsh also servitor to John Mcmillan of Brocklock and depones she hes been but twice in the church this twelve month, declares she cannot write but hes given comand.

Compeared Mary Meadam in Broun Hill and depones she hes been four times in the church this twelve month, declares she cannot write but hes given comand.

Compeared John Mcmillan in Knokingaroch, depones he hes been four tymes in the church this two yeirs. Johne Mcmilland.

Compeired Georg Meadam in Darnsta, depones that he hes been eight or nyne tymes in the church this twelve month, declares he cannot write but hes given comand, his wife Issobell Dalrymple hes been but once this twelve month.

X Compeired William Connell, Margaret Gibsone, Androw McDill, Jean Slowen, James Rae, Agnes Moffet, Georg Stit in Castlemadie.

Compeired James Clerk in Dalquhairne, depones he hes not been in in the church since Whitsunday at which tyme he came to dweell in the parish, declares he cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired James James⁸ Mcmichell in Dalquhairne and depones he wes not in it this twelve month but five tyme this twelve month, declare he cannot write but gives comand.⁹

Compeired James Mcturke depones he hes been but twice or thrice in the church this twelve month, declares he cannot write but gives comand.

⁸ Sic.

⁹ Illegible signature follows.

Compeired Roger Mcturke his son and depones he hes not been in the church this twelve moneth. Rodger Mcturke.

[Compeired] Robert Holme in Glens, depones he hes been five tymes within the church in ane twelve month, declares he cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired James Memichell in Glens and depones he hes been four tymes in the church this twelve month, declares he cannot writte but gives comand.

X Compeired James Herries in Glens and depons he hes been four tymes in the church this twelve month.

X Compeired¹⁰ James Mcturk in Nokegray and depones he hes been sex tymes in the church this twelve month, declares she¹¹ cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Jean McMillane spouse to James Mcturk and depones she hes been twice in the church this twelve month, declares she cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Mary Mcadame widow in Nockgray and depones she hes been thrice in the church this twelve month, declares she cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Janet Gordone spouse to David Meluay of Lochhead, depones she hes been thrice this two yair, declares she cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired.¹²

(Endorsed) Depositions off rebels.

6. 23 Sept., 1684. Rebels' moveable goods (Abstract).

Precept of poinding by John Grahame of Claverhouse and Mr David Grahame, his brother, for payment to William, marquess of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer, John Drumond of Lundie, Treasurer-depute, and Sir Robert Greirson of Lag, their commissioner, by (1) Mr Alexander Adair of Drumore, of £20 scots due to William Willsons, merchant in Stranraer, rebel for which the said Mr Alexander drew precept on the said William to pay to the minister, £14 for merchant accounts, in all £34 scots with £6 expenses of plea, (2) Anthony McClure, glover burgess of Wigton for £5 8s due to James Softla, rebel, with 20s. expenses, and (3) George Kinkead, burgess of Wigton, for £5 sterling due to the said James, with 20s. expenses.

At Wigton, 23 September, 1684.

Execution endorsed.

¹⁰ "Jean Thomsone in Dendoch depones" deleted.

¹¹ *Sic.*

¹² Remainder of page blank.

7. 26 Sept., 1684. Minutes of Court; absence from church.Dalry, Septr., 26, 1684.¹³

Compeired Thomas Wilsone in Nokingeiroch in Carsfairne, sworne depones but twice in the church this two yeires, declares he cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Bessie Mcmillan spouse to Robert Mccolme in Nether Glen, confesses constant absence from the church this two yeires, declares shoe cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Robert Mcmillan in Shield, depones he hes not been in the church this two yeires, declares he cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Issobell Clerk sister to James Clerk in Marbrack, depones she hes not been in the church this two yeires, declares she cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Helen Mcluay spous to James Mcmillan in Bredinloch, depones she hes been but twice in the church this two yeires, declares she cannot write but gives comand.

Compeired Agnes Mcadam in Shield of Smyton, depones she hes not been in the church this two yeires.

Compeired Mary Steinson in Wodhead, depones she hes not been in church this two yeires.

Compeired Sybilla Mcadam in Glenhead depones she hes not been in church this half yeir at which tyme she came to the parish.

Compeired Jannet Welsh spouse to James Mcall in Culinoch, depones she hes been but once in the church this two yeires, declares she cannot write.

8. 1684. Collection of rebels' rents (Abstract).

Copy (incomplete) of libel at the instance of William, marquess of Quinsberrie, Lord High Treasurer, John Drummond of Lundie, Treasurer Depute, and Sir Robert Greirson of Lag, their commissioner, narrating that Alexander Hay of Arioland, Alexander Hunter of Cullquassen, Alexander M'Kie of Drumbuy and Andrew Martine of Litle Aries had suffered forfeiture for treason and rebellion, whereby their lands and possessions now pertained to the King and their rents were to be paid to the said Treasurer, Treasurer Depute and their commissioner, as follows. The said Alexander Hay in Arioland, Rollo Thompson there and Robert Herron there, 300 merks of silver rent and 12 bolls ferm bear yearly; Patrick McKie in Milton, Archibald Herron there, Archibald McCubine yr. there and William McTeir there, 300 merks rent and 13 bolls bear; the said Alexander Hay £66 13s 4d, as the rent of the milne possessed by him with £4 as the price of a dozen capons; George McWhirter in Chang, William Fie there, Alexander McGuffock there, Andrew Coltroun there and John

¹³ This may be the court referred to by Wodrow, vol. II., p. 444.

Conine there, £300 rent, 20 bolls bear and 2 dozen capons, or £8 as the price thereof; Hugh Wallace in Barr, Alexander McGuffok there, Patrick McGuffok yr. there, William Herron yr. there, Michael Hannay there and Hendrie Maxwell there, 350 merks rent, 20 bolls bear and 2 dozen capons; Patrick McCulloch in Elrig, 200 merks rent, 12 bolls bear and 2 dozen capons; John Steuart in Challoch, Andrew McTeire there, Andrew McKennat there, and John McKennay there, 350 merks rent and 20 bolls bear; Margaret Kennedie in Little Aries . . . [torn] Broun there, 100 merks rent for the two parts of the said lands pertaining to the rebel, with 8 bolls bear and 2 dozen capons; William McTeir in Barhasken and Alexander Hanay there, £112 rent, 20 bolls bear and 2 dozen capons; John Wallace elder in Galdinloch and John Wallace younger in Cullquasen, £110 rent of the said lands of Cullquasen with 12 bolls bear and 2 dozen capons; Alexander McKie of Drumbuy, £100 rent; William Forsyth in Drumavaran £30 rent; George Douglas in Ardachie, £60 rent; Archibald Forsyth in Chanknock, £24 rent; for the crops and years 1680 to 1684.

(Endorsed) Double of the Lybell-Lord High Treasurer against the tenants of Drumbuy and utheris, 1684.

9. 1684-85. Confiscation of rebels' goods and rents.¹⁴

Accompt of the sowmes and utheris intrometted with be me William Moir commissar depute of Wigtoun as having commission fra the Laird of Lag for uplifting the rebellis movabellis within the shyre of Wigtoun.

	li.	s.	d.
Imprimis fra McMurrie for a kow intrometted with be him pertaining to George Stroyan rebell . . .	7	06	08
Item fra Alexander McKeartnie in Barvae and Mckeachy in Kenmuir for a quoydach and 8 sheip intrometted with be them quhich pertaintit to James McKeachie in Kenmuir rebell . . .	14	00	00
Item fra Anthony Mcluir merchand in Wigtoun and George Kincaid ther equallie betuixt them ten pund sixtein shilling scottis addebtit be them to James Softlaw rebell . . .	10	16	00
Item fra Thomas Mckie in Kirkchryst and his cautioner conforme to his band givin to Lag . . .	60	00	00
Item fra John Mccaall at walkmill of Hewch conforme to his band also givin to Lag . . .	59	00	00
Item fra Johnie Mairtain in Garwachie be his band grantit to Lag 50 lib. quherof he rests yet 11i. 10s. 0d, so payed . . .	57	10	00

¹⁴ The account was rendered after the Treasury was put in commission in February, 1686.

Item fra James Mchaffie in Gargarie	40 00 00
Item fra Mr Alexander Adair of Drummoir as resting be him to William Torbran ¹⁵ and William Wilson merchants in Stranraer	20 00 00
Item fra John Caven in Wigtoune for a yeires rent of ane piece of James Softlaws yeard	02 08 00

Summa of money received is 271 00 08

Item there is yet resting be the Lairds of Logan elder and younger conforme to decreets against them as owing be them to the fairsaid Wilson and Torbran	£20 00 00
Item be Patrick McKie of Auchlean conforme to decreit ... to James Softla rebell and not as yet exacted 50 merks principall with annualrent	33 06 8

Item ther was 86 old sheip intrometted with be the
Erle of Hoom quhich perteinit to Martein of Litle
Airies rebell. Item ther is 18 sheip young and old
pertaining to the said rebell as yet extant for
quhich I have payd tuo yeires grasmear.

Thes ar all the rebellis movabells to my knowledge
ather intrometted with be me or resting be the
persones abovewritten. So that my intromission
extends only to tuo hundreth sevintie ane pundis
scottis.

[p. 2] Accompt of money received be me upon the accompt
of rebellis rentis.

Septer., '84. Received fra William Meteir in Myln- toun	19 08 00
Fra Patrick Mckie ther	08 04 00
Fra Archibald Mccubbin ther	08 04 00
Fra Robert Herroun in Orialand	13 06 08
Fra Archibald Herroun ther	37 00 00
Fra William Mcquoy in Mylntoun	34 18 00
Fra John Wallace in Galdinloch for a yeires rent of that pairt of the landis of Barhaskein in possest be him	53 06 08
Fra Johne Wallace younger in Culqwhassen	66 13 04
Fra Alexander Hannay for his possession of a part of Barhaskein	12 12 00
24 Nor., 1684. Fra the said Johne Wallace younger 20 lib. scottis in payment of his ferme meill cropt '83 is	20 00 00
Fra Alexander Agnew sheriff clerk of Wigtoun upon Drumbuys accompt of bygone rent	100 00 00

¹⁵ Wodrow gives an account of William Tobran's sufferings, vol. II.,
pp. 324-5.

Decer. Fra Galdloch for his mertimes rent of his for-			
said possession of Barhaskein	...	...	026 13 4
7 Aprile '85. Fra Johne Wallace younger in Culq-			
whassen	...	...	016 00 00
28 Nor., '85. Received at Glenluce fra Galdinloch	...	...	026 13 4
eaodem die Fra Johne Wallace younger in payment	...	...	021 16 0
bygones Mair fra him for my oune use 2 bollis			
meall is	...	...	010 00 0

Summa of money received ... 500 17 8

It is to be remembrit that there may be some small thing of rents received be me quhich I have forgott bot to my knowledge non; bot if any such be, the people hes receipts from me for which I sall hold compt. To remember that the landis of Orialand and Mylnatoun and mill therof were all waist so that the landis possest did hardly pay teind and publict.

[“Accompt of money and band received be me upon the accompt of Irish meall” omitted.]

[p.3] Ane particular accompt of the expence debursit be me in prosecution of Lags commissions.

