DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

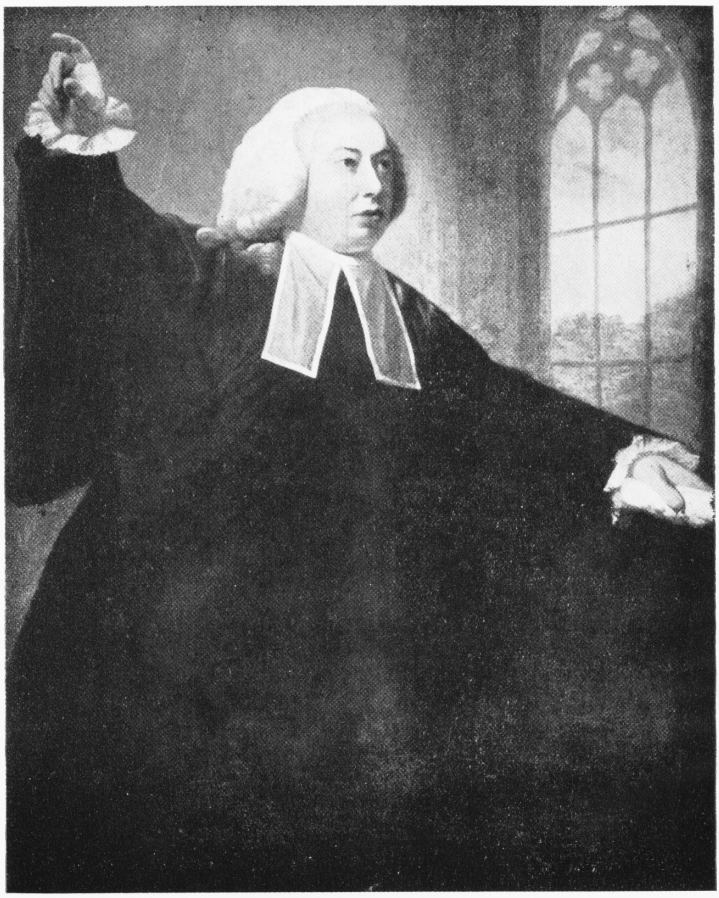
1919-20.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME VII.

EDITOR:

G. W. SHIRLEY.

DUMFRIES:
Published by the Council of the Society.
1921



ANDREW CROSBIE, Advocate.
From Portrait in the Parliament House, Edinburgh.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Increasing difficulty is being found in securing original contributions to the *Transactions*. It is not believed that less work is being done in the various archæological, antiquarian, and natural history branches included within the range of the Society's interests, but rather that the failure lies in not directing such work to our Society. Few contributions officially uninduced reach us. Archæological and other finds, too, are frequently lost to us from disregard or ignorance of the claims of the Society. Members might do much to readjust these features by actively interesting themselves in our work and directing attention to the facilities for publicity and preservation which the Society offers.

Much change is presently taking place in landed property, and the Society will receive gladly documents, charters, etc., which may be in danger of destruction or dissemination.

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

Acknowledgment is gratefully made to the Ancient Monuments (Scotland) Commission and to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for the loan of blocks to illustrate Mr Collingwood's paper.

Exchanges, Presentations, and Exhibits should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Ewart Public Library, Dumfries.

G. W. S.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

SESSION 1919-20.

24th October, 1919.

Annual Meeting.

Chairman—Mr G. M. STEWART, V.P.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Hon. Treasurer submitted his annual accounts, which were approved.

The recommendations of the Council anent the office-bearers and members of Council for the new session were approved, and the Council declared to be elected. (See page 3.)

The recommendation of the Council that Mr W. G. Collingwood be elected an Honorary Member was agreed to.

The Secretary read the following communication :—

Notice of a Canoe Found at Kirkmahoe.

By the Rev. WILLIAM M'DOWALL.

Mr Charles Brown and another man were recently engaged in deepening the burn known as the "Lake," which runs through the lower end of Kirkmahoe parish, and flows into the Nith at Milnhead, when they came upon the remains of a dug-out canoe, lying in about twelve inches of water

The part of the Lake where it was found, about 300 yards from the west corner of the Churchyard, never runs dry, though owing to the long continued drought the water was extremely low. The remains consist of one end of the canoe, split into two parts. The wood is greatly decayed. The longer side is five feet in length, the other about 15 inches less. The depth of the dug-out is 5 inches. The breadth, when the parts are put together, is about 18 inches. The end is rounded to a point, the inside hollowed part ending roughly square, and the bottom presents the natural round of the trunk. The wood is oak. There is every likelihood of the canoe being preserved in the Village Hall.

Presidential Address.

By HUGH S. GLADSTONE of Capenoch, F.R.S.E., F.Z.S., F.S.A. (Scot.).

[The President, observing that he appeared to have occupied the Presidency for a longer period than anyone except Sir William Jardine, although during the past four and a half years he might properly be described as a "sleeping partner" in the affairs of the Society, thanked the members for their continued confidence. In the course of his address he reflected upon various tendencies of the time—the prevalent unrest, the disregard of any other than immediate requirements, the spread of spiritualism and occultism, the difficulties of rapprochement between Allied and alien scientists. "There can be no doubt," he said, "that Science can only pursue her course by a mutual and international exchange of thought." He also dealt with the effects of the war on science, invention, and surgery, and with various by-products of the war, such as the philologically interesting medley of Hindustani, French, and English used by our soldiers, the deluge of war stamps, and the disturbance of bird and insect life.

Although as a citizen of the world he might regard the war as a means to an end, he could not as a well-wisher of our Society see any advantage accruing from the war. The

immediate effect of the huge war debt, the increased cost of living, the transference of land and property now rapidly proceeding, made him realise that there is danger that our Society might not receive that financial assistance without which it could not exist.

The President closed by expressing a debt of gratitude to those who had carried on the work of the Society during the war. Mr M. H. M'Kerrow, as Treasurer, must often have had anxious moments; Mr R. C. Reid had rendered yeoman service in maintaining the high standard of our *Transactions;* Mr G. M. Stewart had shown real interest in caring for the properties of the Society; and Mrs Shirley had, in the absence of her husband on active service, carried on his unobtrusive but all-important work. Mr Robert Wallace and Mr James Flett had shouldered the secretarial work admirably; and to all their friends and helpers he felt sure the members would wish him to extend their hearty thanks.]

Andrew Crosbie, Advocate, a Reputed Original of Paulus Pleydell in "Guy Mannering."

By Mr FRANK MILLER, Annan.

Andrew Crosbie, a member of a well-known Dumfries family, was the pride of the Scottish Bar in the seventh and eighth decades of the eighteenth century. Apart from his title to remembrance based on professional eminence, he has special claims to our notice—he was the only man who "stood up" to Samuel Johnson on the visit of *Ursa Major* to the Scottish capital in 1773; and according to Robert Chambers, writing nearly a hundred years ago, he was generally supposed by Scott's contemporaries in Edinburgh to have been the prototype of Mr Counsellor Pleydell in *Guy Mannering*. Unfortunately, the published notices of Crosbie are all meagre and more or less inaccurate. Being in possession of a little special information about him, and having been favoured with the loan of a few of his letters, I have written a short sketch of his life, which may have some interest for a Dumfries audience.

For the early genealogy of the Crosbie family I may refer you to the edition of Robert Edgar's "History of Dumfries," lately issued under the auspices of the Society.[1] Andrew Crosbie's grandfather, John Crosbie of Holm of Dalscairth,[2] in the Galloway parish of Troqueer, was Provost of Dumfries for a considerable time, his rule extending over three triennial periods. When, in 1715, the town was menaced by the Jacobites under Lord Kenmure, John Crosbie, though not at that time Provost, organised seven companies of volunteers, each consisting of sixty men, for the defence of the place.[3] The Advocate's father, Andrew Crosbie, who succeeded to the estate of Holm in 1721, was also Chief Magistrate of Dumfries for some time.[4] A few years after his final retirement from the office of Provost he had an exciting experience. On 21st December,[5] 1745, Prince Charles Edward, at the head of 4000 Highlanders, visited Dumfries, and laid on the town an exaction of £2000. About £800 of this amount being still unpaid when the Jacobite army hurriedly left Dumfries, Crosbie and Walter Riddell of Newhouse—father of Burns's friends, Robert and Walter—were taken to Glasgow as hostages, and detained till the balance of the contribution was paid.[6] Provost Andrew Crosbie died, after a long ill-

1 *Edgar's History of Dumfries*, 1746, ed. Reid, pp. 167-168.

2 From 1792 to 1794 Holm was the property of Walter Riddell, who renamed it Woodley Park in honour of his wife, the "Maria" of Burns's poetry. Goldielea, as the estate has long been called, now belongs to Mr J. H. Balfour Browne, K.C.

3 Ex-Provost Crosbie was Captain of the first company, while his son Andrew served as a lieutenant in the seventh company. See Rae's *History of the Late Rebellion*, Drumfries, 1718, pp. 182-183.

4 Provost John Crosbie and Provost Andrew Crosbie are both mentioned in "The Laird o' Coul's Ghost," a remarkable chapbook, first published at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1750.

5 Old style.

6 The douce Provost of Dumfries in *Redgauntlet* bears the name of Crosbie, though not of *Andrew* Crosbie; and he boasts of having suffered at the hands of rapacious Highlanders.

ness,[7] in 1762—not in 1769, as stated in the Pedigree Chart of Crosbie of Oulcottis and Holm appended to the interesting local history already mentioned.

The younger Andrew Crosbie's mother was Jean Grierson, described in the "Post-nuptiall Contract betwixt Provost Crosbie and his Ladie," dated 5th January, 1741, as "second lawfull daughter of the deceast John Grierson of Barjarg." This contract—for the loan of which document I have to thank Mr William Macmath, Edinburgh—was made necessary by the fact that "the said Jean Grierson is not secured in a Joynter nor the children of the Marriage provided, as was communed and agreed upon before and at the Marriage."[8] The Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, in his Memoir of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe,[9] makes Jean Grierson a daughter of James Grierson of Capenoch, the second husband of her mother—Catherine Sharpe—instead of a daughter of John Grierson of Barjarg, who appears to have been the first. The mistake perhaps arose from the taking of 1741, the date of Jean's post-nuptial contract, as the date of her marriage, which took place in 1733.

Through his mother the Advocate was related to Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam, whose eldest sister, Catherine, was Jean Grierson's mother, and to Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, the relentless persecutor of the Nithsdale and Galloway Covenanters, and the original of Scott's Sir Robert Redgauntlet. He was also connected with an eminent Scottish lawyer, for his mother's elder sister, Grizel, was the first wife of Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald, afterwards Lord Justice-Clerk, to whom she brought a substantial fortune. As Lord Tinwald was the uncle of Euphemia Erskine, James Boswell's mother, as well as the uncle-in-law of Crosbie, he formed a link between the latter and the biographer of Dr Johnson. The fact that Crosbie was related to Boswell seems to have escaped notice hitherto.

[7] See references to his malady in several of the letters by his son embraced in this paper.

[8] Post-nuptiall Contract betwixt Provost Crosbie and his Ladie, 1741.

[9] Prefixed to *Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*, ed. Allardyce, 1888.

The Provost had two sons, Andrew, the subject of this paper, and John, who died young. Born at Dumfries in 1736—not in 1735, as we read in the Rev. W. S. Crockett's fascinating book, *The Scott Originals*—Andrew received his early education at the Grammar School, under the charge of the Rev. Robert Trotter, a Latin scholar of more than local fame.[10] The boy must have been well grounded in Latin, for Trotter's more advanced pupils "were required, in their converse with each other, in and out of school, to speak exclusively in that tongue."[11] He had for a class-fellow John Aikin, a future Town Clerk of Dumfries, celebrated, together with Crosbie, in John Mayne's "Siller Gun":—

> "O' men belanging to the Law,
> John Aikin was the flow'r ow'r a':
> Like Andrew Crosbie, now awa',
> His auld class-fellow,
> Through kittle points he clearly saw,
> Though sometimes mellow!"[12]

At the close of his school education, Crosbie was sent to the University of Edinburgh. Among his fellow-students at College was John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, who says:—"He was all along considered by his professors and companions as a lad of genius, whose knowledge was much above his years and opportunities. His heavy look and clumsy figure, which seemed to bespeak a degree of clownishness, did not promise that compass and energy of thought for which he was distinguished in the after-part of life."[13]

10 Dr Robert Trotter, whose elder brother was the Rev. Alex. Trotter, minister of Edrom, was Rector of the Grammar School of Dumfries from 1724 to 1750. In 1732 he published *Grammaticæ Latinæ Compendium ad Puerorum captum summa ope concinnatum. In usum Scholæ Drumfriesiensis.* He died in 1757. *Vide East Galloway Sketches,* by Alexander Trotter, M.D., Castle-Douglas, 1901, p. 290 *et seq.*

11 M'Dowall's *History of Dumfries,* 1867, p. 596.

12 *The Siller Gun,* edit. 1836, p. 76.

13 *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, from the MSS. of John Ramsay, Esq. of Ochtertyre,* ed. Allardyce, 1888, Vol. I., p. 449.

Admitted to the Faculty of Advocates on 6th August, 1757, Andrew Crosbie soon gained a high reputation for legal acumen, eloquence, and keenness in debate, and in a few years he had an excellent practice, both civil and criminal. References to the brilliant young lawyer may be found in some of the witty Court of Session rhymes of a century and a half ago. In a piece attributed to Robert Cullen, afterwards Lord Cullen; Colin Maclaurin, afterwards Lord Dreghorn; and others, we read :—

"No proposition is so plain that Crosbie won't dispute it."

In some lines by the Hon. Henry Erskine on an Irishman named Henry M'Graugh, who was whipped through Edinburgh for "eating at Taverns and not Paying," Crosbie and Boswell are both named. The poet advises M'Graugh to learn from the bailie who sentenced him to the lash the true art of obtaining food and drink without payment :—

"Then each day you may guzzle at the city's expence,
Without Crosbie or Boswell to plead your defence.
If you can't my dear creature, to Ireland be gone,
For the Magistrates here hate all rogues but their own."[14]

An amusing story told by Robert Chambers may serve to illustrate Andrew Crosbie's cleverness, and perhaps also something less creditable. One evening he was engaged to plead a cause on the following day. After glancing at the papers entrusted to him, the Advocate went to a tavern, and soon he was in the condition described by the author of "The Siller Gun" as "mellow." When the case was called next morning he opened with his accustomed brilliancy, but in a few minutes the agent who had employed him pulled him by the gown and whispered into his ear :— "Mr Crosbie! Ye'll ruin a'! Ye're on the wrang side!" Not at all abashed, Crosbie continued his speech. "Such my Lords," he said, "are probably the weak and intemperate arguments of the defender, concerning which, as I have endeavoured to state them, you can entertain only

[14] *The Court of Session Garland* (ed. Maidment), 1839, p. 67.

one opinion, namely, that they are utterly false, groundless, and absurd." He then pulled to pieces all he had said before, and argued with such skill on the side of his client that he actually gained the case![15]

Early in his career Crosbie figured in connection with the famous Douglas Cause, being one of the counsel for those who tried to reduce Archibald Douglas Steuart's service as heir to the Duke of Douglas. Boswell supported Steuart with much keenness; and to this fact was due the coolness of his reception by the beautiful Duchess of Argyle when he visited Inverary Castle in Johnson's company. The two lawyers were also on opposite sides in an important Ayrshire case—that between Fullarton and Orangefield. In his *Commonplace Book,* a work printed by the Grampian Club in 1874, under the title *Boswelliana,* the vivacious Boswell thus refers to the obstinacy displayed by his friend in the case:—" He [Crosbie] persisted in thinking Fullarton in the right, when everyone else was clear against him. I said Crosbie's head was like a Christmas-box with a slit in the top of it. If once a thing has got into it, you cannot get it out again but by breaking the box. 'We must break your head, Crosbie,' said I."[16]

Nowhere was Crosbie's reputation as a lawyer greater than in his native district. Among his clients were such influential Dumfriesshire landowners as his grand-uncle, Matthew Sharpe of Hoddam, and Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, grandfather of Burns's friend, "Trusty Glenriddell so skill'd in old coins." To Sharpe's testamentary trustees he appears to have been standing counsel, or "lawyer" as he terms himself, with an honorarium of £50 per annum.[17] The Town Council of Dumfries sometimes applied to him

15 *Illustrations of the Author of Waverley,* second edition [1825], p. 46.

16 *Boswelliana,* p. 272. In the work quoted Boswell repeats several witty remarks of his own called forth by Crosbie, but does not give any of the Advocate's smart sayings.

17 His receipt to the Trustees, 23rd August, 1776.

for advice on "kittle points." On one occasion they consulted him regarding certain rights of the burgh hangman sanctioned only by immemorial custom. In particular, the hangman claimed and exercised the right to dip an iron ladle into every sack of meal or potatoes set down in the market-place, and to remove what was secured to a wallet of his own. The custom is thus alluded to in William Burney's *Dumfries,*

> "An' Roger Rinrape wi' his claat
> Demands a fadger."[18]

Crosbie was a successful pleader not only in the civil courts but also in the courts of the Church. In the ecclesiastical controversies of the time he took the popular side; and the Evangelical Party in the General Assembly valued highly the support of the "Head of the Scottish Bar." "Jupiter" Carlyle admits that he was a strong force on the side of the "High Flyers," but ungenerously asserts that, in constantly opposing Dr Robertson, the leader of the Moderate Party, he was "playing a game."[19] A pamphlet entitled *Thoughts of a Layman concerning Patronage and Presentations,* published anonymously, remains to attest Crosbie's skill in handling ecclesiastical questions.[20] In this work he points out the grievances which result from a rigorous use of the law of patronage, and argues that the Church Courts "retain, and must always retain, the power that we have seen vested in them of rejecting a presentee, even though qualified, and of conferring the ministerial office on another, though without the right of bestowing the stipend." The pamphlet called forth several replies, and long after the author's death due prominence was assigned to it in a stan-

[18] "Dumfries, a Poem," 1789, p. 6. This piece was reprinted in *Dumfries Monthly Magazine* for August, 1826. It would be interesting to learn whether "fadger" is really a recognised local variation of "fadge," which, according to Jamieson, signifies a "large flat loaf or bannock," or is just a word we owe to a rhymster's license.

[19] *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle,* 1860, pp. 432 and 446.

[20] Edinburgh, 1769, crown octavo, pp. iv., 52.

dard Church history—Buchanan's *The Ten Years' Conflict*—where, however, the title is not given with strict accuracy. The only copy of *Thoughts of a Layman* which I have seen is in the library of the New College, Edinburgh.

When at the height of his fame, Crosbie was introduced to Dr Johnson by Boswell, who calls him " my truly learned and philosophical friend," and, in the *Life of Johnson* and the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, gives a sufficient number of samples of his discourse to make us regret that more have not been preserved. Unlike Blair, Robertson, and other distinguished Edinburgh men, Crosbie was neither too timid nor too polite to contradict " the Doctor " in conversation. Johnson, however, did not resent his boldness; and in 1775, during a visit to London, Crosbie shared with Boswell and Colonel Stopford, brother of Lord Courtown, the honour of breakfasting with him. On this occasion, as Boswell records, he " pleased him [Dr Johnson] much by talking learnedly of alchemy, as to which Johnson was not a positive unbeliever, but rather delighted in considering what progress had actually been made in the transmutation of metals."[21] Some of the information which interested Johnson had probably been dearly bought, for, though Boswell does not mention the fact, the versatile barrister had made " chemical " experiments involving no little expense.[22]

For many years Crosbie resided in Allan's Close, and from his dwelling in that court he was in the habit of walking every morning to the Parliament House, dressed in his gown and wig. When continued prosperity seemed assured, he decided to remove to the New Town. Under the authority of two Acts of Parliament the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh had, in 1767, taken measures for the extension of the city on the north side. On the faith of an attractive plan of the projected New Town adopted and exhibited by the

21 *Life of Johnson*, Vol. II., p. 376 (Hill's edit.).

22 Robert Riddell of Glenriddell (1755-1794) says Crosbie was " an excellent practical Alchymist."—Riddell's M.S. *Collection of Scottish Antiquities*, Vol. VI., p. 43 (Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

Council, Crosbie acquired a feu on the eastern side of the Great East Square, or St. Andrew's Square, immediately to the north of what is now the site of the Royal Bank of Scotland. The Town Council afterwards made some unwelcome changes in the plan, and Crosbie and other aggrieved feuars sought redress at law. The case ultimately came before the House of Lords, and was decided against the Council.[23]

The building erected by Crosbie on the ground was costly and handsome. Knowing that the Laird's house at Holm, to which estate Crosbie had succeeded on the death of his father in 1762, was but a single storey high and had a thatched roof, Principal Robertson said to him one day at a dinner :— 'Mr Crosbie, were your town and country houses to meet, how they would stare at each other!"

The mansion in the New Town was little more than roofed in when Douglas, Heron & Company's Bank, Ayr, with which Crosbie was connected as a director, and as a shareholder to the extent of a thousand pounds, failed disastrously. The liability of the proprietary being unlimited, ruinous calls were made on the shareholders, many of whom were South Country landowners. To enable him to meet his obligations as a partner in the Bank—that "villainous bubble," as Burns called it—Crosbie sold the beautiful little estate near Dumfries which he had inherited; but notwithstanding the change in his circumstances, he clung to his fine house in the city.[24]

In some of the dingy old taverns that abounded in Edinburgh Andrew Crosbie was as familiar a figure as in the Parliament House. A favourite haunt of his for many years was Daniel Douglas's Crown Tavern, at the head of the Anchor Close, off High Street—the meeting-place of "The Crochallan Fencibles," and the

[23] See printed report of the case—*John Deas, Esquire, etc., Appellants; The Magistrates of Edinburgh, Respondents*, 1772.

[24] In later times Crosbie's house was occupied as Douglas's (afterwards Slaney's) Hotel, patronised by Royalty. It is now used as business offices, and is No. 35 of St. Andrew Square.

public-house destined to be celebrated by Burns in a stanza added to the old Border ditty, " Rattling, Roarin' Willie " :

> " As I cam' by Crochallan,
> I cannily keekit ben," etc.

Thomas Nicholson's Tavern, near the Cross, had also an attraction for Crosbie, being the house where a club called " The Poker " met.[25] Dr Alexander Carlyle, who was himself a member of this club, says :—" In a laughing humour, Andrew Crosbie was chosen Assassin, in case any officer of that sort should be needed; but David Hume was added as his Assessor, without whose assent nothing should be done, so that between *plus* and *minus* there was likely to be no bloodshed.[26] But Crosbie's chief convivial haunt was the Star and Garter, or " Clerihugh's," a tavern in Writer's Court, famous as the scene of the festivities of the Mirror Club. It was here that Colonel Mannering and Dandie Dinmont found Counsellor Pleydell " enthroned, as a monarch, in an elbow-chair, placed on the dining-table, his scratch wig on one side, his head crowned with a bottle-slider, his eye leering with an expression betwixt fun and the effects of wine, while his court around him resounded with such crambo scraps of verse as these :—

> " Where is Gerunto now, and what's become of him?
> Gerunto's drowned because he could not swim," etc., etc.[27]

Who was the original of the chief actor in this strange scene? In his *Journal* Scott refers to Adam Rolland (1734-1819) as the prototype of Paulus Pleydell " in the external circumstances, but not in frolic or fancy."[28] The novelist, it will be observed, merely affirms that Rolland was the prototype of Pleydell in some respects. Lord Cockburn,

25 For a list of the members of " The Poker," see Tytler's *Memoirs of Life and Writings of Henry Home of Kames*, 2nd ed., 1814, Vol. III., pp. 78-81.

26 *Autobiography*, p, 420.

27 *Guy Mannering*, chapter xxxvi.

28 Vol. II., p. 337.

who knew Scott's friend personally, says:—"In so far as kindness and pedantry went, he [Rolland] may be supposed to have had some resemblance to Pleydell; but nobody who knew, or indeed ever saw, Rolland can imagine his descending to High Jinks, especially in a tavern."[29] Rolland's professional practice, though extensive, was not varied in character. He practised "only as a consulting and a writing counsel—for he never spoke, nor honoured the public by doing anything in its presence."[30] We may presume that Pleydell had a good chamber practice, but with it was united a leading practice as a speaking counsel. His own words place this beyond doubt. Thus, he complains of being made the medium of conveying the "double-distilled lies" of his clients and their solicitors to the Bench, and says:—"If I were not on the boards of the outer-house precisely as the nine-hours bell rings, there would be a report that I had got an apoplexy."[31]

Scott's Edinburgh contemporaries seem to have thought that Pleydell was modelled not on Rolland but on Crosbie. In the first edition of *Illustrations of the Author of Waverley,* published in 1822, seven years after *Guy Mannering,* Robert Chambers says:—"He [Pleydell] is understood to have been the celebrated Mr Crossbie" (*sic*); in the second edition of the work (1825), he adds:—"It is . . . strenuously asserted by all who have any recollection of Mr Crosbie that Pleydell resembles *him in particular.*"[32] From these sentences we may conclude that Chambers did not originate the theory which identifies Pleydell with Crosbie—as Andrew Lang appears to have believed[33]—but accepted it as current and probable. In view of Sir Walter's statement, we must accept Rolland as *a* prototype of Pleydell. But it does not seem too much to say that probably Scott drew some very

[29] *Memorials of his Time,* 1856, p. 363.

[30] *Memorials of his Time,* p. 360.

[31] *Guy Mannering,* chapters xxxvii. and xxxix.

[32] See first edition, p. 24; second edition, p. 39.

[33] "Mr Chambers, however, finds the original in Mr Andrew Crosbie" (Introduction to Lang's Edition of *Guy Mannering*).

useful hints for the character from Andrew Crosbie, who was prominent in Edinburgh, as a speaking counsel and in other respects, at the period to which Pleydell is represented as belonging, and who was connected with the part of Scotland in which the principal scenes of the novel are laid. The points of resemblance between Crosbie and the lawyer consulted by Mannering are indeed not few. Like Paulus Pleydell, Andrew Crosbie was a " praiser of past times," he was on terms of intimacy with the " first literary characters of Scotland," who were nearly all to be found in Edinburgh,[34] and he had a large and well-selected library.[35] The epithets applied by Dominie Sampson to Pleydell—" erudite " and " fa-ce-ti-ous "—would have been equally appropriate had they been used by somebody in reference to Crosbie; and the following extract from Ramsay's notice of his early friend might be mistaken for a sentence from *Guy Mannering* describing the Counsellor's conversation:—" When [he was] a little warmed by liquor, nothing could be more joyous and interesting than his discourse, there being a happy mixture of wit and humour and information."[36]

As the creator of Paulus Pleydell was born in 1771, he may have come in contact with Andrew Crosbie when a boy. His own and his mother's friend, Dr Blacklock, the blind poet, knew Crosbie well, and having much faith in the literary judgment of the accomplished lawyer, sometimes handed to him works in manuscript for criticism.[37] When

[34] A curious lapse on the part of Scott may here be noted. Pleydell, "near the end of the American War," gave Mannering a note of introduction to David Hume. But Hume died in 1776, and the war lasted till 1783.

[35] See note 44. Like Pleydell, Crosbie held that "a lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic, a mere working mason."

[36] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., p. 454.

[37] An unpublished play by Blacklock, possibly *The Deserter*, went astray in Crosbie's hands, and could never be recovered by the author. See article by the present writer on "Dr Blacklock's Manuscripts," in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. X., pp. 371-2.

at the age of twenty-one, Walter Scott began his regular attendance at the Parliament House, Crosbie had been dead but seven years, and his fame had not yet grown dim. Scott must therefore have heard many anecdotes of the remarkable man who in 1822 was "understood" to have been the original of the most vividly interesting lawyer in Scottish fiction.

Crosbie's last days were sad. Reduced to comparative poverty by extravagance and injudicious speculation, he sought refuge in the bottle, which indeed had long possessed for him a dangerous fascination. John Ramsay says:—"It is doubtful whether the body affected the mind, or the mind the body; but for two or three of the last years of his (Crosbie's) life his faculties were visibly impaired, which lost him his practice, now the only thing he had to depend on."[38] According to Chambers, "From one depth he floundered down to another, every step in his conduct tending towards a climax of ruin. Infatuation and despair led him on—disrespect and degradation followed him."[39] But there is evidently gross exaggeration in the statements of both Ramsay and Chambers. Ramsay knew Crosbie intimately only in "the morn and noon of life," and he is wrong even as to the date of the Advocate's death, giving 1784, instead of 1785, as the year in which it occurred. Chambers, writing long after Crosbie's death, accepted sensational stories about him without due investigation. He makes the rather ludicrous remark that a great fondness for "dogs, horses, and cocks" which the lawyer manifested in his last days was a "strong symptom of decay." Why should not a man brought up in a country house take an interest in what we call the "lower creatures?" William Blake was as fond of "dogs, horses, and cocks" as Andrew Crosbie; yet he was not in his dotage when he wrote these inspired lines:—

[38] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., pp. 458-459.

[39] *Illustrations of the Author of Waverley*, second edition, p. 49.

"A dog starved at his master's gate
Predicts the ruin of the state;
A game-cock clipped and armed for fight
Doth the rising sun affright;
A horse misused upon the road
Calls to Heaven for human blood."[40]

The fine edge of Crosbie's intellect was indeed dulled; but he retained the respect of his professional brethren, and was believed to be still capable of doing good work. On 24th December, 1784—*just a few weeks before his death*—he was elected Vice-Dean of the Faculty. If he had been a mental and physical wreck the advocates would certainly not have elected him to so highly important an office. Nothing could be more cordial than the reference to him in the minutes recording his election, as the following extract—for which I am indebted to Mr William K. Dickson, advocate—will show:—"The Vice Dean [Ilay Campbell] represented that the attending his Duty in Parliament would by no means permit him, in absence of the Dean, to pay that necessary Attention to the Affairs of the Faculty which they required. Therefore he moved for Leave to resign. At the same time he said he would take the Liberty of suggesting Mr Crosbie as every way qualified for discharging the Duties of that Office. The Faculty having heard this Representation they accepted of the Vice Dean's Resignation and unanimously approved of and elected Mr Crosbie to be their Vice Dean."[41]

Cheered by this mark of appreciation, Crosbie now projected *A Treatise on the Office, Duty, and Powers of Judges and Magistrates in Scotland;* and Creech, the bookseller, announced in the advertising columns of an Edinburgh newspaper that the work would be printed by subscription, in a quarto volume, price one guinea.[42] Before the project could be carried out, however, the Vice-Dean was seized with his

[40] *Auguries of Innocence.*

[41] Minutes of the Anniversary Meeting of the Faculty of Advocates held on 24th December, 1784.

[42] *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, from Friday, February 11, to Tuesday, February 15, 1785, Vol. XLIII., p. 99, No. 2205

last illness. His death took place on 25th February, 1785, and next day his remains were deposited in Greyfriars Burying Ground.[43] He left a widow, Elizabeth Barker, who being in straitened circumstances was granted an annuity of £40 by the Faculty of Advocates, to whom in 1814 she presented a spirited painting of Crosbie, which still adorns the walls of the Parliament House. His valuable library was advertised for sale soon after his death.[44] In extant volumes from the collection may be seen the heraldic book-plate of "Andrew Crosbie, Esq., Advocate," with the motto *Resurgam.*

A Latin epitaph on Andrew Crosbie by George Stuart, long Professor of Humanity in Edinburgh University, was published in *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, in June, 1802.[45] After praising Crosbie as a most accomplished pleader, and asserting that his memory "lives and will live, in the annals of Scotland, and in the story of our Public Assemblies, sacred and civil," the writer of the epitaph says :—

"Si unquam vitæ incommoda senserit,
Si bona in voraginem inciderint,
Animus in culpa non erat—
Obiit multum desideratus
Anno. Ætat. 49. Die 25 mensis Febr.
1785."

"If at any time he experienced the losses of life,
If his fortunes fell on evil times,
His mind was not at fault.

[43] Extract from the unprinted records of Greyfriars Burying Ground. Mr M'Hattie, Superintendent of Parks, Edinburgh, informs me that the ground where Crosbie lies is situated two double paces (12 feet) north of Sir James Naesmith's tomb.

[44] "His [Crosbie's] Library, in which 'besides Classics, History, etc., there is a large collection of books in the Roman and Civil Law,' was advertised for sale by auction at 'Hay's Vendue Warehouse, back of the Guard, Edinburgh,' on Monday, the 4th of July, 1785" (*The Court of Session Garland*, ed. Maidment, 1839, p. 68).

[45] Vol. XIX., New Series, p. 406. As Stuart died in 1793, the epitaph must have been composed a good many years before it appeared in the magazine.

He died, much missed, on the 25th day
Of the month of February, 1785,
In the 49th year of his age."

In a note appended to this composition the editor of *The Edinburgh Magazine* states that the epitaph was " written at the request of the Earl of Buchan, to be placed with his [Crosbie's] Portrait in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh." Crosbie was one of the founders of the Society mentioned, and one of its first Fellows. The arrangement concerning the picture seems to have been changed; and we may conjecture that the portrait referred to in the *Magazine* is that which has now hung in the Parliament House for more than a hundred years.

I have here copies of a few unpublished letters by Andrew Crosbie, the originals of which were kindly lent me by Mr William Macmath, Edinburgh, the chief living authority on Scottish ballad manuscripts. The letters are all addressed to Crosbie's kinsman and client, Matthew Sharpe, who fought for the Stuarts in 1715,[46] succeeded to the estate of Hoddam on the death of his elder brother in 1740, and died at Hoddam Castle in 1769, aged 76. As they contain numerous references of some interest to persons and places in Dumfries and the neighbourhood, they required annotation; and I have endeavoured to supply the requisite notes.

LETTERS TO " MATHEW SHARPE OF HODDOM, ESQUIRE."

DEAR SIR,

I return you Thanks for the two Volumes of Rushworth's Collections. I know nowhere that the Proceedings of the Star Chamber are preserved so compleat; nor is there any Collection gives so compleat a detail of the proceedings of the General Assembly at Glasgow. I imagine the Third part was never published.[47]

[46] I am informed by Mr W. F. Graham of Mossknow—whose ancestor, Fergus Graham, was also mixed up in the Rising of 1715—that, according to tradition, Sharpe, after the battle of Preston, hid for some time in the pig-house at Mossknow!

[47] The eight volumes of John Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, published 1659-1701, comprise *four* Parts. Hallam has

The Head Court at Kirkcudbright was held with great quietness and little Trouble. A Committee of four was named by each of the Candidates. These Eight revised the Claims, and their Report was the Rule of Inrolling. All the claimants were inrolled, and the issue of the Election is esteemed as doubtfull as ever. This account comes to me at second hand from Barharrow,[48] who is the only Person I hear of is yet come down.

I am, dear sir,
Your most obedt. humble servt.,
ANDREW CROSBIE.

Dumfries, 15 October, 1760.

Edinburgh, 21 November, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

It could not be a greater Surprize to you to have a conjunct Bond for £600 presented to you in which you were to become a Co-obligant with people who had never spoke to you upon the Subject than it was to me to hear that such a Thing had happened. I had spoke to Mr Paterson[49] to enquire whether such a Sum as I wanted could be got to borrow in Dumfries; and he, finding it could not be had there, had desired Mr Orr to provide it at Edr., and at the same time to borrow a sum for himself, and Mr Orr mistaking the Commission had joined both Sums in one Bond.

I have inclosed the £21 I owed you. Excuse the haste I am in at present.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedt. humble servant,
A. CROSBIE.

Edinburgh, 26 November, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I was the other day informed of a debt due to my Father amounting, principal and Interest, to near £300—Secured by an Heretable Bond and Adjudication upon some Houses in Melrose and Lands in that Neighbourhood. The debtor was formerly Bankrupt; but, as he is now in better Circumstances, He wants to purge his subjects of these Incumbrances. You see a difficulty occurs in my father's present Situation in granting proper dis-

many references to the *Collections*. Carlyle speaks disrespectfully of "dusty old Rushworth."

48 The Rev. Samuel Brown, proprietor of the lands of Barharrow, in the Parish of Borgue, and minister of the parish of Kirkmabreck.

49 Probably Gilbert Paterson, merchant, Dumfries, who, like Crosbie, suffered in later days through the failure of the Ayr Bank. He died in 1774.

charges;[50] but altho' that may be removed if necessary, Yet I question how far it is advisable at present to uplift Sums heritably secured either to render them movable or to apply them to the Extinction of debts that must burden the Executory. A case like this I think it my duty to lay before you for your advice.

The Elections of the Smiths and Skinners at Michaelmas 1759 were appointed to be heard to-day. As it appeared to us probable that we would lose at least one of them, we made a Compromise with the other party that whatever should be the Consequence neither should insist for Expenses at calling the Cause. Lord Alemoor[51] moved a doubt that at such a distance from the Election complained of the Complainers had no proper Interest in the Cause. Some of the Lords demur'd about this on account of the Expences; but the Compromise being spoke out The Court unanimously, in respect that their sentence could produce no effect, refused to hear counsel, and dismiss'd the complaints. These two causes 'tis said have cost the D. of Q. £500.[52]

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.,

A. CROSBIE.

Edinburgh, 10 December, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I had your favour Last Week. The £300 I wrote to you about can be in no danger of perishing,[53] as it is heritably secured both by an heritable bond and infeftment and an Adjudication It may perhaps be worth while for me to go into that part of the Country in the Spring to enquire into the whole Circumstances of the affair, as I have some Suspicions of the Writer that was employed by my Father from two Letters I have received from the Debtors themselves and from the Report of people about the Parliament house. I have reason to believe too that my Father has other debts in that Country that are worth looking after, and I am not informed how they may be secured. It is not impossible that I may have the Pleasure of seeing you at Dumfries during the Christmas Vacation; but that is only if Circumstances will permit. I have this day signed a Bond of Relief to you for the £200 borrowed from L. Prestongrange.[54] I am much obliged to

[50] Crosbie's father was incapacitated by illness.

[51] Andrew Pringle of Alemoor, who became a Judge of the Court of Session, with the title of Lord Alemoor, or Alemore (as it is sometimes written), in 1759, and died in 1776.

[52] Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry (1698-1778).

[53] Being lost.

[54] William Grant, Lord Prestongrange (1701-1764). Grant, as

you for your further offer of Credit, which I hope I shall never be obliged to make use of on my own account, and, as matters appear to me at present, hardly on account of my Father.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. servant,

A. CROSBIE.

Edinburgh, 19 December, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

Yours which brought me the first Accounts of my Aunt's Death[55] astonished me much. From a Letter I have from Mr William Corrie,[56] I imagine 'twas the same Disease that has so long hung about my Father that has so suddenly put a Period to her Life.

If the weather is tollerable I will be with you in the Christmas Vacance, when I will talk with you about several affairs which it would take up too much Time to write to you at present, especially as I am a good deal hurried to-night.

I have had no Time to enquire about your Acorns, as I have been taken up these Three days in attending the Hearing in the Case of the Succession to the Estate of the Duke of Douglas.[57]

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servant,

A. CROSBIE.

Edinburgh, 6 February, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I had your Favour on Thursday. You may believe it proceeded not from any Indifference about my Father's State of Health that I did not oftener make enquiry after him by Letter. In fact I heard of him by everyone that came from Dumfries or the Neighbourhood, and I was satisfied that he continued much in the same way as I had left him. I am sorry, however, that any of my Friends should take it amiss that I do not write more frequently. Had I imagined that would have been the case, I would have been more punctual in my Correspondence.

Lord Advocate, conducted the prosecutions of those involved in the second Jacobite Rising, and in 1754 he took his seat on the Bench. His habitual sobriety was the wonder of the hard-drinking lawyers around him.

[55] Crosbie's aunt, Marion Crosbie, was the second wife of Joseph Corrie, first town clerk of Dumfries of the name, whom she survived, dying 13th December, 1761.

[56] William Corrie of Ridbank, stepson of Marion Crosbie or Corrie. He died in 1777.

[57] See page 16.

Elliot of Arkleton's vote was sustained yesterday by a Final Interlocutor, and to-day Petitions for the other Claimants who were rejected were moved, but the Court were of Opinion that on the same principles on which Arkleton's Vote was sustained these Petitions should be refused, vizt., that on the 6th of February the four Kalendar Months were elapsed *within* which the Law appoints Complaints against the Proceedings of the Freeholders to be presented to the Court.[58]

There is no Mast of any kind to be had this year, particularly there is not an acorn of any kind in any Shop in Town.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble Servant,

A. CROSBIE.

Edinburgh, 13 Febry., 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I had your Favour to-day. It gives me some uneasiness to hear of my Father's being attacked with a Difficulty of Breathing. It was a Symptom that he used sometimes to be seized with in the Beginning of his Disease, and it was generally attended with a Feverishness from which he was relieved by Bleeding only. I am afraid in his present State that Remedy must be but sparingly applied, and therefore that any Return of his feverish fits are (*sic*) the more to be feared.[59]

This place affords little new at present. I am sorry people with you are so averse to the Militia Scheme at present,[60] for I think it is the only Constitutional Ballance against the Immense power that is thrown into the hands of the Crown by the present State of the Standing Army, and which, should we ever be cursed with an Ambitious Prince, the Nation may severely feel the effects of. I am indeed of Opinion that the Present state of the Country does not afford a proper Opportunity for carrying a Militia Law into Execution; but I am afraid the present Juncture is the only proper One for procuring such a Law, and the Execution of it may be superceded till the situation of the Country is more favourable.

58 Either Adam Elliot, the date of whose death is unknown, or his son and successor, William Elliot (1735-1791), was laird of Arkleton, in the parish of Langholm, when the events referred to in the text occurred.

59 Andrew Crosbie, the elder, died 13th September, 1762.

60 "During a few succeeding years (from 1757 to 1763) the Militia Law and raising the Militia upon the principle of the ballot, —now for the first time introduced with Parliamentary sanction, to recruit the defensive forces of the kingdom,—engaged the serious attention of Parliament" (Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*, 1869, Vol. I., p. 39).

I am not sure whether I understand what you say about a Toll at Annan Bridge, for I am not certain whether there is a Toll exacted there at present or not.[61] I know there was one formerly, but I thought it had been taken off some years ago by a Process.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servant,

A. CROSBIE.

Edinburgh, 27 February, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

As the End of the Session now draws nigh, I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you in Dumfries. I would have wrote to-night for my horses, had it not been that I am uncertain but I may be detained some days in town after the Session about a Case under arbitration.

There is nothing stiring here at present. Our weather of Late has been remarkably cold, but in other Respects good The Sale of Crieve and Mossknow[62] is now hastening to a conclusion. I imagine Letters of Publication will be issued this Session.

I beg my Complements to all Friends, and am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.,

A. CROSBIE.

[Addressed, "at Dalry" (Edinburgh).]

DEAR SIR,

Inclosed I send you Doctor Cullen's Opinion on State of Your Health.[63] He will wait on you any Time to-Morrow to give what Explanations or Additions you may require, but about Mid-day would be most convenient for him. If you let me know either to-night or to-morrow morning what hour and at what place you

[61] Toll was still exacted at Annan Bridge, much to the annoyance of drovers.

[62] During most of the life of the Jacobite laird, Fergus Graham, the estate of Mossknow was in the hands of the Court, and was administered by one Blair of Annan. A sale being forced by the Sharpes, who were Graham's principal creditors, the estate was in 1762 brought into the market. It was purchased by Dr William Graham, Fergus Graham's nephew, who had a property in Jamaica; and thus it remained in the possession of the family. For these facts I am indebted to Mr Graham of Mossknow.

[63] William Cullen (1710-1790), one of the most celebrated of Scottish physicians, settled in Edinburgh early in 1756.

would chuse to see him, I will give him notice. As he may be otherways engaged, a few hours previous notice would be necessary.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.,

A. CROSBIE.

Sunday Evening.

DEAR SIR,

I returned last Night from my Northern Expedition. On Thursday I parted with Lord Barjarg,[64] who proposes being in this Country about the end of the Week. He desir'd I might write him whether you are at home, as he proposes to wait on you first, lest if he should call first at Dumfries you might perhaps have more visiters along with him than would be convenient. As I saw Mr Kirkpatrick[65] yesterday, who informed me you are at home, I have wrote to him of that to-day. On Saturday I propose to have the Pleasure of seeing you.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.,

A. CROSBIE.

Holm, 10 October, 1763.

21st November, 1919.

Chairman—Provost S. ARNOTT, V.P.

The Plants of Holms, Merselands, and River Valleys.

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

Although past geological history has decidedly affected the chemical and physical constitution of the soil of Nithsdale,* yet it is unnecessary to go farther back than the Glacial period, during which the whole valley was practically remodelled; the

64 Crosbie's cousin, James Erskine, a Lord of Session. He afterwards took the title of Alva in lieu of Barjarg.

65 Possibly Sharpe's relative, William Kirkpatrick of Alisland, grandfather of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

* The soil of the Nith valley differs from that of the Urr and Dee. The limestones of Thornhill involve a deep fjord of the sea; the coal measures mean a warm humid climate. There is also evidence of a past dry desert resembling the Sahara and of one period at least of great volcanic activity.

country upon which plants began to work was prepared and made ready for them during the Ice Ages.

Let us assume that the last or warm episode in the Ice Age coincided with the "100 foot beach" of geologists, then at that time the sea would extend as far up the valley as Barburgh Mill.

Now it seems to me logical to suppose that (following Penck's† theory of the Ice Ages) that after this period the sea retreated *beyond or further west than* its present limits. Then, after it may be many centuries, the sea again transgressed and reached the 50 to 55 foot beach, extending as far up the valley as Bellholm or Isle. After another retreat beyond its present boundary line, the sea again returned to the 20 to 30 foot beach. It is upon this beach that Lochar Moss is deposited.

Now at each of these periods of retreat, if the depression of the land was an oscillation (and it could hardly be otherwise), the line of fall of every river and stream would be altered. The gradients would be less steep, or perhaps in places disappear. As a result, and until the rivers had cut out new courses, there would be great accumulations of sand and mud choking up the narrower parts of the valley.

Or one might say that the conditions in the Solway to-day below Glencaple would have been in existence (1st) in the 100 foot beach period about Allanton to Ronaldston; (2nd) in the 50 foot stage about Lincluden*; (3rd) in the 30 foot beach period, in the valley of the Lochar. This last valley would be so dammed up by silt and sediment that the river would have no chance of clearing out a proper path to the sea.

The mudflats of the Solway below Glencaple are being steadily reclaimed by the action of plants. The shapes of these mudbanks are peculiarly interesting; they resemble in outline a whale's back or the upper part of a submarine or dirigible. That is, of course, natural enough, for they have been fashioned into "streamlines" by the ever-changing currents of ebb, flow, and river.

† Penck.

* At this stage, if Mr Wallace's explanation is correct, the Nith was cut out from the Lochar valley.[2]

The surface of these mudbanks both below and above water is slimy and viscous. That is probably due to the action of Blue Algæ (*Cyanophyceæ*), which can be detected in the surface layers to a depth of two inches or so.* With these algæ are probably Bacteria, such as Azotobacter,† which last has been detected in estuarine mud from many localities, and which is able to utilise the nitrogen of the atmosphere.

So that in this layer (at most two inches deep) the mud is already transformed into a rather rich organic soil; though it is, of course, saturated with salt.

Stage I. The first stage is the *fixation* of the banks, for, so long as they are continually moving, no development is possible.

Two plants, *Zostera* and *Ruppia,* are of great importance in this connection. I have no records from the Dumfriesshire side, but both are common enough near the Stewartry shore. Both are widely distributed; *Zostera marina* occurs in the Mediterranean, on both sides of the Atlantic, and even on the Chinese and Japanese coasts. *Z. marina* forms submerged meadows usually 10 to 20 feet below the level of low tide, though it is also found to depths of 33 feet.

The *rhizome* lies in the mud. It is not straight, but curved rather like a barbless salmon hook. There are short internodes (one to two cm. long); from each node, roots are given off, but these diverge at an angle alternately to right and left, so that the little stem (about 30 cm. long) is firmly fixed in the mud. Branches are given off, which are also of a creeping habit. When, as is usual, many grow together, this mode of growth is beautifully adapted to fix the bank so that only very violent currents can tear the mud away.

From these creeping stems are given off leaves often three feet long, and on the leaves and in between the stems many algæ, such as *Enteromorpha, Ceramium,* etc., are able to grow. There is also a rich fauna of worms (*Arenicola*) and other minute

* c.f. Warming.[3] The mucilaginous sheaths of these minute algæ hold the grains of mud together.

† Reinke.[6] He suggests that azotobacter is responsible for the nitrogen of marine plants and animals.

creatures. Fishes lay their spawn in the *Zostera* meadows and browse on its fruits, which have a fleshy outside layer.* All these plant and animal agencies change the character of the soil.

A bank so fixed is not likely to be swept away; silt and mud are deposited upon it, and gradually raise the level till it is above low tide and eventually above all but the highest tides.

Long before this, however, the second stage of colonisation has begun. The wet shining mudbanks exposed at low tides begin to show a faint green tint. This is due to the Saltwort (*Salicornia herbacea*).

Stage II. The fleshy, jointed stems of *Salicornia* are fragile and easily broken across; pieces of it float freely in water, and, even after some ten weeks, are able to take root in the mud and develop into new plants. Various algæ, especially *Enteromorpha* and other green algæ, grow along with it.

As soon as the surface of the bank becomes exposed at every low tide, changes must undoubtedly occur, both in the flora and fauna of the mud. Blue algæ persist, but new forms may establish themselves. (Warming specially alludes to *Microcoleus chthonoplastes*.) There are also bacteria (*Azotobacter*), but—and this is an important point—a rich variety of minute worms and other animalculæ inhabit the fertile and slimy ooze. At this stage also birds, especially geese, ducks, gulls, waders, and others, continually visit the banks, and their droppings must have an important effect.

Twice (once at Flanders and once at Kirkconnell Moss) I have suddenly come across a tuft of vigorous Cocksfoot and other ordinary meadow grasses, which were green and flourishing though growing in the dull desolation of the ordinary peat flora. These are the resting places of gulls, and it is probable that the lime and phosphate of their manure neutralise the humic acids of the peat.

So, even in the *Salicornia* stage, the rich organic mud of the forming flat is getting lime and phosphatic manure.

Stage III. In the next stage, when the *Salicornia* plants are fairly numerous, a grass, Poa (*Glyceria*) maritima, with creeping rooting rhizomes, begins to occupy the ground between

* c.f. Warming,[5] Kirchner, Low, and Schröter,[6] Scott Elliot.[7]

the Saltworts. After it has once got a roothold, its stems and leaves intercept anything floating in the water, and gradually raise the surface of the bank.

In consequence, the salt is to a certain extent washed out by rain, and only high tides cover it.

Stage IV. Next comes one of the most beautiful as well as most characteristic associations of the Solway. Our *Glyceria-Salicornia* bank is occupied by *Armeria maritima*, as well as by *Plantago maritima*, *Glaux*, *Cochlearia*, *Aster Tripolium*, *Triglochin*, and others. The process in the Solway agrees closely with that described by Warming[5] for Scandinavia, but the details are not exactly the same.* Through this rich vegetation, *Salicornia* is eventually suppressed. The dried *Armeria* plots are also grazed by cattle, and as the salt is more and more washed out of the soil, other plants begin to appear.

