

(From a Photograph by

LANGHOLM FROM THE WATCH KNOWE.

Messrs. Valentine, Ltd., Dundee.)

LANGHOLM

AS IT WAS.

A HISTORY OF LANGHOLM AND ESKDALE FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES

BY

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THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

WITH A HEAVY HEART
BUT
REVERENTLY AND LOVINGLY
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK
TO
THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER,
ITS INSPIRER AND PRINCIPAL AUTHOR,
WHOSE HAND, ALAS,
FELL FROM THE PLOUGH WHILST IT WAS YET
IN MID-FURROW.

R. H.

P R E F A C E .

THIS Volume is the realization of an ambition long cherished by my father and myself. For many years my father had been patiently accumulating the historical data here given.

It was with great reluctance that he was ultimately persuaded to write the Reminiscences which form Part IV. of the book, and I regret exceedingly that it has not been found possible to include all the material he provided. But another opportunity of publishing it may occur.

I frankly confess to a feeling of filial pride in this part of the Volume. For a man of 84 years of age to write what would in itself form a book of considerable size, and all of it with his own hand, was, I think, a noteworthy achievement.

His death, whilst the Volume was in the press, robbed me not only of the gladness which would naturally have attended the completion of our task, but also of the benefit of his counsel and guidance in many difficult matters.

In writing the book our aim has been, after consulting the most reliable authorities, to give a simple and unpretentious account of the History of Eskdale. Whilst we have endeavoured to relate the facts with only as much detail as we deemed essential, we have nevertheless felt assured that not even the most minute detail of the story but would prove of interest to Eskdale men and women, whether at home or abroad. The work has been to both of us a labour of love, and it is as such that it is now offered for the acceptance of our fellow dalesmen.

We had intended to issue a book of some 400 pages, which we hoped to have had ready last Christmas, but my father's death caused me to alter our plan, and to enlarge considerably the scope of the work. I feel confident the Subscribers will, on this account, forgive the long delay.

My father's gratitude, frequently expressed in the last weeks of his life, and my own thanks are due to the many friends who have aided us in what, under the circumstances, has been an onerous task. Some of them, — Dr Christison, F.S.A. (SCOT.), Edinburgh, Mr. Jas. Barbour, F.S.A. (SCOT.), Dumfries, and Mr. J. C. Little, Burnfoot-of-Ewes, have also passed into the Unseen whilst the book was in the press, but I desire gratefully to record their interest and help.

To Mr John Reid, Edinburgh, we have been indebted in a very special way. His historical and general information has been magnanimously placed at our service, and we have gladly availed ourselves of it and of his advice and assistance, in every section of the work.

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We have also been permitted to make use of the MSS. of the late Geo. R. Rome, and of the papers read before the London Eskdale Society by Mr. Geo. Niven, Streatham.

The Illustrations, not made from photographs, have been produced from pencil drawings by Miss Ethel Kitts, Mrs. Fred. Laws, Miss M. J. Bowmaker, Mrs. Robert Hyslop, and Miss Hilda Hyslop, Sunderland, to all of whom our cordial thanks are given. Acknowledgment is also made of the ready assistance afforded us by Mr. J. T. Burnet, Langholm, who has supplied plans and drawings.

For the careful Indices we are greatly indebted to Miss Eleanor Young and the above-named ladies who assisted her, and to Mr. Harry Goldsbrough.

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ERRATA.

Page 183, first footnote, Chapter XIX. should be Chapter XVII.

Page 264, line 14, Chapter XXI. should be Chapter XXII.

Page 334, line 15, the date 1672 should be 1663.

Page 553, line 11, the date 1859 should be 1759.

In the earlier Chapters the first initial of the name of Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong has been inadvertently given as "A."

LANGHOLM AS IT WAS.

LANGHOLM.