Inprimis to Alexander Patersone for drauing of my			
tuo commissions the one being tuo sheit and the			
other one	...	...	2 16 0
Item for registratiōe of the commission grantit to			
the tuo collectoris and me anent Irish goods and			
3 extracts therof of is	...	...	3 00 0
Item for sending a man to Portpatrick with the collec-			
toris tuo doubles	...	...	1 04 0
Item for registratiōe of my long commission anent the			
rebellis rents and movabellis	...	...	2 00 00
Item to Patrick Gordoun and John Mcculloch officers			
for summonding the haill tennents of the forfault			
landis within the shyre	...	...	4 16 0
Item for drauing the lybell and drinkmoney	...	...	1 10 0
Item for doubling the defences and answers givin in			
be haill defenderis and pretenderis to have			
interest	...	...	0 14 0
Item for summonding the haill tennents to depone	...	...	3 00 0
Item for the precept of poynding givin the clerk	...	...	4 07 0
To his man of drink money	...	...	0 14 0
Item for ane uther extract of the precept and double			
of the lybell sent to yourself a dollor and a half			
is	...	...	4 07 0
Drink money to the clerkis man for both	...	...	0 18 0
Item for charging upon the decreit for making pay-			
ment	...	...	2 18 0

Item my necessar expence in ryding to Glenluce at severall tymes to crave the rents with my man and tuo horsis	8 03 4
Item for my necessar expence in going to Orialand to settle Sir Charles Hay and the tennentis	1 00 0
Item for summonding Sir William Maxwell, Drumbuy, Orialand and Johne Dunbar at Glenluce for exhibi- tion of the wreits and evidents	2 18 0
For drauing the lybell against them	0 18 0
Item givin to the said John Dunbar notar conforme to Proveist Coltrans sentance quhen he exhibit the wreits of Culqwhassen and Barhaskein in respect the wreits lay in his hand for not payment	42 00 00
Item my paynes and necessar expence in going to Kirk- cudbright from this place be clerk Sharps ¹⁶ desyre to persew the rebellis ther quhich he knowes him- self being witnes therto himself 4 dolloris is	11 10 00
Item for registratiune of the thrie bandis givin to your self anent rebellis movabellis	04 00 00
Charging therupone	00 18 00
My expence in going to Monigaff to receive the money of the bandis	01 04 0
Item for the summonding the Lairds of Logan, Mr Alexander Adair and Auchleand for rebellis mova- bellis	01 10 0
For the lybell and drinkmoney	01 04 0
[p.4.] Item to the sheriff clerk for a long extract of the decreit contra the tennents of the rebellis landis being 4 sheit of paper 2 dolloris is	5 16 0
Drink money to his man	1 08 0
Item to four officeris that went to bring in Meilhaffie rebell his movabellis and to the appryseris	2 0 0
Item for registratiune of his band of 40 lib.	0 6 8
Charging him therupon	0 12 0
Item my paynes in the whole affairis and tuo yeires service quhich I refer to the Lords of the Thesauries modificatiune	
Summa of all deburst on both sydes extendis to ...	118 10 4
To remember ther is many litle small debursmentis containit in ane uther accompt and not heirin, quherof.	
Item givin to yourself at one tyme be receipt daited at Wigtoun 17 October '84 21 lib. ster, is	252 00 0

¹⁶ John Sharp, sheriff clerk of Dumfries.

Item answered yow per bill on Rusco with your oun
 receipt on the back of it daitit the 15 December,
 '84 360 06 8
 Item of expence conforme to the above accompt ... 118 10 4
 [“Accompt of debursments upon the accompt of Irish victuall”
 omitted.]

10. 17 Jan., 1685. Bond of appearance (Abstract).

Bond by Robert Ramsay in Bog, who had been challenged by Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, stewart principal of Kirkcudbright, for conversing with Alexander Ramsay, his son, now in rebellion against His Majesty, to make personal appearance before the Lords of the Privy Council at Edinburgh or where they should happen to be, or before the said Sir Robert himself, upon 10 days warning, under penalty of 1000 merks to be paid to the said Sir Robert or his assignees. With clause of registration. Written by Henry Moir, commissary clerk of Kirkcudbright. At Old Clachan of Dalry, 17 Jan., 1685. Witnesses: John Broun of Nunland and the said Henry Moir.

(Sgd.) “Robert Ramsay
 J. Broune witness
 Hen: Moir witness”

(Endorsed). “Bond of appeirance—Robert Ramsay to Sir Robert Grerson—1685.”

11. 26 Jan., 1685. Minutes of Court: acts of caution.

Court haldine at Rockhall wpon the twentie sixth day of January j m vj c. four score five yeires be Sir Robert Greirson of Lag one of the commissioners appoynted by Privie Counsell.

The whilk day John Carutheris of Houmains is become acted in in the said court books that Robert Carutheris merchand shall not carie leters to rebells or shall not suplie them or any of them with amonitione or anie other thing whatsoever and that under the paine of ten pound sterling, and the said Robert Carrutheris is become acted for his said cautioneris releife.¹⁷

Similar bonds by John Carutheris of Dormont for John Carutheris in Twathats in 500 merks; by William and Peter Bartene in Muswald for each other in 300 merks; by Robert and John Edzer for each other in 300 merks; by Thomas Rae and Thomas Maxwell in the parish of Mussell for each other in 300 merks; by Thomas Rae in Drummuire for Edward Fergusone in Musuald parish in 300 merks; similar bond by John Dickson elder and younger and David Wood in the parish of Muswall for each

¹⁷ Each entry in these minutes is followed by the signatures of the parties concerned or that of a notary signing for those unable to write.

other in 300 merks; similar bond by William Maxwell, James Bell and William Irving and David Gass in the parish of Musuuld for each other in 300 merks; and by William and Thomas Raes in Drummuir for each other in 300 merks

12. 17 Aug., 1685. Lag's Expenses.

Accompt of money debursed be Sir Robert Greirsone of Lag upon Intelligence.

Imprimis given for intelligence for discoverie of the persones underwrittine notorious rebels befor they were killed viz. John Bell sometyme of Whyttesyde, Robert Lennox younger of Irelandtoun, Andrew Mccrobert in Beoche, [] Halliday portioner of Mayfeild, [] Hallom, merchand in the parochie of Monygaff, [] Mcclymont rebell, ¹⁸ And also for apprehending Barbara Coan and Mary Clerk, Grissell Richardson and Margaret Gordoun, constant conversers with receptors of and intelligencers to them and other rebels ...	Sterling £ s. d. 10 00 00
Item given for intelligence by which John Bryce, John Clintoun and Rodger Mcknaight, rebels since the rebellion 1679 were apprehendit ...	01 00 00
Item given for intelligence by which George Short and [] Halliday, rebels since the rebellion were killed ...	02 10 00
Item given for intelligence by which George Lennox of Hintoun, John Bryce in the parochie of Anweth, Mcknaight and [] Mckonnall, constant receptors of and intelligencers to the rebels were apprehendit ...	01 00 00
Item given for intelligence for the discoverie of [] Tagart and [] Sword, declared rebels for the rebellion 1679, by which they were apprehendit ...	02 00 00
Item given for intelligence for discoverie of John Mccmin and Jannet Irving in Butle [] Muire in Anweth, [] Tagart in Borgue, [] Mcclellan and John Wilson in Crocemichell, constant receptors of and intelligencers to rebels ...	03 00 00

¹⁸ "Some time this month (i.e., February, 1685), Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, with some of Claverhouse and Strachan's Dragoons, probably upon some information about Mr Bell of Whiteside, came into the parish of Tongland . . . and there, upon the Hill of Kirkonnell, surprised him, and David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield, Andrew M'Robert, James Clement and Robert Lennox of Irlintoun, and most barbarously killed them on the spot, without so much as allowing them to pray, tho' earnestly desired, and, as several accounts before me bear, after they had surrendered themselves, and he had promised them quarters." Wodrow, vol. II., p. 501.

Item given for intelligence for discoverie of Margaret Welsche at Bridge of Scarr, Jannet Mcknaight ther, Agnes Ferguson ther in the parochie of Irongray, constant receptors of, intelligencers to and hunders out of these who woundit the minister of Irongray	02 00 00
Item given for intelligence for discoverie of John Murray in Achingibbert, [] Mcjores in Kirkland, Eduard Gordoun in Blaiket and [] Wallet, son to [] Wallet in Glenheide, declared rebells	03 00 00
Summa of this page is	24 10 00
[p.2.] Item given to expresses for holding correspondence at Carlyle six weeks efter the Kings death	03 00 00
Item given for intelligence the tyme I waited wpon Sir William Douglas at Neugalloway	02 00 00
Item given for intelligence when I waited wpon my Lord Annandaill at Wigtoun	03 10 00
Item given to John Herreis in Troqueir for goeing to Cumnock, Air, Irving, Grinnock and Glasgou when the late Argyle was apprehendit and ingadging him to gett intelligence in my absence	05 00 00
Item for six expresses to your Graice ¹⁹ the tyme of the rebellion	06 00 00
Item for expresses to Carlyle during the rebellion	06 00 00
Summa of this page is	25 10 00
Summa totalis of both pages	50 00 00
And this by and attour my oun paines in setting of the lands sometyme belonging to the rebells and following of the possessors therof before the judges ordinar for payment of the rent of the same and doing other things relating to the Kings interest in maner underwritten.	
Item debursed and due to clerks and other members of Court in September, 1684, for ther paines and charges in prepareing of matters against my Lord Treasurer and remanent Lords of Counsell and Justiciarie ther comeing to the Stuartrie of Kirkcudbright.	
Mair for ther paines and charges in going through the said stuartrie with me and taking from ilk heritor, woodsetter and lyfrenter therin in the moneths of December 1684 and Janwary 1685 exact lists wpon oath of all wnder them and wpon ther lands above	

¹⁹ Queensberry.

sixtine yeires of age. And that conforme to his
 Graices instructiones to me at the Circuit last.
 Item for ther paines and charges in going with
 Collonell Douglass and me thorou the said
 stuartrie, shirrefdomes of Nithsdail and Galloway
 and jurisdictions of Carriect and Kyle in tendering
 the oath of abjuratiōne in the moneths of January,
 Feberwary, March and Aprile last, conform to the
 proclamatiōne made theranent and act of Counsell
 prorogating the same 50 00 00

Total ... 100 00 00

[p.3.] John Sharp Shirref Clark of Drumfreis, you ar heirby
 ordered to pay unto Sir Robert Greirson of Lag the foregoing
 accompt of one hundred pundis ster, out of the first and reddiest
 of your intrōmissions with the Kings money by vertue of commis-
 sions from us. For which these presents with the said Sir Robert
 his receipt and declaration that the accompt is truely disbursed
 by him salbe your warrand. Dated at Edinburgh this 17 of August
 1685.

Queensberrie Thesr.
 Kintore.

(Endorsed) Precept—Lord Thesr. and thesr. deput to Lag.

**13. Undated [? 1684]: "List of the Roges names said to be the
 murders of George Rowan."²⁰**

John Clark in Marbrock,²¹ John Frissall in the Holme of
 Duchairn, James Memichall,²² John Mcnichan, Robert Greir,
 Robert Mitchell,²³ William Herries, Quintoun Dick.²⁴

The list of the housses of recept.

Marbrock.

The Holme of Duchairne.

Glenshimdroch.

Loch and Kilvair.

The hous of recept wher they war befor they comitted the murder
 Stranhanna, and at the foord therunder ther was sex of them

²⁰ This may have been George Rowan in Stranpatrick, who was one of
 the heritors of Kirkcudbright, Dumfries and Annandale, who took the
 Test in 1683. *R.P.C.*, viii., p. 639.

²¹ The murderers of Peter Pearson, minister of Carsphairn, "met at
 the house of John Clark in Muirbroke, three miles from the Kirk of
 Carsphairn." Wodrow, vol. II., p. 468.

²² James M'Michael, fowler to the Laird of Maxweltoun, who shot
 Peter Pearson.

²³ Robert Mitchel in the parish of New Cumnock, who was one of those
 concerned in the murder of Peter Pearson.