Stage V. On the Caerlaverock flats, *Juncus articulatus*, *Carex spp*, *Agrostis*, and even such plants as *White Clover* and *Crepis virens* may be found, along with all the companions of *Armeria*. Mosses also occur.

Stage VI. In still more advanced places, *Couch Grass*, *Cocksfoot*, *Holcus*, *Bromus*, *Potentilla anserina*, and *Lotus corniculatus* settle themselves. Mosses are sometimes found in this association.

These last two stages mean that the soil is almost or entirely free of salt. In fact, if the land has not been embanked and drained, it is sure to be regularly grazed by cattle and sheep, and has therefore become useful to man.

But there is a critical and dangerous point which may occur at about Stage V. The current of the main river can be trusted to keep a free outlet to the sea; but small fresh water streams, and especially the drainage seeping out along the shore line, is always apt to be choked by the mud, sand, and silt washed in by the tide. So there is a danger of flats, newly reclaimed by *Armeria* and its companions, being turned into a

* Observations are required. No list of Solway algæ is known to me nor are any observations of the marine fauna which, as will be seen, is of no little importance.

marsh or reed swamp. That is clearly what happened with Lochar Moss (see below).

Leaving, however, the estuarine marshes, let us examine the process of reclamation in fresh water, i.e., in lochs, river backwaters, and ponds.

There are many curious similarities. Thus the bottom of lochs down to great depths is inhabited by a rich algæ flora, especially *Cyanophyceæ*, as well as by *Bacteria* and sometimes other fungi.

Animal life is also abundant. Floating organisms (or plankton) regularly appear at their appropriate season in all lochs and pools. So the bottom is covered by a slimy ooze rich in organic material.

We have seen that *Zostera* fixes the banks by tying down the slopes below low water level. In fresh water this important function is carried out by *Potamogetons* of various kinds, which flourish at depths of 16-26 feet.

The method of growth of *Potamogeton rhizomes* is particularly well suited to its function. The *rhizome* grows horizontally for two internodes, and then turns upwards into a leafy and flowering stem. But branches are given off at the first or second node, which are also at first horizontal *rhizomes*, and then become vertical. These branches also give off quite similar *rhizomes*.

When, as is usual, numerous individuals are growing together, the result is that the surface (under water) is covered by a tangled interlacing network, rooted firmly in the mud.*

When the eternally swaying fronds of *Potamogeton, Myriophyllum, Hydrocharis,* etc., have thoroughly established themselves on the slopes of mud from 16-26 feet in depth, they are a covert for an extraordinary variety of plant and animal life; small molluscs, crustacea, fishes, etc., are abundant. Birds are often seen diving into it.

The yellow and white water lily form a regular band or zone between the *Potamogetons* and the next association, which is that of the Reeds. The *rhizomes* of the water lily are prostrate and firmly rooted.

* Kirchner, Lowe, and Schröter[6] have a good description.

The Reed association has frequently been described, but its real importance depends upon the work which it performs.

Whatever species is studied, the mode of action is usually the same. There is a horizontal *rhizome* often with branches, which either becomes itself an upright leafy stem or gives off special branches which do so. These vertical stems (I have counted 40 to 50 per square foot of area in *Scirpus Tabernaemontani*)[7] act as a sieve combing out of the flood water anything afloat. These vertical stems check perceptibly the flow of water, and so, bringing it to rest, floating silt is deposited. The annual crop of leaves and stems of the reeds themselves also fall into the water.

So there is a regular annual deposit, due to all these factors and the water shallows.

When it is not more than about six inches deep (the reeds grow from six inches to six or ten feet deep), *Carex* and other plants begin to establish themselves. Often one may trace a series from Reed to *Carex, Juncus, Iris*, and *Airacaespitosa*, but there are many variations.

Sometimes *Menyanthes* (the Bogbean) has a secondary system of horizontal and upright stems, usually in water three to six inches deep. Many of the most beautiful species of our local flora find their place between the Reeds and the Rushes (notably *Lysimachia vulgaris, Lythrum salicaria, Epilobium hirsutum*, and many others).

The net result is that what was once a sheet of water becomes a marshy meadow with soil potentially of very great value. It is rich in organic matter and humus; lime may occur in it (reeds are favourite haunts of birds), and it may be of great depth.*

These alluvials when drained and cultivated are of infinite importance to mankind.†

The following are perhaps the most important Reeds considered in connection with their special function:—

* The density of population is usually far greater on the alluvium of large rivers. One has only to think of the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, Ganges, Yangtsekiang, Thames, Mersey, and Clyde.

† Potonie.[8]

Equisetum limosum Sm. It is interesting to note that in the carboniferous period allies of this plant, *Calamariæ,* formed reed-thickets on a gigantic scale.

E. limosum occurs at Lochmaben, Maxwelltown Loch, Crae Lane, and many places in the Stewartry.

Cyperus papyrus and *Phragmites communis* are perhaps the most important constituents of the Sudd of the Nile. In the Sudd region up the White Nile one can see a "land of Egypt" in the process of manufacture. The rich and valuable land of lower Egypt has been formed by the same plants. Other species of *Cyperus* are important in Bengal (Clarke[8]).

Scirpus lacustris L. is in the first rank of land formers. It occurs in Arctic, temperate, and tropical regions everywhere, and is common in our district.

S. Tabernaemontani Gmel. (which is closely allied, if not a variety) is the usual land-former in tidal rivers and along the seashore.

Amongst the grasses, *Phragmites communis Trin,* is perhaps the most important of all. It is often 12 feet high in this country; and is said to grow to 33 feet. The *rhizomes* are occasionally 40 to 50 feet long. It is one of the oldest genera, for closely allied species were acquiring land in the chalk period and in the tertiary it flourished both in the Polar regions, in Europe, and in North America.*

In our own district, *Phalaris arundinacea, Poa fliutans,* and *Poa maritima* are all useful land-formers.

The Bulrushes which were flourishing in the tertiary are also useful and of extremely wide distribution. I do not think they are natives of our district.

Spartina Tounsendi (H. and T. Groves) seems to have been first noticed near Southampton in 1870. It is probably a hybrid between *S. stricta* and *S. alterniflora.* It is said to

* See *Hackel.*[10] The stems are used for roofing, thatch, plaster lathes, mouth-pieces of musical instruments, and weavers' spools. The young shoots are fed to horses and an infusion of the root is diuretic.

have already reclaimed 6000 to 8000 acres in the Solent.† I obtained at great trouble a few plants, and planted them in two places in the Solway, but as I left the district shortly afterwards I could not keep them under observation, and they have now vanished. I cannot tell whether they were eaten by cattle or washed away or succumbed to our climate. As on the coast of Brazil another species is actually planted to reclaim the foreshore, I hope another attempt will be made to naturalise this most useful plant.[12]

What actually determines the precise reed which we find in any particular place is at present unknown. The depth and velocity of the current are important factors. I doubt if the chemical nature of the soil has so great an influence as exposure to wind and to ice in winter and the physical character of the bottom.* I strongly recommend members of the Society to study this interesting question, which is really of great, even of national, importance.

But there is a critical point in the growth of a reed-bed which requires careful investigation.

Mosses are common in the marshy meadow stage. Moreover there is the same danger of water which seeps out of the valley slopes being unable to reach the river, especially if this is a sluggish, slow stream with little erosive power.

Sometimes a shrubby vegetation of willow, alder, and birch may grow at the junction of the valley flat and valley side. The willow is in such a place pernicious and dangerous for its roots entirely interrupt the free course of the water to the main stream. The result is stagnation and the development of humic acid.

Similarly *Myrica Gale* (Bog myrtle) may begin to grow in the marshy valley flat. This plant develops a quite extraordinary network of branching rhizomes with numerous roots and entirely chokes all drainage.

† Tansley.[11]

* The general succession Potamogeton, Reed, Water Lily, Iris, and Marsh is common everywhere in Europe and N. America. Reed[13] (Huron Valley), Bruyant[14] (France), and Magnin[15] (Jura), etc., etc.

In other cases owing to local conditions (embankments and no drains) the forming alluvium remains a wet marsh.

In any one of these three cases, the bog moss *Sphagnum* has a chance. If it once gets hold, then it is only a matter of time.

Once fully started in the formation of a peat moss, the growth of *Sphagnum* continues until one may get enormous areas, square miles in extent, saturated with humic acid and only able to support the regular peat flora.

This process seems common in other countries also. One finds at the base of Norwegian peat mosses, *Alisma plantago, Iris,* and below these *Scirpus lacustris* and *Phragmites.** In Germany *Sphagnum* appears to have finally developed in alluvia which had been successively occupied by Phragmites, alder-willow, birch-Scots fir, and cotton grass.† So also in Denmark, etc.[5]

In Lochar Moss the *Sphagnum* appears to have developed directly on the reeds as shown by Lewis' researches.[18]

But there comes a time when the *Sphagnum* has developed to such an extent that the surface can no longer be maintained in a saturated condition. There are places in Lochar Moss where, aided by drainage, the surface has so much improved that Scots firs are able to grow and even to produce colonies of seedlings around them. Very often birch seedlings are found with these infant Scotch firs.

This stage in the colonisation of Lochar Moss is of great interest.

When the ice age departed from our country it was left almost (though not quite) without any true soil. It is, I think, generally admitted that the land was successively occupied or over grown by the following series of associations. They followed after each other. Each of them prepared the way for its successor, which is invariably a more advanced type of association. These successive associations are: 1st, Algæ, Lichens, and Fungi; 2nd, mosses with Arctic and Alpine plants or Tundra; 3rd, dwarf birch and small shrubs; 4th, birch and Scotch fir; 5th, deciduous trees, amongst which the oak was dominant.

* Holmbae,[16] † Weber,[17]

Lochar Moss is therefore (at these places) at the beginning of the Scotch fir stage.*

In course of time as the Lochar manages to cut out a better course to the sea, a wood of Scotch firs would gradually cover the surface, and perhaps after many centuries an oak forest would dispossess the Scotch fir and occupy the whole of it.

In fact the peculiar local conditions in the moss have delayed the regular process of occupation outlined above.

Oak forest had undoubtedly covered the valley sides of the Nith long before the historic period.

Whether we consider the holms or the merselands, lochs, or estuaries there are two generalisations which I venture to point out. There is first an extraordinary specialisation within each association by which each plant or animal is thoroughly suited to its place. The more one studies *Zostera* or *Salicornia,* for instance, the more the detail in their structure is seen to be a necessity of their environment.

The second is the fact that this regular succession does undoubtedly exist. The work of the blue-green *algæ* and *nitrogen bacteria* makes the *Salicornia* stage possible. The lives of *Salicornia* and *Poa maritima* prepare the way for a still higher form, the lovely *Seapink* or *Armeria filat,* and so with them all.

The most advanced type, the final culmination, for which all this work seems preparatory, is the oak forest. In our latitude and climate, it is probable that an oak or deciduous forest would support more vegetable and animal life per acre than any other form of natural vegetation. Moreover, within that oak forest one finds blue-green and other algæ, nitrogen bacteria, mosses, and a whole crowd of dicotyledons and monocotyle-

* I have found the following rates of growth at various places on Lochar Moss: Near Racks, 7/10 inch per annum in girth at four feet; Lockerbie Road, ½ inch; Carnsalloch Moss, 4/10 inch; Rhododendron clump, 4/10 inch; near Stank, 7/10 inch; Bushman's Brae, 8/10 inch; Mossbank, 4/10 inch. Seedlings were observed near Stank. One tree, 48½ inches in girth, had 62 seedlings near it of all ages; and near another plantation were numerous seedlings, amongst the Ling and Bob Myrtle. Near the Rhododendrons round a parent tree 9 feet high were 42 seedlings of all sizes. Observations taken in 1910.

dons as well as animals of all degrees. Everyone of them is adapted to its particular circumstances, and has its own work in the general economy thereof.

The highest or final type contains and makes use of representatives of almost all the older, less evolved, and preparatory forms of life.

Man may step in and utilise the ground at almost any stage of this natural series of associations. Merselands and holms are embanked, drained, and sown out, after ploughing, in permanent pasture. The oak forest on the hills has disappeared, and its place is now occupied by arable and grazing land.

More life and of a higher type than that of the oak forest is, in consequence, supported per acre of surface, so that the entrance of *Homo sapiens* simply carries on a development which is still capable of greater improvement.

I think it is worth while to insist on the importance of these considerations. They form a wholesome corrective to a dogmatic materialism which was prevalent twenty years ago and is now trying to revive.

There is still a point of great practical importance, namely, the possibilities of Lochar Moss. Much of what was part of Lochar Moss is now fair to good arable land, and, as briefly mentioned above, nature in spite of rabbits and cattle is actually beginning to afforest it.

A central canal to carry the water off the Lochar could, in my opinion, be constructed from the vicinity of the Arrol-Johnston Works to the Solway. Branches from this canal could be made first to Dumfries, and secondly to the peat works at Racks station.

Such a canal could be easily constructed with modern dredgers, which are wonderfully efficient.

A system of main drains should be constructed leading to the above canal and its branches, which would be in connection with ordinary field drains. With the above system, the reclamation of Lochar Moss should present no difficulty. A large proportion should be fit for ordinary arable, and the remainder could be planted up with Scotch fir or Sitka spruce.

This scheme, if carried out economically and on a well

thought out system would be of enormous advantage to the neighbourhood of Dumfries. The health of the district would certainly be much improved for the climate of Dumfries surely suffers from this immense mass of spongy bog always saturated with water.

If Dumfries were in direct water communication even with only such places as Maryport and Whitehaven there would be good prospects of a profitable trade—coal, lime, manures, and feeding stuffs, against potatoes, timber, pit props, and other local products.

Moreover the material excavated in the formation of these canals and ditches has a value of its own. Peat could almost compete with coal at present prices. In Norway electricity is generated by burning peat and utilised in the formation of calcium nitrate. I have no knowledge of or connection with the Peat Works at Racks, but it is possible that ammonium sulphate or even petrol could be produced from peat.

The mud or "sleech" of the Solway was used as a fertiliser in the time of Dr Singer (1838), and should be a particularly good manure for light sandy soils such as occur in the district.

As to the value of the land reclaimed, whether for small holdings or pit prop timber, I think there can be no doubt. One has only to observe the crops produced to-day on what was before 1838 part of Lochar Moss.

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Chairman—Ex-Provost TURNER, V.P.

Was Burns at the Trial of Patrick Miller's Steamboat in 1788?

By Mr J. MACFARLAN of the Patent Office.

Down to the early sixties it was generally accepted that both Robert Burns and Henry Brougham (afterwards Lord Chancellor) were at the trial of Patrick Miller's steamboat on Dalswinton Loch on the 14th of October, 1788. The statement of W. C. Aitkin of Birmingham, a leading authority on scientific and industrial subjects, may be taken as typical.[1] In

[1] Mr A. Cameron Smyth writes:—A list seven years earlier than the above appears in *The Life of Henry Bell*, by Edward Morris (pub. 1844), pp. 66-7. The *witnesses* according to him were (1) Mrs Miller, (2) Rev. Archibald Lawson of Kirkmahoe (3) and his Lady, (4) Captain Grose, author of the *Antiquities*, (5) Robert Riddle, Esq. of Glenriddle, (6) Mr Archibald Lawson of Glasgow, (7 and 8) and two experienced operatives. The author must be Edward Morris, who in the *Glasgow Directory* for 1843-4 appears as clerk at the Canal ticket office, Eglinton Street (the terminus of the Glasgow Paisley Canal at Port Eglinton). Mr Archibald Lawson (6) is traceable in the *Glasgow Directories* from 1805-1848 at various addresses, finishing at 67 Regent Street. The minister of Kirkmahoe's fourth son is given (Scott's *Fasti*) as Archibald, merchant, Glasgow, born 31st October, 1766, and must be the same person. He would be a prominent citizen of Glasgow when Morris wrote. The mention of Grose at first raised doubt, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* assigns the summer of 1789 as the date of his advent to Scotland, but Mr J. C. Ewing called my attention to the fact that of Grose's plates of Scottish antiquities four are dated as

the supplementary volume (p. 1474) to the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851* he writes :—" It is peculiar to remark that on this trial three individuals who subsequently became distinguished in the literary and scientific history of their age, in addition to the proprietor, Mr Miller, were on board to hail the new era in the art of navigation. These were Henry, now Lord Brougham [1778-1868], Robert Burns [1759-1796] the Poet, and Alexander Nasmyth [1758-1840] the artist, the last of which, it may be stated, served to perpetuate the event by his introduction of the boat into his painting of the landscape."

Apart from this statement, Aitkin's volume is one of the most valuable of contributions to the history of Steam Navigation. It contains letters by William Symington and James Taylor which bring out clearly the inner history of the invention and define pretty exactly the respective rôles played by the three men, practically assigning to them the very niches in the temple of Fame they have since occupied.

In 1862 Dr Samuel Smiles published the first edition of *The Lives of Boulton and Watt,* and gives the list substantially in Aitkin's words. In 1865, in the second edition, the name of Lord Brougham is omitted. Aitkin had questioned Lord Brougham and received this reply :—

" Cannes, France, May 6, 1865.

" Lord Brougham presents his compliments to Mr Aitken and assures him that the account of his being with Burns at Dalswinton is a mere fable : he was nine or ten years old in 1788, and never was at Dalswinton till ten or twelve years after that time, and after the death of Burns."

This completely disposed of one of the three picturesque figures in the popular tradition. The matter went to sleep again until 1875, when Mr Seth Wait, who appears to have acted for James Taylor's widow in drawing the pension the

early as November, 1788, the month following the experiment. So Grose must certainly have visited Scotland prior to October, 1788. As regards the other witnesses, there is no difficulty. Mrs Lawson (Mary, daughter of Rev. James Guthrie of Kirkpatrick-Irongray) was living in 1801 at Rosebank, Glasgow (Hogg's *Wightman*, p. 92-3).

Government had allowed her, wrote a letter to *Notes and Queries* (4th Ser., xi., p. 169), in which he re-stated the claims for Taylor as sole inventor. The late Sir (then Mr) James Allanson Picton immediately defended Symington's claim and found fault with Mr Wait because he "omitted to note the presence of the poet Burns at the trial trip in 1788" (*op. cit.*, p. 241). Dr Crawford Tait Ramage, the Rector of Wallace Hall Academy, then asked Mr Picton where he found the proof of his statement (*op. cit.*, 5th Ser., v., p. 247), and quoted Lord Brougham's letter.[2] All Picton could respond was:—"We cannot suppose the incident has been invented. Mr Smiles is usually so accurate in the information he furnishes that there can be no doubt he has had sufficient ground for the statement." In his letter (*op. cit.*, p. 275) he points out that in the original account of the trial trip drawn up by James Taylor and sent by him to the *Scots Magazine* and the *Dumfries Journal* no mention is made of Burns having been present; and that the poet had never in prose or verse referred to the incident. The controversy between Ramage and Picton was ultimately closed by a letter from Mr Bennet Woodcroft (1803-1879), then Head of the Patent Office, and the recipient of much confidential and inside information on such affairs. "If," wrote Woodcroft, "Dr Ramage will place himself in communication with James Nasmyth, Esq., of Hammerfield, Penshurst, Kent, he will be enabled to gain some authentic information respecting Miller's steamboat on Dalswinton Loch and the persons present at the trial."

I cannot find any evidence that Dr Ramage acted on Mr Woodcroft's suggestion, but the information he might have obtained from the great engineer and inventor, son of Alexander Nasmyth, Miller's artist friend, is to be found in *The*

[2] Dr Ramage may have been led to question the matter by an article in *Chambers's Journal*, 11th March, 1854, entitled "Genealogy of an Invention," which merely says:—"The Laird and the preceptor [Taylor] and the clever-looking artisan [Symington] and some few others go on board this strange craft." The article was by Robert Chambers, a well-known partisan of Miller's and Taylor's claims, and one who had first-hand knowledge of all the details of the event.

Autobiography of James Nasmyth (1883), the earlier chapters of which may be regarded as a memorial to the memory of his father. The second chapter contains the best account extant of the steamboat's preliminary run, and it is well known that James Nasmyth's statements on the steamboat throughout are founded on his father's recollections. Alexander Nasmyth, his father, began his artistic career as an apprentice of Mr Crichton, then the leading coachbuilder in Edinburgh. His work was decorating the panels of high-class carriages and painting on their coats-of-arms and crests. He was only sixteen when the style and finish of his work attracted the attention of Allan Ramsay, then Court Painter to George III., who took the lad to London, where he studied the principle and practice of his art under the most favourable circumstances. Returning to Edinburgh in 1778, Nasmyth set himself up as a portrait painter, and among his early patrons was Patrick Miller. He painted Miller's portrait, and a warm personal friendship sprang up between the two men. Nasmyth proved himself to be a man after the inventive banker's own heart, as he was possessed of high mechanical abilities. He invented the "Bow and String" type of bridge, still to be seen at our railway stations, and about 1819 designed a screw propeller of six blades with a crank on the screw shaft for driving the propeller direct, which his son claims as the first indication of this method of propulsion. In his association with Miller he acted as does a modern chief draughtsman, reducing Miller's ideas to definite form and preparing drawings for him. Miller repaid him generously, lending him £500 without security, and sending him to Italy to complete his art studies in Florence and Rome. Nasmyth returned in 1784, and after Miller settled at Dalswinton a year later he was a frequent visitor there. Early in June, 1787, Miller introduced him to Burns, and when the poet was in Edinburgh he painted the portrait which is now in the Royal Scottish Academy. "The love of nature," says James Nasmyth, "was common to both. They also warmly sympathised in their political views. When Burns visited Edinburgh my father frequently met him." In considering James Nasmyth's statement which follows, due weight must

be given to the intimacy between Burns and his father, whose recollections the son doubtless embodied in his narrative. "The persons on board," he wrote, "consisted of Patrick Miller, William Symington, Sir William Monteith, Robert Burns (the poet, then a tenant of Mr Miller's), William Taylor, and Alexander Nasmyth. There were also three of Mr Miller's servants, who acted as assistants. On the edge of the lake was a young gentleman, then on a visit to Dalswinton. He was no less a person than Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Chancellor of England. The assemblage of so many remarkable men was well worthy of the occasion."

The above embodies two errors. "William" is probably only a slip of the pen for James Taylor, but the Brougham error is repeated eighteen years after Brougham himself had scotched it. It is unfortunate that a writer who should have proved a reliable witness thus breaks down under cross-examination.

I now draw your attention to evidence from a quarter not hitherto touched. Amongst the many treasures in the Patent Office Library none is more remarkable than the Woodcroft Collection, so named from the eminent official who formed it. In the Miller "shell" there is a document of value entitled "Memoranda collected on my visit to Dalswinton in August, 1854, from old people respecting first Steamboat." It was written by Mr Bennet Woodcroft, then Superintendent of Patent Specifications, and one of the foremost authorities on the origin and progress of steam navigation. It was he who, at considerable trouble and expense, rescued Symington's first engine, used at Dalswinton, from the metal knackers in Edinburgh, and presented it to the Science Museum at South Kensington, where it may still be seen beside the engine of Henry Bell's "Comet." In addition to his book, *The Origin and Progress of Steam Navigation,* Woodcroft intended to write the life of Patrick Miller, and with that intention had visited Dalswinton. He there interviewed several aged servants and residenters, who as lads had seen the famous trial in 1788, and made notes of their statements. One only of the old men interviewed refers to Burns. "Hugh Paisley, 76. An old soldier, formerly a shepherd. Recollects about the

boat, and a great number of people were there to see it. Burns was there with Sandy Crombie. Banks of lake were literally covered—and deck also. Talked about 'tin boats.'" This last is a reference to the tinned iron sheathing of the boat, which the people probably thought quite as wonderful as the prime mover itself.

Both Hugh Paisley and Sandy Crombie can be identified. Mr A. Cameron Smith writes:—"Hugh Paisley was undoubtedly the 'warlike offspring of auld minstrel Hugh,' to the 'compound melody' of whose fiddle Kirkmahoe feet would make the 'barn-roofs wag,'[3] and who conveyed a letter of Allan Cunningham's from London to Scotland in 1817." Old Hugh, "bodice maker and fiddler," died in 1809 at Quarrelwood, aged 84.[4] Another Hugh in Kirkmahoe was born before 1690.[5] Hugh, the warlike offspring of Old Hugh, fought under Moore and at Waterloo, and was apparently returning from the wars in 1817. The old pensioner died in Dalswinton Village in 1865, aged 89,[4] and old folk remember that his uniform was the green of the Rifle Brigade (95th Regiment) which was formed in 1800.[6] There is a picturesque

[3] Hogg's *Life of Allan Cunningham*, pp. 170-1.

[4] Kirkmahoe Register of Deaths.

[5] The Paisleys were fairly numerous in Kirkmahoe at one time, and may perhaps all have originated from one "deceased John Thomesone callit of Paisley of Quhetlandis (perhaps Whiteleys, once a small croft near Quarrelwood)," mentioned in a Testament of 1657.

[6] Hugh Paisley is the subject of the following verse by William Cæsar, the Amisfield "Poet":—

> But, George, I'm coming up or lang,
> To ha'e a gill, a crack or sang;
> Sae ye maun tell Hugh Paisley then
> At Keneth Bell's he must atten'
> To pass an hour or twa wi' me,
> And talk of feats o' chivalry.
> O man! he is a clever cheil,
> His enemies aft ha'e fun' his steel;
> He fought wi' Moore, Wellington, an' Graeme;
> Yon medal speaks his deeds of fame;
> At Portugal, and Buenos-Ayres,—
> His glorious entrance into Paris;

story extant of how Hugh, not long after his enlistment, and when the regiment was at Dumfries, enlisted six youths, ostensibly for sport, but when he appeared with sergeant, fife and drum, to " lift " them he was driven off with a flail by the farmer in Smithtoun (Quarrelwood) and the indignant inhabitants.

" Sandy " Crombie, who Paisley says was with Burns, is buried in St. Michael's Churchyard, Dumfries. He was son of Alexander Crombie,[7] the first of this family of builders and architects to settle in the town, and who died 27th December, 1785, aged 79. The second Alexander died 31st

On Monte Video's hostile ground,
An' wi' Lord Nelson up the Sound:—
An' Waterloo's wide crimson'd shore
Witnessed his bravery 'gainst the foe,—
Frenchmen, they fell in every blow
In combat fierce, for Briton's glore,
He fought the hostile nations o'er;—
A prisoner oft in dungeon drear;
Yet hear him tell his tales o' weir,
His converse, sire, might grace a lord,
His noble heart with goodness stor'd;
Brave is his look, yea, quick his eye,
His arms entwined with victory;
'Twill serve some nobler Bard nor me
To sing his deeds of chivalry,
Them I rin o'er in humble strain,
Nor write with ostentation vain;
For while life's weary storm I weather,
I'll hail Hugh Paisley as a brither.
His service, sir, for twenty years,
Fresh in my memory appears;
His various battles yont the main,
In France, in Portugal an' Spain,
Shall lie entomb'd within my heart
Till death takes off the better part.

—*Poems in the Scottish Dialect*; Dumfries, 1817, pp. 101-3.—Editor.

[7] There was a family of the name in Kirkmahoe who were masons. George Crombie, who died in 1760, had married Mary Wilson, who died in the same year. Their known children were John Crombie, who was church elder from 1765, died October 14, 1799, aged 58; James, his brother, died in 1799, aged 40; and Margaret, their sister, died in 1819, aged 65, all apparently unmarried.

May, 1828, aged 71, and it is known that, among other mansion-houses, he built Dalswinton. His epitaph states that he was " Honest, upright, true, and possessed of rare talents and skill, he enjoyed the love and respect of family, friends, and society."[8]

Woodcroft's investigation provides us, therefore, with independent evidence favouring the presence of the poet at the trial.

I must now refer to the well-known drawing of the Loch and its landscape, with the steamer in the foreground, which is supposed to have been made by Alexander Nasmyth at, or soon after, the trial trip. This drawing first appeared in Woodcroft's *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Steam Navigation* 1848,[9] and bears the inscription, " Drawn by J. C. Bourne. C. F. Cheffins, Lithog." Dubiety about the artist's name led me to some investigations, which have disclosed a perplexing difficulty as to its authenticity. Nasmyth in his *Autobiography,* reproducing the drawing, says :—" I append a copy of a sketch made by my father of this, the first actual steamboat, with her remarkable crew,"[10] and, in a footnote to the popular edition,[11] adds :—" The original drawing of the steamer was done by my father and lent to Mr Woodcroft, who inserted it in his *Origin and Progress of Steam Navigation.* He omitted my father's name and inserted only that of the lithographer, although it is a document of almost national importance in the history of Steam Navigation."

What is regarded as this original drawing is now in the Science Museum, South Kensington, but, excepting in its landscape features, it differs completely from the drawing in Woodcroft. It is a general panoramic view of the Nith valley, some 30 inches by 12, and is dated 1788. The boat appears through the branches of the trees, but it is only thumbnail size, and apart from the outline of a paddle box, few would take it for a steamboat. The South Kensington draw-

[8] M'Dowall's *Memorials of St. Michael's,* p. 262-3.

[9] pp. 36-7.

[10] p. 29.

[11] p. 30.

ing is evidently not the original of Woodcroft's lithograph. Of the latter Woodcroft says of Alexander Nasmyth that he "was present at some experiments with Mr Miller's steamboat, and from whose drawings I am enabled to give the view of Dalswinton Lake, with the double pleasure boat upon it (through the kindness of Mr Scott Russell)." This clearly indicates that Woodcroft was indebted to the great naval architect and builder of the "Great Eastern" for drawings by Nasmyth. Scott Russell in his *On the Nature, Properties, and Applications of Steam and on Steam Navigation,* 1841, given an exhaustive study of the rival claims of Miller, Symington, and Taylor, after, he says, "having gone over the papers, published and unpublished, of the parties advocating the claims of each candidate," and he probably had acquired the sketch in question from Patrick Miller, junior. It remained among Russell's papers until 1848, when it disappeared, and has not been seen since. In 1848 Woodcroft's book was published, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the drawing was lent to Woodcroft and was reproduced, or used in a fresh, perhaps composite, drawing by J. C. Bourne. Woodcroft writes of "drawings" by Alexander Nasmyth, which lends support to the latter theory, although it seems difficult to believe that a leading and exact authority like Woodcroft would publish a picture that was fictitious and "faked," without more clearly stating so than he did. J. C. Bourne, whose name the lithograph bears, was well qualified for the task, as his *Drawings of the London and Birmingham Railway,* 1839, and *History and Description of the Great Western Railway,* 1846, fully prove. This investigation seems to impugn still further the reliability of James Nasmyth.

Remembering the doubtful origin of the drawing, it is little use trying to identify the individuals who appear upon the boat. They are nine in number, three with tall hats, who with two seated figures and one engaged in steering occupy the stern of the little vessel. Three, including one seated, occupy the bow, apparently the servants of Nasmyth's account.

The foregoing investigation has unfortunately not resulted in definite conclusions. It has revealed a surprising amount of carelessness, of too trustful repetition, of failure to

verify statements. The facts must have been available by many down to the middle of last century, but although concerned with so important a man as Burns and so important an event as the launching of the first steamboat, no satisfactory statement can now be made. It may be of service to have gathered these contributions together pending the production of indubitable evidence.

The First Steamboat: Was Robert Burns on Board at its Trial?

By Mr J. C. EWING, Librarian, Baillie's Institution, Glasgow.

The question of the presence of Robert Burns on board Patrick Miller's steamboat on the occasion of her initial run on Dalswinton Loch in October, 1788, has been as keenly discussed as that other question of his presence at the contest for the Dane's Whistle, which took place in the dining-room of Friars' Carse exactly a year later (16th October, 1789), and with a result even more unsatisfactory. The trial run of the nameless vessel at Dalswinton is recorded in *The Scots Magazine* of November, 1788, as having taken place on the 14th October preceding, and as having " afforded great pleasure to the spectators." One Hugh Paisley, sixty-six years after the event, and when he himself was nearly fourscore years old, stated that " a great number of people were there to see it; the banks of lake were literally covered, and deck also." But none of that " great number of people " appears at the time to have recorded the fact that he was there, either on the banks of the lake or on the deck of the vessel. A considerable number of letters to Miller from William Symington and from James Taylor—both of whom were associated with him in the building of the vessel and the making of its engine—is printed in a supplementary volume to the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, and a portion of the other side of the correspondence—letters from Miller to Taylor—is printed in a *Narrative of the Suggestions and Experiments of the late Mr James Taylor of Cumnock in company with the late Mr Miller of Dalswinton for the Application*

of Steam to Navigation (Edinburgh, 1834) but none of these letters mentions the name of any person as having been on board the vessel at any time. Miller himself, two or three of his servants, and Symington and Taylor would almost certainly be present, but who were the others that, with the principals, " literally covered " the deck, which is said to have been " large enough to carry ten or twelve persons "? Two lists of people said to have been on board the steamboat on its trial run have been printed, and it is perplexing that no name other than those of Miller and Symington appears on both lists.

The earlier of the two known lists is printed in an *Historical Account of the Steam Engine and its Application in Propelling Vessels,* compiled by James Cleland, Superintendent of Public Works in Glasgow, and published in 1825. " The experiment " of 1788, he says, " was made in presence of Mr Miller's lady, the Rev. Archibald Lawson, Kirkmahoe, and his lady; Captain Grose, author of the *Antiquities of England;* Mr Robert Riddell of Glenriddel; Mr Archibald Lawson, then residing at Kirkmahoe, in the neighbourhood of Dalswinton, now in Glasgow, and lately one of the Magistrates of that city; and two operatives." Cleland doubtless obtained his information from Archibald Lawson (born 1766), youngest son of the minister of Kirkmahoe, a prominent merchant in Glasgow, and a person with whom, from his official position, he would certainly come in contact. That list was reprinted in Edward Morris's *Life of Henry Bell* (1844), to which Mr A. Cameron Smith has drawn attention. It may be noted that Cleland's list does not include the name of Robert Burns; the list, however—though not on that account, is suspect, but it is impossible now to prove or to disprove its accuracy. Robert Riddell may well have been present, considering the proximity of Friars' Carse to Dalswinton. Francis Grose also may have been a witness of the experiment, for many of the plates in his *Antiquities of Scotland* are noted (in the text) as having been drawn in 1787 or in 1788, though it is suggestive that 18 of the 20 plates which illustrate the Dumfriesshire portion of that work were " drawn A.D. 1789."

The later of the two known lists was published—for the

first time, so far as known—late in 1852 or early in 1853, in a supplementary volume to the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851*. In some notes on " Class V., Machines for direct use, etc.," appears the statement that " on this trial (of Miller's steamboat) three individuals who subsequently became distinguished in the literary and scientific history of their age . . . were on board to hail the new era in the art of navigation. These were Henry, now Lord, Brougham; Robert Burns, the poet; and Alexander Nasmyth, the artist." From the fact that in these notes he prints " a portion of the correspondence between Miller and his fellow-labourers in the work of steam navigation which, up to the present moment, have not been published," it is clear that W. C. Aitken—who contributed the notes—was on terms of intimacy with a member or members of the Miller family, who had granted him access to the elder Miller's papers.[1] It may safely be inferred, therefore, that his statement regarding the presence of certain persons on board Miller's vessel on 14th October, 1788,[2] came to him from one of the Miller family. Here, almost certainly, we have the *fons et origo* of the claim that has occasioned so much controversy. Cleland's list probably did not circulate far beyond the city in which he was a considerable figure; Aitken's, from its appearance in so important a work as the *Official Catalogue* of the Exhibition of 1851, became well known and was accepted as authoritative. The sceptic, however, appeared in due course, and the accuracy of the list was questioned. Burns was in his grave; Alexander Nasmyth also was dead. But Brougham was alive, and to him in 1865 appeal was made for information on the question of his presence at Dalswinton in the autumn of 1788. The appeal was made by Aitken—not unlikely he himself then had his doubts: Brougham characterised the story, so far as it concerned himself, as " a mere fable "—he never was at Dalswinton till after the death of Burns in 1796.

[1] Aitken also supplied to Robert Chambers (for his 1851-2 edition of the *Life and Works of Robert Burns*) copies of two letters from the Poet to the Laird of Dalswinton.

[2] Aitken gives the date as 20th October, 1788.

So far as it concerned Robert Burns and Alexander Nasmyth, however, the story continued current. It ran through many books: Samuel Smiles,[3] Rev. P. Hately Waddell,[4] and Sir James A. Picton[5] accepted it—the last-named despite Dr Craufurd Tait Ramage's protest.[6] And, as usual, it lost nothing in its course; indeed, it gained in volume. James Nasmyth, youngest son of the artist, repeated it in his *Autobiography* (1883), added the name of "Sir William Monteith" as of the party on board, and garnished it by stating that "on the edge of the lake was a young gentleman then on a visit to Dalswinton; he was no less a person than Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Chancellor of England." That romantic story has been reprinted without alteration in subsequent editions of the famous engineer's reminiscences, despite Brougham's denial.

James Nasmyth's *Autobiography* appears to have impressed many people, and its statements on the subject of that eventful day in the autumn of 1788 have been readily accepted. Mr J. Macfarlan, in the notes which he submitted to the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, said—in reference to Dr Ramage's scepticism—that "had he (Dr Ramage) lived to read James Nasmyth's *Autobiography,* one can have little doubt that his fairness of mind would have been satisfied by the proof therein led. As the pro-Shakespeareans say to the Baconites in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, 'You cannot get over Ben Jonson.' So here, if there are any sceptics of the Ramage sort left, they cannot get over Alexander Nasmyth and his son's *Autobiography.*" The scholarly Dr Ramage is dead, but fortunately "sceptics of the Ramage sort" are always with us.

According to James Nasmyth, there were on board the steamboat at Dalswinton Loch on 14th October, 1788, no fewer than nine persons. In addition to Miller himself, three of his servants, and Symington and Taylor, there were pre-

[3] *Lives of Boulton and Watt* (1865), pp. 442-3.

[4] *Life and Works of Robert Burns,* edited by P. Hately Waddell (1867); prose works. p. 200.

[5-6] *Notes and Queries,* Ser. IV., v. 11, 1873, pp. 240-1; Ser. V., v. 5, 1876, pp. 247, 275.

sent " Sir William Monteith," Robert Burns, and Alexander Nasmyth, with young Brougham a unit of the crowd which " literally covered " the banks of the lake. No evidence is submitted by Nasmyth in support of his statement.

Brougham, we know on the best possible authority, was not near Dalswinton on the occasion.

" Sir William Monteith " is one of the many errors in the *Autobiography*. Doubtless the person referred to was Mr (afterwards Sir) Charles G. Stuart Monteith of Closeburn (born 1769); but Monteith himself wrote[7] in 1834 that " I am old enough to have seen the first boat driven by steam in this or any other country, . . the small boat, launched upon a lake in the vicinity of the house at Dalswinton, which I saw, to the best of my recollection, in the year 1788." Had Monteith been on board the vessel, would he not have said so?

Alexander Nasmyth himself wrote[8] in 1834 that " Mr Taylor and myself were present " at the trials of some vessels on the Firth of Forth about the year 1787, but it is suggestive that all he has to say of the experiment of 14th October, 1788, is that it " succeeded to Mr Miller's wish, and he often had the pleasure of sailing with parties of his friends, by the power of this small steam-engine." The elder Nasmyth does not even say he was at Dalswinton at the time. Knowing him as we do,[9] is it not certain that, had he been on board Miller's vessel on 14th October, 1788, he would have said so as distinctly as he records his presence at the trials in 1787?

To come to Robert Burns. There is no reference to Miller's steamboat in his published verse or prose. He went to Ellisland in June, 1788, but—the farmhouse in course of erection by Alexander Crombie not being ready for occupation —" I am eight or ten days at Mauchline and this place [Ellisland] alternately." It is not at all certain that he was in

7 " Testimony by C. G. Stuart Monteath, Esq. of Closeburn " (dated " Closeburn Hall, 5th April, 1834 "), in the *Narrative*.

8 Letter to Miss Taylor (dated " Edinburgh, 47 York Place, 7th April, 1834 ") in the *Narrative*.

9 Did not a certain Poet wish that Nasmyth " would pay less respect to the mere carcase of greatness?"—(Letter from Robert Burns to John Beugo, dated " Ellisland, 9th September, 1788.")

Dumfriesshire on the day of the trial run of Miller's vessel. The chronology of his life is blank between 1st and 23rd October, 1788 : he arrived at Mauchline from Ellisland on 27th September, and " I will be here a fortnight;" on 1st October he wrote from Mauchline to Peter Hill at Edinburgh; we do not again hear of him until 23rd October, when (from Sanquhar) he wrote Mrs Dunlop " a letter *en passant* . . on my wonted journey " to Ellisland. But almost certainly he was at Ellisland at some date between 3rd and 23rd October, for by the latter date he had received a letter (written 1/3rd October) which Mrs Dunlop had addressed to him at Ellisland; and as certainly he was at Mauchline at some date between 9th and 23rd October, for by the latter date he had received a letter (dated 9th October) which the same lady had addressed to him at Mossgiel. An *alibi* cannot therefore be proved, but something not less important can be placed beyond doubt.

To the student of Burns one of the most unsatisfactory books in the extensive literature which concerns the Poet is the *Autobiography* of James Nasmyth. Scarcely one of its references to the relationship of Burns and Alexander Nasmyth can be accepted—each indeed carries its own refutation. One or two may be accepted as typical :—

(1) " During the first year of my father's married life . . he painted the well-known portrait of Robert Burns, the poet. Burns had been introduced to him by Mr Miller at Dalswinton."—*Autobiography*, 1883 ed., p. 33.

The statement that Burns was introduced to Nasmyth—not Nasmyth to Burns—may be passed over. We know that the Poet visited Dalswinton for the first time about 5th June, 1787. But the second edition of Burns's *Poems* had been published six weeks before that date, and that edition contained an engraved portrait of the author from a painting by Alexander Nasmyth.

(2) " His portrait was rapidly painted; it was done in the course of a few hours. . . It is now in the Royal Scottish Academy at Edinburgh." — *Autobiography*, 1883 ed., p. 33.

It is impossible that the Nasmyth bust-portrait of Burns could have been painted " in a few hours;" besides, writing to George Thomson in May, 1795, Burns says that he sat to Nasmyth " half-a-dozen times." And, of course, the portrait is not, and never was, in the R.S.A.; it was bequeathed by William Nicol Burns to the National Gallery of Scotland, where it now is.

> (3) " A visit which the two (Burns and Nasmyth) paid to Roslin Castle is worthy of commemoration," and the autobiographer proceeds to tell of an alleged party which had been spending a " nicht wi' Burns " at a tavern in the High Street of Edinburgh, and which broke up at three o'clock of the morning of 13th June, 1787.—*Autobiography*, 1883 ed., p. 34.

Now, there is in existence a holograph (dated 23rd August, 1829) of Alexander Nasmyth himself, telling of the well-known visit to Roslin, and effectually disposing of the " nicht wi' Burns " story :—" One morning in the early part of the summer of 1787 we met at my house in Edinburgh at five o'clock; the morning was fine, and we walked out to that Romantic Spot." And, alas! the published correspondence of our Poet proves that on 13th June, 1787, he was not in Edinburgh at all, but more than 40 miles away—at Mauchline.

Something further might be said of certain other writings of James Nasmyth, but enough has been said to show how much—or how little—value is to be attached to his *Autobiography*. He was a famous engineer, but he is not a trustworthy chronicler of any relationship that existed between his father and Robert Burns.

There remains Hugh Paisley's statement, made in 1854 to Bennet Woodcroft, that " Burns was there (at the initial run of Miller's steamboat) with Sandy Crombie." That statement appears to bear truth; and Crombie we know as the builder of Burns's farmhouse at Ellisland, as well as the faithless acceptor of a bill for £20.[10] " There," said Hugh

[10] *Life and Works of Robert Burns*; edited by Robert Chambers, revised by William Wallace (4 vols., 1896), v. iii., pp. 229-230.

Paisley, and " with Sandy Crombie." Mr Macfarlan accepts both statements. He thus places himself on the horns of a dilemma, for by that acceptance he claims that Crombie also was on board Miller's vessel: a claim which no previous writer on the subject has ever made—not even James Nasmyth, by whom Mr Macfarlan swears. Quite clearly, " there " means " at the side of the lake "—no more.

" The probability is great that Burns would be attracted by such a novel sight so close to his new home of Ellisland." Thus wrote Dr Craufurd Tait Ramage in 1876. That is a reasonable view. It is possible—it is probable—but it is uncertain, despite James Nasmyth's *Autobiography* and Hugh Paisley's statement to Woodcroft, that the Poet was present on the occasion: he may have been on the banks of the lake; no evidence has been submitted in support of the claim that he was on board the vessel.

ADDENDUM.

The same post which brought me the first " proof " of these notes brought also a copy of a *Catalogue of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents* which are to be offered at auction by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, at London, on 11th-12th April, 1921. The *Catalogue* includes three letters written by Burns; one of them, an unpublished letter addressed to his wife at Mauchline, is dated " Ellisland, Tuesday, 14th October, 1788 "—the day of the trial run of Patrick Miller's steamboat.

I find also that Burns presided at a meeting of St. James's Lodge at Tarbolton on 21st of the same month.

A List of the Coleoptera of the Solway District.

PART III.

By BERTRAM M'GOWAN.

The two previous parts of this list were published in the *Transactions* in 1912 and 1914 respectively, and at the request of our Secretary I am continuing the list in the hope that it may be of use to collectors of this order of insects, as showing what species have already been found in the district. I am not keeping strictly to catalogue order, and I am meantime passing over some groups of beetles which have not been worked up in this district to the same extent as some of the later groups. The county records for Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown, as hitherto, are indicated by the initial letters, D., K., and W.

DIVISION LAMELLICORNIA.

This is a very important group of beetles, which derives its name from the structure of the antennæ, which terminate in a distinct club composed of from three to seven lamellæ or plates. The largest beetles in the world, the Goliath beetles of West Africa, belong to this group, in which also are included the Scarabæi or sacred beetles of the Egyptians. The order is not very well represented in this country, though several of the most familiar beetles are included, such as the Stag beetle (not, however, found in Scotland), the Dor beetle, that large round black beetle often seen flying in the summer evenings making a noise like a humble-bee, and the Cockchafer, which both in its larval and perfect states is a most destructive insect. Most of the species are of great use as scavengers, as they feed upon the droppings of herbivorous animals, and they thus play an important part in the economy of nature

FAMILY SCARABÆIDÆ.

Onthophagus nuchicornis, L., extremely local, but taken by Robinson-Douglas not uncommonly at Craigrow and Parkbrae, Orchardton, and at Almorness. K.

Aphodius erraticus, L., not common, but widely distributed. D.K.W.

A. fossor, L., fairly common and general. D.K.W.

A. fœtens, F., recorded by Lennon as very rare at Moffat. D.

A. fimetarius, L., very abundant everywhere. D.K.W.

A. scybalarius, F., a single specimen only taken by Gordon on Glenluce Golf Course. W.

A. ater, De G., abundant everywhere. D.K.W.

A. constans, Duft., taken by Robinson-Douglas on Dungarry Hill. K.

A. rufescens, F., a fairly common species in the district. D.K.W.

A. lapponum, Gyll., common in sheep's dung on the hills round Moffat and on Dungarry and Screel. D.K.

A. putridus, Stm., common in sheep droppings, Quhellart Moor. W.

A. porcus, F., recorded by Sharp as rare in the district.

A. pusillus, Hbst., common in the district. D.K.W.

A. merdarius, F., common and general. D.K.W.

A. inquinatus, F., two specimens taken by me at different times in flood refuse from river Nith. D.

A. punctato-sulcatus, Stm., abundant. D.K.W.

A. prodromus, Brahm., also a common species. D.K.W.

A. contaminatus, Hbst., also common. D.K.W.

A. luridus, F., another common species. D.K.W.

A. rufipes, L., very common. D.K.W.

A. depressus, Kug., not uncommon. D.K.

Ægialia sabuleti, Pk., local, occurs on sandy banks of Nith, Cairn, and Æ. D.K.

Æ. arenaria, F., sometimes very common at Southerness and other places on the coast. D.K.W.

Geotrupes typhœus, L., one specimen (a male) taken by

Robinson-Douglas at Stakeford, near Orchardton, in May, 1890, confirming a previous Scottish record; also taken by Gordon commonly on the moors at Corsemalzie. K.W.

G. stercorarius, L., common and general. D.K.W.

G. sylvaticus, Pz., not uncommon and general. D.K.W.

G. vernalis, L., White Dyke and Corsemalzie moors. W.

Trox scaber, L., very rare, Jardine Hall (Murray's catalogue). D.

Hoplia philanthus, Füssl., very rare; one specimen taken by Lennon by sweeping herbage in Dalskairth Woods. K.

Serica brunnea, L., not uncommon and general; a crepuscular insect often coming to light. D.K.W.

Melolontha vulgaris, F., the cockchafer, common some seasons. D.K.W.

Phyllopertha horticola, L., scarce as a rule, but common some years. D.K.W.

Cetonia aurata, L., very rare, single specimens recorded from Orchardton about year 1870, and from Southwick garden. Murray in his catalogue records it from Wigtownshire. K.W.

DIVISION STERNOXI.

Most of the species belonging to this group have the antennæ serrate, or notched on the edge like the teeth of a saw. As is the case with the Lamellicornia, the species are exceedingly numerous in tropical climates, but in our country comparatively few are to be found. The order includes the well-known click beetles, which have the power when placed on their backs of springing to a considerable height in the air. In their larval state these beetles are known as wire-worms, and are very destructive to crops of all kinds.

FAMILY BUPRESTIDÆ.

Agrilus viridis, L., about three dozen specimens found on one occasion in the willows at Raehills in the month of June by the Rev. Mr Little (Murray's catalogue). D.

Trachys troglodytes, Gyll., very rare, two specimens only taken many years ago, one by Dr Sharp and one by Lennon, in flood refuse from the Cairn, near Irongray Kirk. D.

FAMILY EUCNEMIDÆ.

Throscus dermestoides, L., locally common by sweeping bracken at Dalskairth; also found by Lennon near Gasstown. D.K.

FAMILY ELATERIDÆ.

Lacon murinus, L., a scarce species, but not uncommon some seasons at Orchardton, and taken by Lennon near Dumfries. D.K.

Cryptohypnus maritimus, Curt., local and scarce, under small stones, banks of Nith, Cairn, and Æ. D.K.

C. riparius, F., abundant everywhere. D.K.W.

C. sabulicola, Boh., rare in flood refuse from Nith at Kelton and Thornhill, and from Cairn. D.

C. dermestoides, Hbst., common under shingle, banks of Nith, Cairn, Æ, etc. D.K.W.

C. dermestoides v. 4-guttatus, Lap., occurs commonly with the type. D.K.

Elater elongatulus, F., a single specimen recorded by Lennon from an old birch tree in Dalskairth Wood. The Rev. Mr Little recorded *E. lythropterus* from Raehills in decayed birch trees during winter; very rare. Dr Sharp thought possibly these were referable to *E. pomorum*, but they may have been *E. elongatulus*. K.