LANGHOLM!—a word of magic meaning to the sons and daughters of Eskdale, for whom, primarily, this book has been written,— a name which awakens the longing and passion of us all who are her children. In our esteem, in our love, there is no place to contest its supremacy, and even comparison is often deemed unfilial. The remark that Scotsmen are “most at home when they are abroad” was the sneer of a cynic, and it fails entirely to apply to the people of Eskdale. To the man who has lived all his days in the bosom of its hills, Eskdale has an attraction quite as potent and active as that which it offers to him who can only see these hills through the mists of distance and of years. The causes which divide men and women into opposite parties—politics, religion, and the like,—operate in Eskdale, where opinions and principles are tenaciously held, but to the valley itself, the common earth-mother which gave them birth, her children are drawn by one mighty common bond of affection, which can be impaired neither by absence nor time. Probably this is true of a hundred other places, but our love for Langholm and for Eskdale seems a deeper and intenser feeling even than the common love of country.

Sitting by his fireside of a winter's night, far from where the Esk is perhaps rolling in flood, some son of Eskdale will suddenly get a glimpse of the home of his boyhood—its people, its hills, its woods, its lonely burns,—recollections of far-away days crowd upon him, memories of men and women who lived their quiet lives among the Eskdale hills float around him, and that strange and subtle spell, which Home throws over us all, steals slowly upon him, even as he has seen the white mists fall quietly on the sides of Whita. A man who long years ago may have left his home in Eskdale, as so many have done, to find another in some thronging city where the call of the curlew is never heard, save in the exile's fancy, can see, as in a dream, the summer sun lingering on the brow of Whita, or he may catch the matchless trill of the lark as it soars above the hill on some bright summer morning, and there comes upon him that wistful longing which is only the mellowed reflection of a home sickness that was once prolonged and acute. Or if these fancies and memories come to him when the heather is purpling round the Monument, which crowns so fittingly the summit of Whita, his eagerness to breathe again the heather-scented air will probably determine him to return to Eskdale with all convenient haste. The heart of many a man who may not have heard it for long weary years, beats faster as he recalls the song of the lark by Whita well, for a draught of whose cold water he as ardently longs, as King David longed that memorable night for a drink of the water from the Well of Bethlehem that was beside the gate.

This longing has been well expressed by Roger Quin, in whose soul the love of the Borders lay deep :—

“ From the moorland and the meadows
 To this city of the shadows
 Where I wandered sad and lonely, comes the call I understand.
 In clear soft tones enthralling
 It is calling, calling, calling,
 ’Tis the spirit of the open from the dear old Borderland.

“ Ah! that call, who can gainsay it?
 To hear is to obey it,
 I must leave the bustling city to the busy city men—
 Leave behind its feverish madness,
 Leave its scenes of sordid sadness,
 And drink the unpolluted air of Eskdale* once again.

* * * * *

“ The trance, the dream, is over,
 I awake! but to discover
 The city’s rush and jostling crowds—the din on every hand,
 But on my ear soft falling
 I can hear the curlews calling,
 And I know that soon I’ll see them in the dear old Borderland.”

The affection which the Eskdale man cherishes for his old home is not what Tennyson called a “distant dear-ness,” it is a potent influence throughout his life, an ever present passion which like the activity of radium, glows steadily yet wastes not away :

“ Time but the impression deeper makes,
 As streams their channels deeper wear.”

Wherein lies the secret of this magic power and influence—this romance which Geikie says of the Lowland hills and vales, “hangs about them like a golden mist”? It lies not in any solitary cause, but adheres to every form or phase in which Eskdale or Langholm presents itself to its children,—its charming natural beauties seen on every hill, hiding in every valley, in every “dell without a name,” its flexible and picturesque Scots tongue, its thrilling history,—most of it preserved only in the old Border way of oral tradition,—its men and women stamped as they are with the hall-marks of

* We have taken the liberty of substituting “Eskdale” for “Yarrow,”—the sentiment applies equally to both.