²⁴ Quintin Dick, feuar in Dalmellington, an account of whose sufferings
 is given by Wodrow, vol. II., pp. 413-5.

carried throu by twa wooman belonging to the said hous of Stranhanna and thrie of them raid throw upon a hors, and befor thay cam throw they appoynted on James Douglas hird to Kathrein McMillan widou in the Sheild of Smeittoun to goe and spy efter him and withall to stand as sentrie in cais they should have bein discovered.

The hous they went to efter the murder was comitted was Kerroch²⁵ wher they war interteined all night be Rossina Gordon servand ther.

William Gibson and Barbara McKeown his wyf leiving in the Conraick knew of the designe of the murder but did not discover it.

Blackwood in Cumlock a hous of recept.

14. 1684. Sentences on rebels, and depositions.

List of the persons within the tolbuith of Kirkcudbrycht and ther sentences.²⁶

John Mcdougall in Home of Dalry ordenit by the Lordis to be put in the jogs for the space of tuo hours and to returne to prison quhill furdur ordor.

The sentence is obeyit.

James Kennedy in Monygaff fined in 100 merkis.

William McMein in Crockatfoord fyned in 100 merkis.

James Turner of Kirkland fyned in 500 merkis.

Gilbert Muir in Ironminnie fyned in 100 merkis.

James Mckaickter there fyned in 100 merkis.

John Andirsone in Ironespie fyned in 100 merkis.

James Cairnes there fyned in 100 merkis.

John Gordone in Barncrosch fyned in 100 merkis.

These aight ordored to remain in prissone quhill payment be maid of the fynes and to remain in the jogs for tuo hours quhilk pairt of the sentence is obeyit.

John Menaught in Ovirtoun of Dalry fyned in 500 merkis.

James Mckill in Cluche fyned in 500 merkis.

Eduard Maxwell of Hillis fyned in 3000 merkis.

These thrie to remain in prissone quhill payment.

Robert Memillane in Carsfairne; Robert Willson in Fuffock.

These tuo hath takin the Test.

John Menaught in Lairdmanoeche; Thomas Mcburnie there; gooduyffe of Grennan; gooduyffe of Marskalloch. These four not yett called.

²⁵ James Fergusson of Cairroch was indicted for resetting the murderers of George Rowan. *R.P.C.*, ix., p 377.

²⁶ The full proceedings of the Circuit Court are printed in *R.P.C.*, x., pp. 557-617. Brief particulars of the offences of some of those mentioned in this list are to be found *Ibid.* p. 257.

Rodger Memichael in Carsfairne not as yett called.

James Fergusone of Caroch²⁷ was fyned in 5000 merkis and ordenit be the Lordis to remain in prissone quhill payment, but by ordore of Colonell Douglas delyverit to Captane Clelland uith others who are transported from this to Drumfreis.

[f.2.] Robert Mcmillane in Carsfairne about 36 and married, suorne and examined depones that about ane yeir and a half since or thereby he sau Daniell and James Mcmichellis and John Clerk rebellis and fugitives in the housis of William Clerk in Stranhannay and James Mcmichell in Glenhead and that William Clerk and James Mcmichell uas in ther respective houses quhen the rebellis uent in the same. And this is treuth as he sall ansuer to God. And furdur depones that James Douglas did teache childrein in the hous of John Clerk in Marbreck. **Sic subscribitur**, Robert Mcmillane.

James Cairns of Munybuy about 70 or thereby and married, suorne and interrogatt depones that in October last 1684 Mr William Mcmillane²⁸ fugitive came to his hous and did interrogatt the deponents anent the procedor of the lait court. And this is treuth as he sall ansuer to God. **Sic subscribitur**, James Cairns.

Robert Willson in Fuffock about 30 and married, suorne and interrogatt depones innocent as to convers and resett, hearing of seditious ministers and ignorant as to any guilty thereof. And that he himself had nevir any accessione to the lait rebellions aither by deid or heirsay. This is treuth as he sall ansuer to God. **Sic subscribitur**, J. Callander, N.P.

Robert Mcmichall in Carsfairne refusis to depone.

Thomas Mcburnie²⁹ in Glengap refusis to depone.

Thomas Mcnaight in Lairdmannoch being absent the tyme dittay uas given up and now compeiring confest he uas not in the church these three or four yeirs bygane and refusis to take the Test; and als that he hath ane chyld as yitt unbaptized about ane yeir old and upuardis and that ane uther died of twenty dayes old or thereby unbaptized; and that he duellis in the landis of Lairdmanoch and took his possessione from Margaret Gordone in Meyfeild, declarit fugitive about Wittsonday last; and that the rent of the landis he deteines in his awin hand except aight pund scottis quhilk he payes to Kirkonnald Gordone upon the accompt of four hundereth merkis quhilk Kirkonnell . . .³⁰

Meyfeild be band and assignit be hir to the deponent. **Sic subscribitur**, Thomas Mcknaght.

(Endorsed) Double of deposition of witnessis with a list of prisoners in Kirkcudbrycht, 1684.

²⁷ For further particulars of this case see *R.P.C.*, xii., pp. 179-181.

²⁸ William McMillan of Caldow; see *R.P.C.*, x., p. 230, and Wodrow, vol. II., p. 408.

²⁹ Thomas McBurnie, son of John McBurnie, shoemaker, in Glencappock, *R.P.C.*, x., p. 229.

³⁰ Torn.

ARTICLE 12.

A Reply to Professor Jackson.

By JOHN MACQUEEN, M.A.

The recent and valuable *Studies in the Early British Church*, edited by Mrs Chadwick, contains an article by Professor Kenneth Jackson on 'The Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern.' Professor Jackson includes as an appendix some criticisms of my 'Yvain, Ewen and Owein ap Urien,' which appeared in volume XXXIII. of these *Transactions*.¹ The purpose of this note is to acknowledge one correction, and to attempt to answer some of the arguments advanced by Professor Jackson in disproof of my own contentions.

First, my account of the phonological history of the name *Mochoke* must be abandoned. As Professor Jackson himself points out, this abandonment eliminates a weak point in my argument.² There is some confusion in Professor Jackson's remarks on p. 347. The date of the *Scottic Life* is not, on my hypothesis, of major importance for the dating of the original Glasgow *Life* of Kentigern; the dating is partly at least based on Baldred's *floruit*. Professor Jackson's comment, 'this argument for the earliness of the hypothetical Glasgow source, as well as of the *Scottic Life*, must be abandoned' is somewhat misleading.

Some of the disagreements between Professor Jackson and myself are little more than verbal. Thus he comments,³ 'Mr MacQueen says that the Herbertian *Life* has no demonstrable connection with Baldred but seems to be based, at least partly, on the *Scottic* work (op. cit. 121). But if the

¹ *Studies in the Early British Church*, Nora K. Chadwick, Kathleen Hughes, Christopher Brooke, Kenneth Jackson; Cambridge, 1958. Professor Jackson's article, henceforth footnoted as "Jackson," occupies pp. 273-342; the appendix devoted to my article pp. 343-50. My article, henceforth footnoted as "MacQueen," occupies pp. 107-31 of vol. XXXIII. of these *Transactions*.

² MacQueen, 115; Jackson, 347 and footnote 1. I should like to take this opportunity of correcting an error in the date which I give for the *Aberdeen Breviary*; this I give (p. 115) as 1503-4: it should in fact be 1509-10.

³ Jackson 343, footnote 1.

Herbertian *Life* derives from the Scottic and the Scottic from Baldred, the connection appears clear enough.' If for 'connection' we substitute 'direct connection,' any confusion which might have existed is removed: the reading 'direct connection' is, I think, fairly obviously implied in the context.

More serious, but also primarily verbal, is the comment on p. 344: 'As Mr MacQueen himself says, of this very late reference to a sixth-century saint dating almost a millenium after his time, "Had this stood in isolation, its value would, of course, have been very small." But the point is, it does stand in isolation, and therefore *has* very small value—one may say, virtually none at all.'

The word 'isolation' is used by Professor Jackson and myself with different references. Professor Jackson means that Kentigern is only once mentioned in the not very abundant extant literature on Baldred; this he describes as 'standing in isolation.' I argue that we have evidence for a written tradition of Baldred, which can be traced, possibly directly, to the eighth century, that only a fragment of this has survived, and yet that in what has survived we have a reference to Kentigern which agrees very well with much of the evidence extant in other sources. Thus from my point of view the reference does not stand in isolation, and even in such terms the evidence that it is genuine is rather better than that put forward by Professor Jackson for his supposition that the dedication of Loquhariot to Kentigern may be as old as the seventh century.⁴ Professor Jackson attempts to rebut me with my own words, but as he gives these words a meaning different from mine, which at the same time ignores the context in which they occur, his method of argument can have no validity. It might be possible to take both points of view and discuss which of them better fits the facts, but Professor Jackson makes no attempt to do this.

Professor Jackson's other arguments against Baldred (who is not mentioned in the main body of his article) may perhaps be discussed at this point. On p. 344 he states,

⁴ Jackson 337.

' Under its twelfth-century dress, the entire story of Kentigern is coloured through and through with the characteristics of Celtic hagiography, and has little that could appeal to an English cleric living long after the synod of Whitby and the death of Cuthbert, and doubtless familiar with the recent models of Bede's sober *Life of Cuthbert* and *Ecclesiastical History*. Nor does it seem very likely that Baldred would go out of his way to "hand down to posterity" one of the heroes of a church which was in his day notoriously hostile and unsympathetic to his own, in a province conquered from the Britons within the memory of men living in his youth.' On p. 277, however, Professor Jackson refers to the lost eighth-century *Life of Ninian*, composed by an English cleric living long after the synod of Whitby and the death of Cuthbert, and doubtless familiar with the recent models of Bede's sober *Life of Cuthbert* and *Ecclesiastical History*. Ninian was one of the heroes of the Celtic church in a province conquered from the Britons within the memory of men living in the author's youth, yet the author, followed by Bede and the writer of the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, 'went out of his way' to hand him down to posterity. There is some evidence⁵ that the English *Life* of Ninian was itself based on a work of Celtic hagiography, which must therefore have had some appeal to an English cleric. On p. 278, footnote 2, Professor Jackson adduces some evidence that in 703 or 704 the Strathclyde Britons had been converted to the Roman Easter. In Baldred's time, that is to say, their church was not notoriously hostile and unsympathetic to his own.

On the Celtic consecration of Kentigern, which is not discussed in the body of his article, Professor Jackson comments,⁶ 'The whole tale would be inserted in the twelfth century partly to explain the direct papal consecration and partly also in defence against claims, actual or anticipated, by the enemies of the newly reconstituted Glasgow see that,

⁵ Presented in a study of Ninian, as yet unpublished, which I have now completed.

⁶ Jackson 345-6.

as its founder must have been consecrated in the 'Celtic' manner, it could not have been canonical.' This, it should be noted, is merely a series of hypotheses. Professor Jackson adduces no evidence that the tale was 'inserted' in the twelfth century, nor that its purpose was to explain the direct papal consecration (the reverse would appear more probable—that the direct papal consecration was inserted, at whatever date, as an answer to Romanizing critics of Kentigern's Celtic consecration). Nor does Professor Jackson adduce evidence that this particular claim was advanced by enemies of the Glasgow see, that it was anticipated by the Glasgow clergy, or that either the clergy or the enemies of the Glasgow see had wit and historical knowledge enough to invent it. If it was not invented, it would be necessary to assume documentary evidence, which would support my thesis against Professor Jackson's. To avoid my interpretation, that is to say, Professor Jackson advances six unsupported hypotheses. In such circumstances the most useful tool is perhaps Ockham's razor—*entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.