E. balteatus, L., common on birch. D.K.W.

E. nigrinus, Pk., one specimen taken by Robinson-Douglas in Dalskairth Wood. K.

Melanotus rufipes, Hbst., occasional in rotten wood. D.K.

Athous niger, L., not common, but apparently widely distributed. D.K.W.

A. hæmorroidalis, F., abundant. D.K.W.

A. vittatus, F., common on hazels and birch. D.K.W.

Limonius cylindricus, Pk., rather a scarce species, but occasionally taken by sweeping grass in damp places. D.

Sericosomus brunneus, L., local and scarce, Dalskairth and Screel; recorded from Raehills by Rev. Mr Little, and by Gordon as common on the moors near Corsemalzie. D.K.W.

Adrastus limbatus, F., scarce, but apparently widely distributed. D.K.W.

Agriotes sputator, L., a scarce species taken occasionally by Lennon. D.K.

A. obscurus, L., abundant. D.K.W.

A. lineatus, L., common on banks of rivers and on the coast. D.K.W.

A. pallidulus, Ill., not uncommon and generally distributed. D.K.W.

Dolopius marginatus, L., very common and general. D.K.W.

Corymbites pectinicornis, L., rare, single specimen beaten from oak by Lennon at Moffat, and one taken by myself at Gore Moss. D.

C. cupreus, F., common on bracken. D.K.W.

C. cupreus v. æruginosus, F., occurs not uncommonly with the type.

C. tessellatus, F., taken by Lennon rarely at Dalskairth and by Gordon at Corsemalzie. K.W.

C. quercus, Gyll., common and general. D.K.W.

C. quercus v. ochropterus, Steph., occurs with the type.

C. holosericeus, F., not uncommon on Scots fir in Screel Wood and Barr Wood, Orchardton. K.

C. æneus, L., three specimens taken on Rascarrel shore off Silene maritima by Robinson-Douglas; also found not uncommonly by Gordon at Garheugh, Craignarget, and Luce Bay. K.W.

Campylus linearis, L., not uncommon and widely distributed. D.K.W.

30th January, 1920.

Chairman—Mr G. MACLEOD STEWART, V.P.

Food Production in Fresh Waters.

By WILSON H. ARMISTEAD.

The production of food and the development of sources of supply are matters of greater importance than they have ever been before. Particularly is this the case with regard to home supplies. Any substantial increase in the yield of food in Great Britain is a matter of national importance. This is clearly understood regarding the land. It is also, I think, important that we should very carefully consider whether we cannot make our inland waters more productive.

This question has been approached from several points of view, but in this paper I wish to present an aspect of the case that has not, I believe, been definitely set out before.

It may be said that our inland waters, owing to their comparatively unimportant area are not worth a great deal of trouble. Take what you can get out of them and be thankful has been the point of view, and the method adopted. The result is. as might be expected, that there is not very much to be got out of them now.

Yet I venture to think, and hope to clearly show, that our opportunities are great and that we make a serious blunder in neglecting them. Our fresh waters once yielded important food supplies, and no really sound reason has been advanced against the possibility of this happy state of affairs occurring again. I am familiar with all the rather vague explanations, but I am not aware of any fundamental obstacle to a return to the old productiveness. Possibly pollution is the greatest difficulty, but it is not insuperable.

Before dealing with ways and means, I should like to point out that we have in our rivers a fish that is not dependent on the food to be found there, but on the limitless supplies of the ocean, so that one great difficulty is removed. I refer, of course, to the salmon.

Consider the other creatures which form the daily food of

man that we produce on the land. They all make a very serious demand on us. It is necessary, for instance, before we can have beef that we produce or buy the food that nourishes for a considerable period the cattle on which our home-grown meat supplies depend. This, as every farmer knows, is no small matter. In fact, a large part of the labour of agriculture is consumed in the production of material for feeding the creatures which we eat.

The salmon comes to us well fed, well grown, palatable, and nourishing. It remains a considerable time in the fresh water without taking anything from it or making any demand on the river beyond reasonably pure water. When it is necessary for it to resume its feeding habits, it returns to the sea, and in due course comes back to us still better grown.

An acre of land will hold only as many creatures as can find a sufficiency of food on it. This number varies according to what the land produces. But an acre of river will hold a great many salmon without being taxed in any way to support them, beyond the need for water. This point is important, because when we consider how many salmon a river ought to hold, or could hold, we have not to consider food supplies. Area and, to some extent, depth and the flow of water are the factors which would help us to form an opinion of this kind. Twenty or thirty cows might be quite comfortable on an acre of land, but perhaps only one would find sufficient food over a period of several weeks. So that with cows we cannot consider the matter in the same way as with salmon. The latter may be very numerous in quite a small area of water, because they do not need to feed.

I have brought out this point prominently, because before we begin to see the importance of our fresh waters as food-producing areas, we must realise that, given the fish, i.e., salmon, we have the accommodation for them.

Why, then, are not our rivers and the lochs through which rivers flow crowded with salmon at the proper seasons of the year? It does not help our food supply to be told that once there were tons of fish where now there are scarcely pounds. What does interest us is the working out of some scheme which will restore those conditions.

There is an old saying that "you can't have your cake and eat it," but the wise housewife says, "Eat the cakes and I will make some more."

The sheep farmer says, if I kill my sheep I shall have no lambs, but if I look after my stock I shall soon have far more sheep to kill or sell than I now possess.

The fishery owner says, let us catch all the salmon we can, and then blame someone or something when they are all done.

Bear in mind that we do not have to feed these fish excepting when they are very small. All that is asked of us is reasonably secure spawning grounds (which nature provides, but which we can improve) and reasonably pure water, in which fry can live and find the comparatively small amount of food they require till they are ready to go to sea. As a matter of fact, somewhere about 50 per cent. of this food is provided from the land and in the air, in the form of insects. It is not much to ask, but it is not given.

By land drainage we have increased the fury of the spates and lessened the security of the spawning beds. By all sorts of preventable pollution we have fouled the water, so that at every stage—as ova, as fry, as mature salmon—there is loss. In some cases, in some rivers, very heavy loss indeed, and in all a certain amount. Even the poisonous sheep dip is allowed to pollute the small mountain streams which are the first nurseries of the fry; and this is a thing that with a little thought and care could be so easily avoided. When it is not considered worth while preventing simple, but very fatal, pollutions of this kind, we can hardly be surprised that those more difficult to deal with are left to do their disastrous work in the rivers.

We protect predatory birds and entirely fail to deal with those which admittedly should not be protected. In the first category is the Blackheaded Gull, which has increased so enormously during the last twenty years that it has been forced to become a fish eater (and even a grain eater) owing to scarcity of food. I know from actual observation, that one Blackheaded Gull is capable of taking at least a hundred year-old salmon fry in a week. There are thousands of these birds doing increasing injury every year.

The Cormorant is an instance of an unprotected bird that is left to do its worst to our fisheries, with scarcely a protest. Every one of these birds, constantly frequenting a salmon river, may be reckoned as a depredator to the extent of from £20 to £100 a year. Certainly not less than the lower figure. If an agriculturist finds it necessary to kill out weeds and foxes, etc., that interfere with crops and stock, how comes it that those who expect a crop of salmon from their waters, look on complacently while cormorants eat them by the thousand during the first two years of their life?

There was a time when the farmers could not keep sheep because of wolves. So the wolves were killed. The cormorant is his counterpart in this other sphere, where stocks of food are produced in the water instead of on the land.

But someone is sure to say, as they always do about this point in the argument, "but predatory creatures always existed, and possibly in greater numbers than to-day, yet a hundred years ago the rivers were full of salmon."

I wonder if I have skill enough to drive home a point in this connection that is really the crux of the whole question.

Nature provided predatory creatures in abundance, and caused heavy losses during the ova stage, the fry stage, and amongst the mature fish *in order to prevent overstocking.* By these methods she prevented catastrophes such as pestilence; and the over-production of fry, which would have meant starvation for the young fish. The loss, apparently prodigal, at all stages, was the safety margin that man ought to have saved when he came in and began to take heavy toll of the fish. There was ample provision for all his needs if he had done this, as the agriculturist has done it for so long. The cultivation of the land has been one long battle to save the waste that nature caused, purely as a matter of safety. The farmer reaped where he had sown, and strove to stimulate production. Those who took our fisheries in hand reaped where they had not sown, neglected production, and added to nature's methods of elimination cer-

tain deadly and effective methods of destruction of their own, such as pollution.

Our salmon fisheries had every chance. Man had even more to start on there than he had on the land, but he has neglected his opportunities.

To-day we have arrived at the pitiable state of the individual who in order to have his cake must not eat it. Almost all our fishery legislation is preventive. Laws are framed to hinder people from catching so many fish. This is our brilliant method of increasing production.

I come now to some suggestions, and I want to remind you that the rivers were once teeming with salmon, so that they were crowded, in spite of the fact that nature, as part of her scheme, caused sweeping losses in the early stages of growth, and man and beast took toll of the mature fish.

The rivers are much as they were then, and any difference that exists could be more than made good by intelligent manipulation and care. Above all in the matter of pollution. But all the injuries inflicted by man do not alter the fact that the rivers and the lochs are there, and could be as they were in the days when they were full of salmon.

I am not going to say much about netting, excepting that we have netted the wrong fish. We have netted those that nature produced. That was all very well when the number taken was small. But we ought, like the farmers, to have taken the crops that *we* produced, keeping what nature gave us as stock. Briefly, with regard to this matter, I may say that if we took pains to produce our crop as the farmer does we might very safely net a great many more fish than we are ever able to net now. I see no reason, bearing in mind that the rivers do not have to feed the adult salmon, why we should not increase the present catch a hundredfold. That is not a careless statement. It is based on deductions from observations made over a good many years, so many that I can fairly claim the right to express an opinion of the kind.

Now I say that this production is very well worth trying for on two counts—(1) It is good, nourishing, palatable home-grown food; (2) it would be worth a big sum of money

in the aggregate. How is it to be accomplished? Let us consider the matter carefully seeing that it is undoubtedly worth it.

I will turn again to the farmer for suggestions, for I find an instructive analogy in his methods. As I have pointed out, he takes a far heavier toll of the products of the earth than nature would allow him if he made no effort beyond securing what she provides. He is able to do this because he has studied the opportunities which nature affords to man, even though she challenges him to wrestle with her for results. We will consider the hill sheep farmer, because he has even to-day the same or similar problems to solve that we have in salmon production. That is to say, he is continually up against drastic and devastating conditions over which he has no control, but which his intelligence enables him to evade to some extent. To a further extent he adopts his methods to meet and even make use of these conditions.

How does he manage the care of the young? His sheep go away on to the hills, but does he leave them there to take their chance? Certainly not, there is supervision while they are there, and he brings them down to safe quarters for the lambing season. He provides the conditions necessary for this important annual event. If he has to leave them out on rough ground his watchfulness is increased.

The salmon go up to the head waters of our rivers to spawn—often away on to lonely moors, where no one knows what is happening. The otter follows them, the frost destroys their eggs, the sudden violent spates from the hill drains overturn the spawning beds, and it is luck, not management, that is the chief factor in any results from this vitally important phase in the life history of the fish. It was all right in the old days when man was not taking such a toll of the survivors, and when the spates were more gradual and not so fierce. But to-day it is a thriftless and stupid proceeding.

We can't bring the salmon down as the sheep are brought, so that they can be looked after; but we can prevent their going up. That is the sensible thing to do under

modern conditions. The spawning should no longer be left to haphazard and wasteful methods.

On every river there should be one or more selected places where ascending spawners are stopped and caught. Properly constructed pens should be provided to hold them for a short time if necessary, but usually the ascending salmon, at the time it may be said to be leaving the lower waters for its spawning ground, is ready to spawn.

The eggs should be taken and their needs provided for. This is not a difficult matter. A few inches of suitable gravel with a foot or so of running water over it, which cannot either fail or come down in a tearing spate, are all that is required. The eggs must be placed in the gravel; not more than 1000 to a square foot. The parent fish can be returned to the stream.

This is a tested method, and experience shows that one may reasonable expect a 90 per cent. yield of young fish from eggs so treated. It is impossible to say what the gain over letting them take their chance is, but it is not less, in a hill district, than 70 per cent.

I visited some beds of this kind that I had constructed in the north, some years ago, during the last few weeks. They have been working very satisfactorily, and the results are good.

The method adopted is to prepare a suitable piece of ground, either by digging or damming, or by a combination of the two, laying down gravel and leading water from the stream to the beds through a large earthenware pipe and an open channel. The bore of the pipe, which need never be more than 12 inches—and for smaller beds 6 inches is ample—controls the flow. A spate may tear up the bed of the stream, but only what water can come through the pipe gets to the ova beds. So the eggs are safe, and the only thing to do through the long three months' incubation, is to keep reasonable watch that no predatory creatures get at them. For this purpose it is a good plan to screen the inlet and outlet so that fish cannot get in. Then with nine inches to a foot of water over them the eggs are fairly safe. Ducks of various kinds should be kept off, and the farmyard variety

particularly. These destroy more eggs and fry than any other creature on the small streams.

It is better to have the ova beds long and narrow rather than square and wide. The current is better, and they are more easily dealt with and managed. Six to ten feet is a good width.

Wherever the ground suits, especially if near a house where someone lives who can keep an eye on them, beds of this kind should be made. The eggs can be brought from the place where they are spawned, and if laid down in a reasonable time, say twelve hours, they will be all right.

A properly organised egg-taking station would consist of an obstruction in the stream, which would stop ascending spawners—a trap on the same principle as the pocket of a stake net—fixed out of the main current, but with a leader. This trap may be of net, wire net, or wooden bars. I prefer the latter. There should also be an enclosure where fish not ready to spawn can be kept, and a small hut for the appliances necessary for taking the eggs.

The whole business of catching the fish, spawning, etc., would probably not take more than a week, and two men, or at most three, could manage it.

A hundred average female salmon may be reckoned on to yield somewhere about a million eggs. This number would take, at the least, an ova bed of 1000 square feet, or, say, 100 feet long by 10 feet wide.

A saving of 70 per cent. on 1,000,000 eggs means something to a river and to the yield, if kept up year after year; but it is a mistake to let big numbers influence one in the direction of thinking that a million or two is quite enough. Every spawning fish should be dealt with, and though local conditions might modify the position of the trap, it may be said that usually somewhere about two-thirds of the total length of the river, measuring from the sea, is about the place. This probably means that several important tributaries have to be trapped too.

For the Nith, the taking and hatching of 1,000,000 eggs would not be enough, though one might have to be content

with that at first. Ten millions would be nearer a useful number.

Nor must it be thought that hatching is all that is required. The young fish when they are ready will drop down the outlet from the ova bed, and as this, of course, leads back to the stream, they very soon have to put up a fight for existence.

So many young fish coming down all at once would attract the burn trout for miles to the glorious feast. There is bound to be loss at this point, but it is possible to prevent most of it, and it is well to remember that once into the main stream safely the risk is enormously lessened, because the fry by instinct take up positions in suitable hiding places amongst the stones. Here they remain till increasing need for food compels them to forage. By this time they know how to look after themselves fairly well.

But it is possible to provide aids to safety. If the outlet from the ova beds leads into a pool, it is a good plan to secure some bushes, thorn preferably, just at the point where the small stream and the large one join, and it will further help if bundles of these, weighted with stones, guard the outlet for some distance out into the pool.

By doing this the youngster is given a chance to see his waiting enemy before successful attack is possible. Once the little chap realises his danger, the chance for the larger fish is lessened enormously, and the odds are in favour of the fry.

But it is also possible to do something to keep the immediate neighbourhood clear of large fish over the critical time—about a week. The pool might be netted occasionally or frequently stoned, so as to drive trout to cover. It is a fact that the first few minutes after a small fry enters the main stream are more fraught with danger than will ever be concentrated in so short a time again in its life; because his enemy will be waiting and watching, while he will be unsuspicious. After his first escape he is never unsuspicious again.

The next form of protection required is from gulls, tame ducks, and pollutions. The ducks are specially to be feared,

because the gravel at the bottom of the stream affords no protection from them, on the shallows. And the ducks know all about the game.

A very slight pollution is fatal to fry. Sheep dip is an insidious thing. Of greater specific gravity than the water (apart from the oil in it), it creeps in a curtain over the gravel at the bottom of the stream. There is no escape from it for the fish, for his instinct teaches him to fly to the gravel for safety.

Space and time compel me to jump two years and consider the smolt ready for sea. It undertakes this migration to the unknown in April and May, and sometimes as late as June. At this time it is gregarious, and smolts may be seen on the shallows in shoals. The gulls may also be seen in flocks harassing them. It is no longer the Blackhead that is to be dreaded, but the Herring Gull and the Blackbacks. Day after day I have seen rows of people watching the gulls picking up the smolts. Not a hand (or a gun) was raised in defence of the fish.

Often at this time the rivers are very low, and frequently the weather warm. Just before reaching the sea there is usually a danger zone to pass in the form of sewage and pollution from a town. Nearly all rivers have a town at their mouth, and nearly all such towns discharge their filth into the river.

Salmon coming up do so when there is a spate, as a rule, so a little pollution at this point does not affect them seriously. They are soon through it, and it is well diluted.

The case of the smolt is far worse. It is travelling very slowly, often taking a couple of days to do the last mile, and the river is often low.

A pollution that is not serious enough to turn up the nsh may yet kill it. What happens is that the scarcity of oxygen puts a severe strain on the gills, causing congestion or inflammation. This usually develops into what we know as gill fever, but it frequently takes a week to do so. Gill fever is a fatal disease in most cases. So one can understand that the smolt may be far enough away when it dies, but it was the sewage nevertheless that killed it.

I have stood on the bridge of a town, which shall be nameless, and watched hundreds of smolts gasping below me, though to the casual and untrained observer they would seem perfectly happy. Many, perhaps most of those fish, would be doomed.

Next come the cormorants and the herons in the estuaries. The black pirates are busy at this time of year. Anyone may see them in scores. From 20 to 40 smolts a day is a reasonable estimate of their food bill during smolt migration.

I once saw seventeen herons at the mouth of the Nith, all in a row, having a glorious time of it in the merry month of May. But why, in the name of common-sense, is nothing done to give the smolts a chance?

I think I have indicated a fairly comprehensive list of reforms necessary. But are they not worth while?

Certainly it is not logical to grumble at the scarcity of salmon, and it is scarcely logical to blame the netting. Excepting perhaps in this one thing, it is an extraordinarily foolish thing for the net fisherman to kill grilse in the numbers he does. As foolish as it would be for a farmer to go to the hill and kill or take all the half-grown lambs he could lay his hands on.

One word in conclusion. I am quite aware that the difficulty in the way of reform is the ultimate ownership of the salmon. The owners of the head waters are not impressed by the suggestion that they should go to a good deal of trouble and some expense in order to improve the catch of the net fishermen on the estuary or at the mouth of the river. I entirely sympathise with this point of view. The upper proprietor at present is very unfairly treated—especially those whose water provides the spawning grounds, and who get no fish, because they only arrive after the fishing season is over.

My suggestions for the improvement of salmon fisheries will be carried out some day, or something of the same kind, but I think it will not be till some scheme of co-operative development for the benefit of all concerned is devised. It is my opinion that the owners of the source and upper reaches of a river should have a share in the catch secured at the

mouth. When that has been worked out on a business footing, we may expect co-operative improvement which will benefit all concerned to an extent they do not realise.

The Glenkill Burn: A Study in Physical History.

By Captain J. D. BALLANTYNE.

The following survey attempts a reconstruction of the history of the Glenkill Burn, in so far as it can be read from present-day maps, coupled with a personal reconnaissance :—

The Old Surface in which the Glenkill etched itself.

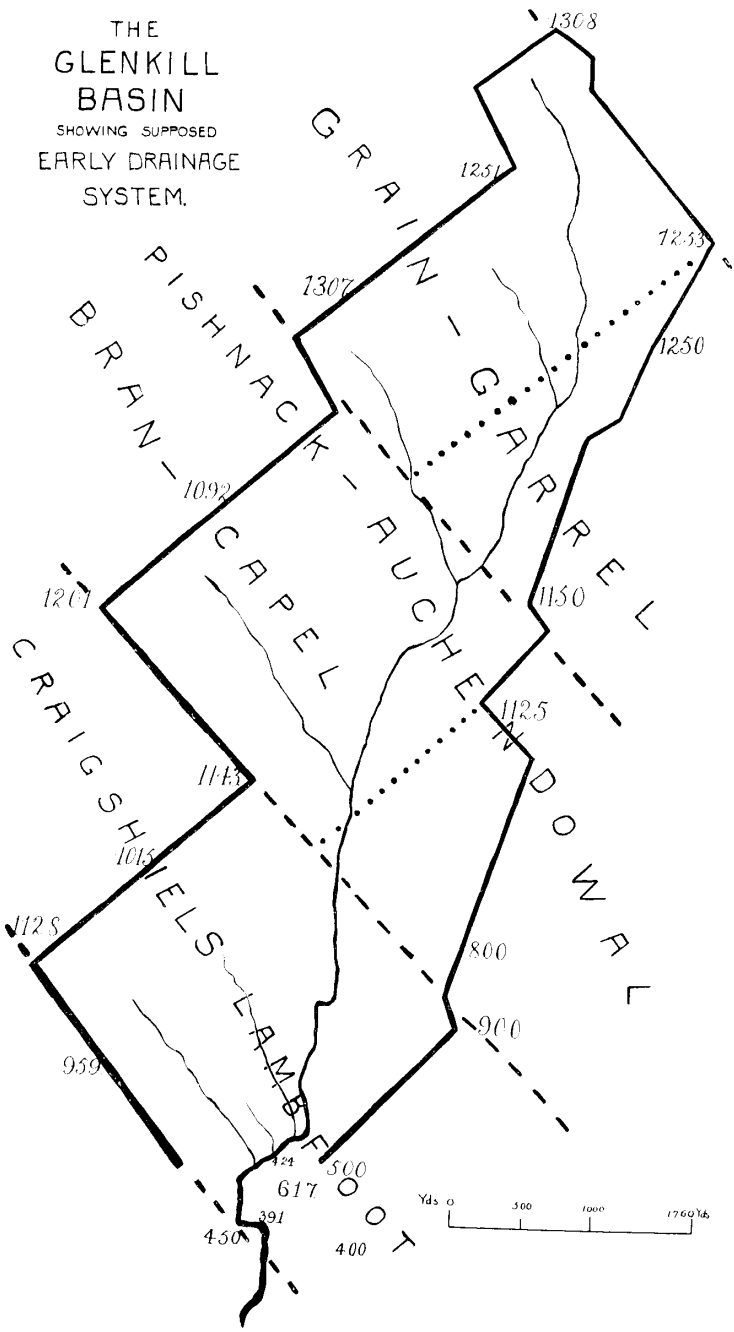
The Glenkill, a tributary of the Æ, flows in a valley whose general direction is towards the south, with a slight inclination to the west. The whole valley is about 5 miles in length and in parts attains a width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the whole area drained being about $5\frac{1}{2}$ square miles or 3500 acres. Over 3000 acres are mountain pasture of the Glenkill and Gubhill sheep farms, and the rest arable and pasture of the Blaeberry and Wood Farms. It probably does not feed much over a hundred score sheep if we exclude the few hundred acres of arable land at the foot. Its possibilities in development are, therefore, considerable.

The trend of the valley is very curious when we map out the rock structure, for although we have the stream cut into a much folded series of rocks, the general trend of the valley follows neither the general direction of either dip or strike—that is, its trend is different from the sloping rock beds and also from the lines of their exposed edges. Thus, from the very outset, we are led to inquire a little closer into this apparent anomaly.

A large scale map brings out many peculiarities. We will first trace the outline of the valley from the mist-crowned silences of the moors around the river's source, taking first the western rim and then the eastern watershed.

The Western Edge.

From Minnygap Height (1308) the watershed runs for $\frac{1}{2}$ mile at 225 deg.—taking N. as 0 deg. and measuring angu-


THE
GLENKILL
BASIN
SHOWING SUPPOSED
EARLY DRAINAGE
SYSTEM.
GRAIN - GARREL
PISHNACK - AUCHENDOWAL
BRAN - CAPEL
CRAIGSHIELS LAMFOOT
1308
1251
1255
1307
1250
1092
1207
1150
1125
1145
1045
1125
800
900
959
424
500
617
391
450
400
Yds 0
500
1000
1760 Yds

lar distance in clockwise direction—and then swings to 140 deg. for ¼ mile. The whole ridge if marked on a map would be represented by a stepwise line with three major steps. The lines which lie in the direction 225 deg. from North are each of fairly regular altitude at either end, but as one steps S.E. 140 deg. the altitude decreases continuously. The S.E. steps of the first 1½ miles produce a decrease in altitude of 180 feet or about 120 feet per mile. This is excessive, and two possible reasons are: first, the southern portion may have suffered greater erosion, or, secondly, the southern half may have been depressed whilst the northern portion was lifted so as to produce a see-saw motion.

The Eastern Rim.

On turning to the eastern side the regularity of the stepwise succession appears to break down. From Minnygap we begin in the direction, 140 deg., and continue for 1½ miles, but always with a tendency to curve to the south. In the Bog Shaw (1253) the ridge turns almost into the 225 deg. direction, but again the ridge seems to be pulled towards the south until we reach Pumro Fell (1250) 1½ miles away. From Pumro Fell we pursue the 140 deg. for a short distance and then move from Kirkland Hill (1183) to Kirkmichael Fell, a distance of about a mile, at 200 deg. The crest of Kirkmichael Fell swings round to about 170 deg. for a quarter of a mile and then the watershed crosses to Blaeberry Hill and Scarberry Bank at about 220 deg. in direction for about a mile. It will be noticed that on the eastern ridge there is a decided tendency for the ridge to become straightened, but that, nevertheless, the three great steps of the west can still be traced as major steps in the eastern edge. Whatever forces have caused this difference must have either operated with greater power or for a longer period of time against the eastern parts. With westerly winds, rain-bearing and prevalent, the western scarps, *i.e.*, the eastern side of a valley, are most exposed, and hence most eroded.

Relation of Ridges to the Old Surface.

Having traced our watershed we can now corelate the

two sides of the valley. If the ridge lines along 225 deg. are continued right across the valley so as to cut the other edge, we discover a marked agreement. For example, the line of Kirk Hill (1205)—Craon Loch (1166) carried across the valley cuts the eastern rim at 1169 feet. The Knockespen—Brownmoor ridge (1140) continued cuts the eastern ridge at a point marked (1150). The effect of this would be that if the present valley were filled in and smoothed off so as to leave a flat surface from ridge to ridge, the new surface would have contour lines running at 225 deg., which would mean a surface tilted downwards in the 140 deg. direction with a tilt of 120 feet per mile or 1 in 44. Thus all drainage would be in the direction of the 140 deg. or towards the S.E. If we trace our steps in more detail we find that many parts of our 225 deg. lines are higher than others along the same line. In fact, each of these lines has two or more depressions along its crest; and these carried across the valley at 140 deg. find similar ones on the opposite ridge. We can now restore our old surface in more detail, with three major hollows and four parallel ridges running down the slope—a simple corrugated surface. The streams which cut the hollows and left standing the intervening ridges on the old surface are termed consequent streams.

These consequent streams I propose to study in a little more detail, and to help us in doing so I propose to separate our area into three. By marking in across the valley the 140 deg. lines of the three steps, the valley is divided into rectangles. These lines roughly correspond with the original ridges between the consequent streams. The effect is to divide the area into three rectangles, which overlap each other to the north-west. Each rectangle is also a section of one of the long ribbon-like valleys of very early times. The connecting of these sections with each other and their separation from the old consequent valleys is the story of how the Glenkill originated.

The Etching of the Glenkill Valley.

In the northern rectangle the main consequent flowed across to the south-east, passing through the present wind-

gap just north of Holehouse Hill, and through between Whitefauld and Bog Shaw, to continue in the open valley now occupied by the Garrel Water. The head waters of this stream probably originated beyond the Queensberrys, and flowed between them. This stream may be called the Grain-Garrel.

In the central rectangle there were (as near as one can judge) two streams passing over the present valley, and uniting at one time probably beyond Kirkmichael Fell and Pumro. The northern river, the Pishnack-Auchendowal, was probably very early captured in the rectangle by the stronger, more vigorous stream formed by the Bran-Capel, whose waters flowed across a little north of Kirk Hill, along a route nearly that of the Clachanbirnie, and passed out of the rectangle by the gap at the Minister's Moss. The early capture of the northern stream north-west of Pumro Fell by the Bran-Capel has resulted in a marked differentiation in the heights and gaps along the south-east ridge. Pumro Fell has maintained itself at over 1200 feet, whilst other heights on the 225 deg. line with it only reach 1150 feet at present. The greater volume of the new stream permitted the cutting down of its gap to a point now less than 800 feet, and its widening so that it almost obliterated the old dry gap to the north.

The southern rectangle was traversed by a stream which flowed across north of Knockespen, and escaped by a gap south of Kirkmichael Fell. This gap is now buried under glacial deposits (as I shall show later), and may at one time have been as low as the 400 feet contour, instead of just over the 500 feet as at present. This was the Craigshiels-Lambfoot.

The subsequent streams, working back along strike bands of softer rock into the dividing ridges, had peculiarities in the mode of capture. The first is that the southern stream always captures the northern. This might have been due to a continuation of the uplift to the north. Next, the subsequent stream bed is likely to be more level in its course than either of the streams it connects. Thus at its first bend, where the northern stream is captured, there will be a tendency to eat

into the southern bank at the bend; at the southern bend, with a lesser incline, the work done would not be so great. This would effect a change of direction in the southern ridge, thus modifying the stepwise effect, and also would gradually cause a migration of the subsequent as a whole to the south-east. The ultimate effect would be a straightening of the south-east ridge of the valley, with a tendency to swing into the east to west direction; and also a gradual pushing of the basin towards the south-east—all this entirely due to long-continued stream erosion.

The Glenkill has cut its valley across an older valley system. The old surface was much higher than any of the present ridges. The erosion in the valley itself has been enormous, and even a rough estimation of the time required (say, if five feet were removed each 6000 years—a possible feat for such a stream) would be about 1,200,000 years as a minimum. Little reliance, however, can be placed on such calculations. James Geikie says:—"At what particular date the chief drainage lines of the region were initiated it is hard to say. Possibly they were determined before Permian times; but as denudation and erosion continued, not only would the earliest valleys be widened and deepened, but numerous younger valleys would be successively outlined during later ages." The Glenkill is one of these younger valleys.

Evidences of an Older and Maturer Glenkill.

Up to the present we have confined ourselves almost entirely to deductions from map studies. Now we are to go afield and examine the present valley in detail. The stream itself often cuts its way in deep rock gorges, whilst in other sections it flows between a steep rock slope and a steep scaur, sometimes approaching 100 feet in height. Further up the stream the scaurs extend on both sides of the stream. Many feeders are simply flowing in gullies cut into glacial debris, whilst others cut their way through narrow rock gorges often 60 feet in depth. But once we ascend the scaurs we find ourselves in a much larger valley, with gently sloping sides that are obviously not the work of the present

stream, or, if they are so, they were formed under conditions different from the present.

A river, continually filing and boring into its bed by means of the force of the flow of water and the sediment carried along by it, first excavates a deep narrow gorge. Usually the harder the rock the narrower the gorge and the more precipitous the sides. If the stream be cutting into softer and less indurated rocks, the bed is bordered by scaurs whose slope is as steep as the loose material will permit. The present Glenkill shows all these features in a well-marked degree, and may be reckoned a young stream.

As time goes on, wind, rain, and frost wear back the sides of the gorge until these become gentler slopes and the valley widens out, and the stream assumes a gentler gradient. The widening process is often aided by landslips. The fallen material is gradually carried away by the torrent, and the gorge becomes converted into a wide valley whose sides slope down with a more or less uniform slope to the banks of the stream below. The slope indicates the relation between the weathering forces and the cutting power of the stream. Now, the upper slopes, although showing this maturer form of valley, are not so simple in structure. We have, in fact, an apparently young stream with its characteristic narrow and steep-sided valley, set within the limits of a much older and wider valley, but one whose apparent form differs from the type of such a valley. In short, we have the mature form of our Post-Carboniferous valley interrupted by some force, and then the inauguration of a new valley within the old. The intervening force was that of the Ice Age. The valley matured in Pliocene times, and so will be termed the Pliocene Glenkill; the younger valley began at the close of the Ice Age, and it we will term the Post-Glacial Glenkill.

The Relationship of the Pliocene to the Post-Glacial Valley.

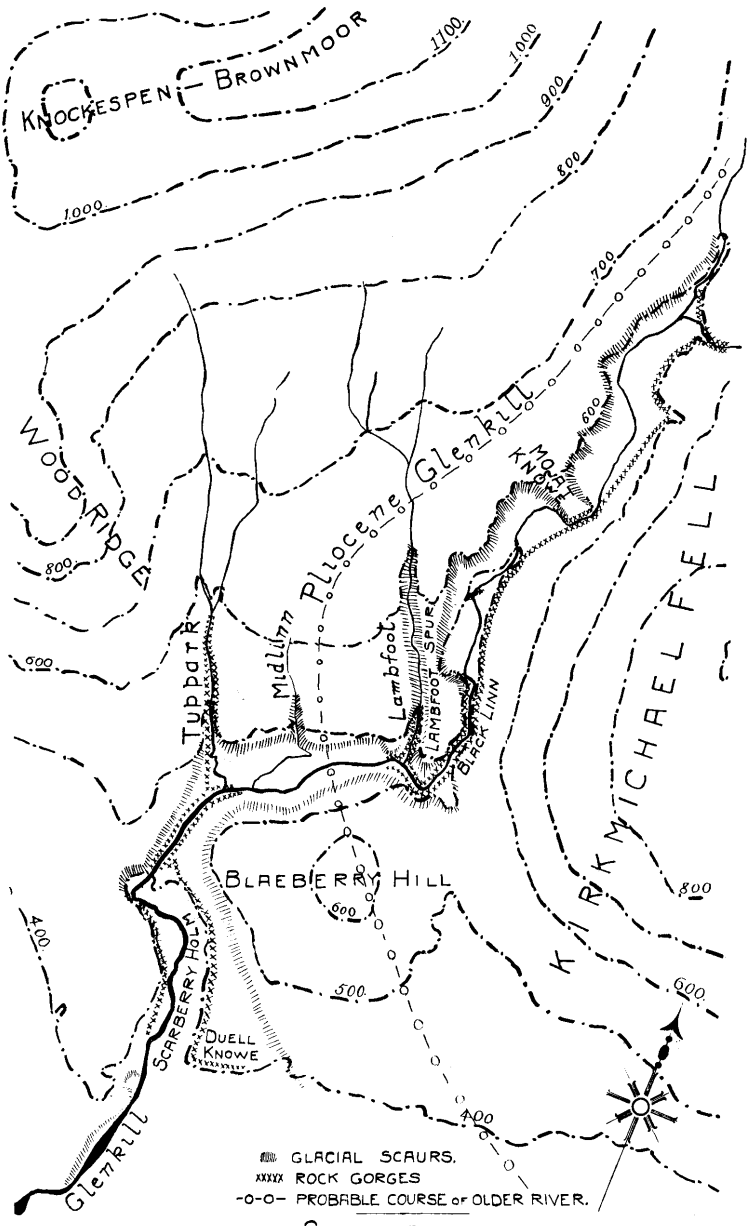
From many points along its sides one can obtain good views of the valley profile. These in the lower parts invariably give similar views—the eastern side slopes down more or less uniformly to the gorge valley at its foot. Near the

top it is rounded off. The western slope presents three distinct changes. First, we have the smoothly rounded crest; then a fairly steep slope, which, after a fall of a few hundred feet, suddenly changes and descends much more gently until it reaches the gorge. The stream flows along a line closer to the eastern watershed than the west. A study of the actual ground reveals the steeper higher slopes as rock-formed, but no rock faces show anywhere along the gentler slopes. Where the newer streams have cut into this, it is found to be a mixture of sandy rubble and stones—in short, to be identical with the type of deposit now being placed in Alpine valleys by glaciers. This glacial debris is filling in some portion of the older valley. At the same time the rounded crests indicate the erosion by ice and not water.

We are now faced with the duty of finding the shape and dimensions of this Pre-Glacial or Pliocene valley. There being no borings, we are compelled to do the best we can by means of carefully drawn sections from large scale maps. This will give us the valley profile. By assuming the steep upper slope to be a portion of our Pliocene valley, we can produce this downward from either side, and so complete the profile of the Pliocene rock valley before the glacial debris was left therein. All such sections correspond in a marked degree, especially those taken north of Lambfoot junction and south of the Clachanbirnie. In each case they give the old Pliocene river-bed as being about a quarter of a mile to the west of the present gorge, and approaching somewhat closer as we move higher up the valley. North of Clachanbirnie Rig, they appear to lie one above the other. The depth of the debris at its thickest approaches 200 feet, and thus, allowing for the slope, the course of the old river was somewhat over 100 feet below that of the Glenkill to-day.

The Lower Glenkill.

Further sections taken south of the Black Linn reveal a most interesting story. All the way down the older valley maintains a certain development in width. But almost at the end it appears to be constricted into a much narrower valley between the Wood and Blaeberry Hills, very much as



The Lower Glenkill.

the Nith does below Dumfries. One immediately asks, "Did the old valley debouch here?" One further series of facts also needs to be mentioned. In the southern rectangle we have three streams flowing across the glacial debris. Of these the northernmost, the Lambfoot, flows its whole course, except a few hundred yards at the foot, through a small V-shaped gully, reaching about 50 feet in depth, with an extreme width of close on 100 yards, and cut into glacial debris. Nowhere, except at its lower end, can one discover the naked rock. The Mid Linn, debouching into a holm a little lower down, presents the same features, except that it lies wholly in glacial deposits. At its foot, however, the holm is waterlogged close to the scaur that borders it. Even in 1919 there was a marsh here with deep standing water—this in spite of the old surface drains. The third stream—the Tuppark Linn—shows a very different bed. From a point about 100 yards below Lambfitt Cottage, where it is flowing about 10 feet below the Drift surface, with no rock bed, it begins to cut a gorge in the rocks, reaching from 50 to 60 feet in depth and exceedingly narrow, which shows rock up to within a few feet of the surface. This rock gorge continues until it meets the larger valley of the present Glenkill. About this point, therefore, the rock must have been about 450 feet O.D. on the old valley side. Our other evidence asks us to conclude that the old valley floor was about 400 feet O.D. at a point 600 yards due north. If both are correct, the Pliocene river must have had some other outlet. The contours of to-dav down to the 500 foot line indicate the river as swinging to the south-east and flowing between the Blaeberry and Kirkmichael Hills.

If we attempt to reconstruct the old river valley at this point, we find that, when allowance is made for the present rock slopes, the old river would have flowed in a channel about 400 feet at present level under what is now the Blaeberry Hill—indeed, almost under the crest. The evidence for this is fairly clear. Close to the foot of the Lambfoot Burn we can find rock up to about 470 feet on the eastern side of the valley. Below this the Glenkill flows down to

its junction with the Mid Linn in a fairly wide holm. The western side of the holm is a glacial scaur. The eastern side is very steep, but from bottom to top I have failed to discover a rock-face. Below the Mid Linn the stream enters a rock gorge again, and receives the Tuppark Linn, also flowing in a rock gorge. On the eastern side the rock face is in evidence well up the hillside, but no clear indications as to its ultimate altitude are shown. The evidence, then, shows rock-faces at various heights on either side of the supposed position of the old bed, but with no rock-faces showing between them. Until such faces are discovered, we may conclude that the old river flowed in this direction, that is to the south-east, and that the old bed is now filled in with glacial debris now forming the Blaeberry Hill.

From the foregoing it seems that the Pliocene Glenkill flowed through the Blaeberry-Kirkmichael Gap, and that the Scarberry Burn had not effected a capture, although it had eaten back into the separating ridge enough to create a shallow gap, and had also worn a bed for itself in the rock, but not to any great depth.

This leaves us to account for the course of the present river below the Black Linn. Morainic debris decided its course. The ridge of rock that crosses the valley close below the junction of the Tuppark Linn was evidently above 440 feet at its lowest part, whilst between Lambfoot and Tuppark the Glenkill flows in a holm showing no rock-faces, although here the stream has eaten down to 424 feet. The pre-Glacial bed is lower than this, as it lies buried under it, and so the fact of the pre-Glacial capture seems more untenable. Against this it may be urged that the ridge is a typical transverse glacial ridge, and the hollow behind of ice formation. The inclines of the rock slopes into it do not show this to have been the case.

Again, if a section be drawn giving a true profile along the ridge and the amount of erosion calculated in section, and another be taken further up the valley in the same way, the areas are as one is to four. But when the erosion of rock alone is taken into account the relation

becomes one to two hundred, which is more easily accounted for as the result of the work of the present river.

If the morainic debris accounts for the diverting of the Glenkill, it will be well to inquire into its arrangement. When a glacier melts the solid earthy matter carried with the ice is deposited. As there is little water actually flowing there, this material remains, and in time is built up into a large mound, hundreds of feet thick, behind which lies the glacier. Water action usually causes the forward slope to be gradual, whilst that facing the glacier is steep. As the glacier pushes further forward in the centre the terminal moraine is usually bow-shaped, and the bed of the glacier is represented by the hollow space enclosed by this amphitheatre. The highest portion of the moraine is usually in the centre. A glacier also carries down on its surface close to its edges all the stuff washed on to it, or dislodged from the upper slopes. This is known as the lateral moraine. When this is deposited at the end of a glacier it tends to form a ridge on the flank of the terminal moraine.

The local glacier cannot have been of long duration. The valley itself does not extend to the upper slopes; and so only during the period that the local Queensberry Icefield was large enough to extend as far down as Minnygap could there have been a glacier moving down the valley. This glacier melted just behind the Blaeberry Hill, which formed a large terminal moraine, filling in the outlet to the old valley, and is part of a great horseshoe ridge running along Kirkmichael Fell—Blaeberry Hill—Wood Hill. The hollow occupied by the glacier lay close to the area near the foot of the Lambfoot Burn. This was probably at one time occupied by a morainic lake. The waters of the valley had now two methods of escape—by either of the two hollows which lay either side the crest of the terminal moraine. There was little choice, as for several reasons the southern gap would be the lower of the two.

But even then the new stream had no clear path to the south. A great drum or lateral moraine lay along the lower slopes of Wood Hill and crossed the lower southern slopes of Blaeberry also. South of this, and parallel to it, lay

another and smaller drum, whose end came to just south of where Kirkmichael Kirk now stands. The higher drum turned the new stream across the south face of Blaeberry and along its northern flank. A huge scaur across the Blaeberry—the work of the early post-glacial flow—remains to-day. The stream, bent from its southward flow, bored into its outer curve, and this, being loose rubble, was quickly removed, and as it lay on a sloping rock ridge this was laid bare as the stream swung like a horizontal pendulum across it. This rock surface forms the terrace of the Duell Knowe. West of this it swung into the filled-in vale of the Scarberry, and partially cleared its floor. Its westerly swing—not yet stopped—is now being continued in the rock that flanks the Scarberry Holm. The smaller drum has been cut back and all its nose worn away. Below the bridge by Kirkmichael Manse the section across this drum forms the west bank of the Glenkill for several hundred yards. The fence along its edge, with many of the stakes suspended in air, testifies that the stream is still working westwards here—and this in spite of the confinement of its channel by the arch of the bridge just above.

The Upper Post-Glacial River.

The post-Glacial stream is young—very young as streams are reckoned. Its section, representing work done, is very small when compared with that of the Pliocene river. The Pliocene section gives two million square feet removed; the depression cut by the Scarberry, 500,000 square feet; whilst the present gorge at its best gives barely 10,000 square feet, and this not all rock. The construction of true sections brings this fact out in a most striking manner. But young and immature as this present stream is, its development will influence the life of the countryside, and may prove worthy of a more detailed study. Several parts of the stream are in different stages of adjustment. Sometimes the stream, where it flowed on rock at its commencement, has cut a deep rock gorge with steep, almost precipitous sides. Sometimes it has cut clean across the tilted strata, making a transverse valley of a type favourable to

rapid erosion, as in the Black Linn. Almost where the Lambfoot joins, it runs in a longitudinal secondary valley along the strike. The bed near this shows the stream cutting obliquely across the strata. In fact, the lie of the rocks has had practically no influence whatever in deciding the details of the course of the present stream.

When a glacier moves in a valley it may deposit much debris underneath—this is termed ground moraine. When the glacier retreats this is augmented by the particles carried in the ice. The resulting layer is generally slightly higher in the centre, and thus streams run down on both sides where the moraine slope meets the old valley slope. In the case of the Glenkill this was modified. Only one stream was formed where the slope of the " kame " terrace met the eastern slope of the valley, as erosion was greatest on this side.

The stream flowed wholly within the glacial debris at first, it now has eaten right down and begun to cut a rock gorge. Here the stream direction has been controlled by the overlying glacial detritus, which has imposed its own drainage lines upon the rock beneath. In one or two places the stream has managed to keep to the old rock-face. At the Mote Knowe and below we find our best examples of this process. For a section of its course the river here cuts a gorge of over 30 feet in the solid rock. This has retarded the down-cutting of the stream and dammed back the flood waters. Above this the flood waters have cut themselves a wide holm. Not being able to wear into the hard rocky eastern bank, they have scooped out the softer western bank of glacial deposits, where great bare scaurs testify to many recent landslips caused by frost action. A rough map gives an oblong basin with long sides, north and south, and the stream flowing out of the south-east corner. The gorge is only a few yards in length, and then the stream turns abruptly west for about 50 yards before swinging south through another holm. Thus the map, continued, gives a second oblong holm in line with the first, but separated by a very narrow ridge, which stands up like a wedge. Now this wedge standing on its broad base is made of two ele-

ments—(1) a triangular core of rock with (2) glacial stuff above. The rock is perhaps 30 feet high on the east, where it forms the side of the gorge in a steep cliff slope. Its buried western slope is gentle, and disappears entirely under the holm level in the western corners of the holms. A few more floods may break through the barrier of debris at the south-west corner and flow over the rock surface there into the north-west corner of the other holm. The crown of debris left on the rock core of the Knowe would soon be swept away, leaving the rock as a detached knowe. Many of such are seen between Mote Knowe and the Black Linn.

Economic Considerations.

We have here a naturally excavated basin with a constant flow of good water. The filling in of the gorge would be easy, and the Knowe easily strengthened. Thus could be formed a large natural reservoir. The holm below is capable of the same development. The land at present is mostly river gravel and of little value. The water, carried by pipes, could be used in all the western end of the Howe of Annandale and in the upper portion of the Lochar, both for domestic and power purposes. The remains of an old attempt to conduct water from this area *via* the Blaeberry-Kirkmichael Fell gap by an open conduit testify to the need of this constant supply. It failed because it tried to lead water through channels cut in porous soil. The water had all filtered away long ere it reached its intended destination. In dry seasons, *e.g.*, 1913, 1919 A.D., it could be utilised for irrigation purposes on the sandy alluviums of the lower lands, which suffer sorely at such times. The saving of the loss incurred in a few seasons of slight drought in the area to be served would practically compensate for the initial cost. The water power could be transformed into electrical energy, and one day we may see agricultural tractors on the farms worked cheaply from this source instead of by imported petrol. The use of high electric power, such as could be generated here, has of recent years been used to form nitrogen compounds from the free nitrogen in the air. With the cost of manures what it is,

the utilisation of such new means of supply needs consideration. The use of similar streams in the Jura has led to a great increase in the population and wealth of the area, as also in Italy and Germany.

Upper Reaches.

Further up, beyond the junction with the Clachanburnie Burn, the stream and its branches are cutting their way through the glacial moraine, and only touch rock here and there. There are no large holms, and the old peat covering, now fast disappearing, has protected the upper moraines from the more rapid removal of the southern one. A number of small waterfalls occur on the western side, where the streams appear to have exposed a small cliff at about 1000 feet. This is seen best in the Black Burn, flowing into Clachanbirnie—three streams flow over the cliff and unite at its foot. This marked change of gradient may be the remains of an old bergscrund, and traces of it range from 800 feet to over 1000 feet higher up the valley, or it may be part of the edge of the ancient plateau, the evidences of which, at this level, are so plentiful in Southern Scotland.

The glacial debris is from many sources, and hence forms a mixed soil. It is light and easily worked. The valley is not exposed, and round the Glenkill farm all the common farm crops are grown at 800 feet. In the lower rectangle of the valley a great terrace of the glacial detritus bears only grass and bracken. The bracken is steadily increasing its area. I am certain this area would bear good crops if properly worked. The upper and steeper slopes of the lower valley would repay scientific afforestation, and would conserve the water supply. The middle rectangle would also repay such treatment, and large areas of the northern rectangle would bear the hardy trees in place of feeding a few sheep. The picture called up by these last remarks is very different from what obtains to-day. That it will come, now that pressure is being brought to bear on us to feed ourselves, since the great new lands are filling or full to-day, is almost certain. It behoves us to prepare in advance.

20th February, 1920.

Chairman—Mr T. A. HALLIDAY, V.P.

The Background of Scottish History: A Study in the Relation of History and Geography.

By JOHN MURRAY, M.A.

In a general introduction the paper briefly stated the main principles of historical geography, the subject matter of which is the treatment of the correlation of events in their spatial and temporal inter-connections.

The lecturer then proceeded to sketch, geologically and geographically, the three physical zones of Scotland—Northern Highlands, Central Lowlands, Southern Uplands. The sub-divisions of these were noted, and their intimate relationship to Scottish history pointed out. To relief were added other controlling factors—the position of Scotland in the zonal system of Europe, the essential difference between east and west, and climate. The last-named was fully treated as its conditioning influence was regarded as paramount.

From the stage of human events the lecturer turned to the actors thereon, and briefly sketched the ethnic composition of the Scottish people, noting in the course of the remarks the effect of the controlling geographical factors on ethnography.

Military history in Scotland's three divisions was then taken up, and again the influence of physical relief was insisted upon.

Lastly, the paper touched on the question of how far geography has influenced national character and how deeply scenery has stamped itself on the literature of the Gael and on the beautiful ballads of the Borders.

Johnstone Family Records.

By Mr F. A. JONNSTON.

(2) EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF KIRKPATRICK-JUXTA.

[For Extracts from the Registers of Langholm, *vide Transactions,* 1918-19, p. 146.]

BAPTISMS.

1694, Dec. 16th—John, s. to James Johnston in Bootsburn.
1694, Dec. 20th—Nicholas, d. to John Johnston in Carrick-yard.
1695, Jan. 20th—Robert, s. to John Johnston, merchant in Moffat.
1695, March 3rd—James, s. to William Johnston in Banks.
1695, Sept. 22nd—Sarah, d. to Thomas Johnston in Coats.
1696, Aug. 2nd—Edward, s. to Simon Johnston in Holmschaw.
1696, Nov. 8th—Anna, d. to John Johnston of Kellobanks.
1696, Nov. 15th—James, s. to James Johnston in Boatsburn.
1696, Nov. 29th—Jean and Janet, d. to James Johnston in Holmschaw.
1697, May 27th—John, s. to Thomas Johnston in Gardenholm.
1698, Jan. 23rd—Thomas, s. to William Johnston in Hague of Drumgree.
1698, Aug. 21st—John, s. to William Johnston in Easter Ershag.
1699, Jan. 1st—Elizabeth, d. to James Johnston in Boughtknoll.
1699, March 5th—Janet, d. to Robert Johnston in Tathhill.
1699, June 7th—William, s. to William Johnston in Dyke.
1699, July 16th—Mary, d. to John Johnston in Kinnellhall of Johnston parish.
1699, Nov. 11th—Janet, d. to Thomas Johnston in Gardenholm.
1700, Jan. 28th—Mary, d. to William Johnston in Hague.
1701, Feb. 9th—William, s. to Thomas Johnston in Cleughheads of Johnston parish.