“character,” and of vivid individuality, its humour, which pervades like an atmosphere all aspects of its social and public life, its many other attributes too delicate, too subtle for the pen of even a ready writer to set forth in all their colour and intensity. Lies this power to influence in scenery then, or history, in memories or associations? In all of these it lies, but not exclusively in any one,—for we cannot dissect, analyse, or classify the most sacred emotions and passions of our lives—light and shadow on the hill, green fern and brown bracken, splash of colour on the heather; cry of the curlew, whir-r-r of the grouse; birk and hazel and hawthorn tree; the green and purple of the hillside broken by moss-covered boulder,—“the fragment of an earlier world,”—primroses by the burn side, blue hyacinths in wood and glade; snow on field and tree and hill,—a fairyland of a night’s creation,—mist upon the brae, rain upon the moors with clouds lying low, trailing their white skirts along the sides of Whita; calm grey of a summer twilight, sunny fragrant morning when the woods are a waving chorus; Esk glimmering in the summer sun, or rushing mightily in flood when the November rains have fallen all day long on the hills; a cluster of white cottages along the side of Wauchope, a winding and narrow street called Strait; memories of childhood of the days of old, the music of one’s mother tongue; these and a thousand other impressions concentrate themselves to a focus and we call it—Langholm!

Eskdale people meet out in the Australian bush, or on “the illimitable veldt” and talk of home; on the Canadian wheat fields, or in the great American cities, and with unerring instinct recognise each other as sons of the dale. They meet in great brick cities and talk the night

long of Eskdale's hills and burns and glens ; they laugh again over the droll peculiarities of this "character" or that, recalling some half-buried memory of that Common-Riding long long ago—their talk is of Home,—that Home they left many years ago, but towards which their longings are yet set.

The beautiful and varied scenery of Eskdale is, without doubt, one of the factors which have given to it a unique and unchallenged place in the hearts of its people. But not its children only have yielded to its spell. Not even the compiler of a gazetteer can look at Eskdale without allowing himself a few sentences of admiration ! Visitors become enthusiastic over its beauties, and indeed they discover beauty spots unsuspected or inadequately recognised by those long familiar with the district. Mr. Disraeli is said to have declared that the drive from Langholm to Canonbie was unequalled by anything he had seen in all his travels. Pennant, the great antiquary, looking rather for age than beauty, declared it to be "great and enchanting," and added that it was "no wonder then that the inhabitants of these parts yet believe that the fairies revel in these delightful scenes." Writing for Sinclair's *Statistical Account* about the year 1793, the parish minister thus describes Langholm: "The verdant hills beautifully skirted with woods which shelter it east and west ; the Esk, 'overhung with woods,' gliding swiftly along ; the town appearing through the intertwining trees, and the hills and woods at a distance assuming a semi-circular form, terminate this charming landscape—a landscape of which, as containing an assemblage of rural beauty and romantick scenery, it baffles the happiest efforts of imagination to give an adequate description."

The valley of the Esk indeed displays almost every aspect of scenery to be found among the southern uplands of Scotland. Geologists speak of "the monotony" of these uplands, but the term is scientific rather than impressionist. To the native or the tourist, who troubles much less about the geology of a district than about its climate, these hills and dales, and woods and glades present an unfailing theme of interest and admiration. As the Esk tumbles down from its source among the lofty hills which border the counties of Dumfries and Selkirk, it creates some of the most varied and pleasing scenery, full of swift surprises, to be found in the south of Scotland. For it is the river that has been and still is the master-sculptor, to whose bold and tireless chiselling the beauties of the dale are due. Here, like Yarrow, more famed perhaps in song and story, but not more picturesque or romantic, "it flows the dark hills under," there in the course of untold centuries it has cut its way through a tumbled mass of rocks whose summits are gaily decked with rowan or birk, and on whose green mossy sides wild violets or primroses grow. Now it slumbers in this dark pool, eerie with superstition, the haunt of the otter, the trysting place of fishers; now it glints and murmurs over some pebbly bed, seldom long in the one same mood, but to those who love it, it is always fair, ever fascinating.