Professor Jackson's answer to my suggestion that Baldred is the ultimate source of the Lothian material in the tradition is to say that he has explained it differently.⁷ His explanation is as follows.⁸ The material belongs to the Brittonic population of Lothian, but has passed through Gaelic hands. Most probably it was compiled by a member of the Gaelic overlord class which held Lothian in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, doubtless himself a cleric; but one who was in touch with the local and probably oral lore of a Brittonic peasantry. Professor Jackson suggests that a peasant Brittonic speaking population survived into the eleventh or twelfth centuries in the more remote valleys, and to support this he cites the number of Brittonic place-names which have survived, particularly in the western part of the area. Professor Jackson concentrates particularly on the dedication of Loquhariot to Kentigern, which he suggests was earlier

⁷ Jackson 346.

⁸ Jackson 335-9.

than the Anglian conquest, and which was preserved by such of the Brittonic population as survived. In the eleventh or twelfth centuries a Gaelic-speaking priest at Loquhariot, or a native of the district who became a 'cleric of Kentigern' at Glasgow, wrote or supplied material for an account of Kentigern's connection with the Lothians. This was adopted by the author of the fragmentary *Life*, and so eventually reached Jocelin.

This, of course, is no more to be regarded as self-evident fact than my own theory; the decision between them must be on grounds of inherent simplicity and probability. Both have something in common; the Brittonic element, however, I would regard as the contribution of the eighth-century Baldred, which he in turn obtained from oral or written contemporary sources. The Gaelic element I would derive from the *codiculum—stilo Scottico dictatum*, mentioned by Jocelin; this in turn I would assume to be based primarily on Baldred's *Life*. From this point of view there is no need to assume a hypothetical source D, as Professor Jackson does. I discuss below Professor Jackson's assumption that Jocelin knew the fragmentary *Life*: here let me say simply that if one accepts the existence of D, it seems improbable that it came to Jocelin by way of the fragmentary *Life*, and that thus Jocelin must have had more than the two sources which he mentions. Here, as elsewhere, my theory does not necessitate the assumption that Jocelin had more than the two sources which he describes; it is thus closer than Professor Jackson's to the given data. For the rest, one should again notice Professor Jackson's multiplication of hypotheses—D itself, the survival of a Brittonic population to the eleventh or twelfth century (for which place-names certainly do not provide sufficient evidence), the early dedication of Loquhariot, and the late preservation of the dedication, the Gaelic-speaking priest who was acquainted with local Brittonic lore and who had connections with Glasgow. Professor Jackson's arguments for the survival of a Brittonic population might be valid for the western Lothians; they are much less plausible for Loquhariot, least plausible of all for the neigh-

bour hood of Traprain Law. In my own article⁹ I quote Mr Peter Hunter Blair's remark that the choice of Dunbar for Bishop Wilfred's imprisonment in 680 may be regarded as a sure indication that both the place and its neighbourhood were then securely in English hands—something which is confirmed by the extant traditions of Baldred himself. It is difficult to imagine Brittonic speakers, even in a minority, surviving in that area much later than the end of the eighth century. Finally, Professor Jackson's remark¹⁰ that the Gaelic form *Kepdud* is positive proof that the Lothian traditions come from a source some centuries younger than Baldred's time, will not stand; it is only proof that the Gaelic source is more recent than Baldred's time, and this is in full accordance with my own line of reasoning.

As I hope in the near future to bring out a full-scale study of the tradition, I shall at present omit any discussion of the evidence for Baldred's source, the hypothetical seventh-century Glasgow *Life* of Kentigern. Instead I shall pass directly to the relationship of the fragmentary to Jocelin's *Life*.

Professor Jackson and I differ on the terms within which this is to be discussed. I regard the relationship as something to be proved or disproved, and in disproof of it I bring forward the evidence of the names *Mocholme and Munghu*.¹¹ Professor Jackson answers¹² with the assumption of a direct relationship—on my terms, that is, with a *petitio principii*. It is obvious that, before his arguments can have any validity, he must establish on other grounds that a direct connection exists. To do so, he advances three arguments: first that it has always been assumed that there was a direct relationship (this, of course, proves nothing); secondly, the unlikelihood that, in the 30 years which separated the fragmentary *Life* from Jocelin's, an intermediate *Life* had super-

⁹ MacQueen 117, quoting "The Bernicians and their Northern Frontier" from *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick, Cambridge, 1954, 169-70.

¹⁰ Jackson, 346.

¹¹ MacQueen 112-15.

¹² Jackson 347-8.

seded the fragmentary (which is true but irrelevant; I nowhere make the suggestion that this had occurred), and thirdly that the words in Jocelin's preface *quam vestra frequentat ecclesia* 'can surely only mean the Herbertian *Life*, put together some 30 years before for the use of the Glasgow clergy at the special request of their bishop.' Everything, that is to say, finally turns on the phrase from the prologue to the fragmentary *Life*, *intimante venerando Glasguensi episcopo Herberto*, 'at the command of the venerable Bishop Herbert of Glasgow.' On this the best comment is to be found in the words of Ernst Curtius,¹³ 'Innumerable mediæval authors assert that they write by command. Histories of literature accept this as gospel truth. Yet it is usually a mere topos.' The stylistic poverty of the passage in which Herbert is mentioned—a thin phrase with which one should contrast Jocelin's sounding references to Bishop Jocelin—is proof enough that here indeed we have a mere topos, useful for dating, but nothing more. And if the work was not composed at the command of Bishop Herbert, we have no evidence that it was ever used at Glasgow Cathedral; we do not even have any evidence that it was ever completed. The establishment, that is to say, of the relationship between the fragmentary and Jocelin's *Life* depends on the evidence brought forward in my article, and this establishes no connection. Professor Jackson is left with a *petitio principii*.

Three further points may be added. Professor Jackson claims¹⁴ that the *Scottic Life* did not contain the episode contrary to sound doctrine and the belief of the church which was deplored by Jocelin in his prologue. 'Jocelyn says of his two sources that *one*, the *Scottic Life*, was full of solecisms, etc., and that it was the *other*, the one 'quam vestra frequentat ecclesia,' that had the episode contrary to sound

¹³ *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, translated as *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, by Willard R. Trask, London, 1953, p. 85. The topos is part of the affected modesty suitable to the exordium of a literary or oratorical work, and intended to put the reader in a favourable state of mind.

¹⁴ Jackson 348.

doctrine and the belief of the church—Words could hardly speak plainer, that if the episode in question (the virgin birth) is X, X was not in the *Scottic Life*.’ It seems to me that words could very well speak plainer; Jocelin could have said directly that the *Scottic Life* did not contain the discreditable episode. He does not say this, and he is even further from saying it than Professor Jackson’s quotation would indicate; Professor Jackson’s reversal of order in his quotation makes the opposition of the two sources more acute than the text warrants. To me the words seem to indicate rather the wish than the fact that the *Scottic Life* had contained an opening different from that in the *Life quam vestra frequentat ecclesia*. Such an approach may be subjective, but so also is Professor Jackson’s, and material on which such subjective differences are possible cannot be made the basis of a sound hypothesis.

Secondly, on p. 349 Professor Jackson remarks, “Nevertheless Jocelyn betrays that he knew Y (and therefore, as I believe, the *Herbertian Life*), since he remarks that the conception was in fact ‘by the embrace of man’ (i.e., Ewen).” This is unnecessary. Jocelin’s purpose is to deny the virgin conception: the only possible alternative is a conception ‘by the embrace of man’; in the absence of any reference to the name Ewen, this cannot be taken as proof that Jocelin knew the Ewen episode.

The last point which at this time need be noted is the context in which Professor Jackson sets his study. A number of scholars¹⁵ have pointed out the likelihood that there is a close relationship between the fragmentary *Life*, the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain*, and Chrétien de Troyes’ *Yvain*. Clearly enough, some attention should be paid to this by anyone investigating the antecedents of the fragmentary *Life*. The title of my article is enough to show that I have at least made the attempt. Professor Jackson avoids this both in the main body of his article and in his appendix.

¹⁵ Cf. R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes*, New York, 1949, 272, 302, and the references there cited. Cf also my “Maponus in Mediæval Tradition,” published in vol. XXXI. of these *Transactions*, 45-51.

Before writing 'Yvain, Ewen and Owein ap Urien' I had myself independently considered most of the evidence used by Professor Jackson; the points which I brought forward were those which seemed to be crucial for a successful solution of the problem. If the arguments advanced in this note are accepted, it would seem that Professor Jackson's criticisms are to some extent based on a mistaken conception of the method which I used, and themselves have a certain tendency to explain *ignotum* by *ignotius*. This is not to deny the high linguistic value of much of Professor Jackson's work; it does, however, weaken the probability of several of his conclusions.

ARTICLE 13.

Addenda Antiquaria.**The Ventidius Stone, Kirkmaiden.**

By R. C. REID.

Writing in 1872 (P.S.A.S. ix. 369) Sir Arthur Mitchell told of his discovery "some years ago" of the Kirkmadryne inscribed stones, used as gateposts. On making enquiries he contacted a retired schoolmaster of Kirkmaiden parish named William Todd, then living on his pension at Dromore. Todd produced a drawing, now in the library of the society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh, of three stones which he had made "about 50 years ago," i.e., circa 1822. Mitchell only could find two inscribed stones whereas the drawing showed three. The third stone turned up in 1917, also used as a gate post, at the manse, being found by the minister, the Rev. Philip Robertson, who published his find and also Todd's drawings. (D. and G. Trans., 3rd series V., p. 140.) These fifth-century stones provide us with three names—Viventius, Mavorius and Florentius who are described as *præcipui sacerdotes*. Sacerdos means priest or churchman and bishop Dowden argued in a most learned paper that the epithet *præcipui* implied that they were bishops of the early Celtic church (P.S.A.S., xxxii., p. 247). Nothing is known of these men, though namesakes are known in Gaul in the fifth century.

Yet another stone bearing an inscribed name can now be added to the record and again we have to thank the departed shade of William Todd. In his old age he published in 1860 a small and now scarce pamphlet, a copy of which is in the Ewart Library, entitled *The Clerical History of the Parish of Kirkmaiden*. It commences at the Reformation. In a brief introduction "to the reader" occurs this passage:

Nigh to the house of Curghe a grave was lately opened up, covered with a flag of slaty stone on which was a Latin inscription, but so wasted that nothing could be gathered from it further than that the person's name was Ventidius and that he was a sub-deacon of the church.

This reference to this stone seems to have been entirely overlooked hitherto. Curghe, now a farm but once the residence of the Adairs of Curghe, is in Kirkmaiden parish some miles south of the now extinct parish of Kirkmadryne which was long ago absorbed into Stoneykirk parish. When Mitchell met Todd he was only concerned with his Kirkmadryne discoveries. He may not have been interested in Kirkmaiden and Todd, then a very old man (he had retired before 1860 for his pamphlet is dated from

Dromore), may not have recollected the find at Curchie and so never mentioned it to Mitchell. It is a great pity that Mitchell never saw the stone. Had he only even heard of it he must surely have made a note of it. Nearly an hundred years have passed since the Ventidius stone was found. It may well be now serving as a gate post or built into some byre or barn as a lintel. But an exhaustive search should be made for it. In the same introduction Todd gives a clue when he mentioned other possible early church sites in Kirkmaiden parish.

We have a Kilumquha, a Kilstay and a Kildonnan; we have also a Kirkbride, a Kirkleish, a Kilgie (now called Curchie) a Kirkdryne or Kirkdrain and a Kirkmedan. Here is scope for archæological research.

Recent Finds At Burnswark.

By W. F. CORMACK, W.S.

Ploughing for forestry purposes during the winter of 1956-57 laid open several acres of the southern slopes of Burnswark. A surface search the following spring by Mr W. F. Cormack, W.S., resulted in the following finds, which have been passed to the Burgh Museum by permission of the proprietor of Castlemilk Estates.