1701, April 13th—Jean, d. to William Johnston in Hague.
1701, July 20th—John, s. to William Johnston in Raehill of Johnston parish.
1701, Aug. 3rd—Mary, d. to Robert Johnston in Tathhill.
1701, Oct. 26th—Janet, d. to William Johnston in Inglistoun.
1702, Aug. 9th—Elizabeth, d. to David Johnston, youngest of Beattock.
1702, Sept. 20th—Margaret, d. to John Johnston in Sandbed.
1703, Jan. 17th—Thomas, s. to Thomas Johnston in Gardenholm.
1703, May 9th—John, s. to James Johnston in Mid-murthat.
1703, Dec. 19th—Adam, s. to David Johnston of Beattock.
1704, Feb. 6th—Elizabeth, d. to William Johnston in Inglisston.
1704, May 7th—Adam, s. to William Johnston in Hague of Drumgree.
1704, Aug. 20th—Robert, s. to Robert Johnston in Tathhill.
1705, Nov. 18th—John, s. to David Johnston of Beattock.
1706, July 7th—Sophia, d. to the Laird of Corhead.
1706, July 7th—James, s. to William Johnston in Inglistown.
1707, Aug. 3rd—Thomas, s. to William Johnston in Hague.
1707, Oct. 5th—John, s., and Janet, d. to James Johnston in Mid Murthat, twins.
1707, Nov. 16th—Margaret, d. to John Johnston in Mitchellslacks of Closeburn parish.
1707, Nov. 30th—Agnes, d. to Robert Johnston in Nether Murthat.
1708, March 7th—Thomas, s. to David Johnston of Beattock.
1708, Sept. 19th—Andrew, s. to William Johnston in Inglisston.
1709, Jan. 23rd—Robert, s. to Adam Johnston in Craigielands.
1710, Jan. 15th—Peter, s. to James Johnston in Mid Murthat.
1710, Jan. 29th—Jean, d. to Thomas Johnston in Barcorsnyron.
1710, April 9th—William, s. to John Johnston in Kinnellhead. Also William, s. to William Johnston in Hague.
1710, April 16th—Christin, d. to Thomas Johnston in Kowgill of Johnston parish.

1710, Oct. 8th—Robert, s. to John Johnston in Nether Plealands.

1711, Feb. 18th—Janet, d. to Margaret Johnston in Broomlands.

1711, March 18th—Jean, d. to William Johnston in Inglistown.

1711, March 25th—John, s. to Adam Johnston in Craigielands.

1711, Oct. 7th—William, s. to James Johnston in Nether Murthat.

1711, Dec. 9th—John, s. to John Johnston in Chappell.

1712, Feb. 24th—James, s. to Thomas Johnston in Barn Tympan.

1712, June 29th—Matthew, s. to David Johnston of Beattock.

1712, June 29th—Margaret, d. to James Johnston in Mid Murthat.

1712, July 13th—John, s. to John Johnston in Wester Ershag.

1712, Aug. 3rd—Janet, d. to James Johnston in Sandbed.

1712, Aug. 17th—Mary, d. to Alexander Johnston in Stidridge.

1712, Nov. 30th—Adam, s. to Adam Johnston in Craigielands

1714, July 27th—Margaret, d. to the Laird of Corhead.

1714, Aug. 22nd—Agnes, d. to James Johnston in Hague.

1714, Sept. 19th—John, s. to James Johnston in Sandbed.

1714, Oct. 18th—Janet, d. to Adam Johnston in Craigielands.

1715, Feb. 27th—Jean, d. to John Johnston in Wester Ershag

1715, Nov. 27th—Sophia, d. to David Johnston of Beattock.

1716, March 16th—Margaret, d. to James Johnston in Sandbed.

1716, Oct. 28th—Elizabeth, d. to Adam Johnston in Craigielands.

1716, Nov. 4th—James, s. to Alexander Johnston in Hague of Drumgree.

1717, February 15th—William, s. to Robert Johnston in Over Plealands.

1717, Feb. 24th—James, s. to James Johnston in Nether Murthat.

1718, Aug. 12th—Mary, d. to Adam Johnston in Craigielands.

(1718-36—Blank.)

BAPTISMS AND MARRIAGES.

1736, Aug. 15th—Sophia, d. to Adam Johnston, younger of Beattock.

1736, Nov. 21st—Hugh, s. to Robert Johnston in Ershag.

1737, June 16th—Married Gavin Grahame and Mary Johnston.

1738, Feb. 5th—Mary, d. to William Johnston.

1739, Feb. 18th—Jean, d. to Gilbert Johnston in Beatocksyke.

1742, Jan. 3rd—Margaret, d. to Gilbert Johnston in Beatocksyke.

1742, July 18th—Helen, d. to John Johnston in Tathhill.

1743, April 3rd—Received from James Johnston for his daughter's private marriage, 2s 6d.

1744, Jan. 29th—Rachel, d. to Gilbert Johnston in Craigilds.

1744, May 3rd— —— d. to Adam Johnston of Beatock.

1744, Sept. 9th—James, s. to John Johnston in Tathhill.

1745, Dec. 1st—James, s. to Peter Johnston in Midmuirfoot.

1746, March 23rd—Jannet, d. to John Johnston in Midmuirfoot.

1747, Feb. 22nd—William, s. to John Johnston in Upper Plewlands. (Received from James Johnston in Park at the baptism of his daughter.)

1748, July 24th— ——, to John Johnstone in Upper Plewlands.

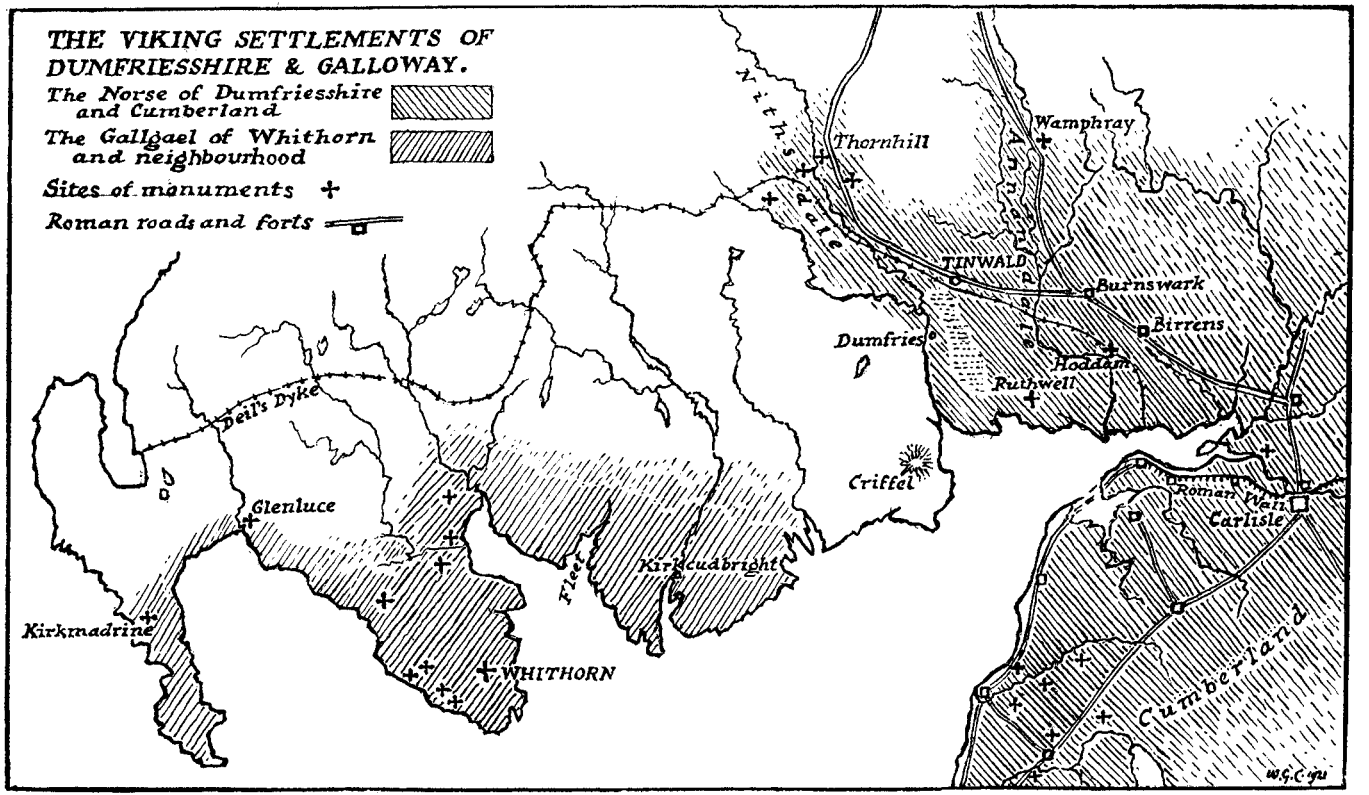
1749, Jan. 15th—David, s. to John Johnston in Tathhill.

1750, May 27th—Mary, d. to Robert Johnston in Nether Murthwood.

1750, Oct. 7th—Jean, d. to John Johnston from the Arms of Betty French, her mother.

1750, Dec. 16th—Robert, s. to William Johnston in Bearholm.

Searched to 1750 Births and Marriages.


THE VIKING SETTLEMENTS OF DUMFRIESSHIRE & GALLOWAY.
The Norse of Dumfriesshire and Cumberland
The Gallgael of Whithorn and neighbourhood
Sites of monuments
Roman roads and forts
Thornhill
Wamphray
TINWALD
Burnswark
Birrens
Dumfries
Hoddam
Ruthwell
Criffel
Roman Wall
Carlisle
Cumberland
Deil's Dyke
Glenluce
Kirkmadrine
Kirkcudbright
WHITHORN

12th March, 1920.

Chairman—Mr JAMES DAVIDSON, V.P.

Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

I. HISTORY.

Writing in 1088 the Irish chronicler Tighernac makes this entry—"1034, Suibne mac Cinaetha Ri Gallgaedhel moritur." If *Gallgaedhel* here means "of Galloway," and not merely "of the Gallgaedhel in the Isles," it is the first appearance of the word in extant writing as a place-name. In the 12th century its use was well established. The so-called Taliessin used *Galwydel,* but not earlier than Tighernac. Indeed, the suggestion of Skene,[1] that the name was applied to the land of the Niduari Picts by the Cambrian Britons, before the advent of the known Gallgaedhel from Ireland and the Isles, does not seem to have any sound basis.

The early mediæval form was Galweithia, Latinised by a Cumbrian scribe from *Galwyddel,* which represented in British mouths the Gaelic *Gallgaedhel,* meaning "alien Gael." This name was used as early as 856[2] for the mixed tribe of Gaels and Vikings (apparently rather Norse than Danish) defeated by the Irish in Tyrone. In 835 a certain Gofraith (Irish for Guthferth) mac Fearghus of Oriel was invited by Kenneth mac Alpin "to strengthen Dalriada."[3] By his name and patronymic this man must have been son of an Irish father and a Norse mother. He died king of the Hebrides twenty years later, and his kingdom was thenceforth always known as Insigall, "islands of the foreigners." Somerled was Guthferth's descendant in the 8th generation, and similarly bore a Norse name.

In Man and Cumberland we have very distinct traces of

1 *Celtic Scotland,* i., 239; iii., 104.

2 *Four Masters,* pp. 488-9.

3 *Four Masters,* p. 453.

the Norse, as well as in the Hebrides. Such traces are found also in Galloway and Dumfriesshire. There is no definite statement in history books affirming that Norse colonies were planted there; if there were, the subject of this paper would be matter of fact and no discussion would be needed. But historical statements tend to show how these colonies originated.

The first recorded contact is in 870, when Olaf the White, Norse king of Dublin, took Dumbarton, capital of the Strathclyde Cumbri, and returned next year to Dublin with many prisoners, "Angles, Britons, and Picts,"[4] which, as Skene remarked,[5] shows that he had also attacked Galloway, for only there could he have found these three races.

During the previous age all the south-west of what is now Scotland had been under Anglian rule. There were Anglian bishops at Whithorn from 730 to 802, the year of the great Viking raid, when Iona was burnt. This seems to have frightened the last bishop, Badwulf, away; but Angles still remained in Galloway. Before the Angles came this country was inhabited by Picts and Cumbri, and formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde-Cumbria. That kingdom had shrunk to Dumbarton and the adjacent district, but the survival of early place-names seems to shew that its nationality as Cumbrian, Cymric, or British was still kept alive, and many Cumbro-Britons no doubt lived in Dumfriesshire, as they did in Cumberland, subject to the Angles. The downfall of the Anglian kingdom at the Danish invasion of 866-7 altered everything. After that there was no ruling power or organisation; Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, and Galloway were no-man's land. They were open to conquest both from the north, where the Strathclyde kings would be anxious to regain their old dominions; from the south-east, where the Danes were dominant; and from the west, where the Vikings or Gallgaedhel were gradually increasing their power. We have to see how all these three sides were attacked.

In 875, according to the *Ulster Annals*, perhaps actually

[4] *Ulster Annals.*

[5] *Celtic Scotland*, i., 325.

876, Oistin (Eystein), son of Olaf the White, was killed treacherously. The Latin version says he was killed by the men of Alban: Sir James Ware, the 17th century author of *Antiquitates Hibernicae*, says—no doubt following some ancient authority—that he was killed by Danes. The late R. L. Bremner thought that Ware was correctly rendering an Irish original to the effect that he was killed, not by the men of Alban, but by Alband, the Irish form of Halfdan, the Danish leader, who in that year made an invasion into these parts, and would naturally try to get rid of his only rival. This suggests that Olaf the White's son was in Galloway, which his father had conquered, and was leading a colony; for the colonisation of Galloway probably occurred before long, and it is likely that it would be attempted soon after conquest, though the conquest, according to the *Pictish Chronicle* (which, however, is very obscure), was followed by reverses.

Halfdan's invasion was a raid which left no permanent results. The *Ulster Annals* mention a great slaughter of Picts by Danes; and it has been debated whether these were the Northern Picts or those of this district.[6] If Halfdan had attacked the Northern Picts we should probably have further accounts of an important campaign. But his object must have been the consolidation of his newly-won kingdom of Northumbria, and to do this he had to overawe the outlying districts of that kingdom. He certainly marched through Cumberland, destroyed Carlisle, and went north-west by the Roman road—Roman roads were the main lines of communication until much later—and no doubt he sacked Hoddam. It is likely that he then turned west, rather than north into Clydesdale, and he could have found little plunder in his way. The Niduari Picts—then the old preponderant population in Galloway—suffered from his incursion. But, as we shall see, he did not reach Whithorn, and returned at once to Yorkshire, where he divided the vale of Mowbray and the East Riding among his men. None of them would

[6] J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, 107; Skene, *Celtic Scotland.*, i., 326.

have been safe if he had left them here, and there are no traces of their presence except the destruction they wrought. The idea that it was Halfdan who founded a Viking colony in Dumfriesshire is hardly tenable.

Halfdan himself was killed, fighting the Norse in Ireland in 877.[7] On hearing of his death, certain Lindisfarne clerics, Bishop Eardwulf, Abbot Eadred, and their men, who had fled before him from Northumberland with the relics of St. Cuthbert and found a welcome at Whithorn, thought it safe to turn homewards. Halfdan could not have attacked Whithorn, or they would not have survived; and if the Viking Gallgaedhel were already settling there, it may seem curious that these clerics were respected. But the Norse had by this time come into contact with Christianity; a few were already converted, and all would have had some fear of relics which were believed to work miracles. We get hints of depopulated country in the story of the clerics' journey homewards through deserted lands, with difficulty in finding food and shelter.[8] After 876 the Danes seem to have left this district alone; there was nobody but the decimated Picts, and possibly a few Angles and Cumbri, to disturb the travellers or to dispute the country with Gallgaedhel settlers.

Dumfriesshire was to be—but was not yet—retaken by the Strathclyde kingdom. That happened later, between 878 and 889, during the reign of Eochaid. He was heir not only to Strathclyde, but also to Alban (through his mother, a daughter of Kenneth mac Alpin), and therefore he was in a singularly strong position. He ruled all the North—Scots, Picts, and Britons; and he had a capable general for his armies in Girig—a somewhat mysterious person,[9] but probably a Strathclyde Cumbrian; it is tempting to connect him with Elsrickle in Clydesdale, 1293 Elgirig, *i.e.*, Al-Girig, his rock; as Alclyde (Dumbarton) is the rock of Clyde. He

[7] *Four Masters*, pp. 520-21.

[8] *Reginald of Durham*, chap. xv.; and *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society.

[9] *Pictish Chronicle*; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i., 330; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 186.

made extensive conquests southward, and probably regained Dumfriesshire for Strathclyde before 889, when he disappears with Eochaid. In the next generation we find this Cumbro-British kingdom extending its influence far into Lancashire and Yorkshire; about 941 Leeds was the boundary town.[10] And before that time we see colonies of Norse or Gallgaedhel settled in Cumberland as allies of the Cumbro-Britons.

Now, after Halfdan's raid and before the reconquest by Girig, something happened that seems to give us a fair reason for inferring Norse settlement in Dumfriesshire. About 880 King Harald Fairhair of Norway invaded the Hebrides to punish Norse emigrants who refused to pay him taxes. When he came to the Isle of Man—this is told by Snorri Sturluson in the *Heimskringla* (*Harald.* xxii.)—the Norse had heard of his coming and "all fled into Scotland, leaving Man empty of people and property." Their only possible line of flight would be up the Solway, and one may be sure they would go as far as they could. Some may have found a refuge on the southern shore, but Dumfriesshire would be also a safe place. And as there was no native authority to dispute their presence, some of the fugitives may have stayed there after the scare was over. This at any rate offers a likely occasion for the colony, which, as we shall see, can be inferred as distinct from that of Galloway.

After this invasion by Harald, nothing further is recorded for forty years, except the re-occupation of Dumfriesshire by the Cumbri. The Cumbri did not turn the Norse out: we find them, when the curtain rises again, living together as friends and allies. The proof of this is that about 920 the Norse settlers in these parts—not yet the Borders as afterwards, but a broad debatable ground—had begun to be a menace. All Vikings were enemies to Christendom; the Northern powers—Alban and Strathclyde-Cumbria, by this time again separated—could not get rid of them; and the Southern power of England lived in dread of them. In 921 King Eadward the Elder met the represen-

[10] *Life of St. Cadroe.*

tatives of the North at Bakewell, and made some arrangement to delimit spheres of interest. On his death his son, Æthelstan, carried out the same policy. He conquered Yorkshire from the Danes, and met the Northern kings at Dacre, near Penrith, the southern capital of Owain, King of Cumbria. Owain and Constantine of Alban agreed to repudiate the heathen Norse—the language of the time put it "to renounce idolatry," but any reader of contemporary history recognises the turn of mind by which friendship with a heretic or a pagan was regarded as constructive heresy or heathenism.

The Northern kings did not—probably could not—keep this treaty. Constantine married his daughter to the Norse leader, Olaf Cuaran, who was trying to recover his father's kingdom of York. Æthelstan marched in 934 on a punitive expedition through Cumberland, Dumfriesshire, and Strathclyde, putting Owain to flight and defeating Constantine near Aberdeen, while his fleet attacked the east coast up to Caithness, the growing Norse settlement of the north.

In revenge Constantine and Owain called together their friends, the Norse of Ireland and the Hebrides, together with their own people, and proceeded in 936 through Dumfriesshire and Cumberland to attack the South. Æthelstan drove them back over the Solway,[11] and defeated them at the Fort of Brun, "Brunan-burh," as it was called in Southern Saxon; "Brunes-werce," so called by Gaimar, which would be "Bruns-virki," in Old Norse; now Burnswark in Dumfriesshire, named as Burneswerk Hill in 1541.[12]

This great defeat must have been a set-back to the Norse colonists, but only for a time. Æthelstan died in 940, and Northumbria revolted. But in 945 King Eadmund of England attacked Duvenald of Cumbria, pretty certainly for the same reasons for which his father had fought.

It was not a war of conquest, for Eadmund handed over Cumbria and Strathclyde to Malcolm, King of Scots, requiring his alliance, and his alliance could be of no use except

[11] Dr George Neilson, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1909.

[12] *Drumlanrig MSS.*, Hist. MSS. Rep., XV., app. 8, p. 66.

against the Vikings. From this time Dumfriesshire was part of Scotland, but as the conditions were the same as in Cumberland, where Norse continued to flourish, there was nothing, apparently, to prevent them from continuing here.

Galloway does not seem to have been included in this transaction; perhaps the arm of Malcolm and his successors for the next two hundred years did not reach so far. The Galloway people kept up a partial independence, though they had to join in turn with the Gallgaedhel earldom of Argyll, the Norse earldom of Orkney, or the Norse kingdom of Man. We find a few notices of Norse connected with the district. Soon after the battle of Clontarf (1014) Kári Sölmundarson, the Icelander, put up his ship at "Beruvik"—which Skene thought might be Port Yarrock,[13] and went to Hvitaborg, certainly Whithorn, where Melkolf (Malcolm), the Gallgaedhel Earl of Argyll, was ruling.[14]

The great Norse Earl, Thorfinn of Orkney, who died in 1064, is said in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (chap. xi.) to have resided by turns "in Caithness [and] in what is called Gaddgedler, where Scotland and England meet." In 1098 Magnus Olafsson, ex-king of Norway, being settled in Man, claimed Galloway, and made the people there cut and carry timber for his stockaded forts.[15] In 1142 the nephews of Olaf Guthferthsson, King of Man, after assassinating him, sailed to Galloway, meaning to seize that province; but met with resistance and took revenge by massacring or expelling all the Gallovidians they could find on the island of Man. A curious allusion to Galloway in this period occurs in the romance of King William, versified by Chrestien de Troyes and another French poet of the 12th century.[16] The hero is made to live for a while in Galvide or Ga[l]vaide as servant to a merchant and agent for him in voyages to "England, Flanders, and France." The Norse were always traders and sheep farmers, only occasionally fighting men. To a

[13] *Celtic Scotland*, i., 390.

[14] Njál's saga, chap. 157.

[15] *Manx Chronicle*.

[16] *Chroniques Anglo-Normands*, ed. F. Michel, Rouen, 1840,

strain of their blood we owe, no doubt, much of the business character we have not inherited either from the Celt or from the Saxon. At last, in 1160, King Malcolm of Scotland reduced Galloway to the condition of a province, and we need follow the history no further.

II. ANTIQUITIES.

Besides documentary history, there are two main sources of information, the monuments and the place-names of ancient times. The sculptured stones collected in the great works of Stuart and Romilly Allen Place-names are useless except in their old forms, which can only be found in charters and other documents; a few are here given from the publications of the Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV., app. 8 (Drumlanrig MSS.) and 9 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), and from Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Studies in the Topography of Galloway*. Though these names do not form an exhaustive list, they are enough to indicate the area of settlement.

1. DUMFRIESSHIRE.—The ancient form of Annandale was Ananderdale (1436, Drumlanrig MSS.), which, as Dr George Neilson has remarked,[17] is a Norse word, grammatically inflected, showing the Norse genitive of Annan. This is the only valley-name hereabouts in this form, though Allerdale, Ennerdale, Dunnerdale, etc., in Cumberland, and Nidderdale in Yorkshire are parallel; and it means that the valley of the Annan water was especially a site of Norse settlement. The form "Nithsdale," however, may be early Norse; Professor Eilert Ekwall of Lund tells me that the river-name Nid (Nith) could be inflected in either way. The name Tinwald was known in the 16th century (Tynwell in 1580, Tinwald in 1590; Hope-Johnstone MSS.), and it seems to be ancient. If so, it can mean nothing else than similar names in Shetland and Orkney, on the Cromarty Firth, in the North of England, the Isle of Man and Iceland[18]—all in Norse

[17] *Trans. Glasg. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. III., "Annals of the Solway."

[18] Tingwall, near Scalloway, Shetland. Tingewall in 1502, or Thingavöll in the Orkneyinga-saga in Rendall, Mainland, Orkney. Dingwall, in 1463 Dingvale. Thengheued, near Shap, later Thiefstead. Thingwall near Liverpool. Thingwall in Wirral, Thing-

colonies, and some of them definitely known to have been the meeting places of Norse in the district. At the Tynwalds of Orkney, the Isle of Man, and Iceland, we know that laws were made and suits tried. This Tinwald, near the main Roman road through Dumfriesshire, and therefore a suitable central site, seems to prove the existence of a Norse population, without which such a name would have no meaning.

We seem to get even the names of some of the Norsemen who attended the "Thing" in places called their by (*bær*, farm), beck (*bekkr*, burn), breck (*brekka*, hillside), dale (*dalr*, glen), garth (*gardhr*, enclosure; the Anglo-Saxon *geard* would have made yard), holm (*hólmr*, waterside field), thwaite (*thveit*, properly a field sloping to a wet flat), or toun (*tún*, homestead). These are seen in the following :—

Arkleton in Eskdale, 1625 (Edgar, *History of Dumfries;* ed. R. C. Reid, 193), for Arnkell's tún.

Blindethuayt, c. 1218 (Drumlanrig MSS.), perhaps the field of so-and-so "the blind," though possibly the "hidden field."

(Brackenthwaite) Brakanpheit, c. 1200; Brakansweit, c. 1271 (*ibid.*)., thwaite of Brecan, a Gallgaedhel name in Norse form, like several Brackenthwaites in Cumberland.

(Branthat) Branthwat, 1615 (Edgar, 107), perhaps thwaite of Brand, like two Branthwaites in Cumberland.

Esby, 1521 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), either the farm of Ask or the ash-farm, like Asby in Westmorland and Cumberland.

(Gilmartin) Gillemartinebech, c. 1200 (Drumlanrig MSS.), burn of a man with Gallgaedhel name, but in Norse form; similar Gaelic names of Vikings occur in Cumberland.

wall formerly near Whitby; also a Thinghow once near Guisborough and another near Northallerton. Tynwald, Isle of Man, in 1228 Tingvalla, and in 1230 the "meeting-place of the whole people" (*Manx Chronicle*). Thingvellir (plural of Thingvöllr; gen. plural, Thingvalla) in Iceland, the central meeting-place of the ancient parliament and law courts, beside sites of various local "Things." There was also a Thinghow, like the Manx Tynwald mount, at Dublin, anciently a Norse town. Tingley, Yorks, 13th century Thyngclawe, was an English form of a similar name.

(Gillesbie and Gillenbie) Gillisby, 1531, and Gillenbye, 1485 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), from Gallgaedhel names in Norse form; compare Gilsland, land of Gilles (Giolla-Iosa), a man of Viking family, in Cumberland.

Gimmonbie, 1476 (Drumlanrig MSS.), perhaps Geirmund's.

(Surrone ?) Syronthwat, 1489 (*ibid.*), Sigrúnar-thveit.

(Torbeck) Thorbrec, c. 1200 (Drumlanrig MSS.), the hillside of Thorir or Thora (not of the god Thor), like Kirkby Thore, in Westmorland.

Thornthuayt, c. 1218 (*ibid.*), probably, like the place of the same name in Cumberland, the thwaite of Thórunn or Thórny; a " thorny field " would be *thyrnithveit.*

Tukkisholm, in Annandale, 1501 (*ibid.*), from Tuki or Tóki, a Danish and Norse name; the great archer of Norse legend was Tóki; " Tycho " Brahe was a later form—the name of the famous Danish astronomer.

(Tundergarth) Tunnergarth, 1349 (*ibid.*), possibly from Tunni, a Norse nickname.

(Warmanbie) Wormanbie, 1535 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), Vermund's farm.

The name of Closeburn was Kylosbern in 1200 and later, the chapel of Asbjörn; and Torthorwald, c. 1271 (Drumlanrig MSS.), seems to be the hill of Thorwald. These two words are of the Cymric construction found also in Cumberland, and indicating a certain amount of fusion of the Norse with the Cumbri. The personal names are Norse.

A number of names in " by " or " bie " are demonstrably later than the Norse settlement period, such as Lockerbie from *Locard* and Canonbie from the canons there in the 12th century. This is also the case in Cumberland, where we find Bochard-by, Isaac-by, etc., of the 12th century, when Norse forms still continued to affect the language.

If we had fuller records of the common people at an early date, we might find, as in Cumberland, many Norse personal names surviving. Richard, son of Siric (Sigtrygg) and Adam, son of Astin (Eystein) are named, c. 1200 (Drumlanrig MSS.). Adam " Sumerswain," a St. Michael's tenant in the 12th century (Edgar, 134), has a nickname parallel to " Somerled," *sumar-lidi,* the " man who goes out in

summer," originally meaning a Viking. "Norman" of Dumfries in the 13th century (*Holm Cultram Reg.*) and Normondgill, 1569 (Drumlanrig MSS.). show survival of "Northman" as a personal name; there was a Normanthwaite near Keswick in the 13th century (*Fountains Chartulary*). The surname Grindagret of Dumfries, 13th century (*Holm Cultram Reg.*) looks like Norse for "doorstone," *grindargrjót.*

The usual elements of Norse place-names occur frequently, though no doubt many of the words in which they are found were formed later than the settlement period, and only show Norse influence on the language in general. But in some of them the distinctive Norse grammar, or original Norse form, as opposed to later dialect, is preserved :—

(Applegarth) Applegirth, 1571 (Drumlanrig MSS.), *eplagardhr,* appleyard.

Blabech, c. 1200 (*ibid.*), *blá-bekkr,* blue burn.

Blawad, c. 1190 (*ibid.*), *blá-vadh,* blue ford.

Blakebec, c. 1218 (*ibid.*), *blakk-bekkr,* black burn.

(Bonshaw) Bonschaw, 1536 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), ? *bónda-skógr,* yeoman's wood; cf. Bongate, Appleby, the yeoman's road.

Dalton, c. 1200 (Drumlanrig MSS.), may be Anglian, or from O.N., *daltún* or *dals-tún,* cf. Dalton, Furness, and Dalston, Cumberland; dale-farm.

(Ellerbeck) Elrebec, c. 1218 (*ibid.*), *elrabekkr,* alder-burn.

Garwald, 1555, and Garvell-gill, 1476 (*ibid.*), *gardh-vellir,* garth fields.

Herterness, c. 1200 (*ibid.*), *hjartarnes,* hart's ness; cf. Harterfell, Cumberland, with Norse genitive.

Holthuayt, c. 1218, and Houthwate, 1447 (*ibid.*), *hólthveit,* hill field.

(Hutton) Hotoun, 1356 (*ibid.*), like Hutton, Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, etc. Derivation uncertain, but probably Norse.

Langsweit, c. 1271 (*ibid.*), *langthveit,* long field.

Meidhop, 1573, Medupp, 1587 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), like Meathop, near Cartmel, *midhhóp,* middle inlet or dell.

Michelslakkis, 1542 (*ibid.*), *mikillslakki,* big slack (or Michael's).

(Middlegill) Middilgill, 1592 (*ibid.*), *medal-gil,* middle gill.

(Middlebie) Midilby, 1349 (Drumlanrig MSS.), *medalbær,* middle farm.

(Mouswald) Musefald, c. 1218, Mousfald, 1411, Mouswall, 1572 (*ibid.*), *mosfold* (like Musgrave, Westmorland), peaty field. O.N., *fold,* field, and *vellir,* fields, here make the alternative terminations.

Ruthwell, 1449 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), early Ryvell; ? *raudh,* red or ? *rudh-vellir,* fields of the clearing in forest.

(Solway) Sulewad, 1218, Sulewath, 1249 (quoted by Dr Neilson, *op. cit.,* who explains it, p. 252, "Muddy ford"), possibly *suluvadh,* ford of the pillar (the Lochmaben stone).

Sorbie or Sourby in Ewisdale, like Sowerby, Westmorland; Soroby, Tiree; and *Saurbær,* Iceland, muddy farm.

(? Stenries, near Ruthwell) Stanrase, 1452, and Steinreisbech, c. 1200 (Drumlanrig MSS.), *steinhreysi,* cairn.

Wrennehoc, c. 1200 (*ibid.*), ? *vreina-haugr,* stallion's howe, like Wreinhals (Wrynose), Lake District.

A few more names may be given showing Norse elements, but with the true Norse form lost, and therefore of a later period than the settlement :—

Appultrethwate, 1411 (Drumlanrig MSS.), *apaldrsthveit.*

Bochardbech, c. 1329 (*ibid.*), from a Norman name like Botcherby, Carlisle, and 12th century.

Bodsbeck, 1457, Bodisbeck, 1543 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), from a personal name (?).

Byrkmyr, 1459 (Drumlanrig MSS.), *bjarkar-myrr.*

(Capplegill) Capilgill, 1579 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), and Capilryg, 1451 (Drumlanrig MSS.), from *kapal,* nag.

Carlinpile, 1559 (*ibid.*), *kerling,* old woman, with the later "pele."

Clutesker, 1304 (*ibid.*), *sker,* skerry.

(Hardgrave) Hardgraf, 1499 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), *gröf,* pit; cf. Musgrave.

(Hart Fell, twice) Hartfell, 1654 (*ibid.*), *hjartar-fell,* as Harter Fell, in Cumberland, but without inflection.

Harthope, 1519 (*ibid.*), *hjartar-hóp.*

Howgill, 1571 (*ibid.*), *haugs-gil.*

Kelhead, 1516 (Drumlanrig MSS.), *keldu-höfdi.*

Langboddum, 1579 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), *lang-botn,* long dale-head.

Litelsweit moor, c. 1271 (*ibid.*), *litidh-thveit.*

(Newbie, near Annan ?) Newby, 1536 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), *nyja-bœr,* new farm.

Oulcotis, 1487 (Drumlanrig MSS.), like Ulcat-row, Cumberland, the *kot* (a late word) of Ulf.

(Springkell) Springkayl, 1486 (Hope-Johnstone MSS.), *kelda,* spring.

West Scalis, 1543 (*ibid.*), *skáli,* hut.

Winterbech scok, c. 1200 (Drumlanrig MSS.), the *bekks-skógr,* burn-shaw, of Winter (? personal name).

It is perhaps rather speculative, but the point ought not to be passed over, to note certain names of churches, parallel with names in non-Gaelic districts, which may indicate Norse settlement. The earlier traditions of religion in Dumfriesshire had been Anglian and Cymric, not Scottish or Irish; Skene's map of abbeys in Scotland prior to the 8th century[19] —*i.e.,* in the time of possible Columban influence—marks no Columban monastery in this area. Now Bridekirk and St. Bees in Cumberland, and the ruined chapel of St. Patrick at Heysham, near Lancaster, are pretty certainly importations of about the 10th century by Christianised Norse from Ireland. So when we find Kyrkbride, 1356, and Brydkirk, 1487,[20] or Kyrkpatrik juxta Moffet, 1356,[21] and Kirkpatrick-Fleming, near Annan, there is at least a possibility that the dedications may have been brought in by Norse devotees of St. Patrick and St. Brigit.

That the later 10th century Norse in Dumfriesshire were Christians is shown by the grave-slab at Wamphray Church.

[19] *Celtic Scotland,* ii., 178.

[20] *Drumlanrig MSS.*

[21] *Ibid.*

Other Dumfriesshire monuments are Anglian, some of them late Anglian, in style, and these last must have been erected during the Norse period, very possibly for Norse Christians, because the converted Vikings elsewhere employed local talent in arts which they did not themselves practise at first. But the Wamphray slab dates from soon after 950 or 960 A.D.; its leaf scroll is derived from Anglian design, but it bears also a truly Scandinavian dragon entangled in strap-work—a rather early dragon of its type, but distinctly Norse; and it was certainly carved for a Christian grave.

A pagan Norse grave, probably of the late 9th or early 10th century, seems to have existed in the ship-formed mound at Graitney Mains, now destroyed.[22] Other relics of that period do not seem to be on record, though they might still be found, as they have been found in Cumberland.

2. KIRKCUDBRIGHT.—The monuments, with the exception of the remarkable Pictish carving at Anwoth, are rather rudely cut crosses, which may be of the Norse period, but show no distinctive Norse ornament. Some of the place-names, especially in the south and south-west, are Norse, and some which are Gaelic in form contain names of Norse persons. To take first those giving personal names :—

Arkland (1602, Arcleland), perhaps Arnkell's estate, like Arkleton (above).

Arreeming (1604, Arreimein), "airidh" or shieling of Heming, a Norse name in a Gaelic setting; cf. Airie-hemming, Wigtownshire.

Arbigland (1600, Arbiggland), possibly *Eyrbyggja-land*, estate of the dwellers on the aire or promontory; cf. Point of Ayre, Isle of Man and Flintshire, and the Eyrbyggja-saga of Iceland.

Bargaly (pronounced Bargawly), *borg-Amhalghaidh*, Olaf's fort, in which the Gaelic form of the Norse name Olaf (Aulay) is found.

Craighandle, *craig-fhingaill*, crag of the Norse; cf. Norway Craig on the same coast of Minnigaff.

[22] Dr Neilson, *Trans. Glasg. Arch. Soc.*, N.S. III., "Annals of the Solway."

Grave Slab at Wamphray Church (see page 110).

Dunguile, a fortified hill in Kelton; *dún-goill,* fort of the strangers (Vikings); cf. Donegal, *dún-na-gall.*

Drumlochlinn in Mochrum, ridge of the Lochlan or Norse.

Gelston (1296, Gevelestone, 1300, Gauyliston), toun of Gevel or Gavyl.

Girthon (1299, Gerton upon Flete; these *Transactions,* xviii., 185); perhaps *Gerds-tún,* farmstead of Gerd.

Knockgill in Crossmichael and Knockgyle in Girthon, *cnoc-goill,* hill of the strangers (Vikings).

Besides these names there are others of Norse form or containing Norse elements, such as :—

Bareness, a post-Norse form for *bert-nes,* the bare ness.

Bombie (1600, Bomby), like Bomby, Westmorland, in 1339 Bondeby, *bónda-bær,* the yeoman's farm.

Borgue (charter of David II, Borgg), *borg,* fort.

Broomhass in Minnigaff, *háls,* hause or pass; a late form.

Carleton (1250, Karlaton), like Carleton and Carlatton, Cumberland; *karlatún,* town of carles or peasants. From Anglo-Saxon *ceorlatún* it would be Churlton or Charlton.

Carlingwark (1600, Carlingworck; probably a crannog existed on the loch, these *Transactions,* xxiv., 236); *kerlinga-virki,* the old wives' fort.

Cogarth (1600, Kogart), *kúa-gardhr,* cow-garth.

Criffel (c. 1330, Crefel), perhaps *crioch-fell,* boundary mount; a hybrid, but a possible hybrid. *Fell* is seen also in Roundfell, etc.

Fleet (1299, Flete), *fljót,* river, as in Iceland.

Knocktinnel in Urr, like Knockatundle, Ireland; *cnoctinóil,* hill of assembly (Sir H. Maxwell), and possibly a meeting place on the border between the Dumfriesshire and the Galloway colonies.

Leaths in Buittle (1600, Laiths), *hladha,* barn, frequent in Cumberland; a late form.

Moorbrack (1600, Morbrack) in Carsphairn, *brekka,* slope of the moor.

Minniwick (1662, Muniwick vel Mynivick), *minni* or *mynni,* mouth of a stream, and *vik,* creek.

Plascow in Kirkgunzeon; cf. Flasko, Cumberland, *flat-skógr,* flat wood, and Rusco (below).

Rerrick or Rerwick (1285, Adam de Rerik; 1305, Reraik; charter quoted by the Rev. Alex. H. Christie, "Dundrennan," p. 68); cf. *Reyrvöllr* (Landnámabók, II., 11), reed-field. The Rev. A. H. Christie describes Portmary Bay as an inlet which may have answered to the description, "reed creek," *reyr-vik*. But the older forms include Reyrak and Rereyk, throwing doubt on the termination, "-wick."

Rusco (1600, Rusko); cf. Ruscoe, Yorkshire (Sir H. Maxwell), and Flasko (above); perhaps *rudh-skógr*, wood with a clearing in it.

Senwick (temp. David II., Sannigh; 1527, Sanak; 1600, Sannick), *Sandvik*, cf. Sandvik, Iceland, sandy creek.

Southwick; cf. Súdhavik, Iceland, which was named from *súdh*, the "stitching" of planks to frame-timbers in a Viking ship, or similar construction in timber building: a Viking fort in Essex was called the *Danasúdh*. But this may perhaps only mean "south creek," *sudhr-vik*.

Tongue (1600, Tung) and Tungland; cf. Tunga, Iceland, frequently used; Tongue (14th century), the ridge between Bowfell and Scafell, Cumberland, meaning a ridge between two rivers meeting at an acute angle.

Troddell (Trowdail, 1511) in Crossmichael and Troudale glen (1600, Traudell) in Rerwick. Perhaps *trog-dalr*, trough dale; cf. Trowbarrow, a limestone hill with a trough-shaped ravine near Carnforth; or *trolla-dalr*, glen of bogles, cf. Trollaháls, Iceland, or of Trolli, a Norse nickname; cf. Trollatunga, Iceland.

3. WIGTOWNSHIRE.—As the Norse names in the Stewartry were confined to the south and south-west, so in Wigtownshire they group in the south-east; there are hardly any in the Rhinns or in the north of the county. The first list gives those containing indications of persons, perhaps original settlers. The Gaelic derivations are Sir Herbert Maxwell's.

Airieglassen (1698, Whyted-arriglassen), shieling of Glasan, a Gaelic Viking (Gallgaedhel) name found in the Cumberland Glassonby.

Airiehemming (1628, Arehemen), shieling of Heming; see Arreeming, Kirkcudbrightshire.

Barlauchlin (1600, Barlachlan), hill of the Lachlan or Norseman.

Carrickfundle, *craig-fhinghaill,* Norsemen's crag.

Dargalgal, *dobhar Gallgaidheal,* water of the Gallgaedhel.

Derwhindle, *dobhar-fhinghaill,* Norsemen's water.

Drumfundle, Norsemen's ridge.

Glasserton (1600, Glastoun), perhaps contracted from *Glasaner-tún,* Glasan's farmstead; see Airieglassen.

Inchiguile in Sorbie; cf. Innsigall (=Hebrides), island of the Gall (Vikings).

Kirkalla in Penninghame, cf. church of Gress in the Lewis, dedicated to St. Aula, probably St. Olaf, though he may have been St. Angulus or Aule (Sir H. Maxwell, addenda).

Kir(k)lauchlane (1596, Kerelauchleine), fort of the Norseman.

Macherally (pron. Macherowly), *machair Amhalghaidh,* field of Aulay (Olaf).

Ramsey, cf. Ramsey, Isle of Man and Furness, *Hramns-ey,* Hrafn's island.

Terally, *tir-Amhalghaidh,* Olaf's land.

Wigtown (1296, Wyggeton), cf. Wigton, Cumberland, which is not on a *vík* or creek; probably from some personal name, Norse or Anglian, beginning with Vigg (Wig) and shortened to Vigga (Wigga).

Many of these names, though Gaelic, which certainly was the language of the natives of Galloway (as Cymric was in Dumfriesshire), show Norse settlement. The second list, though not long, shows that Norse was actually spoken, though perhaps to a limited extent.

Arrow (1600, Arrow), like Arrow, Cheshire=*erg,* Norse form of *airidh,* shieling.

Broughton (1600, Brogton), late form of *borgartún.*

Burrow head, which has been fortified in ancient times, *borgar-höfdi,* headland of the fort; cf. Burghead, Elgin; Burray, Orkney.

Carleton in Glasserton and in Kirkcolm, *carla-tún,* like Carleton, Kirkcudbrightshire.

Corsby (1600, Korsbuy), *kross-bær;* cf. Corsbie, Ayrshire; Crosby, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; Krosshólar, etc., Iceland. (On the Northern form *cors,* Danish and Swedish *kors,* see the *New English Dictionary,* s.v. *Cross.*)

Eggerness (c. 1185, Egernesse), not from the Norse sea-god Ægir, which would make *Ægis-nes;* perhaps *eggja-nes,* headland of (sea-birds') eggs, or from a personal name.

Gilhow, at the head of Physgill, a late form from *gil* and *haugr,* how.

Mull of Galloway and other Mulls; Norse *múli,* frequent in Iceland and Norse coasts for a rocky headland.

Physgill (1550-85, Fischegill), *fiski-gil,* ravine of fish, like Iceland *fiski-bekkr,* fish stream.

Sinniness (1600, Sunoness); *sunnan-nes* would mean "south of the ness," but *sunnu-nes* would be the "sun's ness;" "sun" might possibly be a personal name or a nickname.

Sorbie (1600, Soirbuy), like Sourby, Dumfriesshire, which see.

Stennock (1595, Stenework), *stein-virki,* stone (fort) wall; cf. Stenock, near Thirlmere, Cumberland, and perhaps Stanwix, Carlisle.

In his *Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick* the Rev. C. H. Dick mentions (p. 294) the record by Symson in 1684 of a buried ship, not built like those then known, and with copper nails. Mr Dick suggests that this may have been a Norse ship-burial. The monuments of Wigtownshire deserve a very much fuller description than can be given here. They form a most interesting series, from about the fifth to the twelfth century and later, of which we need mention only the Whithorn group. There are about 24 crosses or parts of crosses, 15 of them at Whithorn, all of one style, and that style peculiar to Wigtownshire. In West Yorkshire early 10th century cross-heads are sometimes penannular, in that they have the ends of the arms curved and broadened so as nearly to form a circle. The fully developed Viking Age or Celtic head

has a complete circle, underlying or overlying the cross-arms. These Whithorn heads are not true wheel-heads, but penannular, showing little splits or cuts in the ring. They are the exact replica of a head at High Hoyland, near Barnsley. They are nearly always without surface patterns; in general effect they look like attempts to carve in the round the old Chi-Rho symbol of the early rude stones. The shafts are richly ornamented with ring-plait or other interlacing common to the 10th century; but as they have no animal forms, they are not of late 10th century type. This suggests the date of the introduction of this style, and is confirmed by the inscriptions.

One of these is part of a name, probably Norse, because it is 10th century form, which is not the earlier Anglian form, [ ]FERTHS[son], or [ ]FERTH S[ette]: it is in early runes, for the later runes had not come into use in the first half of the 10th century. The other, in similar runes, reads [ ] WROTE—*i.e.*, "*wrought* (this cross)," a late Northumbrian form, as on the Great Edston dial (North Riding of Yorkshire). This shows that the language of the carver was Anglian; either that the Anglian colony in Galloway still survived in the 10th century or—which is less likely—that an Anglian craftsman was imported to do this work.

All this art of stone-carving, indeed, was Anglian in origin. The design of the Whithorn group is nearest to that of the West Riding early 10th century work. There are, for example, penannular heads and ring-plait at Burnsall in Craven; and we have seen that the wide-spreading Cumbrian kingdom connected all these parts with West Yorkshire at the period when this style was introduced. There is also an analogy between the Whithorn plaits and those of similar date in West Cumberland; the medial line of the interlaced straps always stops short before the point of crossing. This trick is seen in West Yorkshire (at Bingley), but is rare there, whereas it is the rule in West Cumberland. But West Yorkshire and Cumberland were parts of one large realm in the first half of the 10th century.

One may conclude, therefore, that the Whithorn style was invented by some clever carver, who, like the famous

Gaut Bjarnarson, designer and carver of the finest group of Manx crosses, had learnt in West Yorkshire, but adapted the traditional patterns to local requirements. That his work satisfied local taste is seen from the fact that none other was introduced for several generations, even while interesting changes were going on elsewhere. Whithorn was no doubt the favourite burial place of Galloway notables, as Iona was for the Islanders; and they continued to patronise this style until we come to the Kirkmaiden cross-base, with the same old ring-plait, a little modified, and inscribed with much later lettering.

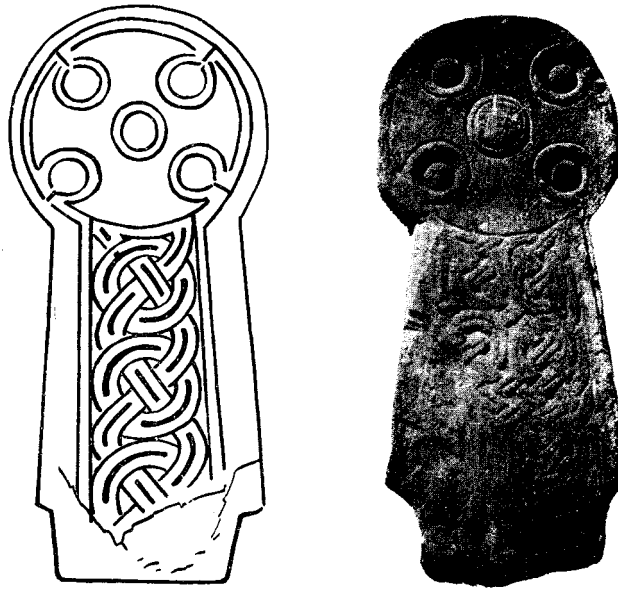
So far we have found nothing in these crosses but a doubtful name to connect with the Norse. But it is interesting to note that the plait on one Whithorn cross[23] is seen nowhere else except on Norwegian metal-work, according to Romilly Allen's analysis of plaits.[24] Nevertheless it is an adaptation of the common West Riding figure-of-8 knot, and no doubt was not brought from Norway, but carried to Norway by some traveller who had resorted to Whithorn. Again, the general form of cross-head seems to have influenced designs at Soroby (Tiree), Pabil and Bressay (Shetland) and Margam (South Wales)—all of which were Viking settlements in the 10th century. This, I think, certainly connects Galloway with the Norse by one more strand of the bond we have been plaiting.

Now if we plot the place-names and monuments we have found on a map, and shade more darkly the parts where remains stand thickest, we can get a general idea of the area of Norse and Gallgaedhel influence on the north side of the Solway. To do this thoroughly would require more information; our map can be only provisional; but it is fairly convincing, because one can see reason in it.

The dark shading falls into two districts; Dumfriesshire being distinct from Galloway. The Dumfries Norse occupied "Ananderdale" and centred at Tinwald, and their lines of communication were the Roman roads between Lower Esk-

[23] Romilly Allen's No. 3.

[24] *Early Christian Monts. Scot.*, i., 217, No. 558.



Whithorn Cross (see page 116).

dale and Upper Nithsdale and towards Moffat. They were naturally pretty thick between the main road and the coast, but west of the Nith they thin out. If Criffel means *crioch-fell,* " boundary hill " (a hybrid, but a not unlikely one), it was regarded as the limit of the Dumfriesshire Norse towards Galloway. The Lochar Moss—rather than the Nith—formed a natural boundary.