May it not have appealed just in this way to the tribesmen whom the Romans found in Eskdale? Must it not have been such a love for his native vale as we have, that nerved the ancient Celt to withstand the shocks of the Roman legions? Thus, too, it would appeal later to the rude and troubled Cumbrian, slowly struggling into a crude civilization, or a cruder Christianity,—to the hardy

Border raider, who knew all the hiding places on its banks, or amongst the hills through which it flows. Thus, too, did Esk make its appeal to those nearer forefathers of our own, who have transmitted to their descendants that love and admiration for its beauties which are characteristic of Eskdale people.

But Esk does not reserve to herself all the charm of the district. Her many tributaries abound in those aspects of nature which leave their impress on every man of simple heart. Than the valley of the Ewes few more delightful places can be found. Even more than Eskdale itself, it has inspired the poet and the painter. Of a different quality, wilder, lonlier, more rugged and indifferent to artistic form, with a weird, indescribable touch of melancholy upon it, is Wauchope, whose glory is in the past—upon which now, alas ! only clouds and sunsets



PEAT ROAD, WARBLA.

rest. Sunsets? If the reader wants to see a Langholm sunset he must climb slowly that old Peat Road which runs in straggling line along the northern side of Warbla Hill.

There when the sun sinks over the Calfield Hill and all the west is aflame with purple and gold, the tossed and scattered clouds waving red across the heavens like seas of grass on fire, and all the sky is brushed with hues too delicate, too beautiful to be other than short-lived; when the after-glow is lingering long on Warbla's side, though it has faded from off the other hills, touching the old alders* and hawthorns with amber by a defter brush than that of the cleverest artist; when the brow of Whita is tinged with orange, and upon the distant hills there falls that wonderful purple haze which serves so well to set out those more vivid colourings of the western sky which is ever flashing into new gradations of tone and shade—changing momentarily but still remaining as a memory of the heart—then ought the reader to see Warbla and Wauchope! If, as the after-glow dies off the hill, the great full moon should climb over Warbla Knowe, so much intenser and more lasting will be his memory!

Esk, Wauchope, and Ewes meet at Langholm, and an impressive sight they make, especially when the winter rains have swollen the burns, and the waters come rushing and tumbling through the town more swiftly than the tide o'erflows the sands of Solway. Over the head of Whita, and down in a picturesque valley of heather and birk runs the Tarras, the swiftest river in Dumfriesshire, scrambling over its great sandstone boulders, the wrecks of many a winter storm which ages ago must have raged

* The Langholm people call them "ellers."—cp. German *ellers*.



TARRAS WATER.

along that deeply scarred side of old Whita. Artists who come in sunny summer weather to paint in Tarras Water never tire in their eulogies of this lonely mountain stream. Then the anger of the water, and the absolute loneliness and weirdness of the moor are atoned for by the charm of its purple heather, and the greenness of its waves of bracken which shelter many a wild bird whose cry of alarm at your profane intrusion mingles with the plaintive bleating of the sheep—almost the only sounds one hears on Tarras side, unless, indeed, the thunder suddenly cracks overhead, for, say the people of Langholm, all thunderstorms converge into Tarras. But how much more awesome must Tarras have been in those far gone ages when the volcano at the Cooms answered the eruption and the thunder of its companion at the Peter Hill!

And in the burns which flow into Esk, up which few go save shepherds and fishers, are beauty spots of de-

lightful variety. From Garwald Water—"the rugged ravine"—to Byre Burn with its "Fairy Loup," the valley of the Esk abounds in charms which have never been advertised—which are unknown to the guide book or the railway carriage!



GARWALD WATER.

The hills on whose sides the town of Langholm is built form the larger segment of a circle enfolding the town. Thence they rise in ascending terraces to the sky line, spreading for many a mile far away into the uplands. The reference of the Psalmist to the mountains "standing alway round about Jerusalem" is often fondly applied to Langholm, and the simile is apt. The more scarred and rugged features of Highland scenery are wanting, but nature has provided compensations. From the hill tops, so easily reached, what a panorama may be

seen! In all directions seas of hills in vivid green, broken by valley and dell, the green speckled with the whitest of sheep, or patched with heather, whilst far away on the south-west like a silver ribbon drawn across the horizon stretch the waters of the Solway! Beyond it are the broken peaks of the Cumberland hills, and the less rugged hills beyond the Nith far down into the storied and romantic lands of Galloway.