2 Lead "glandes" or sling shots similar to those found by Barbour in 1898. Wts. 942 and 597 grains respectively. These were lying a few feet apart 75 yards to the S.W. of the S.W. corner of the S. camp. This is the first record of these missiles being found other than in the siege camps or at the gates of the Hill fort.

Spindle whorl of Red freestone $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick with centre hole 3-10ths in. diameter.

Flint flake, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. square—sharpened on three sides by flaking. These two items were situated a few yards outside the west gate of the S. camp.

Whetstones. An organised search by Mr M'Lean, Mr Truckell and others took place a few days later, when two whetstones were found in a similar locality to the whorl and flake.

Mary, Queen of Scots, Testoon.

While forking over soil at the edge of her garden at "Rosemore," Leonard Crescent, Lockerbie, in 1953, Miss Mary Buchanan turned up a silver Testoon of Mary, Queen of Scots,

and her first husband, Francis, while the latter was King of France. She has kindly presented the coin, which appeared to be alone and without container, to the Burgh Museum, Dumfries. Her garden was formerly old park land, but was used as a garden for a few years prior to the erection of "Rosemore" in 1937, so the provenance may well be secondary, but the appearance of the coin is against this. Although underweight the coin is little worn, and the absence of a 1578 countermark confirms that it probably went out of circulation soon after minting.

The variety is Type 2 referred to by Stewart in his "Scottish Coinage" as having been minted at Edinburgh by John Hairt. Obverse has crowned shield with Arms of Scotland and France, and royal titles, Reverse the monogram FM and inscription "Vicit leo de tribu Juda" from Apocalypse V. (5). Date 1560. Weight 83 grains as against 94 grains standard. Contemporary value was 5/- Scots equivalent to 1/- Sterling.

W. F. CORMACK.

Inscribed Stones at Kirkpatrick-Fleming.

When rebuilding the steading at Kirkpatrick House in 1958 Mr James Rae, the proprietor, who was aware of the 1674 stone, No. 375 of the Inventory of Ancient and Historical Monuments, examined the material carefully, and has recovered a second stone, which he has had built in to the inside of the gable of the steading.

This second stone, which is badly weathered, is about 15 inches square, and appears to have carved on it a heraldic shield with three holly leaves in the form of a triangle, base uppermost, and the date 1543 in the centre.

W. F. CORMACK.

ARTICLE 14.

Reviews.**"The Story of Carlisle."**

By JOYCE and BRIAN BLAKE.

Published by City of Carlisle Education Committee; pp., XIV. + 130. Price 7/6.

There is no subject so fascinating as local lore and it was a happy thought on the part of the Education Committee of the City of Carlisle to sponsor a simple history of their city, especially designed for school children. The occasion which it marks was the celebration of the 800th anniversary of the granting of the first charter by Henry II. and the Committee has chosen its authors well. Mr and Mrs Blake have been at pains throughout to emphasise the fact that the city as seen through the eyes of the youth of to-day is exactly the same city as it always has been even though its area has grown from six acres in the second century to six thousand in the twentieth. In short, Carlisle is like a man who has grown older and stouter but who still retains the same personality and character beneath his new garb.

The book opens with a descriptive tour of the city in which the imagination is fired by the promised story of such landmarks as the Castle, the Cathedral, the Citadel and other prominent features of the city's landscape, which are dealt with in later chapters. Carlisle has a long history. It may well have had its beginnings in the form of a prehistoric settlement before the Romans came to England but it was they who built the first recorded city, Luguvalium. In the Middle Ages it was extended by the Normans who built a walled city to house a prosperous agricultural community, the inhabitants of which sold their products at busy market stalls on the main thoroughfare. The city again broke its bounds in the early eighteenth century when mediaeval walls became a drawback to industrial development. As a Border town Carlisle has had a chequered history and young readers will relish the vivid picture of recurring wars between the Scots and the English and of border raids which persisted up to the Union of the Crowns.

The great siege which lasted for ten months during the Civil War and which caused grave hardship to the citizens provides another thrilling story as also does the surrender of the city to the marching Highlanders of Prince Charles Edward Stuart during the '45 Rebellion.

Coming to modern times, Carlisle has proved fortunate in the variety of its present-day industry. At one and the same time it is

a railway town, a cotton town, a market town and a garrison town and it is particularly well placed geographically. Nor have modern needs been neglected. Carlisle has a College of Art and another of Technology and has ambitious plans for a civic centre. Should it extend farther, the authors ask, or is it, as they believe, just about the right size with a population of 70,000 and the country still only quarter of an hour away? Much fruitful discussion could follow the study of this fascinating book which has been attractively illustrated by Colin Allen. One could wish for its counterpart in Dumfriesshire.

M. D. McL.

The Lag Charters, 1400-1720.

Scottish Record Soc., Edinburgh, 1958, from Sir P. Hamilton-Grierson's Calendar lent by Dr R. C. Reid, with Introduction by Col. J. R. H. Greeves and Appendix of 42 other family documents, edited by Mr Athol Murray of the Scottish Record Office.

In this compilation the Grierson family comes clearly into focus as one of the great land-owning families of the south-west, possessing not only extensive lands in Glencairn and Mid-Nithsdale, but also wide lands west of the Nith near Dumfries—Mabie, Marthorn, Dalskairth, Redbank, Barquhar, Auchenfranco and, far up-country, a great tract of land around Carsphairn and extending to Holm of Dalquhairn, while, to the east, they acquired the Kirkpatrick lands of Rockhall, Colin, and Kirkbriderig by marriage with the Kirkpatrick heiress, a marriage ceremony which, incidentally, taking place in the Kirk of Dunscore on 14th November, 1412, is very completely described in document four of the appendix.

The charters show the first sudden appearance of the Griersons on the scene just after 1400. Gilbert Griersone acquires most of their future estates between just after 1400 and 1418: he may be a son of the "Duncan son of Gilbert" mentioned as witness to a David II. charter of 1367, and seems to have been connected with the McRaths of Lacht, Henry, Earl of Orkney, and the Douglasses of Galloway—he was esquire to Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas.

Thereafter the family take their due share in Scottish affairs. Roger Grierson died of wounds received while fighting for James III. against the future James IV. at Sauchieburn in 1488, and one of the documents records the young James IV.'s wish that Roger's son should inherit the estates despite his father's having fought against him. Roger senior's second son, Roger, was killed at Flodden, and this, too, is mentioned in the documents.

Commissioner to Parliament.

Sir William Grierson was Commissioner to Parliament for Dumfriesshire in 1617, 1621 and 1625; Sheriff of Dumfries, 1615, 1617 and 1621; and one of the Commissioners for the Borders in 1623. It was this Sir William who acquired the lands of Capenoch. His son, Sir Robert, was also Commissioner for Dumfriesshire in various Parliaments from 1628 to 1648.

His second son, William, was father of "Bluidy Lag," and his third son was ancestor of the Griersons of Dalgonar, Larbreck and Baldonell, Co. Dublin. Vedast Grierson (curious name!), grandson of the original Gilbert, seems from the charters to have specialised in cancelling sasines by throwing down earth and stone or breaking dishes.

In 1515 we hear of an attorney for the Griersons appearing before Hailes Castle, in Lothian, being refused admission by the Constable, who admitted that Lord Herries, of Terregles, was within, and reading out a precept of sasine of the lands of Larglanglea (to which Herries obviously did not wish to assent), and fixing a copy of the precept on the gate of the Castle.

Men from the Stewartry.

Then, much later, we see, on 22nd July, 1651, Sir John Griersone of Lag, younger, Colonel of the Regiment of Foot to be raised out of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, approving the appointment by the Committee of Estates of John Kirkpatrick as Major of his regiment, and instructing Kirkpatrick, an unnamed lieutenant, and Thomas Mackclelane, his ensign, to raise 16 men from Urr, 18 from Kirkpatrick-Durham, 16 from Kirkgunzeon, 28 from Kirkbean, and 9 from New Abbey, all to be equipped with swords, muskets and pikes, 10 days' provisions, half in victuals and half in money, and 10 groats with each footman for one month's entertainment of the inferior officers. They are also to provide three ammunition horses and two baggage men to attend them—plus other baggage horses from the burghs, and so on.

Again, on 1st May, 1610, Sir William Grierson grants "my lovit spouse, Dame Nicolace Maxwell," the mansion and mains of Rockhall in liferent, for "the cair and trubell taen be hir upoun my direction in the edifeing and bigging of the place of Rockell laitie constructit be me."

Resentment.

Or to vary the subject again, there is the angry letter written by Lord Ogilvy informing the lairds of Lag, elder and younger, of the resentment felt at the part played by them in the taking of the Earl of Queensberry, dated at Dumfries, 31st August, 1645; or the Crown charter of resignation dated 21st November, 1526, creating the barony of Lag; or the Crown precept of sasine dated 31st July, 1635, erecting the village of Tantallochholme, near the

parish kirk called Carsefernholme, into a free burgh in barony to be called Kirktown, with power to Sir Robert Grierson and his successors to choose bailies and erect a Tolbooth, with a weekly market and two annual fairs. This relates, of course, to Carsphairn; or, finally, a tack dated 15th May, 1629, to Homer Glencros, fisher, burgess of Dumfries, of the fishings on the water of Nith, between the yellow Hairfuird and Cargane Watterfutt, otherwise called Vouronce, for three years, for yearly payment of 60 salt salmon and 60 trout, with a penalty of 40s for each fish remaining unpaid after a year.

Wide Range.

These few illustrations should give a hint of the range of this book. But the chief impression one has on reading it is the vast richness of places and people; so many farms, so many of the gentry, farmers and clergy of the south-west appear—the commendator of Holywood, for instance, being forbidden to force his tenants to follow him in raids against the English. The book is a happy hunting-ground both for the genealogist and the student of place-names, and forms a very fitting companion to the protocol book of Sir Mark Carruthers which appeared two years ago. We must be grateful to Mr Murray, Lieut.-Col. Greeves, and—last but not least—our own indefatigable Dr Reid.

A. E. T.

Kirkcudbright Town Council Records, 1606-1658.

Transcribed by John iv Marquis of Bute K.T. and Miss C. M. Armet. Privately printed in 2 volumes: Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1958.

In these Transactions (vol. XXII. p. 142) there appeared in 1942 an article on the Burgh Records of Kirkcudbright which was substantially a review of the first volume of the Burgh Court Books of that burgh by the then Marquis of Bute. It was a noble volume, printed in beautiful clear type reminiscent of the lordly family histories of a previous generation. Its reviewer expressed the hope that other volumes known to be in preparation would continue the burgh's record. But death was to intervene. Fortunately Lord Bute had made some provision for its publication and we are grateful to his memory for providing for the completion of at least this portion of the work he had undertaken. These records are entirely local. There is very little in them to show that the country from 1638-58 was torn by internal strife—King v. Kirk—but the historical background for the few references to public affairs is well sketched in the Introduction. Apparently the burgh had been called on to provide a Troop of Horse and on

7th September, 1643, the Town Council decided how the Troop was to be officered.

The said day the bailzeis and counsell anent the choising of ther commanderis and officiaries within burgh conforme to the act of the late conventioun have electit and chosine William Glendonynge ther proveist (as) Captaine, John Carsane bailzie (as) Livetennant, Patrick Carsane (as) Ensigne and George Callander, Robert Heuchane, John Clerk and George Meik (as) sergandis.