Nearing Kirkcudbright, as we travel west, we find the names thickening, and they group into a semicircle which is deeply cut into by Wigtown Bay. The lines of communication for this colony were evidently by water. People who lived on the shores and creeks of this coast could reach their centre at Whithorn by boat, with only a short journey overland. They travelled, as they now travel in Iceland, boating across the fjords and riding—the Galloway ponies were always famous, and much like the Iceland ponies—by horse-paths from door to door. Consequently, just as the sands of Morecambe Bay really unite Furness with Lancaster by giving an easy route for horse riders, so the blue patch of Wigtown Bay really unites the neighbouring shores by giving access for people with boats.

The plotting of the names suggests that the actual colony in Galloway did not cover a very great extent of country. It seems to follow the coast round the peninsula of Whithorn, and there are hardly any indications of Norse further west. Probably Harald Fairhair's raid, and many other hostile movements on the open sea, made them feel more secure behind the barrier of the Rhinns. Also, if the Galloway people were traders, as we have seen reason to suspect, they would cluster more closely together and need much less land than would be required by the sheep-farming Norse of Dumfriesshire and Cumberland.

Within our shaded area there are plenty of Gaelic and other names, some pre-Norse and some later. But the history and the antiquities alike show that from the end of the ninth century a Norse element existed here until it was absorbed into the population in the twelfth century. In the middle of that century a debased Norse was written in Furness (on the Pennington tympanum) and at Carlisle (in the inscription in

the cathedral). And thence forward the Norse character disappeared, not without leaving some influence—and by no means a harmful influence—on southern Scottish life and character.

The Black Farthing of James III.

By JAMES DAVIDSON, F.S.A.(Scot.).

Towards the end of last year a sale of coins took place in Edinburgh. One lot was described as containing a James IV. groat, James VI. hardhead, many servio placks, 1557 (very rare); Mary placks, Edin. (3), and another; hardheads lion (5) and another; non sunts (2).

This promiscuous lot seemed to appeal to me. There was a bit of speculation about it. Surely there might be something that had escaped the eye of a collector or dealer in his hurried look through, previous to the day of sale.

I entrusted my order to the auctioneer, who in due course intimated that Lot 850 was now my property. Upon the arrival of the packet, my surprise and joy was great when I found it contained a black farthing of James III.—a very rare coin of great historic interest.

The black farthings were the first copper money struck in Scotland. An Act of Parliament was passed on 9th October, 1466, authorising the coinage:—"Item, it is statute for the eise and susentation of the Kingis Liegis and almous deide to be done to pure folk that thare be Cunyeit Coppir Money four to the penny having in prent on the ta parte the Crois of Saint Androu and the Croune on the tother parte with the superscripcione of Edinburgh on the ta parte and R with James on the other parte." They circulated first as halfpennies, although coined four to the penny.

Hume Brown, in his *History of Scotland,* states:—"The issue of two coins respectively valued at a halfpenny and a penny was in fact among the most potent causes which led to the tragedy at Lauder," when Cochran, Torphicon, Roger, and other favourites of the King were hanged without ceremony, and James himself confined in Edinburgh Castle under the charge of the Earl of Athole. We thus

see that the black farthing played an important part at that time in the history of Scotland.

Edward Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland,* states that black farthings are very rare. He describes six coins in two varieties—three of the first variety with " I " only for Jacobus, and three of the second variety with Jacobus in full. He says " they are the only specimens of these coins that have come under my notice." Two are in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the other four in the Ferguslie collection.

The specimen I was so fortunate to get belongs to the first variety.

Obverse—A Crown with the legend,

I. REX SCO X TO—

Reverse—A St. Andrews Cross with a small saltere at each side, with VILLA EDINBURG

It may be described as being in very good condition for the coinage.

9th April, 1920.

Chairman—Mr T. A. HALLIDAY, V.P.

The Hebronites.

By Professor H. M. B. REID.

I.

Among the by-products of the Revolution Settlement we must take into account the followers of John Hepburn, minister at Urr, in Galloway. In the native speech he figured as Hebron, and his adherents appear fitfully in contemporary pamphlets and records as Hebronites, or Hebronians. To some minds the point may seem to be of little consequence, but for a correct understanding of the intricate movements of the time the scholar must learn to distinguish between Hebronians and Cameronians, Hill Folk and Society People, Macmillanites and Active Testimony-Bearers. Neglect of these fine shades of difference

has misled many ingenious writers, including Mr Andrew Lang. Mr Lang evidently knows not the delicate nuances of Scottish religious parties. For instance, in *Blackwood* of December, 1897, he refers to the "Active Testimony" as a Cameronian manifesto. It is more to the present purpose to note that a little further on in the article he describes Hepburn as having "ingeniously managed to keep his living and to be as Cameronian as he chose."[1] As a matter of fact, Hepburn never was a Cameronian, and his followers formed a distinct group of "Societies," apart from the United Societies who were the real Cameronians. These are perhaps things which no ordinary fellow can understand, but it is inexcusable for the ordinary fellow to write about them. After much research the ensuing notes on Hepburn and his party are offered as an instalment of fuller treatment of a somewhat curious episode in Scottish Church History.

The old parish church and manse of Urr, or in the local patois Orr, stood at a considerable distance from the present ecclesiastical buildings. The manse witnessed a violent scene during the prelatic times, when a body of hillmen broke into it and, in the "curate's" absence, carried off his wife to their fastness in the hills. Not long after this Hepburn appears upon the stage of action. According to a "paper" subscribed by the people of Urr on April 13th, 1705, they had given him a call in 1680, "to preach the Gospel occasionally amongst them as his conveniency and safety could allow." This was signed "by the plurality of the people," and was followed in 1686 by another call "more generally subscribed." Then in 1689 they "legally and unanimously presented to him a call to settle and abide with them, . . . and that before there was any Presbytery of ministers at Dumfries."[1a] He took possession of the church and manse accordingly "at the desire of the whole paroch."[2]

1 "Ker of Kersland," by Andrew Lang; *Blackwood*, December, 1897, pp. 769-70.

1a See Note 1.

2 All above statements are from the *Humble Pleadings*, 1713, pp. 341-2.

It was known vaguely that Hepburn came from the north[3] and was not a Galloway man; but his early history was wrapped in a good deal of obscurity. The epitaph in Urr churchyard embodies the sole fact which appears to have been known popularly :—

> "Goodness Divine propitiously did steer
> From North an Husband, Spouse and Sister dear
> Into our Coasts for truth a triple Cord. . ."

Fortunately, we have Hepburn's own account of his early career in a rare tract entitled "True Copy of a Letter sent to the Rev. William Veitch, minister at Drumfries: Answering some gross Calumnies in his pamphlet entitled 'A Short History of Rome's Designs, etc.; with an Advertisement concerning these and some other recent Slanders.'" This letter is dated Manse of Orr, November 10th, 1718. Veitch, the redoubtable foe of Separatists in the South of Scotland, had put out certain "pretended informations from the place of my nativity," stating for one thing that "I left the Episcopal party because the Bishop of Aberdeen preferred another before me to a good school." Veitch, in fact, represented Hepburn as having been plucked by the Bishop, and being in some sort a "stickit" schoolmaster. In reply, Hepburn denies that he ever lived in that diocese or was examined by that Bishop or any other Bishop on any such view; but he admits that he was "in the Episcopalian party and heard the curats" about the time he was at college. His relatives were Episcopalian, but he himself soon became a convert to Presbytery, and was tried and licensed near the English border. He received ordination in London at the same time as John Reid, minister of Lochrutton, the imposition of hands being given by a number of Presbyterian ministers, including Fraser of Brea, and Messrs Law and Hamilton, "late ministers at Edinburgh." So far, Hepburn is corroborated in some points by the account given in the *Fasti*[4] that he was the son of

[3] *History of Galloway*, II., p. 377, note.

[4] *Fasti*, I., 607-608.

James Hepburn, a Morayshire farmer, graduated A.M. at Aberdeen in 1669, and was ordained in London in 1678. But Veitch went on to make surprising revelations, which Hepburn flatly contradicts. These are to be found in Veitch's rejoinder:—"A Short Answer by Mr William Veitch, Minister of the Gospel at Drumfries. To a Letter pretendedly written by Mr John Hepburn, Division-Maker; but really by Riddough and Hunter, and other Romish emissaries who are Defenders of his Faith both Summer and Winter." This scarce and curious tract was printed in Dumfries in 1720 by R. Rae, son of the historian of the '15. Veitch's extraordinary theory regarding "Rome's designs" had already been accepted by the last-mentioned writer, who, in his *History of the Late Rebellion,* printed and published by Robert Rae in 1718, speaks of "Traffiquing Jesuites, who, disguising themselves with the Mask of Zeal for Presbyterian Principles, insinuate to the Scrupulous People, who had been frighted with the many contradictory oaths that had been imposed before the late happy Revolution," that the Abjuration Oath bound them to support Prelacy.

This erudite author, Rev. Peter Rae, minister of Kirkconnell, is described as an eminent philosopher and astronomer and author of various tracts on divinity. But he was not above telling an anecdote when it suited his purpose, and the following is too apposite and racy to be omitted:—

> "An Anonymous Author relates to us a Passage no less diverting in its Circumstances than instructive in its Delivery, 'of one in a Gentleman's Habite in a Countryman's House not far from Edinburgh who harangu'd zealously against the Minister of the paroch because he was inclin'd to the oath of Abjuration, and held forth with much keenness the evil and sinfulness of that Oath upon *Presbyterian Principles;* but behold! when his Discourse was over, the accidental falling off of his Piriwig discovered *a shaven crown,* the badge of a *Romish* Priest under the Dress and Profession of a Zealous Presbyterian Gentleman, and upon an after inquiry, he was discovered to haunt a *Popish Gentleman's* Family.'"

For this delectable incident Peter Rae refers to *Popery Reviving*, p. 7. He was Clerk of the Presbytery of Dumfries and a zealous anti-Hepburnite; probably, therefore, he took his colour a good deal from the masterful Veitch. The latter solemnly averred and affirmed in his "answer" to Hepburn's letter that he had seen the name of John Hepburn written in a list of Popish emissaries in Dr. Titus Oates's pocket-book. Not only so; he declares that Dr. Oates "likewise told me that he took it out of the Register of the College of *Dowie*." As we have seen, too, he believed that the true writers of Hepburn's "letter" were "Riddough and Hunter and other Romish emissaries," to whose hand also he traces "the imperious and saucy *Pleadings* smeared over with Jesuitical cream." It is unpleasant to find that the sole evidence advanced by Veitch is internal, the argument being that "both the form of speech and bitterness of dialect is above your capacity and alien from your natural temper." We can hardly accept such a criterion, amounting as it does to the suggestion that Hepburn had too little skill and too amiable a disposition to concoct the brief "letter," and that, therefore, he "would have escaped a lie to have subscribed thus: 'John Hepburn approves what is said by his defenders.'" But Veitch sticks to his Jesuitical theory, and in answer to the question why he had not exposed the minister of Urr sooner, he says that he "had a great aversion to let it be know to the world that every any *Scots* person that intended the ministry under a *Presbyterian* Government in *Scotland* should be found guilty of a compact to carry on such a base design." Therefore he had tried to get Hepburn either reclaimed or deposed, but when this failed he felt bound to speak out. Considering the record of Titus Oates, one is surprised that he should be adduced as a witness by a man of Veitch's standing in the Church of Scotland. Hepburn's remarks on the strange statement about the pocket-book are brief but strong; he says roundly that it is "hellish stuff;" and I confess that I sympathise with the feeling that moved him. He dismisses the charge with the very just criticism that, even supposing the name was in Dr. Titus Oates's pocket-book, surely there might be more John Hepburns than

one. This reasonable view may be commended to the followers of Andrew Lang, who founded a painful charge against George Wishart, the martyr, on a basis exactly similar. As it happened, David Laing found no fewer than three George Wisharts in the Burgh Archives of Dundee. And further search may yet bring to light plenty of John Hepburns from whom Dr. Oates's Jesuit " traffiquer " might be chosen.

Hepburn certainly was in London in the year of his ordination, 1678, and on March 6th, 1680, he was delated to the Privy Council for intruding into the Ministry and " thereby debauching weak men and silly women," drawing them into rebellious methods in Ross-shire.[5] It may be believed, and it is consistent with his later conduct in Urr, that Hepburn in leaving the ranks of Prelacy had become a proportionately zealous Presbyterian. I am also satisfied that he now took refuge in London and was easily drawn into the design roughly known as the Ryehouse Plot. This, it must be remembered, was originally a conspiracy to overturn the oppressive Government of Charles II. in order to relieve the down-trodden Non-Conformists. There was no design of assassination in the minds of the Scottish members of the Plot. Hepburn, like Carstares, desired to see a Protestant succession to the throne; but no one has ventured to accuse Carstares of complicity in the plan of killing the King, and I suppose that Hepburn was just as guiltless of murderous designs. Veitch himself brings no charge of that sort; he says simply that " Mr Hepburn was observed to be guilty of lightness, headiness, and looseness of principles, or ever he passed his tryals, and therefore when he came to London he more easily became a prey." It would have been hard indeed for one who, like Veitch, had himself suffered imprisonment for disaffection to Charles's Government to judge a fellow-rebel harshly or to press him too close. The actual fault laid against Hepburn in this connection is a curious one. It seems that he had got into prison in London, and Veitch alleges that he joined with " malefactors " to effect his escape, but was " found lying lame next morning, and put in

[5] *Fasti*, I., 607-608.

again, and afterwards got out by taking these he called unlawful oaths, which makes many persons doubt which of these escapes was most unlawful." Veitch had made this charge publicly from his own pulpit in Dumfries as far back as the year 1713, if we may take Wodrow's account. And he had couched it in stronger and less elegant language. In a sermon against Hepburn, Macmillan, and Macneil that year, he gave the pungent anecdote of Hepburn "breaking the prison and leaping a midden and breaking of his thigh bone." "At which," says Wodrow, "many of his hearers laughed, others ran out of the church, and the serious people who are his daily hearers are highly offended at this kind of behaviour."[6]

If Hepburn got out of prison, somehow he seems to have returned very soon, for in 1683 the name appears among the Ryehouse prisoners forwarded to Edinburgh for trial. I quote Fountainhall (Historical Observes, 1840, p. 108):—

> "On the 1 of November, 1683, the Scots prisoners to the number of twelve or thirteen were embarqued to the 'Kitchen' yacht and sent to Scotland; wher, after much tempest and tossing, they arrived on the 14; their names were Sir George (Hugh) Campbell of Cessnock and his sone and Fairly of Bruntfield, his son-in-law, Bailzie of Gerreswood (Crawford) of Crawfurdland, Alexander Munro of Bearcrofts, Murray of Tippermuir, Mr William Spence, late servant to Argile, Mr John (William) Carstairs, and — Hepburn, ministers. On ther arrival they were keiped closse prisoners in the tolbuith of Edinburgh; only some of them were confronted with Gordon of Earleston, but no discovery could be gathered theirby."

It seems probable, therefore, that Hepburn was a fellow-plotter with Carstares, and shared the uncomfortable voyage in the "Kitchen" yacht. He had not gone straight to London, since he was evidently in and near Urr in 1680. His movements are not difficult to follow. Delated for illegal preaching in Ross-shire, he fled to the south, where he was still in danger. The first call to Urr refers to his

[6] *Wodrow Correspondence*, I., 376, note.

"conveniency and safety," and in a short time it became safer and more convenient to hide in London. There, as we saw, he took to plotting, like Carstares; was seized and incarcerated, and finally found himself in the Edinburgh Tolbooth in the end of 1683. We shall find him there again thirteen years later. He seems to have been liberated for want of evidence, but he did not long escape the jealous eye of the Privy Council, for on May 5th, 1684, he is entered in the Register as having been declared fugitive, most likely because he was preaching at conventicles.

He resumed what was to be his life-work at the hottest period of the persecution, yet the entry just referred to is all that appears against him. Considering the remarkable severity of the measures taken by Claverhouse and the numerous executions or martyrdoms in Galloway in 1685, it is somewhat of a mystery that Hepburn should have remained seemingly unmolested. Further inquiries may possibly clear the matter up. Meantime it seems to be certain that he continued to labour in Urr and the district around with such success that in 1686 a second call was given him. It is possible that the district in these days was too wild and untamed for even Claverhouse's roughriders to cope with; or Hepburn's movements were too quick to permit of an arrest. And the shadow of the Revolution already projected itself over Scotland. Some degree of immunity also may have flowed from his own diplomatic ways. There is a passage in Calderwood's *Dying Testimonies,* 1806, p. 231, which gives some colour to this notion. It is in the testimony of Robert Smith, student of divinity, who died in 1724, aged 58, and was therefore a lad of 19 in the "killing time." He says in his quaint dialect:—

> "Of Mr Hepburn, I say, if he had been as clear, tender, and distinct in the cause and testimony as he was said to be tender in his walk, the Lord might have honoured him. But because he ay joucked to the leeside, in persecution, and out of persecution, and pushed at the more tender and straight in the testimony with head and shoulder—I fear his name be not honoured among Scotland's worthies."

There was, we can see, something about Hepburn which led people to suspect him on both sides. Veitch, a thorough-going Orangeman, suspected him as a Popish plotter. Poor Robert Smith, still " student of divinity " at the ripe age of 58, died accusing him of " joucking " (or dodging) to the leeside, and pushing with head and shoulders against the thorough-going Covenanters. This odour of suspicion haunted Hepburn's movements to the last, and we shall see that it was not without its causes. All the more interesting to the student of these " by-products " is the mysterious, inscrutable hero of the Hebronites.

II.

The Revolution came, and Hepburn was lifted on its waves into full possession of Urr kirk and manse, without being indebted to the Presbytery of Dumfries for admission to the cure. His parishioners were unanimous, and they deemed their action and his assumption of the office to be perfectly legal. *De facto,* he had been their minister since 1680, and by the unanimous call of 1689 they believed that he was finally settled as parish minister *de jure.* They acted on the same belief as scores of Scottish parishioners at the Revolution on both sides of the vexed ecclesiastical arena. In some cases the Episcopalian " curates " were summarily expelled by the people; in others they were maintained by the strong hand. In a case like that of Macmillan, of Balmaghie, a deposed minister was kept in possession of manse, kirk, glebe, and whatever stipend he could gather, for 24 years after the Presbytery's sentence issued. And this was done in perfect good faith. The people believed that the settlement of a minister was their own affair, and might go on without, or even in defiance of, the Presbytery. Of course, they were wrong on the technical point; the Presbytery alone can give legal admission to a benefice. But many Presbyteries, north and south, found it best to accept the situation and condone irregularities. Hepburn's right to his benefice was not seriously challenged until he became troublesome to the Church Courts. Men who subsided thankfully into their rudely-won places were left unmolested with ques-

tions as to how and where they were ordained, and how they came to be where they were. A single instance may suffice. Telfair of Rerrick, in Galloway, whose tract is well known to ghost-lovers, was a tutor or chaplain, in other words a simple licentiate at the most, when he dropped one day into the parish, began preaching in a kiln, and gained so much on the people that they ordered their curate out at 24 hours' notice, and installed Telfair as minister of the parish without further ceremony. Afterwards the Synod made some feeble inquiry, but no action resulted.[7] Hepburn's case was therefore not at all exceptional, and it was even less flagrant than Telfair's inasmuch as he had been in some formal way ordained in London, while Telfair was generally believed to have no regular orders at all.

But Telfair spent his time in laying ghosts, while Hepburn strove with ecclesiastical flesh and blood. The General Assembly convened in 1690 became aware of the existence of a formidable body of protesters in the South of Scotland with Hepburn at their head. By this time the United Societies were in a divided state, which scarcely corresponded to their name. Three parties had been called into existence by the Revolution. First, there were those who accepted the new Government as fairly satisfactory in the meantime, and made ready to enter the State Church. This section accordingly offered but a perfunctory protest against certain abuses, and then quietly followed their three shepherds—Lining, Shields, and Boyd—into the green pastures of the Establishment. At the opposite extreme stood what was now no longer the Remnant, but a remnant of the Remnant, who saw little difference from their strict Covenanting platform between the new King and the old, and so " declined " the new Government in all its ways and works.

Hepburn followed his " joucking " bent, and led the way to a position midway between passive conformity and active nonconformity, or even resistance. " A Third Sort," he says, " judged it most like to Scripture Pattern, to own what was good in both Church and State, and to protest and bear

[7] *Nicholson's History and Traditional Tales*, p. 4. See Note 2.

Witness against the Defections of both, by pleading in face of Judicatories for Redress of Grievances."[8] Into this Scottish *via media* he was accompanied by his parishioners, as well as by scattered flocks in several Galloway parishes, and even in Dumfriesshire and Fifeshire. Probably the threefold cleavage ran through all the various "Correspondences" which had hitherto formed the United Societies, extending over nearly the half of Scotland. But, of course, the Hebronites were most in evidence in the parish and the immediate vicinity of Urr.

The Hebronite party presented a memorial of grievances to the General Assembly of 1690, but this went to a committee and was no more heard of. The grievances were of a sort which soon became typical. There had been nothing done to ministers and others in office or membership who had been guilty of sinful compliance in the late reign. The Covenants had not been renewed or insisted on as part of the new Church constitution. Many curates were allowed to remain. Many "malignants" were permitted to hold office in Church and State. A soft answer came from the committee, but no redress ensued. Rather, new grievances arose. The General Assembly was dissolved by the King's command. It was twice prorogued, the second time *sine die*. This was an encroachment on the Church's intrinsic power. There was a party at Court which hated the Presbyterian Church, and they had too much influence with the King. All this, and much more, Hepburn was commissioned by his followers in 1693 to represent in a memorial which he delivered to the Secretary of State, as he "could not obtain access to his Majesty." He also favoured the Synod of Dumfries with a similar paper, dealing very faithfully indeed with their defections, particularly the taking of the Oath of Allegiance and Bond of Assurance. This paper found its way to the General Assembly, and in consequence he was "processed" in 1694, and suspended in 1696. This was followed by a complaint to the civil power, and in the same year the Lord-Advocate framed a libel against him for dis-

[8] *Humble Pleadings*; Introduction.

orderly and disloyal practices, and he was summoned to appear before the Privy Council. Still undaunted, he defended his case, putting in "Answers," which the Lord-Advocate characterised as having "treason in them;" so that the affair would have ended in the Grassmarket ten years before. But times were changed, and the sentence was that he be confined to the town of Brechin and two miles around, under a cautionary bond of 3000 merks or £150 sterling. Failing to obtain cautioners, Hepburn was once more introduced to the Tolbooth, from which, however, he was soon carried to Stirling Castle. In both his prisons he imitated the apostolic fashion of preaching to such as came, speaking from the window of his cell.

It was three years more before he regained perfect liberty, and then he patched up an agreement with the General Assembly under which he was reponed in Urr, "upon his application," says the volume of *Assembly Acts* (April 9th, 1705). He pledged himself to "correspond" with the Presbyteries of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, but those two Courts found him an uncomfortable adjunct. Fresh irregularities were reported. Hepburn would go into parishes which were already "planted," *i.e.*, supplied with lawful pastors, and there he baptised without requiring "testificates," *i.e.*, certificates of membership. Finally, the Assembly grew weary of him, and in 1705 suddenly deposed him.

In reciting the grounds of this ultimate sentence the Assembly specified the following:—Asserting that to communicate at the Lord's Table along with unworthy persons was to communicate unworthily; neglect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for more than sixteen years; preaching at Galston, Fenwick, Loudon, and Calder, all "planted parishes;" intruding into Balmaghie, Kirkconnel, and other parishes. It was also charged that he declared "the ministers slapped people's heads"—a reference, perhaps, to the imposition of hands at ordinations of clergy, which, I fear, Hepburn did not regard as essential or advisable. He had accused the clergy of "profaning the Sacrament by giving it to drinkers, swearers, etc." He had said:—"If they got

not another religion, they and their religion would go to the bottomless pit." He confessed that he had called the Oath of Allegiance as taken by ministers of the Church a "black oath," and the "highest act of Erastianism." Finally he had broken all his promises of amendment, and must therefore be deposed.[9] After this, we might have expected Hepburn to disappear; but the most active and public work of his life still remained to be done. So little had he feared expulsion that in 1701 he had married, his wife being Emilia Nisbet, daughter of Alexander Nisbet of Craigentinny, and a son had been born of the union. He returned to his manse a deposed minister, but the near example of Macmillan (who had been deposed in 1703 but still held his ground) helped to confirm him in his policy of passive resistance. His parishioners also stood by him to a man. As soon as they heard of the deposition they held a mass meeting, and drew up a paper declaring their unshaken adherence to him as their lawful pastor. They sent a protest to the Assembly. Still more, they forwarded a protest against the Union to the High Commissioner in 1706, and in November of that year they and other like-minded "convened in martial order," and burned the Articles of Union at the Cross of Dumfries. The General Assembly appears to have been a little shaken by these active and powerful demonstrations. The Commission of the Assembly in 1707 was still more shaken, and hastily reponed Hepburn. This act was discussed by the succeeding Assembly, which disapproved of the Commission's "irregularities," and ordered inquiry to be made into Hepburn's conduct since he was reponed.[10] But nothing more was done; and here ended, in something like defeat, the attempts of the dominant party to crush the troublesome minister of Urr. The conflict had lasted nearly 17 years.

From this point the activity of Hepburn and his secret Societies for Fellowship was mostly of a religious and non-political character. His influence grew, and the Oath of

[9] *Acts of Assembly*; Anno 1705.

[10] *Mackelvie's Annals and Statistics of the U.P. Church*, 1873, pp. 145-7. Compare, however, *Struthers' History*, I., 90.

Abjuration of 1712 brought some over to his side whom the other oaths had not stumbled.[10a] Hepburn had not a few sympathisers among the clergy, notably in Fifeshire. Wodrow mentions "a project to transport Hepburn to Fyfe" (*Correspondence*, I., 76). One of his closest friends was George Mair, of Culross, the colleague of Fraser, of Brea; and of him Ralph Erskine wrote the lines:—

"He was a burning and a shining light,
In doctrine ardent, and in preaching bright,
Sweet in his converse, sober in his talk,
Meek in his worship, modest in his walk;
In him lamb-meekness, lion-boldness shone,
Bold in his Master's cause, meek in his own."[11]

The Oath of Abjuration was declined by a good many ministers in Galloway and Dumfriesshire, and, in particular, five "separated" or withdrew from their Presbyteries on account of it. These "five *Nons*," as Wodrow calls them, held frequent conferences with Hepburn, but his demands were found too exacting, and no agreement was reached. Hepburn wished them to join him in licensing preachers, which would have been to set up a Presbytery. It is perhaps for this reason chiefly that he has been styled by some "the morning star of the Secession."[12]

The most notorious of Hepburn's public acts came in the year of the Rebellion, 1715. It is also in some respects the most mysterious. The Pretender's expedition aroused many hopes, and a change of Government seemed at one time not improbable. Hepburn's people had long been accustomed to hold secret meetings, and it is hardly likely that they refrained from arming and drilling, any more than the Remnant. And the Remnant, we know, were busily attending to their arms and ammunition as far back as 1708, and were "rendezvousing" and learning "manual exercise" in 1714.[13] When at last it seemed likely that the

[10a] See Note 3.

[11] *Fraser's Life of Erskine*, p. 121.

[12] *Mackelvie*, p. 146.

[13] See United Societies' Minutes under May 3, 1708, and also May 1, 1714, August 15, October 5, 1715.

Pretender's forces would come to Dumfries, Hepburn marched 300 of his men to Closeburn, where he encamped in the church. They carried a silken standard, with the motto " For the Lord of Hosts." The flag is still in good preservation at the manse of Urr. A drummer went with the Hebronites, and Hepburn himself wore a claymore; both drum and claymore were in existence in the year 1841, but after prolonged search I have failed to locate them. The Dumfries authorities were in much doubt as to Hepburn's intentions, and Bailie Gilchrist and " Bargaly " were sent out to negotiate with him. The conference took place at Kirkmahoe, whither the Hebronite force had come. Rae gives the number first as " about 300 men in eight companies " (p. 256), then as " about 320 dissenters." The two messengers requested Hepburn to come to the town's help as quickly as possible, and accordingly he moved forward across the river and halted on Corbelly Hill. Further than this he refused to go. " An unsigned paper, which," says Rae, " I have now before me," declared that the Hebronites had not " freedom in their consciences to fight in defence of the Constitution in Church and State, as established since the sinful Union." They added their " terms and conditions " (Rae, p. 276), but, of course, the good provost and bailies could not give any pledge of redress. Instead of that, the magistrates wisely left them where they were, and sent out abundant provisions to make them comfortable.

The tide of battle rolled away from Dumfries, and Hepburn's eight companies marched back to their homes, flag, drum, claymore, and all.

The incident has begotten some contradictory suggestions. On the one hand, it is argued that Hepburn was a Jacobite, and only awaited the Pretender's appearance to strike a blow against the Government of George I. This charge of Jacobitism was widely believed in his own lifetime; but he solemnly and explicitly denied it in a letter which will be found in the *Humble Pleadings*, p. 304. On the other hand, Lockhart (*Memoirs*, p. 281) declares that Hepburn was a " spy of the Government." Mr Andrew Lang's short and easy method with such cases was to believe both charges, and

he would perhaps have pronounced Hepburn a twin-brother of Ker of Kersland, whom he described as "Cameronian, Jacobite, and Spy." I have admitted a certain element of mystery about Hepburn, but mystery is not necessarily a cloak for knavery. In my view, Hepburn was something like an opportunist. He saw, as he thought, a chance of exacting that redress of grievances for which he and his party had laboured all along. The King's need was his opportunity. It was a simple-minded view, natural to home-bred wits. What Hepburn would have done had the Pretender actually attacked Dumfries I do not pretend to say. I do not believe he would have struck a blow on either side without some pledge of redress; but if blows had come, I do not believe that his followers would have fought alongside of their old persecutors.

If the Hebronites really cherished any hopes of advantage from the turmoil of 1715, they must have gone home sadly disappointed. From that date it is probable that their numbers declined.[13a] Their manifesto, "Humble Pleadings for the Good Old Way," had been published in 1713, and it contains at the end Hepburn's rules for "Societies for Prayer and Converse," the significant passage being as follows:—"Whatever is done in these meetings let it be kept Secret, and let no Member discover any of the meeting's Actings to any out of that meeting." Such secrecy led to the inevitable result that the Hebronites were credited with sentiments and actions which they would certainly have disavowed. We have seen how charges of Jacobitism, Jesuitry, and espionage were freely brought against them. A more signal illustration is to be found in a statement of Wodrow's (*Analecta*, III., 160). He records the fact that Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, the defender of Glasgow in 1715, the advancer of money for arms in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright,[14] and an active country gentleman generally, told him that "many of the Dyke Levellers were Hebronites." None of them, however, were of any note except

[13a] See Note 4.

[14] *Rae's History*, p. 41.

" Mr Cluny, the deposed curate,[14a] who draues their papers." Thus Hebronite became a suspected name to the supporters of law and order.

This statement of Wodrow's is under date 1724, but on February 8th, 1723, Wodrow had written:[15] " Old Mr Hepburn is a-dying, and, they say, presses union and peace much. *Praestat sero quam nunquam.*" Better late than never, says the shrewd, practical Wodrow. Then in 1725 he notes that " Mr Hepburn's followers, since his death, have all joined in ordinances " (*Anal.*, III., 244). So that the old protester had not preached peace in vain. From the *Fasti* we learn that he died 20th March, 1723, aged about 74, in the 45th year of his ministry.

I have not found any tombstone to his memory in Urr churchyard, where his sister-in-law and wife are commemorated in some quaint verses. But his epitaph might be found in the words of Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees, recorded by Wodrow (*Anal.*, II., 203-4):—" Hepburn is a good man. I know him to be earnest, though weak; but for Mr M'Milian !——"

There were still Hebronites in Urr in 1738, since Ralph Erskine's diary records that he preached " among Mr Hepburn's people," and that on Sabbath, August 27th, 1738, " influences were given, many of the people heard with greedy looks and weeping eyes, as if it were the first offer of Christ and salvation they were then getting, and as if the Word were going through heart and flesh. . . At the evening prayer, in a barn full of people, the place was a Bochim." From these barn-preachings came at length, in 1743, a church at Blacket, near the present parish manse. Then followed a second church at Hardgate in 1760. Lastly, in 1798, was erected the present Hardgate U.P. Church, which is Hepburn's memorial in the parish. The Hebronites thus constituted a primeval element in the U.P. Church.

He who feels inclined may, by going to the parish, behold Halmyre Hill, where Hepburn drilled his martial

[14a] See Note 5.

[15] *Wodrow Correspondence*, III., 14.

congregation, and Corse Hill, which a local tradition connects with an alleged gruesome practice of Hepburn's. It is said that he used to exhume Episcopalians and set their coffins on end on Corse Hill, which thus acquired its name. And it is added that on one occasion, in Hepburn's absence, a poor prelatist was being interred with the Prayer Book sentence, "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection," when Hepburn's son, who was looking angrily on, cried:—"Resurrection! I trow he'll soon hae a glorious resurrection when my father comes hame." On Corse Hill, too, according to the *Fasti*, Hepburn made a bonfire of all the Popish books which he found in the parish. These idle tales may at least serve to discountenance the equally idle charge that the founder of the Hebronites was a Popish emissary or a Jacobite plotter.

NOTES.

I am extremely indebted to Mr G. W. Shirley, of the Ewart Public Library, for some valuable information and corrections, which he permits me to summarise.

Note 1.—The statement in the *Humble Pleadings* quoted above, that there was no Presbytery of Dumfries in 1689, must be modified. On November 9th, 1687, the Presbyterian ministers in Dumfries met for consultation as to the needful measures to be taken at that juncture, and *inter alia* they addressed an earnest invitation to Hepburn to undertake the charge of Irongray. Hepburn did not accept this invitation, although in 1689 it was reinforced by a unanimous call from the parishioners. He was, however, employed in pulpit supply by the Presbytery, and was even commissioned as a corresponding member of the Synod of Wigtown at a later date. But there is no mention of his being inducted at Urr.

Note 2.—The records of the Presbytery of Dumfries shew that Telfair was duly recognised as a probationer. While acting as chaplain to the Laird of Closeburn, he underwent his "trials" for the ministry and was called by the parish of Glencairn, a counter call was made by Rerrick, and he expressed his preference for the latter charge, which he was allowed to accept. But there is no record of his ordination.

Note 3.—As indicating the extent of the schism, we may note that in 1713 Mr George Boyd, minister of Glencairn, discouraged, resigned his charge because of the division, and it was reported in October that "few of the people of the paroch of Kirkbride have

repaired for some time to their kirk and attended Gospel ordinances," while Rae, the minister, complained that "in several parishes we could scarce get elders, as he in particular found to his great loss and discouragement." Communion was not administered in Kirkbride until 1725, there having been none held there for some 70 years.

Note 4.—In July, 1715, Mr John Taylor of Wamphray and Mr James Gilchrist of Dunscore, two of the "nons," joined with Hepburn and "erected Judicatories of their own" (Penpont Presbytery Minutes, 7/8/1715). Taylor and Gilchrist were both finally deposed for scandalous practices other than ecclesiastical, but not before their parishioners, in 1718, had armed themselves and treated intruders as Macmillan's had done at an earlier date.

Note 5.—The "Mr Cluny, the deposed curate," was most probably Mr Hugh Clanny, minister of Kirkbean. He had been deposed for immorality, and took the oath of purgation in Kirkbean Parish Church in 1702. A local tradition declares that the person who had accused him confessed on her death-bed that her charge was false.

The Marine and Fresh-Water Fishes of Wigtownshire.

By J. G. GORDON of Corsemalzie.

I am writing this, I fear, rather incomplete list of Wigtownshire fishes, in the first place, in order that these records may be properly recorded, and, secondly, in the hope that it may inspire others living nearer the sea to work out our fishes more thoroughly. My notes are chiefly gathered during fishing excursions in Luce Bay, and occasional visits to Stranraer, Portpatrick, Port Logan, etc., while the net and line fishings are in progress. There is no doubt that many valuable records are lost yearly through the lack of interest of most of the fishermen in species not considered marketable. Though during the war many kinds which were formerly thrown away or used as bait were readily sold as food, I have received accounts of species from time to time which I have been quite unable to identify, but any species whose occurrence I am doubtful of is placed in square brackets. My thanks are due to Sir Herbert Maxwell; Mr Kenneth M'Douall of Logan; Captains J. N. and J. R. Kennedy, Captain Alec Matthews, Messrs J. Weaver, W.

M. Wares, J. Rodan, and especially to Mr Adam Birrell and Mr Thomas Craig of the Cree and Innerwell net fisheries, to whose kindness I owe many interesting notes and records. I regret that I have been unable to examine the yearly reports of the Scottish Fishery Board, some 37 in number, which probably contain some local records of uncommon fish.

Wigtownshire, although only a small county, possesses a coast line of close on a hundred and fifty miles in length, and of an exceedingly varied character. The rocky shores of the Mull of Galloway and the Burrow Head shelter many rock-loving species, as the Conger Eel, the many-hued Wrasses, the Rocklings, etc.; while the mud flats of Wigtown Bay and the sandy shores of Luce Bay and Loch Ryan afford a home to the Sand Eels, Sting Rays, and various flat fish. Though there are many fresh-water lochs, most of them of small extent, we have very few species of coarse fish, the majority being tenanted solely by Perch and the predatory Pike. There are only one or two good trout lochs, but recently more is being done to exterminate the Pike and create others, Lord Bute setting a good example in this respect. The chief rivers are the Cree, Bladenoch, Luce, Tarf, and Crosswater, the first three being well known for their salmon fisheries. Unfortunately, the more sluggish stretches of most of them are overrun with Pike, which play havoc among the young Salmon and Sea Trout. The Bladenoch and Loch Cree also contain Perch. Trout streams of any note are few in number. I will now enumerate the various species of fish that have occurred in our waters. It is difficult to fix any boundaries at sea, but I have not gone much outside the three-mile limit in most cases.

SEA LAMPREY (*Petromyzon marinus, Lin.*).—Occasional. Recorded in the River Cree, especially when ascending from the sea to spawn. One nearly 3 ft. long taken in the "Langhole" pool, Newton-Stewart, by Henry Erskine in spring some 25 years ago. One taken in the estuary of the River Cree by Mr Adam Birrell, some 15 in. long, on the 14th August, 1895; now in Kirkcudbright Museum; and a larger one on the 15th May, 1912, at the same place.

RIVER LAMPREY (*Lampetra fluviatilis, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. Mr W. Erskine told me he had seen these Lampreys frozen in the ice in hard winters. They are generally to be seen in the "Langhole" pool, Newton-Stewart, in early spring. Not uncommon in the estuary of the River Cree. Several in Kirkcudbright Museum from there, sent by Mr A. Birrell. Two, some 12 in. long, taken in an eel net on the 9th July, 1919.

PLANER'S LAMPREY (*Lampetra planeri, Bleeker*).—Occurs at the mouth of the River Bladenoch. Several some 7 inches long taken by Mr J. M'Master in a shrimp trawl there on the 10th July, 1919.

LESSER SPOTTED DOGFISH OR ROUGH HOUND (*Scyllium canicula, Lin.*).—Common. On the 15th May, 1905, saw nine up to 2½ feet caught off Garheugh, Luce Bay. Very common off Portpatrick, and often caught on long lines. They are locally called "Blin Ellens," or less politely "Blin Bitches." They leave the lines alone after mid-January, and don't return till summer. Saw one 2 ft. 10 in. captured off Port Logan among a number of smaller ones on 31st May, 1912. Common at times in the nets at Burnfoot and Innerwell fisheries.

[LARGER SPOTTED DOGFISH OR NURSE HOUND (*Scyllium catulus, Cuv.*).—This species has been recorded as taken off our coast. In the *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, it is stated of the parish of Kirkmaiden "that the Gabboch (*Scyllium catulus*) is not uncommon," but this may refer to the above species. Mr A. Birrell thinks he has taken it in the nets in Wigtown Bay.]

SMOOTH HOUND (*Mustelus vulgaris, Gray*).—Scarce *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, parish of Kirkmaiden, states that the Smooth Hound (*Mustelus laevis*) is found accompanying the shoals of herring. It is sometimes taken off the Mull of Galloway, and has been taken in the nets, Innerwell.

BLACK-MOUTHED DOGFISH (*Pristiurus melanostomo, Gray*).—Rare. Has occurred off the Mull of Galloway and in the nets, Wigtown Bay.

PICKED DOGFISH (*Acanthias vulgaris, Risso.*).—Common. Sometimes abundant. In September, 1909, we captured several line fishing off Sinniness Head, Luce Bay. Often taken in the nets, Wigtown Bay. On the 26th July, 1910, some 40 to 50, weighing up to 6 lbs., were taken in the salmon nets at Innerwell. Examined eleven captured in the nets off Port Logan on the 31st May, 1912. The largest measured 2 ft. 9 in.

PORBEAGLE SHARK (*Gamna carnubica, Gmelin*).—This shark is not uncommon, but is seldom captured. One was washed ashore at the mouth of the Piltantan Burn, Glenluce, in 1899. Mr T. Craig says they are scarcer of recent years in the salmon nets at Innerwell, but have been taken over 2 cwt.

THRESHER SHARK (*Alopias vulpes, Gmelin*).—I only know of a single capture, a specimen measuring 5 ft. 3 in. in length, taken by Mr A. Birrell in the nets at Wigtown Bay, and now in Kirkcudbright Museum. It is recorded in *Ann. Scot. Nat. Hist.*, April, 1895, p. 131.

BASKING SHARK (*Selache maximus, Gunn*).—Common off the Irish coast, and seen in our waters in summer. Mr Adam Birrell records a specimen washed up dead in Wigtown Bay, and a large one seen alive there in July some years ago. A specimen, 18 ft. long, was cast ashore in Clanyard Bay (Kirkmaiden) on the 24th February, 1911.

BLUE SHARK (*Carcharias glaucus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. On the 4th August, 1863, one measuring 7½ ft. long and 4½ ft. in girth, and weighing nearly 2 cwt., was taken in the salmon nets at Innerwell. But on the 17th May, 1900, a still larger specimen was captured, which measured 10 ft. in length and weighed 2½ cwt. Small examples are also not infrequent. Mr A. Birrell tells me he has taken three in the Burnfoot nets in the last few years.

TOPE (*Galeus canis, Bonap.*).—Not uncommon. One 6 ft. long was taken in the fishermen's nets off Port William in November, 1905. Another of 5 ft. was taken entangled in the nets, Loch Ryan, on the 27th July, 1911; while one of 4½ ft. was captured in the nets off Portpatrick on the 31st

January, 1911. They are also taken at times in the nets at Wigtown Bay. Mr A. Birrell records one on the 8th May, 1911, and Mr T. Craig reports specimens at Innerwell occasionally.

MONKFISH (*Rhina squatina, Lin.*).—A specimen was taken by Mr A. Birrell in the nets, Wigtown Bay, on the 26th July, 1914.

COMMON OR GRAY SKATE (*Raia batis, Lin.*).—Common. Saw a very large one stranded alive on the sand below Monreith village on the 15th November, 1903. Commonly caught off our coasts, and fairly frequent in the nets, Innerwell and Wigtown Bay. Mr A. Birrell tells me that a few years ago a number of this Skate were stranded on the banks of the River Cree as far up as Carsewalloch, after being caught by a fresh.

THORNBACK (*Raia clavata, Lin.*).—Common and generally distributed. Fairly common off Portpatrick in summer months. Many brought in by the boats, caught in Loch Ryan, on 28th January, 1911. Frequent in the nets, Wigtown Bay. Common in Luce Bay.

FLAPPER SKATE (*Raia intermedia, Parnell*).—Fairly common off Portpatrick in winter; a large one caught there, 24th January, 1911, and one, 29th January, measured 4 ft. 9 in. across. One measuring over 6 ft. long taken 20th February, 1912. Several brought in by the boats, Loch Ryan, 28th January, 1911.

LONG-NOSED SKATE (*Raia oxyrhynchus, Lin.*).—Scarce. Sometimes taken in Loch Ryan. Mr A. Birrell has several times taken this species in the nets, Wigtown Bay. One there in December, 1919.

PAINTED RAY (*Raia microcellata, Yarrell*).—Rare. Commoner in Irish waters. A beautiful specimen, splendidly marked, which measured 3 ft. in length and 2½ ft. across, was taken outside Loch Ryan on the 25th January, 1912.

CUCKOO RAY (*Raia cirellaris, Couch*).—Occasionally caught. I identified two caught off Port Logan on the 31st

May, 1912, one of which measured 19 in. across, and showed the two beauty spots on the wings very clearly.

SHAGREEN RAY (*Raia fullonica, Lin.*).—Occasionally caught. Commoner in Irish waters. This Ray has been taken three or four times in the nets, Wigtown Bay, during the last few years by Mr A. Birrell.

SPOTTED RAY (*Raia maculata, Mont.*).—Not uncommon. One identified by Captain J. N. Kennedy on Stranraer pier, brought in by the boats on the 9th February, 1911. Examined three small specimens, none over 18 in. across, captured off Port Logan on the 31st May, 1912. Occasionally taken in the nets, Wigtown Bay.

TORPEDO RAY (*Torpedo nobiliana, Yarrell*).—I only know of a single capture, a fine specimen taken off Portpatrick in October, 1908.

STING RAY (*Trygon pastinaca, Flem.*).—Not uncommon in Wigtown Bay, and flounders are often taken with marks probably caused by it. Mr A. Birrell has captured several. Two are in the Kirkcudbright Museum, the smaller taken on the 18th August, 1898, and the larger, which measures 23 in. across, on the 24th January, 1908.

STURGEON (*Acipenser sturio, Lin.*).—Captured yearly, though seems scarcer recently. Sometimes seen, and several taken in Loch Ryan. Seen yearly in Wigtown Bay. One captured in the nets there by Mr A. Birrell some years ago weighed close on 3 cwt. Two were once taken in the same pocket at the same tide, one weighing nearly 300 lbs. and the other 96 lbs. On the 9th May, 1911, one was captured, weighing 170 lbs. The largest taken at Innerwell weighed 225 lbs., in 1895.

HERRING (*Clupea harengus, Lin.*).—Irregular. In the *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, it is stated of Sorbie parish that off Garlieston and Cruggleton in 1826, "that Herrings were caught in considerable numbers, and that some of the boats made £30 during the season." The Herrings were late in reaching this part of the coast, but were of large size and excellent quality. Mr T. Craig, of Innerwell fishery, writes

in 1920 " that Herring used to be very plentiful, but that during the last 30 years they have almost completely left that coast." Further round Wigtown Bay, Mr A. Birrell tells me they are also scarce now, but that he has taken them as far up the River Cree as Carsewalloch. Of the parish of Portpatrick it is also written, in 1839, " that from 1813 to 1821 about 20 boats and 100 men were employed in Herring fishing at Portpatrick. The average number of barrels per boat each year was about 900. The greatest number of Herring were caught between Portpatrick and Portnessock two or three miles from the shore. The fishing season was from early June to early August, and the Herring came from the north and proceeded south." Now Herring are scarce as a rule here, too. It is further recorded of Stranraer, in 1839, " that Loch Ryan was at one time famous for its Herring fishery. I have heard old people say that they have known 300 sail boats in the bay at one time, which had come from the Highlands and other parts to fish. For many years past the shoals of Herring may be said to have deserted the loch." In recent years very large numbers of Herrings frequent Loch Ryan in the winter, and huge catches are sometimes made. In winter, 1909, one boat made so much as £300 in a week. On the 23rd January, 1912, a record catch of Herring was made in Loch Ryan by the various fishing fleets, all the boats meeting with good luck. It is estimated that over 10,000 baskets were landed, and 520 tons of Herring despatched, no less than ten special trains leaving the Harbour Station during the day.

SPRAT (*Clupea sprattus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon in shoals, but confused with young Herring. Mr A. Birrell states that " nearly at all times when fishing with sparling nets in the estuary of the River Cree, we take sprats and often in great quantities. They are absent at present."—Letter, 8th February, 1920.

THWAITE SHAD (*Clupea finta, Cuvier*).—Not uncommon during the summer. Is often taken in the nets, Innerwell and Wigtown Bay. Comes up the Cree to spawn in spring.

ALLIS SHAD (*Clupea alosa, Lin.*).—Fairly common. Shad

are common during the summer months in the nets at Innerwell. Large ones weigh up to 6 lbs. I saw one 2 lbs. taken there on the 3rd June, 1912. Mr A. Birrell also takes them in the nets at the mouth of the River Cree in spring and summer. They ascend the river to spawn.

ANCHOVY (*Engraulis encrasicholus, Lin.*).—Anchovys were numerous in the Solway in January and February, 1890, and some were taken in the nets at the mouth of the River Cree, opposite Barholm, by Mr A. Birrell since that date.

SALMON (*Salmo salar, Lin.*).—Common in our estuaries and larger rivers, as the Cree, Bladenoch, Tarf, Luce, and Cross Water, and important net fisheries are carried on at their mouths. Very large specimens are rare with us. Mr T. Craig tells me Salmon are very much scarcer at Innerwell fishery than they were thirty years ago. He has known eight fish of 40 lbs. and over caught there during the last fifty years. The heaviest, taken in 1890, weighed 46½ lbs., measured 4 ft. 4 in. in length and 2 ft. 2½ in. in girth. One 40 lbs. was caught in the summer of 1919. Mr A. Birrell states that the largest Salmon caught in the nets at the mouth of the River Cree was one of 40 lbs., taken 35 years ago, but that he has seen many over 30 lbs. One taken at the Point net on the 23rd April, 1918, weighed 34 lbs., measured 4 ft. and 27 inches in girth. In the River Luce a salmon of 35 lbs. was caught with the rod by G. Ashley Dodd on the 3rd October, 1878; while one of 43 lbs. was captured there by J. G. Walker some ten or twelve years ago. Lord Stair also mentions one of 37 lbs. taken in the Luce.

SEA TROUT (*Salmo trutta, Fleming*).—Common in some of our rivers and estuaries. The River Luce was formerly our most famous Sea Trout river, and G. Ashley Dodd once captured over 100 to his own rod one evening many years ago. Very heavy Sea Trout run up the Piltantan Burn, Dunragit, and fish of 12 lbs. weight have been taken there. A good many are captured in the nets, Wigtown Bay and Innerwell, and specimens of 9 lbs. have been caught.

BULL TROUT (*Salmo eriox, Gmel.*).—This doubtful species

occurs in some of our rivers and estuaries. They rarely rise to the fly, but one weighing 8 lbs. was caught by Mr David Kerr in the River Cree in August, 1908. I examined one weighing 15 lbs. taken in the nets at the mouth of the River Luce on the 18th June, 1910. The flesh was coarse and tasteless.

BROWN TROUT (*Salmo fario, Lin.*).—Common. Occurs in most streams, but large Trout are rarely caught in our rivers. Scarce also in most of our lochs, except those stocked. Trout from 3 to 7½ lbs. were caught in Mochrum Loch by James M'Dowall previous to 1898. Two of 6¼ and 7 lbs. were taken on set lines in the Castle Loch by A. M'Clelland some years ago. Lord Stair writes me that the heaviest Trout caught in the White Loch (Inch) weighed 8¾ lbs., and that he captured one of 7½ lbs. there in 1919.