FAIRY LOUP, BYRE BURN.

Probably it may be said of every place that it reflects more or less closely the different stages of development through which it has passed. Each stage of the evolutionary process leaves some evidence behind, and all these inheritances from the past generations unite to give colour and character to what the place is to-day. But this can be said with greater truth of a village or country town. There the colouring is sharper and wears away less quickly than where the population is cosmopolitan or changeable. It is eminently true of a town like Langholm. To understand its present life aright we must trace back many a heritage. Many of the legends and traditions and superstitions which lived long in Eskdale, had their origin far back in those days when history was written in stones standing on hill tops, or in circles which to-day form topics of learned discussion by antiquary and archæologist. What the people are, what they think and say and do, is the aggregate of many influences which have coloured and modified life in these valleys during many centuries. This influence has exerted a cumulative effect, and it is traceable in certain well-defined local characteristics. In not a few of the customs of Eskdale the pagan influence or the Celtic may still be noticed. As we shall show later many of the place-names in the valley are of Celtic origin. Similarly the influence of the Saxons and Norsemen, as they successively swooped down on Eskdale can be traced, not in names or words alone, but in the physical form and feature, and in the mental characteristics of the people. Similarly one may note in the intense patriotism which pulses in every Eskdale man, the spirit of the Forest men who fought in many a fierce battle whilst yet the liberties of their country were insecure. Perhaps, also, to this influence, born

and nurtured in stern and long-continued conflict, we may ascribe that resolute perseverance which strangers have noted in Eskdale folk,—and have often called by less complimentary names. In a religious connection one of the dominating influences in Eskdale was the Covenanted struggle. It left a deep mark upon the convictions and upon the religious and theological trend of the people of Eskdale, which is not yet obliterated, despite the tendency of the railway, the penny post, and the half-penny newspaper to reduce even Scotsmen to a common denominator in politics and religion, as much as in dress, or customs, or laws. An interesting remnant of the period remains in the little Cameronian kirk at Davington—a solitary monument of that day of stress and struggle. Solitary? No, there is also that lonely grave on the low hill-side at Craighaugh where “Andrew Hislop, shepherd lad,” was shot down for his loyalty and fidelity to Christ’s crown and kingdom!

And surely, too, their tenacity of purpose, their readiness to endure, their comparative disregard of personal comfort, which entered so much more into the mental make-up of our forefathers than they do into their feebler descendants, are directly traceable to those stirring days of Border feud and fray, when stock raising was a gamble and trading almost a skirmish.

So here in Eskdale stand those eloquent though dumb memorials of the past—stone circle, standing stone, cairn, fort or buried camp, Roman slab or coin unearthed by the plough, mound where old British warriors were laid to rest, tomb of the martyred Covenanter, bare and silent tower, “where on Esk side it standeth stout,” fragment of masonry in kirkyard or field—all these remain to speak to Eskdale men of to-day of what the Eskdale men of the