There is no record that these worthies were ever called on to go into action. Indeed when Parliament proposed to billet a regiment of the Scottish army in the burgh the Town Council made such vigorous protest that the proposal was dropped. Instead Dumfries was selected and numerous billeting papers of that town attest that Kirkcudbright had a lucky escape. The few references to arms, ammunition and equipment do not indicate any martial fervour in the Troop. Indeed when ordered for service in the north there seems to have been numerous deserters who were treated leniently. But when Cromwell invaded Scotland a more serious effort was made to improve the Troop. Drilling ("drivelling") on Mondays and Saturdays was enforced (p. 732) and absents were fined half a dollar the first time and 6s scots on other occasions. Twenty-six muskets were bought at £8 apiece, including bandoliers, and stored in the Tolbooth (p. 723). If this was typical of the Scottish forces it is not surprising that Cromwell easily overran the country. But if national history is but faintly mirrored in these volumes they contain a wealth of material for the social historian and the genealogist and the burgh is singularly fortunate that it should have been selected by the late Marquis of Bute for such generous treatment.

Those who are interested in trade, prices and above all Solway shipping will find much to their liking in these volumes. The price of a quarter share of a "barque" was £50 (p. 124) and the half share of a "boat" was acquired for 50 merks (p. 208). The tonnage is not recorded. There was some ship building done in the burgh. On 11th March, 1626, the Town Council admitted as burgesses gratis Richard Neil carpentair at London and 10 other carpentars, apparently English, for good services done to Lochinvar in building his ship in Kirkcudbright (p. 325). Lochinvar was the notorious and unpleasant Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar who was not above piratical proceedings against an Anstruther vessel that was proceeding from Portugal to Lochryan. (Scots Peerage v.115). Sir Robert was one of the first to be interested in the New World and in 1621 had been granted the barony of Galloway in Nova Scotia and had even published a pamphlet on the opportunities of the New World. It would be interesting to trace what became of his ship built at

Kirkcudbright. Possibly it may be identified with his ship that "accidentally" captured a ship off Middlesburgh which he brought as a prize into Kirkcudbright harbour (R.P.C. 2nd series i. passim).

Rarely has a small Scottish burgh been able to achieve such abundant attention to its records whether by publication or by listing and calendaring. The late Lord Bute has now published three volumes of Burgh Court Books 1570-1658 and three volumes of Sheriff Court Deeds 1623-1700 and is known to have transcribed a considerable number of Testaments that are not recorded in the Scottish Record Office. In addition other workers have prepared an MS. Calendar of loose Burgh Papers (penes R. C. Reid), a Calendar of the Protocol Books of Thomas Anderson commissary of Kirkcudbright 1562-76 (penes R. C. Reid) and of Robert Glendonynng toun clerk, 1625-35 (penes R. C. Reid), A Calendar of the Commissary Court Register of Robert Forrester 1585-88, now with the original MS. at the Scottish Record Office, and finally two volumes of selected notes from the Commissary Court Processes 1666-99 (penes R. C. Reid). Here is a fine quarry awaiting future workers on the history of our area.

R. C. R.

Roman and Native in North Britain.

Edited by Professor I. A. RICHMOND.
Nelson, 1958, 18/-.

We usually think of "Romanisation" as something confined to the civil zone of Roman Britain. We tend to imagine that, in the north, the Romans were alien invaders who conquered but did not civilise. It is true that scholars, including Professor Richmond himself, have been pointing out for some time that the Romans influenced the history of North Britain far more than we used to suspect; but their studies have been particular and scattered, and there has been a great need for a general volume to draw together and develop these ideas.

Roman and Native, the second in the new series of *Studies in History and Archaeology*, issued under the general editorship of Dr F. T. Wainwright, provides a survey of the whole subject which brings out for the first time just how much the Romans contributed to the development of North Britain. In the chapters written by Mr Gillam, Dr Steer, and Professor Richmond, covering the period from Hadrian to the end of Roman Britain, there is an absorbing story of growing co-operation between the Romans and the natives. By the fourth century the conditions of the early days of military rule were changed beyond

recognition. The main burden of defence was now borne by two native client kingdoms, with their centres in Lothian and at Dumbarton. Behind this protection there had grown up a society which was in a real sense "Romanised." Professor Richmond shows that almost urban communities were quite common, both in the *vici* attached to forts and elsewhere in the area, while the army was now recruited on the spot; it was no longer an alien army of occupation. The political organisation and Romanised society did not disappear when the army was withdrawn; they remained, where not overwhelmed by Saxon invaders, to become the basis of the Dark Age kingdoms, and especially of Strathclyde. Far from disappearing from the north without leaving a trace, the Romans made a mark so deep that it lasted for centuries.

Mr Clarke's contribution on the Agricolan period contrasts strongly with the later sections. The story here is not of the constructive work of Rome, but of the desolation of the original conquest. The main events are familiar; but Mr Clarke gives us a timely re-appraisal of their significance. We think perhaps of the Romans too much as the bringers of civilisation. Mr Clarke is right to remind us of the savagery and human suffering that ushered in this civilisation. When we look at the picture as a whole, we may possibly feel that the end was worth the agony; but it is good that we should think carefully of the meaning and of the cost of the *Pax Romana*.

Professor Piggott's chapter on *Native Economies* concentrates on establishing a single basic point—that the economy of intensive agriculture which was typical of the Iron Age in southern and eastern England was not characteristic of the rest of the country. From the distribution of such remains as grain storage pits, he shows that this economy existed only in the future civil zone. Outside this area, the Roman army, which depended on supplies of grain, could not have lived off the land. This paper will remain a fundamental study in Iron-Age economics, and one would have liked to see the other contributors take rather more account of its point. At the same time, it is fair to note that Professor Piggott describes no economy further north than that of Brigantia. The reader who seeks here for an account of the native economies of southern Scotland will not find it.

The book ends with a short discussion by Professor Richmond of the geographical sources for the period, mainly Ptolemy and the Ravenna Cosmography; and gives an English version of the relevant parts of these works, which should be very useful to students of Scottish history.

The whole book will be of great value, and not least to those interested in the Dark Ages, who will welcome this survey of the Roman period as a starting point for their own studies.

BRUCE WEBSTER.

Proceedings, 1957-58.

11th October, 1957.—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library at 7.30 p.m., some 41 members being present. The accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. There were elected 11 new members and one Junior. The President then thanked Mrs Cunningham for her work as Secretary, stressing the extreme economy with which she had conducted the Society's affairs. Dr Elsie Conway of the department of Botany, University of Glasgow, then delivered an address on "Seaweeds and Seaweed Products," amply illustrated with copious slides ("Standard," 16th October).

25th October, 1957.—Dr Gordon Craig of the Geology Department, Edinburgh University, was the speaker, his subject being "Geology and Scenery in Parts of Europe," illustrating his talk with coloured transparencies and ranging from Stac Polly in the Santis Marsif to the mouth of the Dee. ("Standard," 2nd November, 1957.)

8th November, 1957.—The lecturer was Dr F. Fraser Darling on the "Conservation of the Wild Game of Africa." ("Standard," 16th November, 1957.)

22nd November, 1957.—Mr J. M. Davidson, O.B.E., a son of Ruthwell Manse, in a wide survey on the "Riddle of Cups and Rings" and many of the theories that try to explain those widespread rock markings, concluded by pointing out that though abundant in Galloway Dumfriesshire was almost the only Scottish county where none so far had been discovered. ("Standard," 27th November, 1957.)

6th December, 1957.—Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the Scottish Museum of Antiquities, gave an illustrated talk on "Early Christian Sculpture in Scotland, the Ruthwell Cross and after." Starting with the development of Celtic art c. 500 A.D. to 800 A.D., he attempted to date stone crosses by analogy showing how relief sculpture replaced incised sculpture. ("Standard," 14th December, 1957.)

10th January, 1958.—Mr A. B. Duncan of Lannhall devoted his address to Mammals, choosing bats, shrews, moles and hedgehogs, otters and roe deer as his main subjects. He closed with an appeal for legal protection of red deer. ("Standard," 17th January, 1959.)

31st January, 1958.—"Excavation at Drimore Wheelhouse, South Uist," was the subject of Dr Horace Fairhurst's address. It was one of some 20 sites in that island which are being investigated. ("Standard," 4th February, 1958.)

14th February, 1958.—Dr W. J. Eggeling, Conservation Officer of the Nature Conservancy lectured on the Bird Life of some Scottish Nature Reserves. After stating the functions and aims of the Conservancy, he showed some hundred coloured transparencies of the various reserves, their flora and fauna, with special emphasis on bird life. ("Standard," 22nd February, 1958.)

28th February, 1958.—Mr A. E. Truckell, our Museum Curator, lectured on "Solway Excavations, 1957." Some of them had been or were being published, others like Birrens Hill and Blacketlees still awaited publication. ("Standard," 5th March, 1958.)

Field Meetings, 1957-58.

10th May, 1958.—The first meeting of the Season was to Threave Castle and neighbourhood. After a short talk by Mr Truckell on the places of interest to be seen en route the party of over 40 members and friends went to Threave by coach and private car. On arrival the custodian ferried them in small groups across to the Island. The Castle was explored and the party took tea whilst Mr Truckell talked of its history and outstanding features. On the return journey the Mote of Urr was viewed from a distance and its significance discussed.

31st May, 1958.—The Society this day visited the great megalithic cairns at Cairnholy, between Gatehouse and Creetown, where Mr Truckell spoke on the origins, construction and appearance of these tombs and of the people who erected them. The weather cleared as he spoke, giving a remarkable view of the Isle of Man. On the return journey he spoke again at Kirkclaugh Mote, an interesting site possibly carrying through from the Dark Ages to the early Norman period. Then at Green Tower Mote he spoke of this as being probably the first toe-hold of some Norman Cumberland laird in Galloway, and finally at Palaceyard of Enrick, he referred to that site as the palace of the last pre-Reformation bishops of Galloway.

5th July, 1958.—The June field meeting at Munches having been cancelled owing to bad weather, the last meeting was held on this date, the venue having been changed from Brighouse Bay to Kirkandrews. Dr Gordon Craig of the Geology Department of Edinburgh University who was carrying out research work in the area, was the speaker. He showed that greywacke, the prevalent rock over much of Southern Scotland, was originally sand on the floor of an ancient sea and that the direction and strength of ocean currents some 350 million years ago could to-day

be determined and measured. The directions and extent of subsequent folding could be traced and certain conclusions be drawn concerning the main events of local earth history. The former interpretation was that much of Southern Scotland was a complicated up-fold; it has now been shown by research to be, in fact, a complicated down-fold. The theory was a new one and had not yet been published. In thanking Dr Craig for his most lucid address Mr James Irving as Vice-President of the Society pointed out that the members present were very fortunate to be among the first to share the results of this recent research.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

Membership List, 1st March, 1959.

Fellows of the Society under Rule 10 are indicated thus *

LIFE MEMBERS.

*Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (President, 1949-50) ...	1941
Bell, Robin M., M.B.E., Roundaway, Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, N.Z. ...	1950
Birley, Eric, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Hatfield College, Durham (13 Bow Lane, Durham City) ...	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), The Ark, Warblington Road, Emsworth, Hants. ...	1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 92 Guibal Road, Lee, London, S.E.12. ...	1943
Breay, Rev. J., Prior's Close, Abbot's Road, Tewkesbury, Gloucester ...	1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ...	1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of, K.T., P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941) ...	1943
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909) ...	1914
*Cunningham, David, M.A., 42 Rae Street, Dumfries (Presi- dent, 1953-56) ...	1945
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs, Jardine Hall, Lockerbie (Ordinary Member, 1926) ...	1943
Ferguson, James A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie ...	1929
Ferguson, Mrs J. A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie ...	1929
Gladstone, Miss I. O. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., 61 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (Ordinary Member, 1938) ...	1943
Gladstone, John, Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries ...	1935
Geddes, Nathan, Boghall, Buittle, Castle-Douglas ...	1955
Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934) ...	1943
Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgrith, Dumfries ...	1946

M'Call, Major W., D.L., Caitloch, Moniaive, Dumfries	1929
M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
*MacLean, A., B.Sc., Wayside, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries (President, 1950-53) (Ordinary Member, 1944)	1953
Mansfield, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., J.P., Comlongon Castle, Ruthwell, Dumfries	1939
Paterson, E. A., Lavender Bank, Curlew Green, Saxmund- ham, Suffolk	1945
Perkins, F. Russell, Duntisbourne House, Cirencester, Glos.	1946
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Imrie Bell, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938)	1943
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Broom's Road, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1953)	1954
Skinner, James S., M.A., The Corner House, Closeburn	1950
Spragge, Commander T. H., Monkquhell, Blairgowrie, Perthshire (Ordinary Member, 1931)	1947
Stuart, Lord David, M.B.O.U., F.S.A.Scot., Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire	1948
Thomas, C. H., O.B.E., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dumfries	1950
Thomas, Mrs C. H., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dum- fries	1950

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Adamson, D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries	1958
Adamson, Mrs D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dum- fries	1958
Anderson, Miss Mosa, Charlton Cottage, Peaslake, Guild- ford, Surrey	1953
Angus, Rev. J. A. K., Manse of Hoddam	1956
Angus, Mrs, J. A. K., Manse of Hoddam	1956
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Brieryhill, Langholm	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A. Brieryhill, Langholm	1946
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Austin, W., Glaston, Albert Road, Dumfries	1948
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries	1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskaith, Dumfries	1944
Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1946
Barr, Mrs J. Glen, 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1951
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1945
Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., A.R.I.B.A., Thrush Wood, Mouswald, Dumfries	1947

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Begg, Miss R. E., Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952
Bell-Macdonald, A., Rammerscales, Lockerbie	1958
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Birkinshaw, Dr E., Cairnyard, Lochfoot, Dumfries	1958
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh	1947
Blake, Brian, 97 Scotby Road, Carlisle	1953
Bone, Miss E., Stable Court, Castle-Douglas	1937
Boyes, Miss M., 34 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1957
Brewis, Mrs F. D. D. M., Ardwell, Stranraer	—
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerlochan, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Bunyan, David, Ibadan Grammar School, Nigeria	1955
Buchanan, John, Sunnysdene, Mainsriddle	1957
Bullan, R., 46 Vancouver Road, Easttriggs	1958
Byers, R., Munches Kennels, Dalbeattie	1951
Campbell, Alexander, Mid Park South, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1956
Campbell, Mrs Margaret, Mid Park South, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1956
Campbell, Mrs Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas	1953
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex	1949
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie	1946
Carmichael, Rev. J. A., The Manse, Lochmaben	1956
Carruthers, A. Stanley, 9 Beechwood Road, Sanderstead, Surrey	1954
Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
Carruthers, Dr Wm., Catherine Street, Dumfries	1957
Cessford, G. A., Oaklands, Kippford, and Chapmanton, Castle-Douglas	1956
Charteris, Mrs N., Kirkland Bridge, Tinwald	1955
Chrystie, Wm. C. S., Merlindale, 104 Terregles Street, Dum- fries	1953
Clark, Miss E., White Lodge, Carsethorn	1958
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 95 Hyndland Road, Glasgow, W.I.	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat	1948
Cluckie, James, Lochanlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries	1955
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries	1946
Coles, Francis E., Glebe House, Dumfries	1957
Copland, R., Isle Tower, Holywood	1950
Copland, Mrs R., Isle Tower, Holywood... ..	1950
Cormack, David, LL.B., W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie	1913
Cormack, Wm., Starney, Lockerbie	1951

Cowan, Mrs H., Oakfield, Chapel Hill, Glencaple ...	1958
Crabbe, Lt.-Col. Sir J. G., O.B.E., M.C., L.L., Duncow, Dumfries ...	1911
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Insti- tution, Dumfries ...	1943
Cumming, Ian, Moniak, Grantown-on-Spey ...	1956
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1948
Cunningham, John, 20 Queen Street, Lochmaben ...	1958
Cunnington, T. M., Glensone, New Abbey ...	1957
Dalziel, Miss Agnes, L.D.S., Glenlea, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Davidson, Dr. James, F.R.C.P.Ed., F.S.A.Scot., Linton Muir, West Linton, Peebles...	1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow ...	1934
Dickie, J. Wallace, Glenlee, 17 Palmerston Drive, Dumfries	1954
Dickie, Rev. J. W. T., 6 Hannay Street, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1951
Dickson, Alex. Bruce, Solwayside, Auchencairn, Castle- Douglas ...	1955
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1930
Dinwiddie, N. A. W., M.A., B.Com., Newall Terrace, Dum- fries ...	1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1920
Dobie, K. L., Stormont, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries...	1950
Dobie, Percy, B.Eng., 122 Vicars Cross, Chester ...	1943
Dobie, W. G. M., LL.B., Conheath, Dumfries ...	1944
Dobie, Mrs W. G. M., Conheath, Dumfries ...	1944
Drummond, Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries ...	1944
Drummond, Mrs Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries	1946
Drysdale, Miss J. M., Edinmara, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	1946
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Gilchristland, Closeburn, Dum- fries (President, 1944-1946) ...	1930
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	1926
Duncan, Mrs W., Newlands, Dumfries ...	1926
Dunlop, Mrs, C.B.E., D.Litt., 73 London Road, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire ...	1952
Eckford, R. S. C., Summerhill, Grange Road, Moffat ...	1956
Edwards, Frederick J., M.A., 113 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1953
Fairbairn, Miss M. L., Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ...	1952
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries ...	1948
Ferguson, Ronald, Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire ...	1953
Flannigan, B., c/o The Academy, Dumfries ...	1958
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Janefield House, Kirk- cudbright ...	1947
Flett, James, A.I.A.A., F.S.A.Scot., Mount Vernon, New- ton-Stewart ...	1912
Flinn, Alan J. M., Clydesdale and North of Scotland Bank House, Castle-Douglas ...	1946

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Flinn, Mrs A. J. M., Clydesdale and North of Scotland Bank House, Castle-Douglas	1953
Ford, D., C.A. Radio Station, Lowther Hill, Wanlockhead, Abington, Lanarkshire	1957
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat	1929
Forrest, J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ...	1953
Forrest, Mrs J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1953
Francis, Major S. F. B., 12 de Marley Road, Morpeth ...	1957
Fraser, Brigadier S., M.C., 20 Abercromby Road, Castle-Douglas	1947
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield	1946
Gair, John, Delvine, Amisfield	1945
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan	1949
Galloway, The Countess of, Cumloden, Newton-Stewart ...	1955
Gardiner, Rev. W. W. D., D.D., D.Litt., Whinnyknowe, Ruthwell, by Dumfries	1957
Gardiner, Mrs, Whinnyknowe, Ruthwell, by Dumfries ...	1957
Gass, Miss Janet I., Glenesk, Sherwood Park, Lockerbie ...	1958
Gass, R., "Santos," Mossel Bay, Cape, South Africa ...	1953
Gate, Miss Mary, Glenburn, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1957
Gibson, Mrs R. M., Lochenelee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries ...	1957
Gillam, J. P., M.A., 5 St. Andrew's Terrace, Corbridge, Northumberland	1953
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Blackford, Haugh-of-Urr, Castle-Douglas	1946
Gillan, Lady, Blackford, Haugh-of-Urr, Castle-Douglas ...	1946
Gillanders, Farquhar, M.A., 4 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries ...	1956
Goldie, Gordon, British Institute of Rome, Via Quattro Fontane, 109, Rome	1947
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan	1948
Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie	1947
Greeves, Lt.-Col. J. R., B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., Coolmashee, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down	1947
Grierson, Thomas, Marford, New Abbey Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Grierson, Mrs Thomas, Marford, New Abbey Road, Dumfries	1946
Grieve, S. L., The Drum, Southwick Road, Dumfries ...	1954
Grieve, Mrs, The Drum, Southwick Road, Dumfries ...	1954
Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries	1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries	1944
Halliwell, Mrs, Twomerkland, Moniaive.	1950
Hannay, A., Lochend, Stranraer... ..	1926
Hannay, Miss Jean, Lochend, Stranraer	1951
Harper, Dr J., M.B.E., Crichton House, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1947
Harper, Mrs M., Crichton House, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952

Harris, Bernard F. D., Benmore, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1955
Harvey, Miss M. K. H., Woodhouse, Dunscore	1959
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie	1927
Henderson, I. G., Beechwood, Lockerbie	1951
Henderson, Miss J. G., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries	1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Ardgowan, 5 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1945
Henderson, John, M.A., F.E.I.S., Abbey Cottage, Beckton Road, Lockerbie	1933
Hendry, Miss H. W., Kildonan, Montague Street, Dumfries	1956
Henry, Mrs Janet, 153 Kingstown Road, Moorville, Carlisle	1953
Hetherington, Mrs, Larkfield, Dumfries	1955
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries	1948
Hull, Christopher R., Denbie, Lockerbie	1956
Hunter, Mrs T. S., Woodford, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries... ..	1947
Inglis, John A., Achadh nan Darach, Invergarry, Inverness-shire	1951
Irvine, James, B.Sc., 10 Langlands, Dumfries	1944
Irvine, Mrs James, 10 Langlands, Dumfries	1952
Irving, J. W., Milnhead, Kirkmahoe	1957
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Ardmor, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, 2 Langholm Place, Dumfries	1946
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1	1911
Johnston, Major F. J., 61 Chester Square, London, S.W.1.	1957
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Patrick, Bury Hall, Therfield, Royston	1956
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat	—
Johnstone, J. E., Albany Bank, Dumfries.	1955
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries	1945
Kellett, Dr. J. R., Ferndene, Crossmichael Road, Castle-Douglas	1955
King, Norman, 9 Lathom Road, Southport	1954
Laidlaw, A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1939
Laidlaw, Miss Margaret, 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1953
Laidlaw, W., Hecklegirth, Annan	1958
Lamont, Mrs J., Lochpark, Kirkpatrick-Durham	1958
Landale, David, Dalswinton, Dumfries	1955
Lauder, Miss A., Craigiebank, Moffat Road, Dumfries	1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries... ..	1939
Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., 33 Canberra Road, Gretna	1949
McAdam, Dr. William, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1952
McAdam, Mrs, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1953
McBurnie, James, Flat 6, 15 Baker Street, London, W.1.	1950
McCaig, Miss, 26 Royal Avenue, Stranraer	1953

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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MacCalman, D. A., Bank of Scotland, 8 English Street, Dumfries	1956
MacCalman, Mrs D. A., Braeside, Islesteps	1957
MacCartney, Dr A., M.B., Ch.B., F.S.A.Scot., 23 Crawford Road, Burnside, Rutherglen	1957
McClure, Miss J., Wellwood, New Galloway	1955
McConnel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 17 Horncap Lane, Kendal	1927
McConnel, T. W., Lettrick, Dunscore	1958
MacCowan, Dr P. K., Stewarthall Gardens, Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1957
MacCowan, Dr. Muriel, Stewarthall Gardens, Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1957
McCracken, Dr. Kenneth M., Inglestone, Kelso	1955
M'Culloch, Major-General Sir Andrew, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., D.C.M., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas	1946
McCulloch, Lady, 37 Fleet Street, Gatehouse, Castle- Douglas	—
MacDonald, Rev. Fraser Ian, Manse of Tinwald	1956
MacDonald, J. A. B., 7 Langlands, Dumfries	1952
MacDonald, I. A., H.M.I.S., Clairmont, Dumfries Road, Lockerbie	1952
Macdonald, N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries	1952
Macdonald, Mrs N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries	1952
McDowall, Miss P., Meadowpark, Kirkmahoe	1957
McElroy, James, 7 Carlingwark Street, Castle-Douglas	1957
McGhie, Miss Mary, Fairleigh, Dunmuir Road, Castle- Douglas	1957
McKerrow, Henry George, Whiterne, Albert Road, Dumfries	1953
McKie, Joseph, 44 Terregles Street, Dumfries	1954
McKnight, Ian, 3 Langlands, Dumfries	1948
McKnight, Mrs I., 3 Langlands, Dumfries	1948
McLean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries	1946
Macmillan, Miss S. M., Penshurst, Glasgow Road, Sanquhar	1959
MacMillan-Fox, Mrs M. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive	1950
MacMillan-Fox, Miss J. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive	1950
McQueen, Miss Flora, Ford View, Kippford, Dalbeattie	1954
MacQueen, John, M.A., c/o Dept. of English, Washington University, St. Louis, U.S.A.	1952
McRobert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden	1948
Maitland, Mrs C. L., Cumstoun, Twynholm	1952
Mangles, Rev. J. L., B.Sc., Manse of Troqueer, Dumfries	1952
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1947
Marshall, Robert, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1955
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946