LOCH LEVEN TROUT (*Salmo levenensis, Walker*).—Introduced into many of our lochs and tarns, where they thrive well.

RAINBOW TROUT (*Salmo irideus, Gibbons*).—Introduced into some of our lochs. They seem to thrive wonderfully well for a year or two, and then vanish. A Rainbow Trout is said to have been captured in the salmon nets near the mouth of the River Luce some years ago.

AMERICAN CHAR (*Salmo fontinalis, Mitchell*).—Introduced into some of our lochs. They, too, seem to thrive well and then disappear.

GRAYLING (*Thymallus thymallus, Lin.*).—A good many years ago fifty from the Clyde were introduced by Sir Herbert Maxwell into a stream at Monreith, which runs very low in summer. So the fish all bolted to the sea, and were found floating in Portwilliam Harbour.

SMELT OR SPIRLING (*Osmerus eperlanus, Lin.*).—Common in the Rivers Cree and Bladenoch. The *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1828, records of the parish of Kirkinner :—" Spirling are found in the River Bladenoch," parish of Penninghame. " Spirling run up the River Cree in great numbers, especially in March, the water sometimes swarms with them,

where the tide runs up to. Numbers are caught and sent away." At the present time they are still numerous in the Cree in late autumn and early spring, and a considerable fishery is carried on.

CARP (*Cyprinus carpio, Lin.*).—Introduced. Occurs in Laggan tarn, Fell of Carlton (Glasserton), close to the sea-shore, on a cliff 100 ft. up. There is a tradition that they were introduced by a certain Admiral long since dead. They are now of great size, but very shy. Some were introduced into Cults Loch (Inch) a few years ago.

ROACH (*Rutilus rutilus, Lin.*).—Probably introduced long ago. Gregarious and very abundant in the Black and White Lochs (Inch), where they are sometimes netted and used to manure the fields. Noticed a shoal of over 300 at the bridge over the Black Loch on 30th May, 1912.

MINNOW (*Phoxinus phoxinus, Lin.*).—Abounds in the River Cree below Bargrennan, but does not seem to occur above the linn or elsewhere in the county, except where introduced, as at Glasserton, Loch Elrig, Dunskey, etc.

LOACH (*Nemachilus barbatula, Lin.*).—Sir Herbert Maxwell kindly informs me that Loaches abound in the burn entering the sea at Monreith village.

EEL (*Anquilla anquilla, Lin.*).—Very common and generally distributed. The Sharp-nosed Eel (*A. vulgaris, Flem.*) and Yellow Blunt-nosed Eel (*A. latirostris, Risso*), now considered one species, are equally numerous. One weighing 8 lbs. and measuring 39 in. in length was taken on a trimmer in Mochrum Loch by Mr D. M'Dowall in June, 1898. From 26th July to 27th August, 1909, I caught 223 on set lines in Loch Chesney, a small loch on the moor, the largest 34 in. long and weighing 3 lbs. One of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. caught in an eel trap in the Malzie Burn on the 28th May, 1910, contained two trout five and three inches long. Many years ago there was an important eel fishery on the Malzie Burn, and numbers were caught and salted in autumn.

CONGER EEL (*Conger vulgaris, Cuvier*).—Common off our rocky shores. I saw hundreds of all sizes dead on the

shore below Elrig village, after the great blizzard of January, 1895. A specimen weighing 80 lbs. was taken off Portpatrick on the 22nd January, 1907. I saw a number taken off Port Logan on the 31st May, 1912, but none of any note. Mr J. Weaver notes one of 42 lbs. caught on a line near the Burrow Head. Congers are frequent in the nets in Wigtown Bay and Innerwell, especially in July and August. Mr T. Craig tells me his largest one was over 6 ft., and weighed 84 lbs.

PIKE (*Esox lucius, Lin.*).—Too common in most of our lochs and the sluggish reaches of our rivers. The *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1838, states of the parish of Inch that "the lochs abound in pike, which have been caught up to 24 lbs." When Dowalton Loch, one of the largest lochs in the county, was drained in 1863 no pike of notable size seem to have been found. On the 23rd March, 1899, when Lord Stair, my brother, and myself were trying an otter for Pike on Soulseat Loch (Inch), a large fish was hooked and lost, which was afterwards washed up dead with the bait in its mouth. It measured 4 ft. 2 in., and 29 in. in girth, and must have weighed some 35 lbs. One was washed ashore, freshly dead, in Soulseat Loch on the 15th May, 1905 (weight, 35 lbs.). It was weighed by the Rev. J. Ackman Paton, and was in fine condition. He supposed it to have eaten a poisoned rat. A pike 24 lbs. was taken on a trimmer baited with a ¾ lb. perch in Mochrum Loch on the 19th September, 1909, and is preserved at the Old Place. One weighing 17 lbs. was caught in Monreith Lake by Mr W. Parlane, trolling with a perch, on the 7th July, 1910. A large specimen was caught in the salmon nets in tidal water in the River Cree below Corveisel in spring, 1910. One taken in a net in the Lake Monreith, in the end of March, 1911, weighed 21 lbs. One 22 lbs. was taken in a trammel net in Loch Ochiltree in spring, 1913. A Pike, 3 ft. 9 in. and weighing 22½ lbs., was captured in the Castle Loch on the 29th June, 1918, with eel's tail. It contained a nearly full-grown Mallard. One weighing 26½ lbs. was captured with spoon bait in September, 1919, in the Castle Loch by Mr Dodd. In Soulseat Loch on the 23rd October,

1908, my brother and I captured 25 pike, weighing from 4 to 7½ lbs., out of 26 touches, trolling with sole skin minnow, and the one lost was the last risen. One 19 lbs. and 42 inches in length was captured by Mr Stroyan on the 14th May, 1920, while fishing in the River Bladenoch. It contained a Teal.

THREE-SPINED STICKLEBACK (*Gastrosteus aculeatus, Lin.*).—Common. Numerous in the Black and White Lochs (Inch). I found eight freshly captured by Common Terns laid together on the new island on the Black Loch (Inch) on the 30th May, 1912, where the birds were nesting. Also occurs in the Mochrum lochs. Several adult and immature seen by Mr H. MacIntyre in brackish pools below the Garheugh Rocks, Luce Bay, in June, 1917.

TEN-SPINED STICKLEBACK (*Gastrosteus pungitius, Lin.*). —Several years ago this species was taken plentifully in the ditch at Glenluce Golf Course by Captain J. N. Kennedy.

FIFTEEN-SPINED STICKLEBACK (*Spinachia vulgaris, Fleming*).—Kenneth M'Douall, of Logan, tells me he has taken the species near Port Logan. Sometimes taken in the shrimp trawls in Wigtown Bay, at the mouth of the Bladenoch.

GREAT PIPE FISH (*Syngnathus acus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. A fine specimen 15½ in. long taken by Mr A. Birrell where the Cree and the Bladenoch meet, Wigtown Bay, 3rd May, 1911. One 14 in. long dead on Luce Sands, Luce Bay, 9th June, 1912.

OCEAN PIPE FISH (*Nerophis æquoreus, Lin.*).—Common at times. Examined one caught by the fishermen off St. Medan's Golf Course on 26th May, 1909. A fine specimen taken at Sand Eel Bay, Portpatrick, by Captain J. R. Kennedy on 8th August, 1912. Numbers are sometimes cast up on the sands.

WORM PIPE FISH (*Nerophis lumbriciformis, Yarrell*).—Sometimes taken in the shrimp trawls. I have a specimen which was washed up on Craignarget Sands, Luce Bay, on the 26th May, 1898.

SEAHORSE (*Hippocampus antiquarum, Lesson*).—Not common. Sometimes taken in the shrimp trawls.

SAURY PIKE (*Scombresox saurus, Walbaum*).—Not uncommon, but rarely taken, as it can pass through all but a shrimp net. *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, parish of Portpatrick :—" The Saury (*S. Saurus*) has been caught." Kenneth M'Douall of Logan has taken it off Port Logan. It has also been captured in the shrimp nets in Wigtown Bay.

GARPIKE (*Belone vulgaris, Fleming*).—Rather common of recent years. One measuring over 3 ft. was taken by Mr A. Birrell in the nets, Wigtown Bay, on the 6th June, 1895; now in the Kirkcudbright Museum. Five, each about 2 ft. long, were taken in Loch Ryan on the 9th September, 1910. No less than ten of various sizes were taken in the nets, Innerwell, at one time, while chasing a shoal of mackerel in August, 1909. One, 26½ in. long, was taken there on the 3rd June, 1912, and kindly sent me. Several in the nets, Wigtown Bay and Innerwell, early in July, 1918, and several in Wigtown Bay, largest over 3 ft. long, in 1919. In July, 1919, several were hooked by Mr J. Weaver while following the Mackerel off the Isle of Whithorn.

THICK-LIPPED GREY MULLET (*Mugil chelo, Cuvier*).

THIN-LIPPED GREY MULLET (*Mugil capito, Cuvier*).—Grey Mullet are pretty common round our coasts, but I am uncertain which is the commonest form, though both species occur. Mr T. Craig tells me they are plentifully taken in the nets at Innerwell, and run to 6 or 7 lbs. in weight. Gregarious in the estuary of the River Luce and Piltantan, in Luce Bay, and large numbers are sometimes netted. Saw many advancing with the tide up the Piltantan Burn on 6th October, 1909. A large number netted there up to 8½ lbs. in weight on the 10th August, 1910.

GREATER SAND EEL (*Ammodytes canceolatus, Lesauvage*).—Common in our sandy bays, as Luce Sands. Plentiful, Sand Eel Bay, Portpatrick (Captain J. R. Kennedy).

SAND EEL (*Ammodytes tobianus, Lin.*).—Also plentiful in the same situations.

[BLACKFISH (*Centrolophus niger, Lacépède*).—Mr A. Birrell is sure he took a specimen of this rare fish in the nets at Wigtown Bay some years ago, but unfortunately it was not preserved.]

COD (*Gadus morrhua, Lin.*).—Common, but seems smaller than formerly. In the *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, it is recorded of the parish of Portpatrick :—" That until the year 1813 there was no regular fishery at Portpatrick. The Cod fishing was carried on from the beginning of November till early April. During last season, 1838, fish were very abundant, the average weight was about 16 lbs., the largest being from 36 to 40 lbs. The Cod came from the north, and proceeded southward. The distance of the Cod fishing ground from the shore is from two to three miles. The bait used is the buckie (*B. undatum*)." On the 4th June, 1892, we caught a Cod of 22 lbs. off the Scar Rocks in Luce Bay. Mr J. Weaver tells me that the largest Cod he has taken off the Isle of Whithorn weighed 36 lbs.

HADDOCK (*Gadus æglefinus, Lin.*).—Sometimes common. *New Stat. Acc. Scot,* 1839, parish of Portpatrick :—" And the Haddock, which in the memory of the present fishermen was most abundant, seems to have entirely deserted our coast." Kirkcolm parish :—" Twenty-five years ago Haddick were in great quantity and of excellent quality; they are now rare." Sometimes numerous off our coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer, 1910). Mr A. Birrell writes, 8th February, 1920 :—" Of Haddock I have only taken four during thirty years in the part of Wigtown Bay I fish."

BIB (*Gadus luscus, Lin.*).—Fairly common off the Mull of Galloway; also occurs in Wigtown Bay.

POOR OR POWER COD (*Gadus minutus, Lin.*).—Fairly common. Occurs off the Mull of Galloway. Kenneth M'Douall has taken it off Port Logan. We took it off Sinniness Head in late September, 1909.

[NORWAY POUT (*Gadus esmarkii, Nils.*).—This fish was recorded by Mr W. M. Wares, fishery officer, as having occurred off the Wigtownshire coast.]

COUCH'S WHITING (*Gadus poutassou, Risso*).—This species has also been recorded off the Wigtownshire coast.

WHITING (*Gadus merlangus, Lin.*).—Common, especially immature. The *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, states of Kirkmaiden:—"Whiting are at times abundant." Portpatrick:—"Whiting are rarely taken." Kirkcolm:—"Here small ones are now very common." During the week ending Saturday, the 31st May, 1919, the small line boats landed fair catches of Whiting off Portpatrick. In Loch Ryan also good catches are sometimes made. Mr A. Birrell writes, 8th February, 1920:—"There are practically no Whiting in the part of Wigtown Bay I fish, but the small immature Whiting is very plentiful during September."

COAL FISH OR SAITHE (*Gadus virens, Lin.*).—Abundant off our coast. *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, Kirkmaiden:—"The Coal Fish abounds, and has no less than five different names, according to its size, among the fishermen. As many as 15 cartloads of 'Blockins' have been taken with the drag net at one tide." I have captured many in Luce Bay, trailing "Wagtail" or a white feather.

POLLOCK OR LYTHE (*Gadus pollachius, Lin.*).—Abundant off our rocky coast, and large numbers are taken with net and trailing. Have taken many in Luce Bay, trailing "Wagtail" or bright spinner, or with a white feather, but rarely over 5 lbs.

HAKE (*Merlucius merlucius, Lin.*).—Not very common. *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839:—"The Hake is found accompanying shoals of Herring" (Kirkmaiden). Not uncommon off the Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer). Never seen in the part of Wigtown Bay I fish (Mr A. Birrell).

LING (*Molva vulgaris, Fleming*).—Common. Among fish "commonly caught," the Ling is mentioned for Kirkcolm and Portpatrick parishes (*New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839). Occurs Wigtown Bay (Mr A. Birrell). Common off Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer). Saw one of 25 lbs. captured in Luce Bay, 12th May, 1901.

FIVE-BEARDED ROCKLING (*Onos mustela, Lin.*).—Fairly common under stones between tide-marks. Three taken under stones at low tide, Garheugh shore, Luce Bay, the largest 5 in. long, 23rd May, 1910.

FOUR-BEARDED ROCKLING (*Onos cimbrius, Lin.*).—Seems scarcer, but occurs between tide-marks on various parts of our coast. Took one in a pool near Corsewell Point, Loch Ryan, on the 4th May, 1912.

THREE-BEARDED ROCKLING (*Motella tricirrhata, Black*). —Scarce. It is stated in the *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, that "the Three-Bearded Gade is occasionally caught off Portpatrick." Kenneth M'Douall has also taken it off Port Logan, and Captain J. R. Kennedy, M.C., has caught one or two at Portpatrick previous to 1915. It has also occurred on the Kirkcudbright side of Wigtown Bay.

LESSER FORK BEARD (*Raniceps raninus, Lin.*).—This species has occurred off the Mull of Galloway, and on the Kirkcudbright side of Wigtown Bay.

[STONE BASSE (*Polypriors americanum, Block*).—Mr A. Birrell believes that he took a specimen of this rare fish in the nets, Wigtown Bay, some years ago. Unfortunately it was not preserved.]

[SMALL-MOUTHED BLACK BASS (*Micropterus dolomici, Lacépède*).—Some years ago Sir Herbert Maxwell introduced a number of American Black Bass into Monreith Lake, but whether they were this species or the Large-Mouthed form (*M. salmonoides*), I am uncertain. None appear to have been seen since the first year.]

BASS (*Morone labrax, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. Sometimes taken in the nets, Wigtown Bay, in spring and summer, weighing from 2 to 8 lbs. Bass are also common in the nets at Innerwell fishery, and run up to 6 lbs. in weight.

PERCH (*Perca fluviatilis, Lin.*).—Abundant in most lochs, and also occurs in the more sluggish rivers. Seven perch, weighing 13¾ lbs., the largest 2½ lbs., were caught in Loch Gowen, Corsemalzie, by my brother and myself on the 21st

August, 1896. Some years ago Lord Stair and Colonel Aymer Maxwell, fishing in Loch M'Gillie (Inch), captured eighteen perch weighing close on 46 lbs., none being under 2 lbs. in weight. Colonel Maxwell's largest weighed $3\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.; Lord Stair's best was $2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., caught on the fly at the same time as a small trout!

SEA BREAM (*Pagellus centrodontus, De la Roche*).—Not uncommon. Has been seen and caught in Loch Ryan (W. M'Connell, fish salesman). Mr A. Birrell has taken it in Wigtown Bay in the nets. Sometimes taken by the fishermen off Portpatrick. One weighing $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. taken there by Captain J. R. Kennedy in August, 1908.

OLD WIFE OR BLACK SEA BREAM (*Cantharus lineatus, Gunther*).—Scarce. One or two specimens have been taken in the nets, Wigtown Bay, by Mr A. Birrell. A fine one, caught on the 11th June, 1895, now in the Kirkcudbright Museum. Another, 15 in. long and weighing 2 lbs., taken on the 15th May, 1912, and kindly sent me, was caught at the mouth of the River Bladenoch.

[RED MULLET (*Mullus barbatus, Lin.*).—Recorded as having occurred off the Wigtownshire coast by W. M. Wares, fishery officer, but I know of no records.]

BALLAN WRASSE (*Labrus maculatus, Bloch*).—Common off our rocky coasts. Saw two captured off Port Logan on the 31st May, 1912, the largest 14 in. long and weighing nearly 3 lbs. Plentiful along the Mull of Galloway and off the Burrow Head.

CORKWING OR GOLDSINNY (*Labrus melopes, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. One measuring 4 in. long taken in the shrimp nets, Wigtown Bay, on the 25th May, 1912, kindly sent me by Mr A. Birrell; also occurs in Luce Bay.

JAGOS GOLDSINNY (*Labrus rupestus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon off the Mull of Galloway, etc.

STRIPED WRASSE (*Labrus mixtus*).—Common off the Mull of Galloway, etc. Some can be seen in the fish pond at Port Logan from time to time. Kenneth M'Douall has cap-

tured specimens off that coast. On the 5th March, 1913, I found a Cod of some 2 lbs. stranded on the sand at Craignarget, Luce Bay, and found that a Striped Wrasse of 7 in. long was stuck fast in its throat.

ROCKCOCK OR SMALL-MOUTHED WRASSE (*Labrus exoletus, Lin.*).—Fairly common round our coast. Plentiful off the Isle of Whithorn, and often caught on lines off the rocks. Several taken, summer, 1919.

MACKEREL (*Scomber scombrus, Lin.*).—Abundant most summers round our coast, and considerable fisheries are carried on. Large quantities are sometimes taken in the nets at Innerwell, and Mr T. Craig tells me he has had over a ton in the nets during one tide. Most are taken by "whiffing" in sailing boats. They come in June, and I have taken specimens in Luce Bay as late as early October.

SPANISH MACKEREL (*Scomber colias, Gmelin*).—Sometimes common. A number are captured annually during July and August in the nets, Wigtown Bay, and also at Innerwell fishery.

HORSE MACKEREL (*Caranx trachurus, Lacépède*).—Occasionally taken during July and August in the nets, Wigtown Bay, and also at Innerwell fishery. Mr A. Birrell records several in the nets, early July, 1918.

TUNNY (*Thunnus thynnus, Lin.*).—A small specimen was taken in the nets at Innerwell fishery many years ago in summer.

[BONETO (*Thunnus pelamys, Cuvier*).—A single specimen, weighing about 7 lbs., is said to have been captured near the head of Luce Bay about July, 1870.]

JOHN DORY (*Zeus faber, Lin.*).—Not very uncommon. Several have been captured in the nets, Innerwell. One weighing 1½ lbs. was taken there on the 23rd June, 1911. Mr A. Birrell also takes it occasionally in the nets in Wigtown Bay. Caught by Kenneth M'Douall off Port Logan. Used to be captured pretty frequently off Portpatrick some

years ago, when the fishermen used the nets. Mr J. Weaver tells me he has never seen the Dory off the Isle of Whithorn.

OPAH OR KINGFISH (*Lampris pelagicus, Gunn*).—Robert Service recorded a fine specimen captured in Wigtown Bay in June, 1861.

SHORT SUNFISH (*Orthagoriscus mola, Lin.*).—A specimen weighing close on 60 lbs. was captured in the nets at Innerwell fishery in October, 1865.

HALIBUT (*Hippoglossus vulgaris, Flem.*).—Not uncommon. Never knew one caught in the nets, Wigtown Bay (Mr A. Birrell). Two fine ones were captured in Loch Ryan on the 27th March, 1911, and a huge one was taken there some years ago. Sometimes caught in Luce Bay and off the Mull of Galloway.

LONG ROUGH DAB (*Drepanopsetta platessoides, Fabr.*).—Not uncommon. Sometimes taken in Luce Bay. Occurs off the Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer).

TURBOT (*Bhombus mascimus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. Occasionally caught off Portpatrick. One weighing 21 lbs. captured there on the 26th May, 1911. Not uncommon in Loch Ryan, and often caught. Occurs in Luce Bay.

BRILL (*Bhombus loevis, Lin.*).—Common at times in Luce Bay. Saw several large ones taken off Portwillian Luce Bay, on the 29th November, 1918. Occurs in Loch Ryan.

SAILFLUKE OR MEGRIM (*Lepidorhombus megastoma, Yarrell*).—Not uncommon. Occurs off Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer).

SCALDFISH (*Arnoglossus laterna, Walb.*).—Not uncommon. Occurs off the Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer).

PLAICE (*Pleuronectes platessa, Lin.*).—Very common. Plaice of large size and excellent quality are numerous in our sandy bays, Luce Bay being especially famous for its Plaice. Mr T. Craig tells me the largest Plaice caught at

Innerwell fishery weighed 6 lbs., and was obtained in 1919. Also numerous in Wigtown Bay.

FLOUNDER (*Pleuronectes flesus, Lin.*).—Abundant and generally distributed off our sandy shores; also ascends our tidal rivers. A regular fishery carried on at Glenluce and Wigtown. Have seen several taken by worm fishers some miles up the Piltantan Burn, Dunragit. In autumn, 1913, while fishing for small trout for pike bait in a tiny stream above Duchra Dam, Lochans, we caught several small Flounders many miles inland. They must have ascended the Piltantan burn, then up a fall, and through the pond, into this stream. Flounders are sometimes taken with both sides coloured alike. Mr A. Birrell took one in 1918 and another in 1919 in Wigtown Bay.

COMMON DAB (*Pleuronectes limanda, Lin.*).—Common and generally distributed off our sandy shores.

WITCH SOLE OR POLE DAB (*Pleuronectes cynoglossus, Lin.*).—Occurs in Wigtown Bay, and off the Mull of Galloway, where it is plentiful in deep water.

SMEAR OR LEMON DAB (*Glyptocephalus microcephalus, Donovan*).—Very frequent and generally distributed in our sandy bays, etc.

MUELLER'S TOPKNOT (*Zeugopterus punctatus, Bloch*).—Scarce. Occurs off the Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer). Has been met with in Wigtown Bay, and at the mouth of Loch Ryan.

COMMON OR BLACK SOLE (*Solea vulgaris, Gaunsel*).—Not very common. Not uncommon, Loch Ryan, also Luce Bay and off the Mull of Galloway.

LEMON OR SAND SOLE (*Solea lascaris, Risso*).—Not common. Occurs off the Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer). Sometimes taken in Loch Ryan.

COMMON GOBY (*Gobius minutus, Gmelin*).—Common. Occurs in pools on the shore, sometimes in pure fresh water.

SPOTTED GOBY (*Gobius ruthensparri, Euphrasén*).—Not uncommon. *New Stat. Acc. Scot,* 1839, parish of Port-

patrick :—" Mr W. Thompson, of Belfast, has specimens of the Doubly Spotted Goby (*G. bipunctatus, Yarrell*) taken on this shore." Occurs shore of Luce Bay.

BLACK GOBY (*Gobius niger, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. Found clinging to the rocks in pools, etc., Isle of Whithorn and Corsewell.

SEA SCORPION (*Cottus scorpius, Lin.*).—Very common. Occurs under stones in pools between tide-marks. Generally between 1½ and 3 in. long. Several Garheugh Rocks, Luce Bay, 28th March, 1910. Larger specimens often taken in the lobster pots. One 9½ in. long, dark with reddish spots, taken off Portpatrick by Captain J. R. Kennedy.

FATHER-LASHER (*Collus bubalis, Euphrasén*).—Common. Occurs in Wigtown Bay. Taken by Kenneth M'Douall off Port Logan. Occurs in lobster pots, Luce Bay and Portpatrick.

[MILLER'S THUMB (*Cottus gobio, Lin.*).—Mr J. Weaver writes that this species is common at the mouth of the Drummullin Burn, at the Isle of Whithorn, but I have not yet met with it in Wigtownshire myself.]

LUMPSUCKER (*Cyclopterus lumpus, Lin.*).—Very numerous in spring. Found one 11½ in. long dead on the shore, Craignarget, Luce Bay, 1st June, 1910. Great numbers spawn in Wigtown Bay, and Mr A. Birrell writes, 9th May, 1911 :—" We get them by the hundred in the nets, but they are leaving the bay now." Also common in Innerwell nets.

SEA SNAIL (*Liparis vulgaris, Fleming*).—Not uncommon. Occurs at the mouth of the River Bladenoch on the shrimping grounds; also in Loch Ryan.

MONTAGUE'S SUCKER (*Liparis montagui, Donovan*).—Scarcer. Mr W. Thompson, of Belfast, has specimens of *L. montagui* taken on this coast.—Portpatrick, *New Stat. Acc. Scot,* 1839. Often found inside Cod. Occurs along Mull of Galloway.

CORNISH SUCKER (*Lepadogaster gouanii, Lacépède*).—

Scarce. *New Stat. Acc. Scot,* 1839, parish of Kirkmaiden :—"The Cornish Sucker (*L. cornubiensis*) is also met with."

DOUBLE-SPOTTED SUCKER (*Lepadogaster bimaculatus, Donovan*).—Rather common off our shores, except in Wigtown Bay.

POGGE (*Agonus cataphractus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. Occurs in shallow water on the shrimping grounds.

ATHERINE OR SAND SMELT (*Atherina presbyter, Cuvier*).—Not uncommon. *New Stat. Acc. Scot.,* 1839, parish of Kirkmaiden, states that "the Smelt (*Atherina posetus*) is not uncommon." Several captured in net in Sand Eel Bay, Portpatrick, on 3rd October, 1911, and one, 5 in. long, kindly sent me by Captain J. R. Kennedy.

GREY GURNARD (*Trigla gurnardus, Lin.*).—Common in summer. Caught five with rubber eel coming back from the Scar Rocks, Luce Bay, 8th June, 1901. Common off Portpatrick. Saw a heap of 15 caught on the 26th July, 1912. Very common in the nets, Wigtown Bay, in 1918.

RED GURNARD (*Trigla pini, Bloch*).—Fairly common. Not uncommon off Portpatrick. Saw six caught there on the 26th July, 1912. Occurs in the nets, Wigtown Bay and Innerwell. Frequent in Luce Bay.

STREAKED GURNARD (*Trigla lineata, Gmelin*).—Scarce. Occurs occasionally in Luce Bay and off Portpatrick, and has been taken in Loch Ryan. One there, 23rd July, 1912.

SAPPHIRE GURNARD (*Trigla heriendo, Bloch*).—Rarely taken. Has occurred off the Wigtownshire coast (W. M. Wares, fishery officer). One taken in the nets, Innerwell, July, 1913.

GREATER WEAVER (*Trachinus Draco, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. *New Stat. Acc. Scot.,* 1839, parish of Kirkmaiden :—"The Stang Fish (*T. Draco*) is also met with." Occurs off the Mull of Galloway, in Wigtown Bay, etc.

VIPERINE WEAVER (*Trachinus vipera, Cuvier*).—Common. Numerous in Wigtown Bay. A specimen 4½ in. long

taken at the mouth of the River Bladenoch on the 6th May, 1911, and kindly sent me by Mr A. Birrell.

DRAGONET (*Callionymus lyra, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. *New Stat. Acc. Scot.*, 1839, parish of Kirkmaiden :—"The Dragonet (*C. lyra*) is also met with." Sometimes caught off Portpatrick. A young male, 6 in. long, taken there on the 23rd July, 1912, by Captain J. R. Kennedy. An adult male, 9½ in. long, taken by Captain M'Kean off Eggerness, 22nd August, 1912, and kindly sent me. Mr A. Birrell took a female in Wigtown Bay in late July, 1919.

SHANNY (*Blennius pholis, Lin.*).—Common under stones and weeds between tide-marks in pools on the rocky coast. Several, up to 6 in. long, taken at Garheugh Rocks, Luce Bay, 28th March, 1910. Very common, rock pools at Portpatrick, and a number from 1½ to 5 in. taken by Captain J. R. Kennedy in the end of July, 1912.

BUTTERFISH (*Pholis gunnellus, Lin.*).—Common under weeds and stones in pools between tide-marks on the rocky coast. Several, Garheugh Rocks, Luce Bay, up to 6 in. long, on the 15th May, 1909. Common, Isle of Whithorn. Specimens up to 7 in. got by turning over large stones below tide-mark in 1919 (Mr J. Weaver).

CAT OR WOLF FISH (*Anarrhinchus lupus, Lin.*).—Not uncommon. Small Catfish were often caught by trawling off Portpatrick a good many years ago. Captain J. R. Kennedy records a very large specimen, 3 ft. long, taken off Portpatrick on the 20th November, 1909.

ANGLERFISH (*Lophius piscatorius, Lin.*).—Common. Fairly frequently caught in the nets at Innerwell. One taken there on the 11th August, 1906. Common off the Portpatrick coast, and often caught by the fishermen. Mr J. Weaver records one of 112 lbs. captured off the Isle of Whithorn in June, 1909. Two in the nets, Wigtown Bay, on the 9th May, 1911, and Mr A. Birrell tells me he has taken them up to 5 ft. long there, and once took a Plaice of 3 lbs. out of one. A large specimen landed at Stranraer Quay on 26th October, 1911. It is sometimes cast ashore in rough weather.

Notes on the Old Prisons of Dumfries.

By Mr R. C. REID of Mouswald Place.

Our knowledge of the Old Prison of Dumfries and its annals are unfortunately very fragmentary. Edinburgh has recently seen published by the Old Edinburgh Club some most interesting extracts from the Records of its Tolbooth. But in Dumfries the Jail Books and "Porteous" Rolls have not yet been exploited. What is here recorded of our Tolbooth and Old Prison has been derived from other sources, such as occasional references in the Burgh Court Books, in the Register of the Privy Council, or in the Acts of the Scottish Parliaments. However, from these sources can be gleaned some incidents of interest. In the early stages of the development of the laws of the Realm the need for prisons was not so great as in more modern times. The laws were fewer, simpler, and more stringent. The majority of offences were visited with capital punishment, and for the lesser offences a system of borch or pledges was developed. As in practice it was fairly easy to get the relations and friends to go surety for the offender, actual imprisonment was not often incurred, and a regular prison was not necessary. Any exceptional offence that could not be dealt with at once by surety or capitation, resulted in the offender being incarcerated in a King's Castle or perhaps in the tower of the feudal lord in whose territorial jurisdiction the offence took place. Thus, unless taken red-handed in homicide or with stolen property in his hands, a free man who had sufficient pledges to answer at law could not be incarcerated (*S.A.P.*, i., 651). A murderer pursued by hue and cry and apprehended was regarded as taken red-handed, and could not be pledged (*ibid.*, 737). Treason was, of course, regarded as a most serious offence, being against the King's person; but even in that case, if security was found, a suspect could not be imprisoned (*S.A.P.*, i., 632). Prison breakers, however, could not be re-pledged (*ibid.*, 739).

This system of borch was applicable alike in County and Burgh. A burgess accused of crime could always avoid im-

prisonment by finding a surety. But if he failed to find a surety, then by the *Leges Burgorum* he had to be kept in chains for 15 days—*in his own house* (*S.A.P.*, i., 348). Clearly the early burgh had not yet developed anything approximating to a prison.

What Dumfries did for a prison prior to the middle of the fifteenth century is not known. If there existed some Tolbooth or Court Hall before that date, there may have been some chamber in it set aside as a place of imprisonment. At any rate, when the Tolbooth was built *circa* 1473-81 (see *D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1912-13) a pledge chamber was an integral part of the edifice. There is abundant evidence that it was used both by the Magistrates of the Burgh and the Sheriff to lodge prisoners in; thus prisoners were warded there in August, 1578 (*R.P.C.*, ii., 24). But the pledge chamber of the Tolbooth soon became insufficient for the number of prisoners.

Dumfries was not the only burgh in the same predicament. Clackmannan had not even a Tolbooth, and the Sheriff had to hold his courts in consequence openly at the Market Cross, and to keep malefactors and transgressors in ward in his own dwelling-house (*S.A.P.*, iii., 582). The need for prisons was so insistent and so universal that in 1574 an Act of Parliament was passed ordaining common prisons to be built in burghs where there were none, in which prisoners were to be lodged by the ordinary judges of the realm (*S.A.P.*, iii., 86b). A further Act followed in 1597 ordering such prisons to be built within three years at the expense of the burghs, for offenders civil and criminal, either within the burgh or shire (*S.A.P.*, iv., 141). This Act of 1597 received confirmation in 1690, when another Act was passed specifying that the building and maintaining of prisons was one of the duties of all royal burghs (*S.A.P.*, ix., 152).

Parliament left these statutes to be enforced by the Privy Council. In 1574-5 that body recorded an Act of the Privy Council in identical terms with the statute of 1574—"anent the making of irnis and stokkis for punisement of offendouris, and trjging and reparation of common presonis" (*R.P.C.*, ii., 435). This was followed in 1578 by an Act "anent

schuting and bering of culveringis and dagyis," which promulgated some prison regulations. Thus if a convicted person could not sustain his own charges whilst in prison, the bailies or sheriff were called on to furnish him with bread and water. This stringent diet was allotted to each prisoner, to the amount of one pound of oaten bread per head—the price of which was to be remitted to the local authority in their accounts at the Exchequer (*R.P.C.*, ii., 682).

In pursuance of its general policy the Privy Council ordered Dumfries to erect a prison. Edgar in his *MS. History of Dumfries* tells us that the Prison or Pledge House was built at the King's command and the Town's expense. It was about 1578-9 that the Royal command was given to build a Prison, doubtless in pursuance of the policy embodied in the Act of Parliament of 1574.

On 4th April, 1579, the Provost and Town Council sent a petition to the Privy Council relating to the work, the foundations of which must have been already laid. The petition sets out that the burgh had recently been instructed by an Act and Ordinance of the Secret (*i.e.*, Privy) Council, to build "ane sufficient prissoun-hous of three hous hicht" on the north side of the old Tolbooth, and to make "the condampnit prissoun in the boddum of the hous." In other words, the cell for condemned prisoners was to be in the cellar basement. But when building operations were commenced, it was found that the ground on which the building was to be erected was "sandy and stanerie." The Town Council feared that if prisoners were lodged in the basement they might work their way through the subsoil under the foundations of the walls, and so escape. Concrete floors were unknown in those days.

The Town Council therefore urged that the condemned cell should be on the upper, *i.e.*, middle floor. In support of their views the Town Council further pointed out that in the basement there were "slittis maid laich, throw the same hous to let in the air," whereby, without the jailor's knowledge, the friends of the prisoners could converse with them and help them to escape. The town's petition was favourably received by the Privy Council, and permission for the proposed alteration was granted, provided that the upper floor room "be suir and

sufficientlie voltit " (*R.P.C.*, iii., 129). Edgar states that the Prison was completed by 1583, but it is probable that it was finished by the end of 1579. For in June of that year the Provost and Bailies, with the consent of the whole community of the Burgh, feued to James Brown and his heirs the northern shop or booth in the basement of the prison right under the inner condemned prison for 40s Scots yearly (*MS. Calendar of Charters at the Register House,* No. 2520). From this document we obtain some further particulars of the site. The basement was divided into two shops, Brown's on the north; the southern shop was occupied by John Neilsoun, who also probably had a feu. On the west of the building was the High Street; on the east the Bakraw; on the south the Tolbooth (now Hannavy's printing establishment); and on the north the Newwark. The feu charter was made in consideration of money paid to the Burgh and expended by it in building a Prison for thieves and malefactors conform to the Act of the Privy Council. By such means were raised the funds for building the edifice. Other feus granted at the same time were for the same purpose, such as the feu of some Friar's lands in Troqueer on 14th May, 1578, the proceeds of which were to be used for " bigging of the plege chalmor," the feu being rouped to the highest bidder (*D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1912-13, 327). Edgar describes the building as : " This had two floors, the first arched above the shops, named Thieves' Hole, and a dark hole with an iron gate called the Pitt. The second floor, being also arched, was divided by a timber partition, into which debtors were incarcerated." The edifice bore the initials of two bailies, Herbert Ranyng and Robert M'Kinnell, upon a stone which Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe built into Knockhill summer-house. This, with a stone from the same building inscribed " a Loreburne," was built into the Midsteeple in 1909 (*D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1914-15, 211).

The newly-erected Prison did not at once supersede the Tolbooth; indeed, for long both appear to have been used for incarcerating prisoners. But where references are made in the records to the Prison it is usually described as the Prison or " the jayle," or the Pledge House, whilst the wardroom in

the Tolbuith is usually described as " the *pledge chamber.*" There does not appear to have been any rule whereby a prisoner should be consigned to the Prison or the Tolbooth. Perhaps the Tolbooth may have been used when the Prison was full—a not infrequent occurrence in those turbulent times.

One thing is certain : the building was clearly established as the " Pressoun Hous " of Dumfries in 1598, when it was mentioned in an Act of Parliament appointing the Earl of Angus, King's Lieutenant, and ordering this and other like edifices " to be maid patent to him on all occasions " (*S.A.P.*, iv., 172).

As a Prison the building was used both by the Burghal and County authorities. In it Provost and Sheriff alike could confine malefactors or detain the suspects. This divided authority invited trouble; and it is not surprising to find a direct conflict of jurisdiction between the Burgh Magistrates and the Sheriff. Matters came to a head in 1619, when Robert M'Brair of Almagill, who was later to occupy the position of Provost, was appointed Sheriff. John Corsane, father of Mr John Corsane of Meikleknox, was Provost at the time. The representative of an old Burgh family, John Corsane had amassed a considerable fortune as a merchant, and was the most prominent man in the burgh at the moment. Robert M'Brair, on the other hand, was descended from a family who till 1587 had virtually been hereditary Provosts of the Burgh. In that year his father, Archibald M'Brair, Provost, had been beheaded at Edinburgh for manslaughter (*R.P.C.*, iv., 172, and Stoddart's *Scottish Arms*). The almost unbroken line of M'Brair Provosts had been abruptly and tragically ended, and a new family—that of Corsane—was striving to seize the civic honours. So in the struggle for the jurisdiction of the Prison we may detect personal motives and family ambitions influencing, if not actuating, the issue. Indeed, it is recorded that Provost Corsane had " sundrie tymes of before injured " Sheriff M'Brair of Almagill (*R.P.C.*, xii., 100).

The direct cause of the conflict was the arrest of certain inhabitants of Kirkmichael who had been put to the horn by the Laird of Kirkmichael. One of them named Kirk was arrested on September 26th, 1619. He was taken before the

Provost and Bailies of Dumfries, with the request that he be lodged " within thair jayle quhairunto thay war bound by the conditioun and nature of thair erectioun, seing the haill fredome of the schirefdome in so far as concernis the privilege of fre borrowis is consolidat in the burgh, and his Majesteis schiref courtis and all utheris meetingis importeing the weill credite and standing of the burgh are keepit and satled thair." But the Provost refused to receive Kirk.

A few days later the rest of the rebels were brought in. The Sheriff then sought out the Provost and Bailies in order to deliver the rebels to them for incarceration. But hearing of his intention, they absented themselves for five days from the burgh. The Provost even went to such lengths as to send a privy message to the prisoners urging them to release themselves by force, and promising not to interfere if they did so. So the Sheriff had to keep his prisoners at his own expense in the house of John Hairstanes, as the jailer and keeper of the Tolbuith, Archibald Newall, refused to take them in.

The Bailies, however, had some qualms, for they knew that the common ward of Dumfries ought to be free and patent to the Sheriff as chief officer of the King in those parts, whereas the Provost and Bailies were only in the position of keepers of the ward. Accordingly, Bailie John Raining finally committed the prisoners to the Tolbooth.

This was too much for the choleric and impetuous John Corsane, the Provost, who " disdaneing that ony purpois or mater, how unworthie soevir the samyn be, sould be done within the said burgh, bot be him and his directioun," went and abused the Sheriff, who replied with smooth words. Corsane then withdrew, and collected his friends and relatives —Adam Corsane, younger; Mr John Corsane, his own son; James Newall, smith; John Newall, Archibald, the jailer; and others—and when the Sheriff was leaving on horseback for his home at Netherwood, attacked John Hairt and his wife (Dame Margaret Hamilton, relict of Sir Alexander Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael), with whom the Sheriff had been staying in Dumfries. Hearing the uproar, the Sheriff, who had only his white wand of office in his hand, returned with his two " young hairmless boyis," and was at once surrounded and

attacked. The Sheriff was thrown to the ground; John M'Brair wounded in the right hand; and Robert, the Sheriff's second son, smitten on the face with a staff. The Sheriff and his sons fled and took refuge in the house of Thomas Maxwell, pursued by the Provost, who rallied his retainers by the cry, "a Lowburne, quilk is the slughorne of Drumfreis." What happened to John Hairt is not recorded.

The matter was promptly investigated by the Privy Council, who found that the Sheriff had no other ward for prisoners but the common ward of Dumfries, which ought always to be free to him, and that the Provost had made his offence worse by notifying the prisoners that they were free to depart, being without the Sheriff's jurisdiction. Provost John Corsane was committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and James Cunyng-hame, John Raining, and Mr John Maxwell, bailies, were severely admonished (*R.P.C.*, xii., 100).

But though the Sheriff had vindicated his jurisdiction by process of law, he had not settled his account with the Provost for the personal indignities he had suffered. Within a month he found an opportunity of doing so.

The incident, which is a further illustration of the polite amenities of the times, arose out of the arrest of one Robert Palmer, servant to a cordiner in the burgh. Palmer, assisted by his friends, resisted arrest and injured Archibald Newall, the burgh officer. Newall at once went to Provost Corsane, who was sitting at his dinner. Anxious to do justice, the Provost at once went to John Hairstanes' house, in the close of which Palmer had taken refuge, and ordered him into ward. Palmer and his friends, who included some of the M'Brairs, mocked at the Provost, daring him to arrest Palmer, and insultingly asked him what his business was in the close at that time of day unless it was to steal horses.

The Provost, not having sufficient following at the moment, tried to argue with them, whereupon Robert M'Brair of Almagill, and his two sons cornered him, and ran him through the stomach with a rapier, calling him "a base beggerlie borne bryber and bud takker." The jailor was felled with a stroke of "a grait rod upon the mouthe." Hearing the uproar, Mr John Corsane, unarmed, ran up to

help his father, whereupon John M'Brair ran him through the arm, and closing with him, wounded him with a dagger in the shoulder. William M'Guimpsie, who went to his assistance, was "tooke be the baird, and had ruggit and pullit foirth a grite quantitie of hair." Finally the parties were separated without any fatal injury being recorded (*R.P.C.*, xii., 100).

Thereafter naught more is heard of a conflict of jurisdiction.

The annals of the Prison that can be pieced together give us some insight into the turbulent times in which our ancestors dwelt.

In 1600 John Kirkpatrick of Knowheid, described as a "common thief," was warded here at the instance of William Grierson of Lag, but was forcibly released by some of the Kirkpatrick family (*R.P.C.*, vi., 89). The collusion of the Bailie, Roger Kirkpatrick, John Corsane, and James Newall, was alleged, and is not improbable (*ibid.*, 636).

In 1602 Edward Edgar, a thief caught red-handed by Robert M'Brair of Almagill, was lodged in the pledge chamber. John Maxwell, Master of Herries, was at that time Provost of the Burgh, and, for reasons best known to himself, released the prisoner without any form of trial (*R.P.C.*, vi., 478). The parties interested at once obtained Letters of Horning against the Provost and his father, Lord Herries, who had to find caution in £1000 to appear (*R.P.C.*, xiv., 499). The Provost was denounced rebel. It was therefore not surprising that when a few weeks later John Neilson, tailor and burgess, effected escape from detention, suspicion should at once fall on the Provost, especially as it was known that Neilson was "man and servand" to Lord Herries. Perhaps Edward Edgar also may have been a henchman of the house of Terregles.

But these episodes were mild compared to an outrage in defiance of justice that occurred the same year. Willie Irving, "called Davie's Willie," had been committed to the pledge chamber, suspected of diverse crimes, on the information of Robert Douglas of Caschogill. Whether it was that Douglas could not tolerate the delays of justice, or that he

feared that the trial might expose his own complicity in the crimes, is not known, but he sent his son, William Douglas, and others quietly to the pledge chamber, where they, having gained entrance "by some policie," which probably had a metallic ring, in cold blood murdered the prisoner who was lying in irons at the time. When the law at last was set in motion, William Douglas was only denounced rebel (*R.P.C.*, vi., 385).

In April, 1606, the accommodation of the Prison must have been stretched to its utmost resources, for Lord Maxwell was having trouble with his tenants at Duncow and had abruptly terminated the dispute by lodging 27 of them in the "pledge house of Dumfries, ane pressone ordaneit for theiffis" (*R.P.C.*, xiv., 428). It was probably a high-handed action, for the minister and elders of Kirkmahoe at once petitioned the Privy Council on their behalf.

Another Provost who emulated the Master of Herries was Provost John Corsane, who in March, 1621, liberated a prisoner from the Tolbooth without a warrant. The Privy Council dealt sternly with him, imprisoned him in the Edinburgh Tolbooth, and made him pay a fine of £100 (*R.P.C.*, xii., 488).

Thieves and malefactors were not the only persons incarcerated. Lunatics were considered just as dangerous. Thus in 1627 Robert Cairns of Tor lodged in the jail a mad incendiary named Bernard Pauline in Dundrennane, "of lait become frantique" (*R.P.C.*, 2nd ser., ii., 22).

It was in this "jayle" in 1628 that were imprisoned Janet Ireland, widow of William Bell in Rottinraw; Christian Aikenheid, spouse of Robert Harper there; Helen Blaik, widow in Dumfries; Agnes Dunglasoun, spouse of John Beatie, workman; Agnes Charteris, widow in Dumfries; and Mawsie Slowane, spouse to Robert Span at the Brigend—"long suspectit of witchcraft" (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, ii., 328).

In 1629 Edward Maxwell of Corswadie; William Sinclair there; John Allane in Lowstown; and Patrick Mitchelson there, were lodged in the pledge chamber at the instance of Viscount Drumlanrig. Lord Herries and his sons had an interest in the prisoners, and "being annoyit at this," re-

soived to free them. So on Fair day, September 17th, William Henderson was sent to cajole the warder and see the prisoners. To Sinclair, Henderson gave a whinger, then called to the warder to let him out. Whilst Henderson was blocking the doorway or exit, Sinclair struck down the warder with the whinger and all escaped. As they emerged into the street, they were met accidentally by the Bailies, who seized Edward Maxwell and dragged him back to the pledge chamber. Thereupon a party of Herries's followers who had been lying in wait, attacked the Bailies and a fight ensued. The other three prisoners were pursued, and only Mitchelson escaped (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, iii., 12).*

In 1630 the prison must have received a large influx of prisoners, for in that year all delinquents in the Stewartry of Annandale were ordered to be lodged in the jail of Dumfries (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, iv., 48). Perhaps this may account for the increase in the use of the Tolbooth as a prison (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, ii., 411, 463, and 621).

In 1612 the jail had been greatly cumbered with prisoners. 6 stone of iron being needed to make extra manacles to hold them, costing in all £21 10s (Edgar, 257).

In 1631 Andrew Anderson, a "busy and trafficing papist," having suspicious letters on him, was lodged in the pledge chamber (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, iv., 395).

In October, 1632, Thomas Andrew and Andrew Johnestone, "notorious and fugitive lymmars," who had fled to Ireland, but had been arrested there and brought back to Dumfries for justice, effected their escape from the jail (*R P.C.*, xviii., 494). It was alleged that persons had been permitted access to them and assisted them in their escape. They were seen by John Carruthers of Rammerscales going through the water of Annan with the fetters still on them. Carruthers did not stop them, for which he was afterwards mulcted (*Aitken MSS.*, 11th November, 1632, where they are

* Another recorded escape occurred in 1613, when Robert, son of Gilbert Mure in Kirkcudbright, and William Smith, miller at Dumfries Mill, common thieves, were brought to trial and lodged in the Tolbooth, from which Robert Mure escaped. He was, however, re-arrested and lodged again (*R.P.C.*, x., 72).

named Thomas Armstrong and Andro Johnstone). The frequency of such escapes attracted the attention of the Parliament, which was shortly to pass an Act (1661) rendering Magistrates liable to punishment when prisoners, lodged under the warrant of a Justice of the Peace, escaped (*S.A.P.*, vii., 309). So on 1st November Mr John Corsane, Provost, and James Maxwell and Robert Richartsone, lait bailies, were summoned before the Privy Council to explain the escape, together with David Wallace, described as jailor of the Tolbooth (*R.P.C.*, xviii., 552). At the hearing it was stated that a warlock who had escaped with them had been captured, and was under sentence of death. The Privy Council ordained that the newly-elected bailies (James Maxwell, John Hairstanes, and John Geddes) should appear on 20th November with the warlock's deposition. This they did, but had to report that the warlock had been " execute and brunt " before the lait bailies got back to Dumfries. The Privy Council accordingly reprimanded the jailor for allowing the wives of the prisoners to have access to them, and ordered the Magistrates to make the " jayle of the said Tolbooth " fencible. For these repairs the bailies had to find caution (*ibid.*, 562 and 572). The Tolbooth seems to have been increasingly used as a place of imprisonment, whilst the Prison proper is less and less heard of.

The lot of prisoners, whether in Prison or in Tolbooth, was not a happy one—witness the appeal of two prisoners who had been confined in irons in the pledge chamber for over two years, and " likelie to starve for famine." The machinery of justice must have been slow-working in the year 1642, when they petitioned for trial (*R.P.C.*, 2nd series, vii., 187).

Two other cases of a like nature can be quoted. On 28th September, 1641, Jonet Crosbie, on behalf of Thomas Blake, her husband, and Thomas, her son, petitioned Parliament that they be released and tried for the murder of John Maxwell of Middlebie. They had been imprisoned in the pledge chamber by the Earl of Nithsdale at the instance of Marion Maxwell, the widow of the murdered man, and John, Robert, and William, his bairns. They had lain in irons for

two years, and were almost dead for famine. Parliament ordained that they be tried in Edinburgh before 30th November. They were accordingly transported to that Tolbooth, 3s 4d being allowed for the maintenance of each of them (*S.A.P.*, v., 364b).

Forty years later (1682) Helen Herreis, widow, some time in Crochmoir, complained to the Privy Council that " she had lyen in prison for the space of half a year in a most starving and miserable condition without so much as cloathes upon her." She had been imprisoned at the instance of Thomas Gledstanis, agent in Edinburgh, who had extorted from her a bond of banishment from Crochmoir. The Privy Council decreed in her favour, fining Gledstanis 100 merks, to be paid to her, together with the cancellation of the bond (*R.P.C.*, vii., 310).