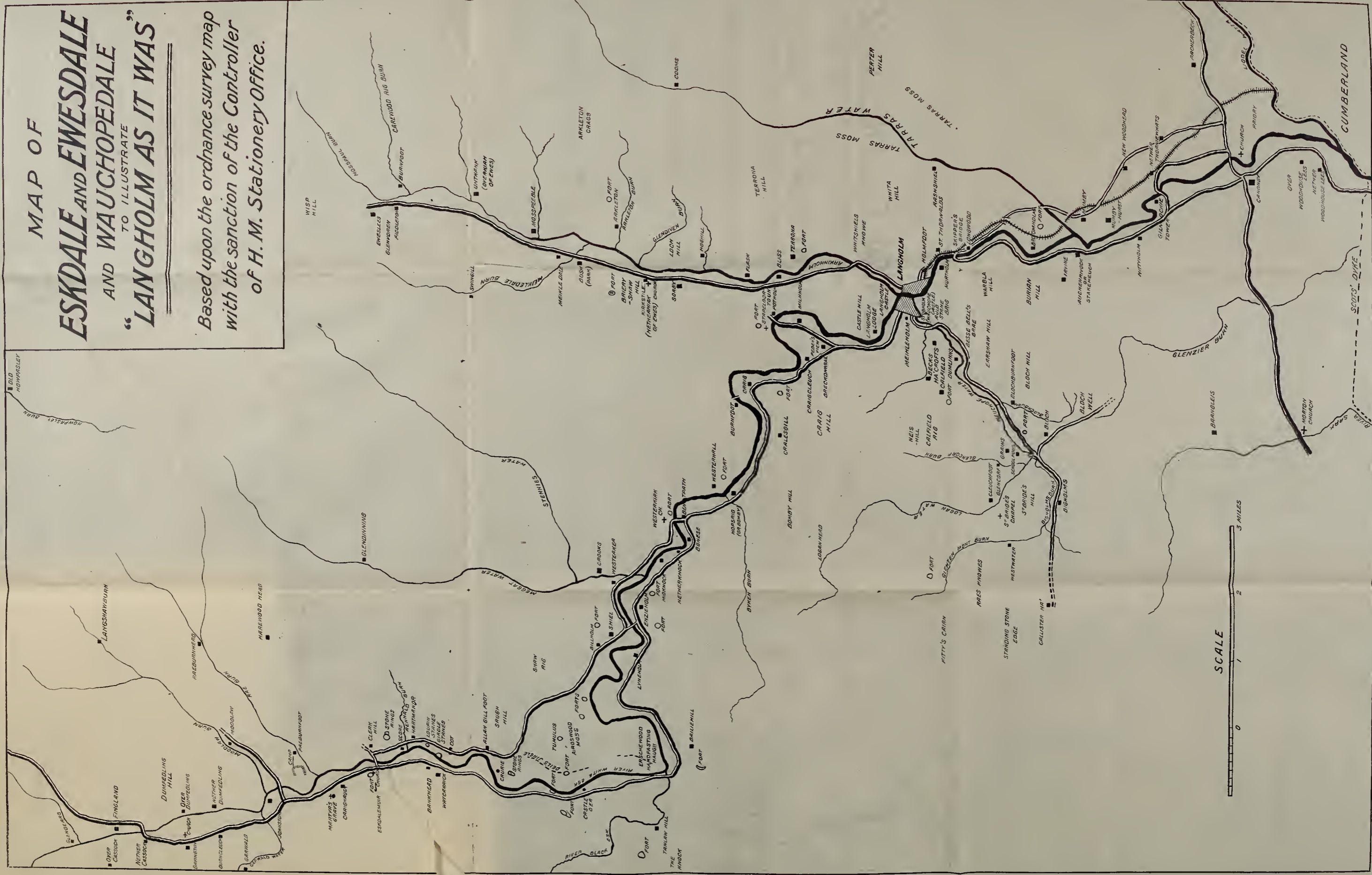
past were and did. It is of these memorials and of those far-off days, when they represented all that was most active and powerful in the life of Eskdale, and also of the quieter though perhaps not less interesting days which afterwards dawned, and of the men and women who played a part in their tragedy and comedy, that we would try to tell in the pages of this book.

PART I.
PREHISTORIC ESKDALE.



MAP OF
ESKDALE AND EWESDALE
 AND WAUCHOPEDALE
 TO ILLUSTRATE
"LANGHOLM AS IT WAS"

*Based upon the ordnance survey map
 with the sanction of the Controller
 of H. M. Stationery Office.*





PREHISTORIC ESKDALE.

CHAPTER I.

THE STONE CIRCLES.