Maxwell, Major-General, Sir Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kirkennan, Dalbeattie	1946
Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ...	1937
Maxwell, Mrs, 22 Bonnington Grove, Edinburgh, 6 ...	1954
Maxwell, Miss M., 1 Upper Millburn Avenue, Dumfries ...	1957
Menzies, Mr, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1952
Menzies, Mrs, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1952
Millar, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Rectory, Closeburn ...	1949
Millar, Mrs J., The Rectory, Closeburn	1949
Miller, Miss Jean, 9 Dumfries Road, Castle-Douglas ...	1951
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1908
Mills, Dr Edward, Lyndhurst, Kelton, Dumfries ...	1958
Milne, Sheriff C., Q.C., 9 Howe Street, Edinburgh ...	1949
Mills, A. W. F., Milton Park Hotel, Dalry, Castle-Douglas	1957
Mitchell, Mrs E. J., 79 Great King Street, Edinburgh ...	1953
Mogerley, G. H., Rowanbank, Dumfries	1948
Moore, C. H., 6 Lonsdale Terrace, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1958
Morgan, Mrs H. M. A., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morgan, R. W. D., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morton, Miss T. D., 35 George Street, Dumfries ...	1947
Mucha, Dr. Muriel, Crichton Royal	1955
Murray, A., M.A., 5 Lixmount Avenue, Edinburgh, 5 ...	1957
Murray, Col. G., Waterside House, Keir, Thornhill ...	1953
Murray, Captain Keith R., Parton House, Castle-Douglas	1950
Murray-Brown, G. A., Kinnelhook, Lockerbie	1953
Murray-Brown, Mrs, Kinnelhook, Lockerbie	1953
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Mushet, Andrew, M.A., Schoolhouse, Amisfield	1955
Nelson, Miss C., Penshurst, Glasgow Road, Sanquhar ...	1956
Nielsen, W. W., 33 Spen Road, West Park, Leeds, 16 ...	1957
Nodwell, Mrs, 66 King Street, Castle-Douglas	1957
Oatts, Mrs N. A., Ironmacannie Mill, Balmaclellan ...	1956
O'Reilly, Mrs N., c/o Messrs Coutts & Co., 44 Strand, London, W.C.2	1928
Park, Miss Dora, M.A., Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dum- fries	1944
Park, Miss Mary, F.S.M.C., Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries	1944
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway	1950
Payne, Mrs, Milnhead, Kirkmahoe	1953
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries	1945
Prevost, W. A. J., 26 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh, 12 ...	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Highfield, Motherby, by Penrith ...	1934
Rae, Mrs J. O., Quaintways, Arnmannoch Road, Loch- rutton, Dumfries	1958

Rainsford-Hannay, Col. F., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	1946
Rantell, Mrs Kathleen, The Studio, Mill Street, Dalbeattie	1956
Raven, Mrs, Trees, Milehouse Crescent, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	—
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore	1946
Reid, Rev. Arnold, The Manse, Holywood, Dumfries ...	1952
*Reid, Dr R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dum- fries (President, 1933-1944)	1917
Robertson, Alex., M.A., Kenyon, Albert Road, Dumfries ...	1957
Robertson, Mrs M. A. K., Albany, Dumfries	1933
Robertson, James, O.B.E., Laneshaw, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1936
Roddick, John, Greenbank, Annan	1955
Rodgers, Dr. James, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries	1952
Rodgers, Mrs Joyce, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries	1952
Rogers, D., Elanoy, Victoria Avenue, Dumfries	1954
Rogers, Mrs, Elanoy, Victoria Avenue, Dumfries	1954
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Russell, H. M., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1953
Russell, Mrs H. M., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ...	1954
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries ...	1944
Sainty, D. L., M.A., LL.B., Waterside, Ringford	1956
Scott-Elliot, Maj.-Gen. J., Kirkconnel Lea, Glencaple ...	1957
Scruton, R., Dryfesdale House Hotel, Lockerbie	1959
Shields, Miss, Balfraggan, Holywood Road, by Dumfries ...	1951
Simpson, A. J., The Academy, Lockerbie	1945
Smail, Miss Isabel, 11 Erlington Avenue, Old Trafford, Manchester	1952
Smith, C. D., Laight, Bowling Green Road, Stranraer ...	1944
Southern, Norman, Merse End, Rockcliffe	1953
Southern, Mrs, Merse End, Rockcliffe	1953
Stewart, James, Rigghead, Collin	1953
Stone, J. C., The Cornish Arms, St. Tudy, nr. Bodmin, Cornwall	1958
Sutcliffe, Miss I. M., B.A., Borrowdale, Newton-Stewart ...	1958
Sydserff, Peter, The Grove, Dumfries	1950
Tallerman, Mrs, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries	1953
Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dal- beattie	1933
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk ...	1950
Tinning, J., Albany House, Dumfries	1958
Tivey, A. M., B.Sc., 22 Brunswick Square, Hove, Sussex ...	1957

Todrick, Dr A., Windrush, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1958
Truckell, A. E., F.S.A.Scot., 12 Summerville Avenue, Dumfries ...	1947
Truckell, Mrs A. E., 12 Summerville Avenue, Dumfries ...	1958
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Vasconcellos, Miss, Crichton Royal, Dumfries ...	1954
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrington, Dumfries	1926
Walker, Peter E., B.T.O., S.O.C., R.S.P.B., 10 Delhi Road, Eastriggs, Annan ...	1954
Walker, R., Cairnvale, Morrinton, by Dumfries ...	1957
Walls, Canon R. C., 393 Fulwood Road, Sheffield, 10 ...	1957
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries ...	1951
Walmsley, T. H., 16 St John's Road, Annan ...	1954
Watson, Miss Jessie, Woodland View, Glencaple ...	1956
Waugh, W., March House, Beattock ...	1924
White, J. R., The Hostel, Crichton Royal, Dumfries ...	1958
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries	1947
Wilson, Mrs J., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1957
Wolfe, A., 31 Fleet Street, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1959
Wylie, Miss J. M., St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries ...	1951
Younie, Mrs A., Well View, Moffat ...	1953
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1946

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Farquharson, Gordon, 16 Henry Street, Dumfries ...	1954
Gair, Alan, Delvine, Amisfield ...	1954
Keenan, Marie, Maryville, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1956
Lamont, John, Lochpark, Kirkpatrick-Durham ...	1958
MacCalman, C. D., Braeside, Islesteps ...	1957
Miller, Jean, Benbecula, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1956
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Ross, Colin, Clifton, Rosemount Street, Dumfries ...	1955
Scott, John, Glenkiln, 16 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ...	1955

SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library	1938
Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, per Lieut.-Col. J. Greeves, Linen Hall Library, Belfast	1954
Birmingham University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham	1953
Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, N.E., Cleveland, U.S.A. (per W. Heffner & Sons, Ltd., 3-4 Petty Cury, Cambridge)	1950
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (J. I. Moncrieff, M.A., Ed.B., Director of Education)	1944
Edinburgh Public Libraries, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh	1953
Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries (per Registrar)	1955
Glasgow University Library, per Jackson & Co. (Book- sellers), 73 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2	1947
H.M. Ordnance Survey (per Director of Establishment and Finance, Leatherhead Road, Chessington, Surrey)	1958
Institute of Archaeology, University of London, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1	1953
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas (John Laird, B.Sc., B.L., Director of Education)	1944
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow	1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd.), 77-79 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.1	1938
Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, Prinzen- strasse 1, Göttingen, Germany	1953
Scottish Record Office, per H.M. Stationery Office, Edin- burgh	1955
St. Andrews University Library	1950
Society of Writers to H.M. Signet, The Signet Library, Edinburgh	1953
The Librarian, King's College, Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1953
The Librarian, University Library, South Bridge, Edin- burgh (per Jas. Thin & Co., 55 South Bridge, Edin- burgh, 1)	1955
The Library, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, 3	1954
Trinity College Library, Lyndoch Place, Glasgow, C.3	1953
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer)	1943

List of Exchanges, 1959.

- Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.
The Library of the Queen's University.
Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.
- Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Terrace, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- Caermarthen: The Caermarthen Antiquary.
- Cambridge: University Library.
- Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
- Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.
- Carlisle Natural History Society.
- Durham: Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society, Prebends Gate.
- Edinburgh: Advocates' Library and National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1.
Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, 4.
Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.
- Essex: "The Essex Naturalist."
- Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College, George Street.
Archaeological Society, 2 Ailsa Drive, Langside, Glasgow, S.2.
Geological Society, 207 Bath Street.
Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.
- Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
- Hawick: The Hawick Archaeological Society, Wilton Lodge, Hawick.
- Isle of Man: Natural History and Antiquarian Society, c/o Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man.
- London: British Association for the Advancement of Science, Burlington House.
Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House.
British Museum, Bloomsbury Square.
British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.
- Lund, Sweden: The University of Lund.
- Oxford. Bodleian Library.
- Stockholm ö, Sweden: Biblioteket K. Vitterhetsakademien, Storgatan 41.

Toronto: The Royal Canadian Institute, 198 College Street, Toronto.

Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.

Ulster: Journal of Archæology.

Upsala, Sweden: Universitets Biblioteket, Upsala.

U.S.A.—

American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 79th Street, N.Y., 24.

Chapplehill, N.C.: Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society.

Cambridge, 38 Mass.: Harvard College of Comparative Zoology.

Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.

New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences.

Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Academy of Sciences.

Washington: Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Museum.

United States Bureau of Ethnology.

United States Department of Agriculture.

United States Geological Survey—Librarian: Room 1033, General Services Administration Building, Washington 25, D.C., U.S.A.

Yorkshire: Archæological Society, 10 Park Place, Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales, Aberystwith.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30th SEPTEMBER, 1958.

LIABILITIES.

Surplus as at 1st October, 1957	£53	7	4	
Add Surplus of Income over Expenditure for Year to 30th September, 1958 ...	175	17	2	
				£229 4 6
Capital (Reserve) Account—				
Balance as at 1st October, 1958	615	3	3	
				£844 7 9

ASSETS.

At Bank on Current Account	£128	3	0	
At Bank on Savings Account	100	0	0	
On Hand	1	1	6	
				£229 4 6
Investments—				
£230—3½% War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0	
Dumfries Savings Bank	346	13	3	
Due from Revenue Account	50	0	0	
				615 3 3
				£844 7 9

D. A. MacCALMAN,
Hon. Treasurer.

Dumfries, 24th April, 1959.

We have examined the foregoing Abstract and to the best of our knowledge and belief, and in accordance with the books and vouchers produced and information given, we certify this to be a true and accurate extract.

ALAN RAE, Auditor.
J. H. KENNEDY, Auditor.

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