Prisoners, besides escaping, sometimes did wilful damage. Thus on 22nd November, 1658, William Heroun, cordinar, was incarcerated in the Pitt, *i.e.*, the basement, with a pair of irons on him, for stealing his father's writs and abusing the magistrates, and further for breaking the windows in the pledge house and lifting the floor. He was condemned to be fed on bread and water for eight days and no other food. At the end of the week he was released, but not before he had paid £20 Scots for the damage he had done, and had stood in the pillorie on Market Day (*T.C.M.*, 29th November, 1658).

For even minor offences the Magistrates would commit to prison; thus on 16th May, 1659, Agnes Blount was fined 5 merks Scots and ordained to remain in prison till it was paid, for " ane bluid " committed on Jean Chapman (*T.C.M.*, of date). But the Burgh Court Books and Town Council Minutes are full of such entries.

In the period of the Restoration and Revolution the Prison and Tolbooth of Dumfries must have had their full complement of prisoners. A list of their occupants for the year 1685, which may once have been in the possession of the late Mr Carlyle Aitken, has been preserved, and is now in the possession of Sheriff J. R. N. Macphail, Esq., K.C. It runs as follows :—

Drumfreis, Apryle 20, 1685.

Ane just list of the prisoners wtin ye prisons of drumfreis.

Impr. Mr ffrances Irving lait minister at Kirkmaho by order of Connale Clavers.

It. Ewphan Threipland widdow, by order of ye shireff deput, for not keeping ye church etc.

It. Joan Harron, by order of bailzie Kenedie for not walking regalor and refussing to take the oath of objuration and alledgance.

It. John Murrey by order of ye Laird of Lag.

It. John Black (? Clark) who hess chossen bourgh wtout of his Majesties dominions but hath not yet found cation.

It. Bessie Gordone by command of Captain Strachan.

It. Walter M'Mine and John Tagort who refuse to except of ye oath of objuration and oath of aledgance and to walk regalor.

It. James Wilsone who hath tak the oath of aledgance and objuration and cannot get cation to walk regalor.

It. Grizell Garmorie, Margaret M'Clelan, and Barbra Cawine by order of Quarter Master Kenard.

It. Patrick M'Joar, John Smith, Elizabeth Lytle, Margaret Irland, and Nickolas M'Knaight by order of Capten Bruce.

It. John Black for taking off leid of the castle of Tharthorall, by order of Bailie Kenedie.

It. Agnes Conheath by order off baillie Kennedie and Marione Wilsone ffor aledgit putting doune off ane chyld, at Maxwelltoun's order.

Both the Prison and the Tolbooth seem to have been in the charge of one custodian, who was called "jayler and keeper of the Tolbooth." Reference has already been made to Archibald Newall, jailer in 1619, and to David Wallace, jailer in 1632.* The following year William Bell was jailer, receiving £13 6s 8d as his fee (*D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1914-15, 305). This was the same rate as the jailer got in 1612-13 (Edgar, p. 258), though Wallace seems to have been better treated, getting £20 in 1627-8 (*ibid.*). In 1637 there

* David Maxwell was jailer in 1562 (Burgh Court Books, 2nd December, 1562, f. 147a).

were two jailors, who were paid £17 6s 8d in all; apparently the assistant received £5 (*D. and G. N. H. and A. Soc.*, 1914-15, 324). In 1689 Edward Irving was jailor (*S.A.P.*, ix., app. 5), having succeeded Thomas Munroe, who had been made a burgess gratis on 14th June, 1686 (*T.C.M.* of date).

On 15th October, 1716, the Magistrates represented to the Town Council that on Friday night last the prison was broken and two prisoners, John Maxwell, brother of Tinwald, and —— Carruchan, had escaped. Robert Newall, the jailer, was summoned before the Council, and relieved of his keys, pending enquiries (see *T.C.M.*). It may be inferred that Robert Newall's suspension was permanent, for by April, 1718, he was dead, his accounts for aliment to "ane Carruchan and to Agnes Craig, two prisoners," being rendered to the Council (*T.C.M.*, 7th April). Newall had been a Deacon of the Crafts (*ibid.*).

By September, 1719, Alexander Bonner resigned the post of jaylor, thus relieving his cautioners, Sir W. Johnston of Westerhall and Lord Francis Scot (*T.C.M.*, 12th October, 1719). He was dead by the 14th September (*T.C.M.*), when his widow was asked to hand over the books of the Prison houses to the Council. A few days later John Newall, barber, was appointed jaylour of the prisons in recognition of his services to the Burgh at the time of the late Rebellion. No allowance was given to him for cleaning the prisons (19th October, 1719, *T.C.M.*). In 1721 regulations were sanctioned by the Council for the imprisonment of burgesses and apprentices (*T.C.M.*, 22nd June). Five years later, consequent to a riot, the Convener of the Trades disputed the right of bailie John Johnstone to give verbal instructions to imprison burgesses for riot, and it was arranged that thereafter the jailer should only receive prisoners on written orders (*T.C.M.*, 24th June, 1726). In 1740 John Newall, the jailer, was dismissed for neglect in examining the prisons, whereby some prisoners had escaped. John Donaldson, Deacon of the Taylors, was appointed in his place, on undertaking to record in a book all warrants and orders for incarceration or release (*T.C.M.*, 8th December, 1740). The book was examined on 20th June, 1743.

After the fire in 1742 (for which see Edgar, 43-4), the Town Council rebuilt part of the arch over the Thieves' Hole and the upper storey that was burnt, taking down the south gavell and rebuilding it with a staircase further southward (*T.C.M.*, 28th February, 1743). These repairs were effected by Thomas Twaddell for £84 sterling (*T.C.M.*, 21st March, 1743). It was finished by 21st November, 1743 (*T.C.M.*, of date). But it was no stronger than the old one. On the evening of 6th January, 1758, two prisoners—David Edwards and Walter Graham—broke out and escaped; but were recaptured at some expense to the town. Pending enquiry, John Donaldson, the jaylor, was imprisoned, and James M'Noah and John Dougan, burrow officers, were appointed to take care of the Prisons in the meantime (*T.C.M.*, 9th January, 1758). On 13th February John Donaldson, after enquiry, was reinstated, some additional regulations being made for the keeping of the Prisons.

Another escape occurred on 8th April, 1760, between 8 and 9 p.m., when David Christian, who had been incarcerated " in the Tolbooth or prison of this burgh " by warrant of John Goldie of Craigmuie, sheriff-substitute, on the understanding that he was to be produced on 12th June before the Barons of the Exchequer, escaped by overpowering John Donaldson, seizing his key, and, as he was rising, throwing David Kelly, another prisoner, on the top of him. Having questioned the only other prisoners, John Kelly and John Reid, the Town Council found that Donaldson was at fault for entering the prison alone after dark, and so dismissed him (*T.C.M.*, 14th April, 1760). John Hoyland, smith and burgess, was appointed in his place on 21st April, but soon died, being succeeded by David Anderson, late Deacon of the Shoemakers (*T.C.M.*, 8th March, 1762). Almost at once Anderson got into trouble about another escape. Whilst the Episcopal minister, Mr Wilson, was praying with Thomas Price, a prisoner in the Tolbuith lying under death sentence, John Aitken, late merchant in Dumfries, imprisoned there for a debt of £20 owing to James M'Whirter, merchant there, managed to extract the prison key from Anderson's pocket and escaped. Though Anderson had not entered Aitken in the jail book, as

was his duty, he was, after suspension, restored to office, partly through the exertions of his son Ebenezer. In the meantime Brown & Birch, merchants, of Liverpool, through M'Whirter, their agent, threatened the Town Council with an action for the £20 owing to Aitken's escape. This process the Council shouldered on to David Anderson as the person to blame. It was perhaps owing to this that in 1764 he applied for an increased salary, giving as a reason that he had to feed insolvent prisoners in jail (*T.C.M.*, 18th December). He was granted an increase of £5, on condition that he kept the Prison clean. In September, 1771, he resigned office, William Fergusson, shopkeeper, being appointed in his stead. He at once asked for an increased salary, which was granted in 1773, being increased to £10 (*T.C.M.*, 20th September). He was succeeded by Mathew Fergusson, who resigned on 23rd August, 1790. After advertising in the weekly paper, the Town Council appointed Archibald Dalzell, a resident, at £10 sterling (*T.C.M.*, 6th September, 1790), who in 1796 had an action for wrongful imprisonment brought against him (*T.C.M.*, 8th February, 1796). The details do not transpire, but the action was brought in the Court of Session by one Sergeant Parker, of the Dumfriesshire Cavalry, against Mr Hoggan of Watersyde, a man named Herries residing in Thornhill, and Dalzell, the keeper of the Tolbooth. The Town Council, on hearing of the matter, decided to let the jailer defend himself (*ibid.*).

In February, 1806, Dalzell was ill and beyond recovery, so the Council decided to advertise for a successor (*T.C.M.*, 24th February); and on 31st March John Docherty, tailor in Brigend, was appointed in his stead.

Of one other official connected with the Prison we have some passing references. On 7th August, 1717, Donald Bane, in Dalswinton, gave bond to the town for the faithful performance of his duties as Common Hangman.* Of this stern figure we have one pleasing notice. He had at least three children of his own—Thomas, baptised 6th August,

* The "executionor of evill doars" in 1590 received a salary of 2 merks (Edgar, 256).

1727; Mary, baptised 5th August, 1732; and Margaret, baptised 14th September, 1735; but the Register of Baptisms contains the following entry :—John, a foundling, aged 3-4 years, presented to baptism by Donald Bane, hangman, who took on him " ye vous for ye said child, in regard it was greet to nursing in Donald Bane his hous—18th August, 1728." The grimest of occupations often hides a tender heart.

Bane was also the Town Herd, being allowed £2 10s per annum for keeping the town's bull (*T.C.M.*, 10th November, 1727). In 1719 the Town Council decided that their hangman should have an official residence, and proceeded to purchase some ground for the erection of a house for David Bain. The timber used for the building was obtained from some ruinous houses by the Kingholm (*T.C.M.*, 16th March).

In 1758 Roger Wilson, late at Glencairn Kirk, was appointed executioner for life (*T.C.M.*, 17th April), and in 1760 was also made common cryer in place of the late William Stewart at 20s sterling, on condition that he carted all the loose stones off the streets (*T.C.M.*, 23rd December). As hangman he had kindred duties to perform—*e.g.*, when Elspeth Cairns was ordered to be scourged from the Tolbooth to the Vennell by the hangman, and to receive also six whips (*T.C.M.*, 14th February, 1659).

It was this Roger Wilson round whom centred a lawsuit which must have aroused great interest in the burgh at the time. It is recorded in Mr A. Hislop's *Book of Scottish Anecdotes*, p. 42, that, in addition to his salary of £6 and a free house, valued at £1 13s 4d, Wilson as hangman exercised the old-established right of collecting as his perquisite a ladleful from every sack of meal and barley exposed for sale in the market. This perquisite was naturally most unpopular. One day a man named John Johnstone, tenant in Laigh Auchnane, refused him his multure, and threatened him. Wilson appealed to Bailie Shaw, who imprisoned Johnstone. Johnstone at once brought an action for wrongful imprisonment and for a declarator that the ladle dues were illegal. On 12th November, 1781, the Town Council decided to defend the action (*T.C.M.* of date). The process was further considered on 3rd December, and again on 10th December, when Bailie William

Kirkpatrick protested against the Council defending the action. According to Hislop, Johnstone lost the action after prolonged litigation, but public opinion was thoroughly aroused, and the Town Council had to abolish the dues. It was mentioned in the Council on 14th January, 1782, when it was stated that the dues objected to were now paid to the executioner out of the meal mercat dues (*T.C.M.* of date, and *cf. ibid.*, 23rd August, 1785).

In August, 1785, Roger Wilson was dying, and he was buried on 22nd September at the town's expense, owing to his poverty (*T.C.M.* of date). Joseph Tait was appointed his successor (*T.C.M.*, 27th May, 1786). He soon applied for an increase of pay, in view of the fact that he could not collect his meal mercat dues (*T.C.M.*, 14th December, 1789). His salary was raised to £10, and he was advised by the Council to raise a process against sellers of meal who would not pay the dues. Tait took the advice, but could not find any writer to take the plea in hand. He accordingly petitioned the Council again for their assistance. The Council replied that they could not be troubled with any more petitions of like nature, but gave him liberty to prosecute any meal sellers he chose. Thereafter the dues were dropt. The public had won a bloodless victory (*T.C.M.*, 28th December, 1789).

Another case is recorded of the town being involved in a legal process relating to the Prison, together with a reasoned case submitted to counsel. The advocate consulted was no less a person than Andrew Crosbie, Vice-Dean of Faculty, son of a Dumfries Provost, and the original of Pleydell in Scott's *Guy Mannering*. His opinion was asked as to the powers of the Town Council to admit to bail a debtor incarcerated in the Jail and removed to a room above the Court House, where there was no lock or proper confinement. This was called the *open prison*. From this room the prisoners came down to the court room, and thence by a passage communicating with the adjoining Steeple on to the roof or Bartizan above the Court House, in order to take the air there. In the bail bond, these upper rooms were called the new Tolbooth or prison.

The opinion of counsel was also asked as to the obligation of the Council to incarcerate mad or " furious " persons com-

mitted by a Justice of the Peace. Two instances were quoted :—(1) Jean Douglas, a mad woman, was so committed *circa* 1771, was exceedingly furious, and made a dreadful noise at night; her language was so obscene that she was a public nuisance; after she had been two or three years in jail without showing signs of recovery, the magistrates to get rid of her had to hire a man from the country to remove her. (2) Another woman, unnamed, so committed in 1777 became such a nuisance to people living near the jail that the Council had to raise a contribution to carry her to her friends.

The learned counsel gave it as his opinion that as the New Prison was a place of confinement the practice would be upheld in law, but that the Council would be liable to a creditor if a debtor escaped, and the bail bond should therefore be amended.

" Furiosity " was no legal cause of commitment, so the magistrates could refuse a person on such a warrant of commitment. But if the warrant contained any other charge, they could not refuse. They would have to imprison till trial, when if found guilty of the charge and also furious, the prisoner could be confined till his friends found security to take care of him (*T.C.M.*, xxvi., Ap. 1779).

Counsel's opinion was very sound in law, but the Town Council proceeded to ignore it for eleven years. Then in June, 1790, came a legal decision which shook them from their slumbers, for, as the result of an action before the Court of Session, the Town of Annan was mulcted in £1326 for allowing a debtor the liberty of the open prison, whence he escaped (*Nancy and Shortreid v. Burgh of Annan*), it being held that the open prison was not a legal imprisonment. The councillors of Dumfries at once prohibited the future grant of open jail to those imprisoned for debt (*T.C.M.*, 14th June, 1790). But it was too late, for by November the Council received notice that Thomas Mitchell in Penpont, a creditor of Thomas Shaw, was bringing an action against the Council in the Court of Session for permitting the liberty of the " burgess or open prison " when imprisoned for debt some time before. The Council at once took steps to defend the action, appointing Fergusson of Craigdarroch their advocate, and calling on

Wm. Brand of Mountainhall and William and James Herron, merchants in Dumfries, to indemnify the town under the bond of bail and caution (*T.C.M.*, 1st November, 1790).

In 1801 the Council entered into negotiations with the Committee of Supply for the County for a new joint Courthouse and Prison (*T.C.M.*, 18th May), and agreed to pay £500 towards it (*T.C.M.*, 22nd June, 1801). The foundation stone of the new jail was laid on 3rd September, 1802, in Buccleuch Street. The old jail, no longer needed, was put up to auction at £300. There being no bids, it was sold to John M'Craken, mason, for £270 sterling and 1s annual feu duty (*T.C.M.*, 8th November, 1808). It was at once pulled down, though its foundations remain. The Prison in Maxwelltown was erected in 1881. Such is in brief the history of the Old Prisons of Dumfries.

Some Letters anent the Rebellion of 1745.

Transcribed by J. J. VERNON, Hawick. Edited by G. W. SHIRLEY.

The Society is indebted to Mr J. J. Vernon, Hon. Secretary of the Hawick Archæological Society, for the transcription of the following letters relating to the Rebellion of 1745. These letters were copied from the originals many years ago by Mr Vernon. They were then in the possession of the late Mr Oliver of Thornwood, Hawick, who quoted two or three of them in a communication to the Hawick Archæological Society in 1902, but their present locus is unknown. The relation they give of events in our district renders our *Transactions* an eminently suitable place for their publication.

The recipient of the letters was Hugh Hathorn of Wigg, Whithorn, and three of them (1, 2, and 14) were written by his father, Hugh Hathorn, Edinburgh. The other letters were from correspondents in Stranraer, Dumfries, Maybole, Dunraggit, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, and Sorbie. Their dates extend from 7th September to 24th December, 1745. Hugh Hathorn, apart from the intelligent interest a gentleman might be expected to take in the events, appears to have

occupied an official position. It is stated in one of the letters (No. 13) that not only was he " one heartily attached to his Majesties Interest " but also " one of his officers," and his correspondents request him to carry out certain regulations with regard to the shipping at Wigtown and suggest that he should visit the Earl of Galloway and " concert with his Lordship proper measures for securing all Letters that pass by Portpatrick and looking into all intelligence that pass that way."

A word on the Hathorn family may serve to show their standing in the county. As proprietors of Meikle or Over Aires in the parish of Longcastle (now embraced in Kirkinner) they can be traced back to 1455. They became kindly tenants of the lands of Aires under the church, and we find a David Hathorne in Meikle Aires in 1536. The elder Hugh of the letters was the third son of Henry Hathorn, merchant and bailie of Edinburgh and proprietor of Over Aires. Henry Hathorn had married Jean Hamilton and had three sons, Henry (d.s.p.), John, and Hugh. John became the laird of Over Aires, and married in 1738 Agnes Stewart of Physgill. She was born in 1715, and died in 1786. John died 20th April, 1780, and from him are descended Admiral R. H. Johnston Stewart, C.B., now of Physgill, and Sir Mark J. M'Taggart Stewart, Bart. of Southwick. Hugh, who was a director of the Royal Bank in Edinburgh.[9] married Elizabeth Stewart, heiress of Wigg, and his son Hugh, the recipient of the letters, married Anne Vans of Barnbarroch. The present proprietor of Castlewigg, Hugh Fletcher Hathorn, is his direct descendant. From the letters we gather that Hugh's sister " B. " was the wife of William Clugston, Stranraer, and that Dr Dalrymple, Dunraggit, was his cousin.

The letters do not furnish us with new facts of any importance. This is not surprising in view of the voluminous published and unpublished literature of the period. One or two small points, however, attract our interest. The raid on the baggage at Ecclefechan is ascribed (No. 15) to the initiative of the " Seceeders in Galloway, Nithsdale, and Annandale." Other writers credit this daring little enterprise, the

only affair of the kind which took place, to " the people of Dumfrees." We shall not decide between the claims, but if John Dun, our correspondent, is correct, it exhibits an interesting survival of that spirit which led the followers of John Hepburn of Urr to march to Dumfries in 1715, there to weigh down the scales against Kenmure. The premature rejoicings in Dumfries over a fictitious victory ten days or so before the arrival of the Highlanders there adds to the inglorious episodes of the capture of Edinburgh and Carlisle and the battle of Prestonpans, another touch to a story which, from our present-day security, appears to bear considerable elements of farce.

It is not, however, for these little sidelights that the letters are interesting, but for the general conspectus of affairs that they give. The difficulties of communication, the prevalence of rumours, the uncertainty of information, the dubiety as to the numbers of the opposing armies, and the uncertain reflection of affairs from the wider area of war in Europe are all borne in upon us either directly or by inference.

To obtain an idea of what was passing in the minds of local people during those precarious months at the end of 1745 is of undoubted historical value, and this is the reason for presenting these letters in their entirety. We see here their doubts and prejudices, the facts and fancies on which rested their hopes and fears. Even the effect of the sunless weather (No. 19) must not be overlooked.

A few bright phrases illumine the characters of the correspondents. Hugh Hathorn, elder, is sober but confident (2) that the " severall thousands hearty honest fellows that is provided with arms " will give the Highlanders a warm reception when they come to Edinburgh. However disappointed he may have been, he had recovered his optimism during the " more than eight weeks " he was unable, with safety, to write, and was again confident (14) that Wade and Ligonier would catch the Highlanders between them and " give a good account " of them. James M'Derment, the writer, showed an admirable combination of courage and discretion when he ventured out to see an expected engagement (3), " but I ashoure you I took cair to situate my Self

at a proper distance." He commends the submission of Edinburgh as discreet, but is heartsick of the whole affair, as he has from it " nothing but the Gloomy Prospect of Bloodshed, Desolation and Destruction." This phrase is repeated by Dr Dairymple, whose letter (7) displays most oratorical phraseology. He is tossed between doubts as to whether it was expedient to pursue the harvest or " think on the best precautions against Rapine and Devastation " until the alarm turned out to be false. He is greatly disgusted at the " tame " surrender of Edinburgh, and the greatest danger, he asserts, is from " treacherous Ennemys in the Bowils of the Country," and he advises the laying to heart of the " sensible advice in the 13th chapter of Luke, 3 and 5," which verses both state succinctly, " I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Without this, he informs his reader, " we can expect no safety but be mingled in the dire Calamatys of the times." Mrs B. Clugston (6) is cynical. " We are here very quiet: no body here thinks ther is any danger as it is only money they want and no touns here able to pay any thing worth while." No breeks on the Sassenachs of Stranraer evidently. And again: " The prince takes great care to keep his men from doing mischief, but ther is a rable of wemen and children that steals naturally." Original sin uncombated! Her husband, however, is more concerned (12) about getting slate from Lochryan, and recalls, with aptness, Mr Marshall's joke about the Quarterly Sessions:—" Quarterly Drinkings " rather. Mr Robert Carment of Kirkcudbright (17) passes on agreeable but, unhappily, fictitious news of a victory that set Dumfries rejoicing. He is evidently touched with the ardour of the countryside to fall a-snapping at the heels of the fleeing enemy. Mr Maitland of Sorbie (19) is more cautious. He recounts and balances the reports, and is contemptuous of easy belief and "miracle-mongers." These, drawing deductions from the weather, he says, though as absurd, are not yet so impious as their ancestors, "our Ancient Cavaliers Comparing the Death of Charles the first to the Crucifixion of Christ and sometimes gave the preference to their King above their Saviour."

Lastly one has sight (22) of the douce tradesmen of Dumfries—they who ofttimes had stood on the ignominious stool for taking a walk on the Dock—"working all Sunday," maugre Church censure and the desecration of a holy day, "to get the Shoes for the men ready and the smiths shoeing their horses." And what hidden romance is there in these words:—"He poor man pleads hard for an answer?" Was the pleader's name "Mag" (14), and was he trying to influence Miss Hathorn through Mrs Hathorn? He could hardly be wooing Mrs Hathorn herself under her husband's eyes. That were too dark a plot!

As to the editing of them one feels that an apology is due. It is not perfect, but is it worth while expounding the reference to "Mr James," "Doctor Martin," "Sir Wm.," etc., at the cost of many hours' work even if then they could be explained? To Mr G. Macleod Stewart I am indebted for the facts about the Hathorn family and for some other details.

EDITOR.

1. From Hugh Hathorn, Edinburgh, to Hugh Hathorn, Castlewig.

Edin^{r} [Saturday] 7th Sep. 1745.

D^{r} H.

I Receaved yours the twentyth ult^{o} wherein you inform me that your ffamily are all well, which I am glad to hear, you tell me you have Sold your Catle. I think the price is pretty high, whether or not it be there full worth you are only judge -- Wee are Much alarm'd here with the invation; the Rebells are now left Lochaber and are come to Perth [4th September] there is many different Accounts about y^{m} & y^{r} Number, Some Say they are two thousand in Number & Some Say they are 3 thousand & oy^{rs} Say they are more and the truest and I believe they are not above two thousand; we are told they are to come South, and to pay us a visit in this place. We are all bussie here preparing to give y^{m} a warm Reception we have Augmented our City gaurd &'ve about 200 Burgers upon gaurd every night if they come nearer than they are we'll have a great many more.[1] We are to 've Artillary plac'd upon our walls[2] and every oy^{r} fortifications that time & the Circumstances will allow. I with pleasure can tell you y^{t} our people here are hearty, and resolve to suport the Goverment and Defend this place to the utmost of y^{r} power, we Dayly expect some Dutch troops[3] to land in this place, so we do not doubt but

our own troops we have here if they come up with ym in the plain Country when they have left there hills and passes, they will give a very good acc't of ym and put an end to the Rebellion. it is pretty certain that the pretenders eldest Son is among them and they talk of Several Gentlemen that has joined ym, but not any of good Estates, mostly people of Desperate Circumstances, from what I hear the most of ym are the Clan Cameron and Glengarrie's men I can't condescend upon any oyrs not being certain. you may believe it I have a share with my Nighbours in the trouble and fatigue that we are necessarly put too at this time. With my best wishes to you Spouse Children & Sister.

I am your Affectionat ffather

HEUGH HATHORN.

2. *From Hugh Hathorn, Edinburgh, to Hugh Hathorn, Castlewig.*

Edinr [Saturday] 14 Sep. 1745.

Dr H.

By your last you told me that you design to be in town the Midle of this Month—this comes to advise you to Stay at home with your ffamily as matters stands just now, I do not think it Safe or proper for you to travel the road betwixt your house and this, the Rebells are pas'd the forth at the Ford of Frew [13th September] and is now come the length of Banock and is now come betwixt Sterling and this place, there Numbers I cannot justly tell you. Colonel Gardner[4] & his Regiment is come from Sterling this night and encamps at Lithgow, we hourly expects Sir Jno. Cope & the Armie from the North, as likewise some Dutch troops from holland[5] we are all very bussie here preparing our walls and puting Our Selves in proper poster of Defence, we shall [have] above 30 or 40 p's of Cannon plac'd before tomorrow at ten of the Clock, and I think we have Severall thousands hearty honest fellows that is provided with arms and will give ym a warm reception when they come, and I do not know but they may walk in in 48 hours time if yr madnes continue & be so Bold as to atemp this Town; you may beleve I have no time but that I am with my best wishes to your Spouse and ffamely

I am you affet ffather

HEUGH HATHORN.

I am really very much fatigued.

3. *From James M'Derment, writer in Edinburgh, to Mr Carment, writer in Ayr.*

Edinr [Tuesday] Sepr 17th 1745.

Dr Sir

I wrot you on Sunday[5] [Saturday, 14th] night aquainting you of the great Confusion we wer in upon advise that

the Highlanders wer pointing this way. I was not then fully persuaded that there were just grounds for so great an alarm, which I now find ther was; that very night and nixt morning Coll. Gairdner retired befor them as far as Corstorphan, about nine on Sundays [15th September] morning ther advanced party appearing very nigh him, he Imidiatly sent Express to hamiltons Dragoons to join which they Did Before twelve. they marched at full Gallop through the town with ther Scull Capes fixed and every otherways prepair'd for Battle; this give no small alarm to the Cityzans who wer at this time in Churchess: the fier Drums Bate and alarm Bells rung which occasioned an universal Confusion: by three in the afternoon the forcess under Coll. Gairdner & the town guard & City new Levy'd Regiment[6] who march'd out of town after the Dragoons wer drawn up in order of Battle in which posture they were till night but the Highlanders advancing no further than Kirkliston a Distance of about 9 miles Coll. Gairdner thought proper, as the night turn'd out very misty & Dark to venture to this side of the Coat Bridge, Least by the favour of night they might have stolan a march on them and surounded him: hear they Lay all night under arms and nixt morning [16th September] they again formed themselves in order of Battle amongst Severall others who had Courage enough to go out & See the Engagement which was Expected. I happened to be one but I ashoure you I took cair to situate my Self at a proper Distance the severall Scouts and partys that were sent out to Reconoiter the Highlanders all agreed they wer very numerous and that it would be Imprudent to Engage them, about 4 in the after Noon the Collonells advanced Guard Came at the Gallop[7] adviseing that the advanced Guard of the Highlanders was at hand upon which a Councill of warr was held when it was agreed that they shuld not wait but Secure them safely by a speedy retreat which was forth with Execute the City forcess returning hither and the Dragoons marching to Mussle Burgh Links, if the town was in Confusion Before it was much more now when they found they had no relife to Expect but from themselves, and the Kings forcess then flying created a Belief that the Highlanders wer much more numerous than they really wer. Discontents murmerings & Jealousies began to arise and all was in the outmost confusion and as ther was no time to Loss the Highlanders on being just at the Gates the fier Bell was once more Rung summondsing up the Burgesses to give ther oppinions upon the same upon which, as a great many of the Gentlemen of the train Bands themselves wer for it, it was agreed as the wisest and most Prudent measure to send out and aske Capitulation; the Volunteers wer quite otherways this resolution offering to Defend the City them Selves, but as a great number of not only the Inhab'ents but the train Bands who had the greatest Intrest in the place wer for it, it was at Last aggreed to and this morning [17th September] about five the van guard of the Highland men

Consisting of about 1000 men Entered the City and took Possession of it.[8] About 11 the young prince Entered the abbay amidst the Acclamations of many thousands, at noon the Manifesto &c. were published over the Cross by some of King georges heraulds who wer oblidged to do it. Hitherto they have observed strick Discipline and I hope they will Continew I shall not take upon me to say how far the town could have held out I am realy of oppinion it was a very prudent measure [for] if it had once made a Defence they would not have accepted a Capitulation faverable for the town and [as] ther were no Doubt many in town who wish'd well to that Side of the question they would [have] fallen on severall ways to favour the storming of the town. I have not as yet been able to find out the terms of the Capitulation the Highlanders who are in town and Cannon Gate and else place are Encamped on the hils Below arthur Seat will I think be able 9000 a great many of them very pretty men and Indeed tho ther are men amongst them but Indiffrent yet generally Speaking they may be called a body of good men they are all well armed. Upon the Whole I am heart sick of this affair as I have from it nothing but the Gloomy Prospect of Bloodshed, Desolation, and Destruction. We have no Certain accounts of Sir John Cope[9] far less of the Dutch. Ther can at this juncture no publick Busness be got Donn nether Signet, Bill Chamber nor other officess oppening.

I am yours

J. M'D.

4. Unsigned Account of the Battle of Prestonpans.

Dumfries [Sunday] 22d Septem[r] 1745.

Sir,

A mess[r] is just now arived with advice that Sir Jno Cope march'd on Thursday [19th September] morning early from Dunbar where he landed with 3000 foot & 2 Regim[ts] of Dragoons, he came to Haddington that night. On Friday he reach'd Tranent & took possession of the ground betwixt that and Cockenzie, the highlanders march'd from Edin[r] on Friday & reach'd Tranent that night. When they came up Sir Jn[o] waited them in order of Battle but they declined it & filed off towards the Town of Tranent. Sir Jn[o] threw a good many Shells into the Town among them which did some Execution but did not much disturb them. The rest of the night both armys lay on their arms, as soon as it was light in the morning [21st September] the highlanders in 2 bodies one on the west & the oy[r] on the east of side of the Town attack'd Sir John who was on a plain a little below them. They fired twice before our men return'd it. Hamiltons Dragoons its said stood but one fire. Gardners dragoons did great Execution till their Coll: was wounded in the Thigh[4] & many of themselves cut to pieces, after which they retired. The foot in the meantime made 5 regular fires but being at last surounded by the Enemy & deserted by the

Cavalry all that remain'd were taken prisoners. Loudons highlanders are almost all killed[14] & the Baggage all taken. The highlanders return'd towards Edin^r. Sir John was in Lauder when my Correspondent left Kelso, w^t Earles Home[13] and Loudon[14] & the Dragoons with them on their Road to England. Its thought the High^rs will follow him soon by Berwick; their number is magnified to 10,000 which I dare say is above the truth.

By another Acc^t the high^rs seem to have surprized them in the morning before they knew what they were about & Sir John having lighted a great many fires gave them an opportunity of seeing his motions in the night.

This acc^t was from a man who was sent to stay with Gen^ll Cope for Intelligence & saw the action from the Town of Tranent.

5. News Letters from Maybole and Glasgow, Unsigned.

Coppy of a letter from Maybole [Sunday] Sep^r 22^d 1745 particulars thereof the great Demand upon Edin^r: 6000 p^r Shoes, 2000 Targetts, 6000 flesks for Carrying Watter, 1000 tents that will hold 6 men each, & 1000 horses, all to be ready the 25th Sep^r: and agreed to by Edin^r.

Particulars of a letter from Glasgow. [Thursday] Sept^r 19th, the Rebells have gott 1500 stand of arms & 18 or 20 piece of Cannon out of Edin^r including pittarerows & the whole Town magazine & amonition, there is a Dreadfully Cruel Clamour ag^t the provest[15] att whose door the fault is laid, the Manifesto was publicly read over the Cross on Munday & the pret^r proclaim'd King on Tewsday about 3 a clock by the Heralds with Trumpets and all other proper Dress & w^t all the ceremony & solemnity usuall. The windows cover'd w^t Carpits and the Ladys joining w^t their Huzzas w^t the Multitude below. Blackny[12] oblidg'd to confine some officers gentlemen in Stirling Castle particularly Mr Elphinstone the liften^t. The two Companys that were taken prisoners in the Highlands att fort Agustus have broken out of Doune Castle where they were confin'd & come to Stirling. L^d Elcho,[16] [and] Sir James Stewart of Coltness[17] have appear'd publickly att Edin^r with there Cockads. L^d Merk Ker[18] is come to Haddingtoun as assured from Edin^r but wether to take the command of the forces or the Castle is uncertain.

6. From Mrs B. Clugston, Stranraer, to H. Hathorn, Castlewig.

[23rd September, 1745.]

Dear Sir,

As to news on Saturday we had but one paper which was wrot on munday [16th September] before the Hilanders entered the citty [of Edinburgh] but the gentlemen here has established a corospondance at glasgow and by a letter from him dated on wensday ther is the following acount to wit that on munday on

hearing the army was so near them the companys of train band, the thousand new rais'd men and the toun gards were all put under arms and placed on the walls in order to Defend the place but about 8 a clock at night they got orders to Deliver up ther arms to the castle the fire Bell was rung and the Drum went through ordering all the inhabitants to ther houses and between one and tow in the morning 9 hundred of the Highlanders entered the west port so quietly they were not observed by the castle. On tusday [17th September] they proclaimed the prince King[10] and he took up his qarters in the Abby they say they are about 7 or 8 thousand but a great deall mere rable and boys. There is about four or five thousand well armed; our corospondant says he heard the Duck[11] was landed and com about Dunbar and the tow regments of Dragoons who retired to Lieth on the enemys aproching the town was gone to meet them. If they be Landed we expect to hear of an ingagement this day for the gentlemen here sends expres to maybole every saturday for the news for tho the course of post be stoped ther is constant express between glasgow and edin[r] and ther from Glasgow to air and from air to mayboll and from mayboll here and if anything come this day worth while shall imedially send of. We are here very quiet no body here thinks ther is any danger as it is only money they want and no touns here able to pay any thing worth while. The prince takes great care to keep his men from doing mischief but ther is a rable of wemen and children that steals naturally. He demands forty thousand pound sterling of edin[r]: I sopose you heard his demand of fifteen from glasgow to which place they expect he will make a visit as soon as he gets his demands answer'd at edin[r]. All the monies was removed to the castle on munday and valuable goods. Blackny[12] secur'd the liftenant of Stirling Castle on suspition of treason as he left the castle. The main body of Highlanders is incampt below Salsbury craigs so as to be shelter'd from the canon of the castle. The doctor is out of toun seeing Mr James who is very ill, this letter would have been distincker but your man is in a hury pray give my complyment to my sister Miss Hathorn and miss mag broun. I belive our coming doun the country is stoped for some time as we cant expect doctor martin in and no busness can be done without him. My brother was home on wensday from the shire of air, he is just now at cragbowie.

Dear Sir your most aff. sister and humble servant

B. CLUGSTON.

Munday morning.

7. *From Dr J. Dalrymple, Dunraggit, to Hugh Hathorn, Castlewig.*

Dunragget, Monday Morning [23rd September].

Dear Sir,

Yesternight the calling of your Servant alarm'd us and

as he had left some accounts with the Servant (& immediately went to Stranraer) that there were 300 men ravaging & plundering the laigh Country this news very much disconcerted me this morning. Not knowing whither it was most expedient to pursue the harvest or think on the best precautions against Rapine and Devastation but upon the return of your Man it seem'd to be a false alarm—tho I think it very right for friends to inform one another of approaching dangers especially at a time when our greatest danger arises from few or no friends but many treacherous Ennemys in the Bowils of the Country which threaten us now as our Capitol has so tamely surrendered and as I am informed ¾ths of the Inhabitants appear'd overjoyed at the event by their acclamations at the proclamation—what encouragement is this? to all the Confederates in the country to rise into a tumult & turn fierce & rapacious upon the well affected few. It is to be dreaded that they may next Storm the Castle of Edin^r since the treasure of the town was conveyed to it and they are the more enabled to make good this attempt by the seizure they made of 300 Stand of Arms 20 pieces of Cannon and the Magazine of Ammunition &c. in the town.

It was reported in last accounts that General Cope was arrived at Dunbar & the Dutch[3] seen off Berwick & that Lord Merk Kerr[18] had wrote My Lady Ross[19] to remove out of Edin^r for that he with the forces were to attack them at all risks without delay and he did not know but Edin^r would be the place of action.

May God grant our next news be of their total overthrow, otherwise nothing remains for us to expect but all the Horrors of Bloodshed destruction & desolation. May you and I and all that wish to die the death of the Righteous lay to heart the seasonable advice given us by the great author of our Religion in the 13 chap. of Luke 3 & 5; verses repeated so warmly to his followers as the only certain securety & refuge in time of trouble & distress as the only duty without the practice of which we can expect no safety but be mingled in the dire Calamitys of the times. Forgive this confused scrawl. My wife joins me in best wishes to you, your Lady, & family. May God be with you.

Your affectionate Cussine & humble Serv^tt

J. D.

8. News Letter from Wigtown, Unsigned.

Sir,

Be informed that the Nature of the Alarm as to the approach of the Highlanders is Changed but whether for better or worse, time yet must Determine.

Wee are advised by two of our Councill who Returned from Kkudbright this Night, that by ane express from young Craigdarroch[20] who lives in the house of Drumlanrigg And who sent his Servant express to Edin^r. He Advises Drumfries from whom a Councellour of Kkudbright returned yesternight, That on Monday

& Tuesday [14th and 15th October] last 40 Highrs went to the Duke of Douglas's[21] house where the Duke was And immediately went into a Certain place of his Garden And raised from under Ground 6 or 7000 Merks Seized in his house 30 Small Arms & some Cannon, Then threatened the Duke that in case he would not either give them £5000 Ster, or, a Draught upon Mr Archbd Smart writer to the Signet in Edinr for that Sum, They would Carry him Prisoner to Edinr. So he Condescended to give the Draught & they returned with their Money & Arms: On Wednesday last [16th October] Craigdarrochs Servt See'd 500 Highrs at Linton And by what could be learned they were going to the West Country for Contributions And would go from thence to Stranraer Whithern & Wigton. And so to Kirkcudbright & Drumfries where they have not been yet but of this there is no absolute Certainty. It is Most Certain Lords Maxwell[22] Kenmure[23] & Capt. Maxwell of Carrachan[24] are Gone off to join the Highland Army.

From the London Gazette which our Councellours brought here we learn That there are 1600 Stand of Arms Sent from the Tower to Inverness for our Lord President[25] to Arm Men there for the government. That our Regular fforces were Reviewed at Doncaster to the Number of 15 or 16000 who are Immediately to March for Scotland under Genlls Wade & Wentworth. But by a letter from that place to Provost Bell[26] of Drumfries of Monday lasts Date [14th October] that Army is said to be 23000 and made a very fine appearance And all in good heart with a Train of Artillery of two miles length. That in the ffrench Ship taken by a Bristoll Privateer Loadin with Arms Ammunition & Severall Gentlemen of Distinction it is Reported—That Prince Henry[27] the youngest Son of the Pretender is there. Tho I See from ane other Para: he is said to be in paris. And that Preparations are making at Dunkirk & other ports for a descent upon the West of England. By the Newcastle Courant which we likewise Got here They tell us that there is the baggage of 6000 Danes[27a] Landed there And that the men are every Day and hour expected. By the London Gazette it appears to be certain that the Victory[28] got by Prussia over the Allied Army[29] was not so great as at first given out, For by the Accotts from Berlin its said they only killed and took Prisoners 2000 & that the Irregular troops belonging to P: Ch:[30] took the whole baggage of the Prussian Army with their Military Chest. That by the Accts from Francfort they agree to the same accompt of Loss on P: Ch: side and that there was about the same number of Prussians Killed & taken and that he would have obtained a compleat victory had there not been a Mistake occasion'd by the Darkness of the Night and these Irregular troops Stopping and Seizing the baggage. But P: Ch: retired with his army in good order! And since the K. of P.[31] evacuated Bohemia & is gone into Silesia. That the whole Electors for the New Emperor[32] have formally bound themselves to support their Choice agt all opposition. That the Town or City of Aith[33]

has surrendered to the ffrench after a very fierce Seige exceeding all yet in fflanders. The whole town entirely Distroyed by bombs to the Number of some Hundreds beside Cannon Shot, at last the Governour was prevailled upon by the Ladies & others in town to offerr a capitulation which was accepted of. And the whole Garrison Marched out with Military Honours two Cannon and Colours flying. Its said the ffrench Army is now to go into Winter Quarters. They are advised at Drumfries from Glasgow That there are 4000 Highrs in Arms for the Goverment Plundering the Houses of those Highland Clans Joined the Chevalier. The Prints are Swelled with Accompts of the many Militia Regiments Raised in each County in England.

Thus I have given you all I find and Learn Materiall, And am, Sir,

Yours &c.

Wigton [Saturday] 19th Octr 1745.

P.S.—The Prints also bear That the King of P[russia][31] has wrote the King of ffr.[34] That if he send any assistance to the Chevalier in Britain He will Send his Army into ffrance.

I Promised the bearer Nine pence which he Grudged so you'l please pay him.

9. *From John Clark, writer, Dumfries, to Hugh Hathorn, Castlewig.*

Drumfries [Friday] 25th Octr 1745.

Sir,

Nothing has happen'd remarkable since I saw you Otherwise wou'd have wrote you sooner. I hear the last of the King's Forces that are to come Northward were to be at Burrowbridge[35] on Thursday last [24th October] the rest being forward and are all expected to Rendevous 'twixt Durham and Newcastle the beginning of next Week.[36] Its said they amount to 10 or 11000—besides Seven Battalions more of British Troops from Flanders landed at Newcastle this week under the Command of Lord Albemarl.[37] The Duke of Cumberland came to London on Friday the 18th [October] in three days from Brussels and theres 27 Transports at Williamshad ready to bring home some more of the British Horse and Dragoons. The Prussians have suffer'd greatly in the late Battle with the Austrians. The Parliament have pass'd a Bill to enable his Majesty to secure & detain whatever persons he may suspect to be Conspiring agt his Person & goverment. Ld Loudin[38] is gone for the Highlands to raise the Duke of Argyles Vassels & oyr well affected Clans. The Ld President[25] is likeways there & it's said has together about 1500 men to whom the Government has sent Arms &c. & if you incline to come down and see the Army let it be the beginning of next week and I'll do my self the favour to

wait on you as I promised. My Wife joins me in Complements to yourself, your Lady, & Miss Hathorn.

I am respectfully, Sir,

Your most obed^{t} & obliged Serv^{t},

Jo: CLARK.

10. News Letter from Dumfries, Unsigned.

Coppy of a Letter from Drumfries Dated [Sunday] 27 Oct^{r}. 1745.

Sir,

By our advises this Night from Edin^{r} which are the only news we have; Wee are advised that the Dutch have Declar'd war ag^{t} ffrance.[38a] That the Duke of Cumberland is to command our army on their March to the North. That 9 Battalions of our forces from fflandrs are arrived at Sheilds. And that Gen^{ll} Wade with ane army of 23,000 will be at Newcastle Tuesday next [29th October] to be joined with 14,000 of Militia or Rather Volunteers that are to come along with him. Wee have also good reason to believe that Admirall Bing with his ffleet is gone over to bring the Danes.[39] And that Prussia has declared that in case ffrance shall send any assistance to the present rebellion 12,000 of their number will be sent over to our assistance. It is also said and with some reason too that Lord Loudon[14] is very successful in raising the well affected Clans And that Coll Jack Campbell[40] in a days time raised 700 And met with twice that Number of the Highrs on their march to Edin^{r} whom he Surrounded Disarmed & Sent all home upon their Paroles not to take up arms ag^{t} the present Govert. God Grant the above Acc^{t} may all hold true Tho it is hoped some of them are well founded. Lord Nithsdale[22] is come home much Indisposed and gives a very Sorry Acc^{t} of the Highrs. Wee are all Quiet here & begin to gather a little more Courage fflatering ourselves that we are not to have a Visit of the Tartane Gentlemen Tho we are yet uncertain. However our Town will not be Rash in Going into a Contribution,[42] which if they do shall acquaint you, as well as of any party coming here.

Yours &c.

London evening Gazette which I read Has only worth Notice what follows

Hague [Tuesday] Oct. 22d. Wee have advice from Dunkirk that on the 15th Inst: Six Ships Carrying from 10 to Sixteen Guns sailed out of that port to the Northward Laden with Arms & Ammunition & fully Mann'd with Severall officers but no Soldiers on board.

. . . . . .

The Pretenders Second Son[27] is still in ffrance. Earle of Ancrum[43] is Made Coll. of Gardiners Regiment of Dragoons.

Oct^{r} 22d, 1745, by a Private Letter from a Good Hand at London which I see'd Lord Albemarle[37] with 7 Regts are Landed at

Newcastle by this time. Tho no account of it is yet reach'd London. All the Rest of our foot are to come from fflanders as fast as possible.

11. News Letter with Extracts from Various Sources.

From the General Evening Post.

Hague [Tuesday] Novr 5. The Chevaliers Second Son[27] had ane audience of His Most Christian Majestie[44] not long ago at ffontainbleau: after which he set out, without anybody being able to say what road he had taken.

Newcastle [Saturday] 26th Octr. Lord Loudon[14] who sailed from Berwick is now in the Highlands and is joined by the well affected Clans to the number of 6000. The names of the chief are Argyles, M'Leods, Sir Alexr Donald,[70] M'Donald of the Isles, Monroes, Grants, ffrazers, M'Kies, part of the M'Intoshes. And the forces with the president.[45] Its assured from Durham that there are above 1000 Horse & Dragoons in that City for this Town. And its said the whole Army for the North will encamp on the Town Muir next Wednesday [30th October].

Nineteen Companys of English Infantry besides 400 Dutch are landed here from Holland. The Garrison now consists of 4000 men which are in good spirits & bid defiance to the Rebells.

Extract of a Letter from Durham Dated [Sunday] 27th Octr.

P. Georges Dragoons & Montagues & Wades Horse came in here thursday & friday last [24th and 25th October]. Genll Wade past this town yesterday [26th October] and is now at Chester le Street. The Regimts here wait orders to March.

From the London Gazette.

Whitehall [Monday] 28th Octr. by a messenger who arrived yesterday & left Genll Wade with the forces under his command at Darlington on the 26 Inst. Wee have account that all the troops from fflanrs were arrived at Berwick, Newcastle & holy Island except 5 compys of Coll. Ligoniers[46] & 3 of Brigr Price, one Ship with Horses, & the whole Baggage which were still amissing.

London [Thursday] Oct. 31. Extract of a Letter from Dover Dated Oct. 30th. This day came in the York Privateer who says she boarded a Dutch ship bound from Dunkirk for Rochelle, the master of which told them the Pretenders Eldest Son arrived there the 24 Inst. from Scotland. And that he came over in a small ffrench Vessel in the habit of a Common Seaman. That great rejoicings were made on that accompt, and that a large Ship was loading there with Stores for the Rebells. This not confirmed ffrom Paris that orders have been sent to the Men of War in the Port of Rochfort to saill immediately in order as is supposed to join the ffrench Squadron & to assist them in that design whatever it may be.

On Tuesday [29th October] by a Search warrant from two Deputy Lieutenants in the County of Middlesex upon information

made before them, Six Guns, 7 horse pistols, 4 of a lesser size, 7 swords, a Powder trier, a Bullet mould, a Net of fflints, a Bag of Bullets, with a Laddle to Melt Lead in, were taken from a Gentleman in St. Mary le bon Parish, Who being very Ill in bed was no other ways Disturbed but by taking the said Arms.

By a letter from Kirkcud^{t} from Jno Miller writer there he says he spoke with a gentleman who came from Edin^{r} with the High^{rs} when they left it & was two Days in their Company. And that he was acquaint with Some of their officers who told him they were going into England. That there was 16000 ffrench to meet them in Wales. And that their own army at that time was 12000 strong.

There came ane express into Drumfries on friday last [1st November] about 10 o'clock forenoon Desiring they might have Stabling & forageing for 600 horse & Billets for as many men ready immediately for they were then at Cars of Kinnalls.[47]

12. From William Clugston, Stranraer, to Hugh Hathorn, Castlewig.

D^{r} Sir,

Yours late last night [Sunday, 3rd November] I received and am glad to hear you gott safe home and found all friends well. I return you thanks for your news butt they happen to be the Direct Coppies of what you heard Read twice in my house on wednesday last, however must impute that forgettfullness to the effects of the Quarter Sessions (or as old Mr Marshall used to say, Quarterly Drinkings). I'm told there is Slate to be got at Lochryan and good enough; they also tell me they have been sold for about 15s the 1000 however shall after further enquiry inform you more fully. If there were any Lime Stone Boat coming your way to make them call by the way would I think be cheapest and best. As for news we have had none certain since I saw you, its said from Air that if our Army is not in Scotland this week that they expect a visit from the Highlanders to Demand 6 months land tax. Sir Wm.[48] is returned again with our Corps to Lochrutton [? Lochryan] and its openly said that the young Advocate is really with the Chevalier.

Pray give my kind compliments to Lady, Sister, and family, and am most sincerely

yr affect^{e} Broyer & humble Serv^{t}

WILL: CLUGSTON.

Stranraer [Monday] Nov^{r} 4th 1745.

13. From George Neilson and Alexander Copland, Kirkcudbright, to Hugh Hathorn of Castlewig.

Kirkcudbright 6 Nov^{r} 1745
about 11 o'clock.

Sir,

The Government seems alarmed of a Correspondence

between the Rebells here and their friends in Ireland and of a landing there and perhaps that some detachments of the Rebells may pass hence to Ireland. To prevent which Admirall Byng with some ships are ordered to look into all the Western ports of the Island to order all ships and Boats out to Sea, and to burn such as refused in the harbours. But as its not probable he can yet be arrived upon these coasts and that the Rebells as we were certainly advised by ane express from Drumfries this morning about two of the clock were at Moffat yesternight to the number of 4000 foot and 600 horse[49] and that we are ignorant of what Rout or what their designs may be especially as partys of them are coming the Leadhills road and thought ourselves oblidged to desire you as one heartly attached to his Majesties Intrest and as one of his officers that you would immediately order of all the Boats upon your Coast, and write to the Magistrates and Customhouse officers of Wigton not only to see the same orders execute there but also to forward the same to Whitehern and Stranraer and Portpatrick and to write to the Magistrates and Customhouse officers of Stranraer to transmitt the same round their Coast to Ayre and so round the whole west coast this we esteem will be ane eminent service done to his Majestie and his fast friends.