THE oldest archæological remains in Eskdale are the Stone Circles. Prior to the publication of the last Ordnance Map these were styled "Druidical Circles" or "Druidical Temples"; but in recent maps the reference to the Druids has been dropped. This is in accord with the conclusions arrived at after the most careful investigations both by archæologists and historians.

Interest in the Stone Circles of Eskdale naturally concentrates itself upon those on the farm of Cote,* twelve miles from Langholm. Evidences exist that there were originally other Stone Circles in the district. Writing in 1841 for Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, the Rev. James Green, minister of the parish of Westerkirk, mentions that "on a neck of land between Esk and Megget, and part of the farm of Westerkir, there are several whinstones placed erect in the ground, which have every appearance of the remains of a Druidical temple."

No trace of this Circle can now be found, nor do enquiries in the district result in any reliable or definite information. Evidently the stones were still standing as late as 1841. It is very singular that ere twenty years had passed all traces of this prehistoric monument should have entirely disappeared.

* The original spelling was *Cot*, and this we believe is still retained in the Estate documents.

In addition to these Circles, there are dotted about in various parts of upper Eskdale, what on the Ordnance Maps are called Stone Rings. This designation has been used to indicate that evidences of stone or masonry exist, but it implies no theory as to the nature or use of such structures. These Stone Rings do not seem to have any relation to Stone Circles.

The Circles at the Cote* form a group which must at one time have been one of the most arresting landmarks in the Eskdale valley. Their builders, of whom we know so little, had apparently an appreciation of natural beauty as well as a keen mathematical sense. In Eskdale they selected as a site for their temples, a fairly level holm set in the midst of towering hills. Across the Esk there juts out the volcanic crag of Wat-Carrick.† On the east the smoother hills behind the Cote rise abruptly to 1,000 feet. Higher up the valley the Holm Craig and Clerk Hill seem to meet to bar the way to the north, and on the west rise the Castle Hill and Over Rig. Near to the Circles now flows the Esk, which, when they were built, ran under the face of Wat-Carrick hundreds of yards away to the west. On a summer day a place of great natural beauty this, but on a day of rain or of swirling snow a scene of wildness and weird-

* The Rev. J. C. Dick, at one time minister of Eskdalemuir, in a paper on *The Antiquities of Eskdalemuir*, read to the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society and afterwards published, suggested that these Circles at the Cote were merely the "standing stones" so often found on hillsides or moors as boundary stones between estates—"only this and nothing more!"

Mr. Dick admitted, however, that they were of great antiquity—a kind of prehistoric stone dyke, we suppose, glorified by a simple architectural device! It seems so unnecessary to have written a paper and gone all the way to Dumfries to propound this quaint solution of one of the most abstruse problems in archæology!

† The name of *Wat-Carrick* seems to be a corruption of *Wud-Carrick*, the name still given to it by the people of Eskdalemuir. The spelling occasionally is also *Weid*, and *Weit*.

ness. It is not unlikely that both of these aspects of nature strongly appealed to the intuitions and superstitions of those old Circle builders.

The two Circles at the Cote are named—

I.—THE LOUPIN' STANES.

II.—THE GIRDLE STANES.

Though now forming separate circles 600 yards apart, that they were at one time, though possibly not originally, parts of one scheme is clearly indicated by their relative positions and especially by the irregular line of large stones stretching from one to the other.

Only two of the stones of the first Circle are now standing. One stands 4 feet 9 inches above ground and measures 19 feet 5 inches in girth. The other is also 4 feet 9 inches high but is only 7 feet 8 inches in girth. It is quite possible that some of the other stones composing the Circle are in their original positions, though they are now greatly weathered and broken.

The late Mr. Richard Bell of Castle O'er explains* the name "Loupin' Stanes" by a local legend that at one time the young men of the neighbourhood were accustomed to exercise their athletic powers by jumping, or "loupin'" from one to the other of these upright stones, until an accident occurred, and one man broke his leg in the attempt. As the stones are eight feet apart the feat was one of some note even for a nimble schoolboy, to whom the off-chance of breaking his leg would no doubt prove an irresistible attraction. This use of so venerable a relic of antiquity, which was probably standing there up among the green Eskdale hills, whilst Moses was still negotiating to effect the exodus of the Israelites out of

* *My Strange Pets*, p. 305.