We would not think it improper that you take your horse immediately and wait upon the Earle of Galloway[50] and concert with his Lordship proper Measures for secureing all Letters that pass by Portpatrick and looking into all intelligence that pass that way. Pay the Express and Charge it to Accompt.

We are Sir

Your humble servants

GEO. NEILSON.[50a]
ALEXR. COPLAND.

14. From Hugh Hathorn, Edinburgh, to Hugh Hathorn, Castlewig.

Edin. [Saturday] Nov. 16, 1745.

Dr Hugh,

After long silence it not being safe to write for more than these Eight weeks past I can now acquaint you that the Highlanders left this place above a fortnight agoe and as we hear they are past Carlile and going for Wales but I hope before they come that lenth Generall Wade will be with them wt an Army double their number for I am told by People that has seen them that they are seventeen thousand strong and Genll Lygonier is coming down the west road wt above seven thousand more. if they shou'd Chance to gett by Wade Lugoneer will meet them so they'll come betwixt two armies which I expect will give a very good accot of them. on Thursday last [14th November] there March'd into this town two Regiments of Dragoons and two of Foot which are all quarter'd wtin the town.[51] this is unconvenient but much better pleased

w^t them than the Highlanders. there are many other things that passes in town I refer you to John. I thank God the family is all well. w^t my best wishes to you, your Spouse, Children, and Sister,

I am

Dr Hugh, y^r aff^te ffath^r

HEUGH HATHORN.

P.S. Mag desires you'll deliver this to Mrs Hathorn. He poor man pleads hard for an Answer.

15. *From John Dun,*[51a] *Wigtown, to Hugh Hathorn of Castlewig.*

Sir,

My Long Silence only proceeds from Want of Matter I'm sorry that I have this occasion to write you.

On Saturday was eight Days the 9th Instant [November]. The Highland Army took up Quarters in & about Rowcliffe[52] where they remained till Munday thereafter And that day Marched to Bramton[53] 8 Miles beyond Carlile the Road to New Castle and themselves gave out They were going to attack Gen^ll Wades Army who was come within a days March of them. But on hearing that Wade was returned the Highlanders Designed to return to Carlile. And on Wednesday last [13th November] detached a party of 2000 under the Command of the Duke of Perth to that Town with a Letter from the Prince Direct to the Govirnour[54] of the Castle of Carlile Desireing Passage thro' the Town & Contribution as was done in Scotland. Upon the Partys comeing in Sight of the Town They detach'd a Gentleman with that Letter to the Govirnour who delivered it & Demanded answer which when the Govirnour had read threw it into the fire & told him that was his Answer and Immediately the Town & Castle began fireing their Cannon All that afternoon & throw the night But did no Damage when Night came on The High^rs Marched closs under the Walls of the Town And had got Scalling leathers made and fastned to the Walls of the Town by which 30 or 40 could March up in a breast when the Garrison of the Town found this Next Morning the Govirnour thereof sent out and acquainted the High^rs he would Surrender the Town & open the Ports To which Answer was returned that they would not accept of a Surrender of the Town unless the Castle Surrendered at the same time and Gave them till three o'clock that afternoon to deliberate. And in that Space another Message was sent with a Surrender of all upon which the whole Highland Army which was then come up enter'd the Town by the English Gate the Scots Gate being built up & could not be Got open to them. And next went into the Castle where they got 2000 small arms 160 Barrells of Powder with their whole Cannon. And no doubt what else they had. They also got in Town 150 Light Horses Mounted by Militia and 1500 County Militia on foot. It's said all the High^rs were in the Greatest Spirit not one of them having deserted for a long time

past. And the Inhabitants of the Town have taken new Courage, opened their Shops & workhouses on Saturday morning [16th November] and the Highrs pay for all they get. So what their furder design is time must produce. Its likewise said that Wade had marched some part of the Road towards Carlile but hearing that Prince William[55] was comeing down with ane army by the West Road he return'd in order to join him. And that there is a surmise that there is such a fear of ane Invasion from France that they will not venture to send the Army so far North as Carlile but I suppose that acct wants Confirmation as it seems to be Imagination only.

The Secedars in Galloway Nithsdale & Annandale getting Information that the Highrs were all into the English Side and that there was Thirty Two Carts on the Road thro: Annandale for that Army Loaded with Bisket Swords and other such like, Gathering to some hundreds in a body in order to Seize them (tho' the Provost of Drumfries object'd against it) And went in pursuit of them whom they overtook at Ecclefechan Seized 8 [&] Carried of[f] all[56] And now the Highrs at Carlile having got notice of it Have detached 400 of their Number to Drumfries to make Reprisall and Levy a larger Contribution than what was formerly designed The notice of which has put Drs in greater Fear & Confusion than they have been since the Rebellion broke out and expect no Mercy.[57]

The above I had this night at 9 o' the Clock from Mr Smith my Neighbour a faithfull Rehearser as he had it this night from Mr Baillie My Lords Gentleman as he passed this Town with Archibald M'Caull in their return from Carlile which they left on Saturday last [16th November] and saw what they report they add that there are none of the Highrs killed by the Cannon of Carlile except Swan their Principle Engineer,[57a] That, that day before they came of[f] Nine English Gentlemen of distinction entred in the Morning & joined the Highrs. And before they came off they seed them with White Cocades. I can add no more only I of myself fear when the party of Highrs reach Drs they may possible come nearer us. Its also said the Duke of Argyle is in Disgrace at London.[58] Furder which I had almost forgotten that before the Town of Carlile was besieged Sir Thomas Wallace & one Cunningham of Auchon Skeoch had been in England and upon their return halted in Carlile where the Town oblidged them to Stay & as they said Assist them to fight agt their Countrys Rebells so these Gentlemen were found when the Town Surrendered and afterwards came off.

Our Edinr post is not yet come nor can we expect him till tomorrow afternoon or Night at soonest which determined me to send you this in the meantime least Accts of it Not altogether so plain & Genuine had reached you and you had blamed my negligence.

I am Sir, your most obedt Hule Servt

JOHN DUN,

Wigton [Tuesday] 19th Novr, 1745.

16. Extracts from News Letter from John Dun, Wigtown, to H. Hathorn of Castlewig.

[Saturday] 23d Novr 1745.

Wye's Letter [Thursday] Novr 7. On Thursday next [14th November] the Common Hangman will burn at the Royall Exchange the Pretender's Declaration. By the arivall of the Last forces the Govirment will have on ane emergency 20,000 Men in the South of England. They write from Paris that the Second Son[27] of the Pretr was returned to that City and had appeared publickly at the opera and that the Grand Discourse that he would speedily set out for Dunkirk in order to embark the troops which are to be employed in his favour under the Command of Lord Clare.[58c]

By a Letter from Newcastle its said a Spy had been taken up at Hexham by which it was Discover'd that the Rebells had received Great Remittances from Northumberland upon which a Gentleman of a Considerable Fortune who was the Receiver had been Secured & sent under a strong Guard to Prison.

The Czarina of Russia[59] & the Kings of Sweden[60] & Denmark[61] have been applyed to by the British Minrs on acct of the Scots Rebellion. They all express a Readiness to make good their treaties. But the most immediate expectation is from Denmark. But accts are so various that it is not certainly known whether any troops are embarked or Embarking for our Succour.

Edinr. Yesterday [? 22nd November]. Donald M'Donald of Kinloch Moydart Esqre[62] was carryed Prisoner to the Castle he was Seized by the Country people at Lesmahego on his March to join the Hid Army. Papers of consequence were found about him. And last night Spalding of Whitefield Esqre[63] was Incarcerated likewise in the Castle. He had a Commission from the Young Chevalier, and acted as an officer in the Battalion of Athols Men but was Returning with Despatches for the North. There are 2000 Horse & foot come here from Marshall Wades Army.

This Day severall of the Lords of Session with a Great Number of the Gentlemen of the Countys of Edinr & Hadington are to meet at Mussleburgh to Concert Measures for the Establishing our Tranquillity. They are to come to this City on Parade. The Musick Bells are already ringing, and its said the Castle will fire.

"The Gentlemen Freeholders in the Countys of Mers, East & Mid Lothians having had intelligence that the Lords of Justiciary had left Berwick with a view to Return to Edr, they attended their Lops on horseback to the Number of Severall Hundred & waited on them to Edr.[64] Particularly the Earle of Hume Sherriff of Berwick[65] the Lord Bellhaven Sherriff of East Lothian.[66] As they passed the High Street which was crowded with inhabitants of the best Distinction the gentlemen in the Late Administration there

met them at the Cross. And the inhabitants joined their Cheerful Acclamations By Loud Huzzas. They Dismounted in the Parliament Closs and were Saluted by a Round of the Great Guns from the Castle, the Musick playing. They assembled afterwards in the Parliat house when the Justice Clerk[67] made a Speech (which I cannot here Repeat) only shall Remark one passage, That he Recommends to the Heritors of every Paroch to make up Lists of all the able-bodied Men in their Retive bounds Proper to be trusted with Arms in which great Assistance may be Got from the Minrs of the Established Church who as they always Do/ have on this occasion Given Testimony of their Great Zeal for his Majesties Government and Recommended to the Sheriffs then present to give Notice to the Heritors that are absent. And Recommended to Deliver these Lists to their Rexive Sherriffs to be by them transmitted to such persons as his Majestie shall appoint for that purpose. And that proper orders are given to Marshall Wade to Arm the Loyall Men of the City of Edr if necessary."

"A certain Genll in the Army Lately arrived in London from the North is in Custody of a Messenger. Last Saturday [16th November] arrived in Edr Robert Dundas Esqre Solicitor[68] & Sir John Inglis, Post Master. The 2000 Soldiers in Edr consist of Price & Ligoniers Regiments of foot & Gardiners & Hamiltons Dragoons. Nota that our Post says its Reported in Edr that Wade has sent these Soldiers there because he Dare not trust them in his own Army. Genll Handasyde came with these Soldiers in to Edr."

"Contents of Letter Subscrived by John Murray Esqr Secretary to the Pretenders Son and Directed to Donald M'Donald of Kinloch Moydart, Esqre found on him when taken prisoner which he endeavoured to Destroy by tearing in Pieces. The originall whereof is now in the hands of Genll Guest.[69]

"His Royall Highness has judged it necessary to send your Brother Allan to meet you with this Letter to Desire you to give it out wherever you come, that Sir Alexr M'Donald[70] and the M'Cleod[71] are actually upon their March. Notwithstanding you may have received Contrary Information. He likewise desires you may make all haste to come up when I shall satisfie you how necessary it is to keep these Gentlemens delay a Secret. I am &c.

Holyrood House [Sunday] Octr 27, 1745."

Notwithstanding of what has been publickly & openly given out of Lord Lewis Gordons[72] arrivall at Aberdeen after he had Raised above 1000 Men in Badenoch & Strathbogie there are Letters under his hand Dated a few days ago now lyeing in the Castle Bearing that he had not got above 50 Men and that the Country is extremely backward to rise in favour of the Prince occasioned by the vile Presbyterian Minrs instilling foolish notions into the minds of their People and that he has issued a written order Requireing them to alter their Strain.

By letters from Drumfries & Kirkcudt its said the Mayor[72a] and

Aldermen of Carlile Assisted in their Robes at the Proclamation of the Pretender James as King. And the Min^r of Kirkcud^t[73] writes as he is writ to from D^rs that the Mayor and Aldermen took the oaths to the Pretender.

For 8 Days bygone no Post from London has reached Drumfries so no Prints that way. Our Post only came here about 7 o'clock this Night who reports that its said in Ed^r the Lords will not Sitt this Winter. By this time you may believe both I & my Manuensis are weary & so conclude My self

Sir

Your Most obed^t Serv^t

JOHN DUN.

Wigton 23^d Nov^r 1745.

[The above is extracted from a very long letter of 4¾ closely written foolscap pages, the foreign intelligence being kept back, as not bearing particularly on the subject of the Rebellion.]

17. From Robert Carment, Kirkcudbright.

Kirkcudb^t Wedensday the 10th [? 11th December] 1745.

Sir,

Our post came in at 9 O'Clock this Evening with no Bag but private letters which brings the agreeable news that His Grace the Duke of Cumberland attackt'd the Highland Army on Ellot Moore[74] three Miles on the other side of Lancaster town and there were a smart engagement. The Highlanders were imediately Routed and they fled in to the town of Lancaster The inhabitants of Lancaster Rose up to hold them out and there happened two of the inhabitants to be killed. The Dukes Army surrounded the town and so soon as the Chevalier heard of that, he mounted his horse with the Duke of Perth and his Hussars and made the Best of their way into a Wood.[75] And its said the D. of Perth with 300 Highlanders and intended to make Carlile if possible but all the Militias up in Cumberland and Westmoorland and am hopefull they are intercepted be this time and a Considerable party of our light horse were sent off imediately after the Chevalier and am hopefull we are to hear Good Acc^ts and they were great Rejoiceings in Dumfries by Ringing of Bells and illuminating there Windows and I doubt not but we shall hear of the same to morrow and this morning there is gone from Dumfries about 300 Militia composed of Towns People and the adjacent paroches and each paroch March'd into town and there Major over there heads and other Officers, Drums and Colours, and they are to go to the Water of Esk to stop there passing and to apprehend any small parcels of them flying and all Annandale is to join with the Dumfries people and to meet at Esk. I'm hopefull we are to send off a party tomorrow to Esk. . . . .

ROBT. CARMENT.

18. From John Dun, Wigtown, to Hugh Hathorn of Castlewig.

Sir,

In answer to yours I spoke with Provost M'Kie[76] who told me he seed the account you write of in a letter from Herron to Mr Agnew which is that by ane Express came to Dumfries Wednesday last [11th December], G: Wade with his Army was at Doncaster. The Duke of Cumbd & his army of 14,000 were at Newcastle under Line and Stone [? stood] within three miles of the Chevr: the 4th Instant when ane Engagement was expected. But that the Tartans passed them & whether Directly for London within 6 Miles of which there is a very large Army. Or of Design Return to Scotland is not known. When the Tartans was understood to have passed the D's arms there was a Detachment of the greatest part of Wades Army sent after them who siezed all their Artillery;[76a] so much for Land News.

The Shearness Man of War has taken a french transport with a great number of persons of Distinction among whom its said is Prince Harry[27] who passes by the Name of the Earle of Darenwent water[77] his Son, But has two fingers joined goose ways as they say Harry has. This is all I have only there is ane express to come from Drumfries to George Muir at Cassencary this night or tomorrow morning early who is to write the contents to Doctor Campble here. So soon as that comes I shall trouble you with these accounts per Express.

I am Sir

Your most Humle Servt

JOHN DUN.

Wigton [Saturday] 14 Decr 1745.

19. From James Maitland of Sorbie to Hugh Hathorn of Castlewig.

Sir,

With pleasure I would send you the following news if I were assur'd of the truth of them. However if they are not yet true I hope they shall soon be so.

The news are that on Saturday was eight days [7th December] near Derby the Duke of Cumberland attack'd the Rebells who Bore very hard on his Army and bid fair for a victory till a reinforcement of fresh Horse came up who soon determined the fate of the day and put the Highlanders to flight, part of whom secured themselves in an adjacent Morass and another part in a Church. Both these places were (at the time our accounts were writ) surrounded by our army so that such of 'em as have escaped in the field of Battle are a sure prey as Prisoners. The pretender's son is wounded in the Breast and made Captive. The Duke of Cumberland is also slightly

wounded.[75] Our authority for the above is the information of a Captain of a Workington Ship who sailed from Liverpool to Kirkcudbright in a very few hours and says he read a letter writ by one who had been a Spectator of the Engadgement—the Credit of this is strengthened by a Letter from Drumfries bearing the very same particulars, and as I'm inform'd a Servant of Aires[78] heard read at Engliston Bridge a letter newly arriv'd from a Minister on the Border to the same purpose—if this be true it gives a further degree of credibility to the relation. Some people believe the whole of it because the Sun has not been seen these several days—as their prince treads in the steps of his ancestors so his friends also exactly follow theirs—for they have already rais'd the dead and made Darkness over all the Land. Which is equally wise and equally ridiculous as our Ancient Cavaliers Comparing the Death of Charles the first to the Crucifixion of Christ and sometimes gave the preference to their king above their saviour. Our present Miraclemongers tho they are full as absurd are not yet so impious Tho the darkness of the day and dullness of the weather does not gain my belief of the above yet from human probability I believe it and hope it shall soon be confirmed. My Sister joins me in our Compliments to your Lady and family.

I am, Sir

Your most Oblig'd Humble Servant

JAS. MAITLAND.

Sorb: [Monday] 16 Decr 1745.

20. *From Patrick Campbell, Wigtown, to Hugh Hathorn of Castlewig.*

Dr Sir,

I take this opportunity to offer my Compliments to your Lady and you and as I thought it would not be disagreeable to you. I here subjoyn the substance of a letter of news I had from Drumfries dated Sunday last [15th December] which is as follows: The Highlanders are marching in great hurry back again and closely pursued by the Duke of Cumberland—the rear guard of the highlanders being at Wigan & the vanguard of the Duke's Army at Warrington upon Wednesday last [11th December], the main body of the highlanders was at Lancaster on Thursday Night [12th December], if they continue to march as fast its expected they'll be at Drumfries by to-morrow [18th December],[82] there's no particular account of Wade but he's said to be marching as fast as possible North. About 1000 men from Glasgow and Renfrew under Lds Hume[13] and Glencairn[79] are marched to Sterling. They are putting about a Subscription at Drumfries to raise 120 men to recruit the two regiments at Stirling. A drummer and six Dragoons came to Gen: Guest[69] from L. J. Drummond[80] demanding

ane exchange of prisoners which was refused. General Campbell[81] with 2000 Argyleshire men are gone to Stirling. This is the substance of what I got.

I am with compliments, Dr Sir,
Your Most humble Servt.
PAT CAMPBELL.

Wigt. [Tuesday] decr 17, 1745.

21. From Alexr. Hooks, Wigtown, to Hugh Hathorn of Castlewig.

Sir,

Inclosed you have ane Copy of a letter that Came from Kirkcudbt to our Provost, which gives Universall Satisfaction to all in this town, and Great Rejoicing in our town this Night by Ringing of Bells and our Council taking a hearty Glass, drinking his Majesties health and prosperitie to the D. of Cumberland. I thought it proper to send you the Inclosed as I know it will be verry agreeable to you.

I am, Sir,
Your most Oblidged Servt
ALEXR. HOOKS.

Wigton [Thursday], 19th Decr, 1745.
[The enclosure is awanting.]

22. From Patrick Campbell, Wigtown, to Hugh Hathorn of Wigg at Castlewig.

Dr Sir,

Our Accounts bear that the bulk of the Highlanders and their prince have been at Dumfries[82] sine Saturday [21st December] and that they behave in a very insolent manner their demands on the town are 2000 pound, 2000 pairs Shoes, 200 horses, 100 carts, and all these to be made out before yesterday morning [Monday, 23rd December], otherwise they would burn their town. Besides they have rifled severall shops & took every thing they wanted & taken all the horses within some miles of the town. The tradesmen were at work all Sunday to get the shoes for the men ready & the smiths shoeing their horses. One letter bore that they even stripped people of Cloaths & Shoes they had on. Your Servant is in so much haste I could not get my Letter ready but I shall have it done for going to-morrow.

No accounts of the Dukes Army as yet nearer than Carlisle. I expect to hear more to-morrow in the mean time I offer Compliments to your Lady and

Am Dr Sir
Your Oblidged Obedt & most humble Servt.
PAT CAMPBELL.

Wigt. [Tuesday] Decr 24, 1745.

NOTES.

0 Leaves from the Diary of John Campbell, an Edinburgh Banker, in 1745 (*Misc. Scot. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I., pp. 543, 544, 551, 556).

1 "Certain bodies, indeed, existed for the defence of the town; but . . . they were ridiculously unfit. . . There was the Town Guard . . . numbering 126 men, mostly advanced in years. . . the Trained Bands, over a thousand in number whose only claim to be reckoned as soldiers was that they annually appeared in uniform on the King's birthday. On the first alarm of the Rising, an attempt was made to raise a regiment for the defence of the city, but . . . only some 200 men had enlisted. More enthusiasm was shown in the formation of a regiment of Volunteers which rose to the number of 400." Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, iii., 292-3.

2 "The walls of the town were now in a condition that rendered them incapable of effectual defence. . . Maclaurin, the Professor of Mathematics in the University, who undertook to strengthen the walls, had to complain that he worked "under infinite discouragements from superior powers." *Ibid.*

3 The Dutch by treaty, 30 Jan., 1713, were to supply 6000 troops if required. They formed part of the garrison of Tourney and by the terms of its capitulation, June 20, 1745, were under parole not to fight French troops. The arrival on November 22 of Lord John Drummond with men of the "Royal Eccossais" and Irish Brigade in the French service rendered them neutral. "The day after Cope's defeat [Prestonpans] the Dutch landed at Berwick." *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745. Mackenzie's *History of Galloway*, ii., 414 note.

4 Col. James Gardiner, commanded Light Dragoons (13th Hussars), 1743-5. He was famous for his piety and "the first military methodist of rank" (Leadham, *Pol. Hist. of Eng.*, 394). Killed at Prestonpans.

5 Obviously a mistake for Saturday.

6 Some 180 of the Edinburgh Regiment and Town Guard marched out with the Dragoons. Not a Volunteer, however, ventured out of the town gates. Hume Brown, iii., 294.

7 The notorious "Canter of Coltbrig."

8 A deputation from the Town Council had unsuccessfully visited Charles, "and as they were letting out the Coach at the Netherbow [on its way back to the Canongate where at that time hackney coaches were kept] Lochiel's party who were arrived their rush'd in, seized all the Guards of the Town, who made no resistance, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh without firing a Shot." Elcho, *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, 1907, 257.

9 "Sir John Cope landed from the North at Dunbar, the day after Edinburgh was betrayed" (*i.e.*, on 17th September). *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745.

[10] It was not the young Prince who was proclaimed King but his father.

[11] Presumably the Duke of Cumberland is meant—or the word may be "Duch" for Dutch. (See Note 3.) It was Cope who landed at Dunbar.

[12] William Lord Blakeney (1672-1761), Major-general and Lieut.-governor of Stirling Castle, 1744.

[13] William 8th Earl of Home (d. 28th April, 1761). He was at the Battle of Prestonpans where he vainly endeavoured to rally the dragoons. He took command of the Glasgow regiment of 600 men and with it joined the royal army at Stirling, 12th December, 1745. *Scots Peerage*, iv., 480.

[14] John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun (1705-1782). He raised a regiment of Highlanders for service in 1745, of which he was appointed colonel, 24th April, 1745, and on the Jacobite rising he became adjutant-general to Sir John Cope. He was present at Prestonpans with his regiment where the same were either almost all killed or taken prisoners. He was despatched to Inverness (14th October), and proceeded to raise men for the Government. In about a month he succeeded in raising 2000, and relieved the garrison at Fort Augustus. *Scots Peerage*, v., 509.

[15] Archibald Stewart, the Lord Provost, was a "zealous supporter of the Prince." (Elcho's *Journal*.) He was tried in October, 1747, for neglect of duty, but acquitted after a prolonged trial and after being fourteen months in prison. Elcho, *Short Account*, 252.

[16] David, Lord Elcho (1721-1787), eldest son of James 4th Earl of Wemyss (1699-1756) and Janet Charteris, daughter of the notorious Col. Charteris of Amisfield. He was made Colonel of one of the rebel troops of Horse Guards. See his *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the yeares* 1744, 1745, 1746, ed. by The Hon. Evan Charteris, 1907.

[17] Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees and Coltness was brother-in-law of Lord Elcho.

[18] Mark Ker (1676-1752), 4th son of the 1st Marquess of Lothian. Appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle 30th July, 1745. *Scots Peerage*, v., 478.

[19] Elizabeth, 3rd daughter of William 2nd Marquess of Lothian, wife of George 14th Lord Ross, and niece of Lord Mark Ker.

[20] James Fergusson, younger of Craigdarroch, commissioner of the Duke of Queensberry. He was very active for the Crown in this district. See his letters in "Some Incidents in Nithsdale during the Jacobite Rising of 1745," by James W. Whitelaw. (*Transactions D. and G. Nat. History and Antiquarian Society*, 1894-5, 117).

[21] Archibald, Duke of Douglas (1694-1761). The house was probably Douglas Castle, which was visited a second time by the Highlanders, Prince Charles spending December 23rd there. (*Blackie's Itinerary*, p. 33).

[22] Courtesy title of William Maxwell of Nithsdale, son of the attainted Earl of Nithsdale. No ill consequences followed his visit to the Prince at Edinburgh on October 18th. He left the following day. He was dissuaded from throwing in his lot with the Prince by William Craik of Arbigland. *Book of Caerlaverock*, ii., 375, *et seq.*)

[23] John Gordon who, but for the attainder, would have been 8th Viscount Kenmure. With William Maxwell and Kilmarnock he went to Holyrood House, 8th October, 1745, and was graciously received by Prince Charles, who offered the command of the second troop to him. Kenmure seemed well pleased, and was understood as promising his support, and the three supped that night with the Prince. On his reaching home more prudent counsels prevailed, and his wife wrote to Murray making his apologies. (*Scots Peerage*, v., 131.)

[24] Captain William Maxwell of Carruchan (1689-1772), eldest son of the marriage of Alexander Maxwell of Park and Terraughty and Janet, daughter of John Irving, Provost of Dumfries. He was with the Prince at Culloden, and afterwards was a prisoner in Carlisle Castle, from which he made his escape. (*Book of Caerlaverock*, i., 589.)

[25] Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord Advocate and President of the Session. He had arrived at Inverness on August 13. "He did more than any other man to save his country" (Hume Brown, iii., 284).

[26] George Bell of Conheath, Provost of Dumfries, 1740-2, 1744-6, 1748-50, 1756-8.

[27] Henry, titular Duke of York.

[27a] The Dutch are meant. (See Note 3).

[28] The Battle of Sohr (Second Silesian War), in which the Austrians were severely defeated but gutted the Prussian camp, Thursday, 30th September, 1745.

[29] Saxony, Austria, and Holland. George II. on August 26, 1745, had signed peace terms with Frederick—the Convention of Hanover (Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, v., 139).

[30] Prince Karl, the Commander of the Austrians.

[31] Frederick the Great.

[32] The Archduke Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, who took the title of Francis I. on his election as Emperor, 4th October, 1745.

[33] Ath, in the province of Hainaut, Belgium, was besieged and taken by the French under Banderon.

[34] Louis XV. of France.

[35] Borrow Bridge on Borrow Beck Westmorland.

[36] Wade was at Newcastle on 29th October.

[37] William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle (1702-54).

[38] John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun (see Note 14).

[38a] Holland in support of the Austrian succession had been

supplying troops and subsidies as auxiliaries. On the abandonment of the neutrality of Hanover by George II. an offensive alliance was entered into between Britain, Holland, Austria, and Saxony (Jan. 8), and the campaign of 1745 was entered upon. Peace between France and the States General was not concluded until the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, April 30, 1748. Perhaps the writer meant "renewed hostilities" against France.

39 In 1739 a treaty had been arranged with Denmark engaging the services of 6000 men for a subsidy of £70,000 a year (Leadham, *Political History of England*, ix., 362). The Danes were not employed.

40 John Campbell afterwards 5th Duke of Argyll was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 54th Regiment of Foot, 25th April, 1745. He joined General Hawley with 1000 Argyllshire Highlanders, 17th January, 1746, the day of the Battle of Falkirk (*Scots Peerage*, i., 386).

42 An order from Murray of Broughton commanding Provost Bell to appear at Holyrood Palace "to have the contribution to be paid by the town of Dumfries for his Highness's use ascertained" is dated 26th September, 1745 (M'Dowall, *History of Dumfries*, 3rd ed., 582). A second summons was received prior to 21st October.

43 William Henry Ker, afterwards 4th Marquis of Lothian, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 11th Dragoons in 1745, and commanded the cavalry on the left wing at Culloden (*Scots Peerage*, v., 481).

44 Louis XV. of France.

45 Forbes (see Note 25).

46 Jean Louis Ligonier, Viscount (1680-1770). He commanded the British Foot at Fontenoy. The Duke of Cumberland took over the command of the forces under Ligonier on the official plea of ill-health at Lichfield on November 27th.

47 The Carse of Kinnell, Linlithgowshire; a section of the Carse of Falkirk.

48 The identity of "Sir Wm." and "the young advocate" is regretfully left unsolved.

49 "The Dukes of Athole and Perth were order'd to march part of the army by Peebles, Moffat, and Ecclefechin, and the whole to Assemble at Carlisle. That part of the army Consisted of the Athole Brigade, Perth's, Ogilvy's, Roy Stuart's, Clunie's, and Glenbuckett's foot, Kilmarnocks and Hussars horse, all the bagage and arteliry" (Elcho's *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, 1907, p. 308).

50 James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway, died 16th February, 1746.

50a There is some reason for believing these gentlemen to be residenters of Wigtown, temporarily at Kirkcudbright. A search in the Council Minutes by Mr A. S. Morton failed to identify them.

51 Lieutenant-General Handasyde, who succeeded Cope as Commander-in-Chief marched into Edinburgh on 14th November with

Price and Ligonier's Foot and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (late Gardiner's) Dragoons (Elcho's *Short Account*, 318).

51a This was probably the Town Clerk of Wigtown, who married Margaret, daughter of John Martin of Little Areis. His son was John Dun, W.S., Edinburgh, the father of John Dun (1754-1822), who assumed the name of Stewart upon his wife, Harriet Stewart (1757-1836) of Tonderghie, succeeding to that property (G. M. Stewart, *Galloway Records*, i., p. 130).

52 Rockcliff, Cumberland, 4 miles N.W. of Carlisle.

53 Brampton, 11 miles N.E. of Carlisle.

54 Lieutenant-Colonel Durand. He was tried by court-martial for surrendering the town and castle, and acquitted, September, 1746.

55 Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.

56 "At Ecclefechin they were oblidged to leave some of the bagage for want of horses and Carriages to transport it; . . . The people of Dumfries, after the army had pass'd, took possession of it; after the army left Edinr, the people of the castle came and took possession of it and insulted and Abused every body that had appear'd the Prince's friends" (Elcho's *Short Account*, 308). Lord Milton in a letter to the Duke of Argyle, dated 21 November, 1745, says: "Besides great quantities of arms and ammunition, the rebels found at Carlisle about eighty horses, well accoutred, and upon these so many rebels marched immediately to Dumfries, to levy money, as the value of about fifty or sixty cart-loads of provisions and baggage, which for want of horses were left by them on the road and carried by a party of the Seceeders to Dumfries. I hope the Seceeders, who are pretty numerous in that country, and very loyal and zealous, may come to give a good account of these eighty horsemen." (Chev. de Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion in* 1745 *and* 1746; 1822, pp. 103-4, footnote.)

57 "The town and Castle of Carlisle having capitulated the Prince . . . immediately sent a detachment under Lochiel to Dumfries, to reclaim the baggage or to demand £2000 from the inhabitants in its stead. Before he reached the town, however, he was recalled" (Mackenzie's *History of Galloway*, ii., 416, referring to *Charles's Transactions in Scotland in the Years* 1745-1746, Leith ed., 1817, p. 143).

57a The Rebels' principal engineer or artillery officer was Col. James Alexander Grant or Grante, a member of the staff of the French Royal Observatory. He served as master of ordinance to Prince Charles and planned the siege of Carlisle. He was disabled, not there, but later at the Siege of Fort William. (*Origins of the Forty-Five* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 182, footnote).

58 Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll, the "King of Scotland."

58a Charles O'Brien (1699-1761), who but for the attainder was 6th Baron Moyarta and Viscount Clare. He was made Lieutenant-

General of the French King's Armies and commanded at Dettingen and Fontenoy, etc. He succeeded his cousin, Henry, 8th Earl of Thomond, and was generally known as Mareschal Count de Thomond. Cokayne's *Peerage*.

59 Elizabeth Petrovna. In a treaty with Russia in 1742 Britain stipulated that the Empress should furnish 12,000 troops and Great Britain 12 men-of-war if either should be attacked by a fresh enemy in the war between Russia and Sweden or between England and Spain (Leadham, *Political History of England*, ix., 373).

60 Frederick I. To the Treaty (August 18, 1719) with Great Britain an article was added (January 21, 1720) "binding Sweden to afford no asylum to the pretender and to guarantee the protestant succession. Mutual succours for defence were fixed at 6000 infantry or their equivalents in munitions of war, ships, etc." (*op. cit.*, 287).

61 Christian VI. (see Note 39).

62 Macdonald had been sent north at the end of October to persuade Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Macleod to join him. Immediately after the landing of the Prince, Kinlochmoidart, in a conversation, said:—"If the matter go wrong, then I'll certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already" (*The Lion in Mourning*, iii., 50). He was executed at Carlisle, 18th October, 1746. The Highlanders in revenge for his capture plundered Lesmahago (Elcho's *Short Account*, 353).

63 Charles Spalding of Whitefield, "otherwise Spalding, Edinburgh, Shire of Midlothian, Gentleman," was tried at Carlisle in 1746 and acquitted (Ewald's *Prince Charles Stuart*, 1904, 436).

64 The judges returned to Edinburgh on November 13th (Lang's *History of Scotland*, iv., 476).

65 William, 8th Earl of Home (see Note 13).

66 John Hamilton, 4th Lord Belhaven.

67 Andrew Fletcher (1692-1766), Lord Milton, Lord Justice-Clerk, 1737-1748.

68 Robert Dundas, younger of Arniston (1713-1784), Solicitor-General.

69 Joshua Guest (1660-1747), Lieutenant-General, 1745.

70 Sir Alexander M'Donald, 7th Bart. of Sleat (1710-1746). He sided with the Government.

71 Norman Macleod (10th) (1702-72). He sided with the Government.

72 Lord Lewis Gordon, 4th son of 2nd Duke of Gordon. He raised a regiment in the Prince's cause and defeated the Royalist troops under the Macleod near Inverary, 23rd December, 1745. Escaped after Culloden to France; d. 15th July, 1754.

72a In the negotiations it was the Deputy Mayor, Thomas Pattinson, who acted, the Mayor, Joseph Backhouse "being a mere cypher." Blackie's *Itinerary* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), 1897, p. 34. Mandell Creighton, however, calls Pattinson "a troublesome busy-

body." On November 16 they attended in State while K. James III. was proclaimed at the Market Cross. The Duke of Cumberland, after taking the Castle, sent the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and eight other citizens prisoners to London, where they were kept in custody for some time, and were then released without trial. Creighton's *Carlisle*, 1889, pp. 174-82.

73 Rev. John Welsh, minister of Kirkcudbright from 1727-1753.

74 ? Ellel Moor. The rebels reached Lancaster on the 13th of December. It was not until the 17th that the Duke came into touch with Murray and the Prince's rear-guard as it was approaching Clifton.

75 No such engagement as recounted here took place.

76 Provost of Wigtown, 1743-6; *in litt.*, A. S. Morton.

76a After the Prince had marched to Penrith, Lord George Murray and the rear-guard were attacked by a body of Cumberland's cavalry and dismounted dragoons whom they beat off. The report here is only premature and exaggerated.

77 Charles Radcliffe (1693-1746), brother of James, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, who had been out in the '15 and was condemned, but escaped, was captured in November off the Dogger Bank by the frigate "Sheerness" on board a French ship bound for Montrose from Dunkirk with arms, munitions, etc. He was beheaded 8th December, 1746.

78 John Hathorn, brother of Hugh Hathorn of Wigg.

79 William, 12th Earl of Glencairn. Entered the army in 1729, and succeeded his father as Governor of Dumbarton Castle; died 1775.

80 Lord John Drummond (1714-47), brother of the titular Duke of Perth.

81 John Campbell, afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll (1693-1770), commanded the troops and garrisons in the West of Scotland during the rebellion.

82 They entered Dumfries on the evening of the 20th. They left hurriedly on Monday, the 23rd, being alarmed by a false report that the Duke of Cumberland had taken Carlisle Castle and crossed the Esk, an event which did not take place until the 30th.

Mr John Daniel in his *Progress* records that "At our entrance into the town we saw the great rejoicing that had been made for our defeat, the candles being still in the windows and the bonfires unextinguished." *Origins of the Forty-Five* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 190.

Meteorological Observations taken at Jardington, 1919.

By J. RUTHERFORD of Jardington.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT JARDINGTON, NEAR DUMFRIES, IN 1919.

Lat., 55° 4′ N.; Long., 3° 36′ W.; Elevation, about 50 feet above sea level.

	SELF. R. THERMOMETERS. IN SCREEN, 4 FEET ABOVE GRASS.										BAROMETER.		RAINFALL.		
	MAXIMUM.			MINIMUM.											
	Highest in the Month.	Lowest in the Month.	Daily Mean.	Highest in the Month.	Lowest in the Month.	Daily Mean.	Daily Mean Temperature of the Month.	Number of Days at or below 32 deg. in the shade.	Number of Days at or below 32 deg. on the grass.	Lowest Temperature on the Grass.	Highest.	Lowest.	Total Depth.	Greatest Fall in 24 Hours.	Number of Days with ·01 or more inches recorded.
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Days.	Days.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Days.
Jan.	48	34	42·48	38	24	35·38	38·93	15	26	22	30·6	29·0	3·09	·66	20
Feb.	49	35	41·87	37	14	29·26	35·56	19	25	16	30·6	29·2	·94	·41	6
Mar.	51	38	45·29	38	19	29·80	37·54	22	29	18	30·5	29·6	3·65	1·46	12
April	64	41	53·01	50	26	37·25	45·13	7	15	23	30·7	28·85	1·91	·50	20
May	79	53	66·78	53	34	44·87	55·82	..	..	33	30·35	29·55	·76	·19	13
June	76	57	65·53	57	35	47·33	56·42	..	..	36	30·4	29·75	1·62	·22	18
July	79	56	69·29	57	42	41·55	55·42	..	..	40	30·3	29·0	·93	·53	6
Aug.	81	54	67·90	60	36	49·42	58·66	..	..	35	30·3	29·3	3·21	1·12	21
Sept.	74	54	62·16	57	30	45·16	53·66	2	2	30	30·3	29·45	3·55	·58	18
Oct.	64	45	53·29	55	30	39·55	46·42	7	12	28	30·6	29·55	1·29	·53	11
Nov.	54	33	42·97	43	6	30·00	36·48	16	21	10	30·4	29·4	3·33	·51	18
Dec.	52	38	43·68	41	21	34·19	38·93	8	15	20	30·15	29·5	6·99	·88	26
													31·27		189

31·27 in. of Rain is 7·99 in. below the Mean recorded here during the last 26 years.

The weather of 1919 was principally remarkable for its very low rainfall. The liberal fall in December of about 7 inches brought the total to 7.99 in. under the average. On light soils the pastures got burned up. Corn, ryegrass, and meadow hay were all much below the average. In consequence, there was a great scarcity of winter fodder for cattle, and where it had to be purchased it could only be got with difficulty and at a very high price. Potatoes were only a moderate crop, of good quality and almost free from disease. Springs remained very low until well into December.

These notes apply to this locality, and we see from various reports that the same circumstances were pretty general all over the country.

Summary of Meteorological Observations and Records for Dumfriesshire and Galloway for the Years 1919 and 1920.

Compiled by Dr C. C. EASTERBROOK, Crichton Royal, Dumfries.

STATIONS.	DUMFRIES.														KIRKCUDBRIGHT.						WIGTOWN.			
	Dumfries, Crichton Royal		Durisdeer, Drumlanrig.		Eskdalemuir, Observatory.		Hoddam, Hoddam Castle.		Langholm, Drove Road.		Moniaive, Maxwelton House.		Ruthwell, Comlongan.		Carsphairn, Shiel.		Girthon, Cally.		Troqueer, Cargen		Stoneykirk, Ardwell House.		Whithorn, Cutroach.	
Height of Station above Mean Sea Level (ft.)	140		191		794		150		270		400		67		850		120		85		65		120	
Hours of Observation (Greenwich Mean Time)	9, 15, 21.		9, —, —.		9, 15, 21.		9, —, —.		9, —, —.		9, —, —.		9, —, 21.		9, —, —.		9, —, 21.		9, —, —.		9, —, —.		9, —, —.	
	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920	1919	1920
MEAN AIR PRESSURE in millibars (1000 mb. = 29·531 ins.)																								
At Station Level	1007·2	1007·8	..	..	983·9	984·2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
At Mean Sea Level	1013·2	1013·6	..	..	1012·7	1012·9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WIND (1095 obs. in 1919, 1098 obs. in leap year 1920)																								
Direction, No. of times observed N.	125	66	..	..	150	82	..	..	..	..	..	..	79	27	..	..	69	..	62	3	..	..	..	..
Do. do. N.E.	114	82	..	..	134	95	..	..	..	..	..	..	96	145	..	..	97	..	88	28	..	..	..	..
Do. do. E.	102	136	..	..	27	59	..	..	..	..	..	..	102	108	..	..	60	..	88	44	..	..	..	..
Do. do. S.E.	168	98	..	..	48	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	28	..	..	119	..	54	54	..	..	..	..
Do. do. S.	101	117	..	..	144	206	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	54	..	..	30	..	70	35	..	..	..	..
Do. do. S.W.	198	283	..	..	170	210	..	..	..	..	..	..	190	226	..	..	76	..	138	124	..	..	..	..
Do. do. W.	183	160	..	..	150	129	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	14	..	..	34	..	114	32	..	..	..	..
Do. do. N.W.	144	84	..	..	93	58	..	..	..	..	..	..	83	85	..	..	245	..	116	46	..	..	..	..
Force (0-12), No. of times observed Calm (0)	60	72	..	..	179	199	..	..	..	..	..	..	90	45	..	..	0	..	0	0	..	..	..	..
Do. do. Light to Gentle (1 to 3)	832	830	..	..	405	398	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. do. Moderate to High (4 to 7)	281	188	..	..	506	488	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. do. Gale (8 or more)	2	8	..	..	5	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	3	..	..	..	..
RAINFALL, in millimetres (25·4 mm. = 1 inch).																								
Total Amount of Rainfall	708	988	959	1293	1215	1652	849	1133	1165	1384	809	1238	699	996	1619	2038	1172	..	926	1325	868	1156	831	1007
Greatest Fall in a Day (Wettest Day)	32	30	..	..	41	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	34	..	..	60	..	54	45	..	..	..	..
No. of Days with Precipitation to 1 mm. or more	124	157	..	..	171	197	..	..	..	..	..	..	124	165	..	..	141	..	137	187	..	..	..	..
Do. (="Rain-days") do. to 0·2 mm. or more	172	211	..	..	228	245	..	..	..	..	..	..	164	206	..	..	189	..	187	236	..	..	..	..
Do. with Hail (whether measurable or not)	10	4	..	..	20	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	3	..	..	25	..	5	4	..	..	..	..
Do. with Snow (do. do.)	26	13	..	..	92	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	4	..	..	11	..	20	8	..	..	..	..
Do. with Snow lying (do. do.)	22	5	..	..	51	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	4	..	14	..	..	..	..	..
CLOUD, FOG, AND MIST (Scale 0-10).																								
Mean Cloud Amount, morn. obs.	7·1	7·5	..	..	7·7	8·1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5·4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. do. aft. obs.	7·2	7·4	..	..	7·8	8·1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. do. even. obs.	6·3	6·8	..	..	6·9	7·1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5·7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
No. of Days with Clear Sky (M.C.A. below 2)	24	25	..	..	13	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. Overcast Sky (M.C.A. above 8)	144	164	..	..	179	203	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	71	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. Fog	36	4	..	..	46	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	21	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
HUMIDITY (shown as percentage of saturation).																								
Mean of morning observations	81	83	..	..	82	84	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. afternoon do.	74	74	..	..	75	77	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. evening do.	85	86	..	..	84	87	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
WARMTH, or Air Temperature in Screen in °F.																								
Mean Day Temp. (Maximum Thermom.)	52·8	53·8	..	..	49·7	51·2	..	..	..	..	..	..	52·8	54·0	..	..	53·2	..	53·9	54·8	..	..	..	..
Mean Night Temp (Minimum do.)	39·6	41·6	..	..	35·7	38·1	..	..	..	..	..	..	39·5	41·3	..	..	39·4	..	39·7	41·8	..	..	..	..
Mean Air Temp. (Max. and Min. Thermom.)	46·1	47·7	..	..	42·7	44·7	..	..	..	..	..	..	46·2	47·7	..	..	46·3	..	46·8	48·3	..	..	..	..
Warmest Day (Highest Reading of Max.)	77	77	..	..	76	75	..	..	..	..	..	..	78	81	..	..	76	..	78	79	..	..	..	..
Warmest Night (Highest do. Min.)	58	58	..	..	55	55	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	58	..	..	57	..	60	58	..	..	..	..
Coldest Day (Lowest Reading of Max.)	32	30	..	..	30	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	30	..	..	33	..	33	31	..	..	..	..
Coldest Night (Lowest do. Min.)	13	20	..	..	7	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	18	..	..	17	..	10	20	..	..	..	..
GROUND FROST—No. of Days on which Grass Min. at 30 °F. or less	126	91	..	..	142	118	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EARTH TEMPERATURE in °F. Mean at 1 foot	46·6	48·1	..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. do. at 4 feet	47·0	48·1	..	..			..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BRIGHT SUNSHINE—Mean Daily Amount in Hours	3·98	3·33	..	..	3·75	3·05	..	..	..	..	..	..	3·79	3·31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. Percentage of Possible Amount	33	27	..	..	31	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
THUNDERSTORMS—No. of Days with	4	8	..	..	7	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	8	..	..	4	..	4	15	..	..	..	..

Obituary.

Dr J. W. Martin.

Dr JAMES WILLIAMSON MARTIN, third son of William Martin of Dardarroch (Glencairn), was born 3rd September, 1863. Educated at Edinburgh, where he graduated M.B., he went to West Africa, where he acted as medical officer at one of the trading stations, and made a considerable natural history collection. After two years' residence, however, the climate seriously affected his health, and he then travelled extensively, and visited Canada more than once before returning home. He took up a practice at Leith, but about 1896 came to Holywood, where he remained for the greater part of his life. He was a keen supporter of our Society, which he joined in October, 1896, and of which he was an Honorary Vice-President for many years. For a time he served on both the local School Board and the Parish Council, and during the Great War he was for a time attached to the R A.M.C. at Rhyl. He died 17th December, 1919. The following contributions to our *Transactions* show the range of his interests :

Ruins and Stones of Holywood Abbey—1896-7, p. 67.
Notes of a Naturalist in West Africa—1896-7, p. 95.
Place Names of the Cairn Valley—1899-1900, p. 4.
List of the Birds of Glencairn—1900-2, p. 140.
The Fauna of Glencairn—1900-2, p. 166.
Cinerary Urn found at Newtonrigg, Holywood, in the Cairn Valley Railway Cutting, May, 1901—1902-3, p. 238.
The Fauna of Glencairn : the Fishes—1905-6, p. 30.
Excavations at Holywood—1905-6, p. 103.
Reptilia and Amphibians of the Cairn District—1906-7, p. 79.

Presentations.

24th October, 1919.—Mr Edgar Dickie in memory of his father, the late William Dickie, Editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*.—(1) MS. Minute Book of the Wrights or Squaremen of Dumfries, November, 1725, to September, 1780. (2) A Burgess Ticket of Dumfries in favour of Ensign John Collow, Nithsdale Battalion of Volunteer Infantry, 27th June, 1804.

Mr John Morley, 3 Church Place, Dumfries—A Negative of Photograph of Stones in St. Mary's Churchyard, Dumfries, remains of St. Christopher's Chapel with inscription, which is not quite accurate historically, now becoming obliterated, as follows:—"These Stones | relics of the Ancient | Chapel Dedicated | to the Virgin Mary | Erected by | King Robert Bruce | In Memory of | Sir Christopher or | Chrystal Seaton | are here placed | for Preservation | by Major James | Adair | 1840."

Mr James Geddes, Birkhill, Dumfries—Two Badges of the Dumfries Volunteer Training Corps, 1915-18, designed by Mr David Robertson, A.R.I.B.A.—(1) Officer's, silvered; (2) Men's, bronzed.

19th December, 1919.—Mrs J. J. Clark—(1) Oil Painting of Mr W. G. Gibson, the first treasurer to the Society (1862-1865), by Dan. Burden, 1886. (2) Photos and Obituary Notice of Mr W. G. Gibson. (3) 12 Negatives of Photographs of Collections of Prominent Dumfriesians, *circa*. 1880, published by the late Mr J. J. Clark: "Departed Friends," 1885; ditto, 1888; "Dumfries Draughts Celebrities," an Orchestra; "Living Scottish Poets," 1883; others unnamed and miscellaneous. (4) Collections of Botanical and Geological Specimens. (5) Volume of Sketches in Pen and Ink by "Mr Fergusson, patient in the Southern Counties Asylum," a curious collection containing many translations from Latin and French, Berenger, etc.—with crude drawings—Midsteeple, Dumfries; Israel's "The Cradle," etc. (6) *Statistics of Telegraphy*, read before the Statistical Society, June 18th, 1872, by Sir James Anderson; London, 1872.

12th March, 1920.—The War Office—Captured Trophies of the Great War: (1) 3 Mauser rifles; (2) 2 Mauser carbines; (3) 1 Turkish rifle; (4) 6 sword bayonets and scabbards; (5) 1 Anti-tank rifle; (6) 2 German steel helmets; (7) 3 pairs German wire cutters; (8) 1 German haversack; (9) 3 German water bottles; (10) 3 German mess tins; (11) 1 machine gun water carrier; (12) 2 Grenaten-werfer with beds; (13) 1 belt-filling machine; (14) 1 signalling pistol—all unknown by whom or where captured.

Exhibits.

12th March, 1920.—Mr James Davidson, Summerville.—Specimen of the " Black Farthing " of 1466.

The Secretary.—Example of the National Covenant of 1638, lent by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres from the Haigh Hall Library, and, in Aldis's List, numbered 907. It is from the same setting as the Cardoness example (vide *Transactions*, 1913-14), but is on paper, not vellum, and bears no signatures. The grace and dignity of the printing are, however, displayed with greater effect than on the Cardoness copy. It is clear from this copy that the sheets had been separately printed. So far as known the Cardoness example and this are the only specimens which survive of this print.

Abstract of Accounts

For Year ending 30th September, 1920.

I.—ON ACCOUNT OF CAPITAL.

Sum Invested at close of Account	£278 17 6

II.—ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

CHARGE.

Balance from last Account	£50 16 2
Annual Subscription	62 12 6
Interests received on Investments	14 0 0
Transactions Sold	6 8 1
	£133 16 9

DISCHARGE.

Rent and Insurance	£13 6 0	
Books bought, including Cost of *Transactions*	103 15 6	
Stationery, Advertising, &c.	14 14 9	
Miscellaneous	6 1 7	
		£137 17 10
Sum due to Treasurer		£4 1 1

III.—DONATIONS TOWARDS PUBLICATION OF "TRANSACTIONS."

Sums received at close of year	£107 17 0

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