Egypt, is of course a recent one, and in no way suggestive, as the above schoolboy would probably fancy, of its original purpose!

This first Circle when built appears to have consisted of nine* large stones, and was nearly 36 feet in diameter, or some 113 feet in circumference by inside measurement.

Lord Avebury† has observed that the usual diameter of these circles was 100 feet, and says that a special significance attached to the number of stones composing the circle. Some had 12, some 30, some 60, or even 100. In Cornwall, where so many ancient stone circles and other monuments still exist, the number was usually 19, but in other districts it was 9. Though the stones were often of unequal height they were generally placed at equal distances from each other. These characteristics, however, certainly do not apply to the Eskdale Circles, nor yet to those at Keswick. Though the Loupin' Stanes had nine stones, the Girdle Stanes,

* Nine was a common number of stones in these old circles. Other local illustrations are the circles at Nine Stane Rigg, on the farm of Whisgills, in Liddesdale, and at Whitcastles in the parish of Hutton and Corrie, adjoining the parish of Eskdalemuir on the west, where the stones unfortunately are all recumbent. Of this circle very careful measurements were made by Mr. Bell of Castle O'er. He found that the diameter of the circle measured from north to south 141 feet 6 inches, and from east to west 180 feet. The largest stone measured 7 feet 9 inches, and the others varied in height down to 4 feet 6 inches. One outlier measured 8 feet 8 inches in length.

On the opposite side of the Boss Burn are, what Mr. Bell took to be, the bases of three cairns. These are separated at unequal distances from each other and have diameters of 41 by 38 inches, 42 by 34 inches, and 33 by 32 inches.

Mr. Bell made a sketch showing the position of each stone of the circle and noting its length, width, and thickness. The circumference is 540 feet. The distances between the stones are unequal.

Having done this work for the Whitcastles circle it seems curious that Mr. Bell should have left behind him no data concerning those in Eskdale, but the writers are informed by Mrs. Bell that no such notes can be found.

† *Prehistoric Times.*

as will be shown later, must originally have had about forty. A little to the south-east of the Loupin' Stanes there is what, to the casual observer, appears to have been, and probably was, another Circle also of nine stones, with a centre stone. Some of these stones have been displaced, and the contour of the Circle is consequently broken. Nearer the Esk, and almost touching the Loupin' Stanes, are four single stones whose relation to the other members of the group it is very difficult even to guess. Fancy or guesswork might weave a simple theory which could neither be proved nor absolutely refuted,—but it is wiser not to guess in questions like this!

Reference has already been made to the "avenue," or line of single stones stretching from the Loupin' Stanes to the Girdle Stanes. Though the line is not a straight one, and is broken, it seems to afford fairly conclusive proof that all these stones at the Cote are parts of what must once have been a prehistoric monument of considerable importance, and, needless to add, of great antiquity.

Naturally, the greater interest attaches to the Girdle Stanes Circle. This name is also of recent date, and was probably given because the Circle bore a general resemblance to the girdle of domestic use.* This Circle is not complete. Nearly one-half of it has been washed away by the Esk which, in the course of the centuries, unfortunately has considerably altered its course at this point, creating a fine alluvial tract, but on the other

* The word "girdle" is probably derived through the Anglo-Saxon *gyrd*, a hoop, or from the Gaelic word *cearcal*, from which also come *kirk*, and therefore *church*.

But it is also said to come from *greidiol*, meaning "stones placed round a fire."—*The Scottish Gael*, Vol. II., p. 117.

hand, doing irreparable damage to this ancient monument.

Then the questions arise—what purpose was served by these ancient structures? and when were they built? With the view of finding a reliable answer to these questions, Mr. George R. Goldsbrough, M.Sc., of Sunderland, made, at the invitation of the writers, a careful survey of the Girdle Stanes Circle, and the results of his observations are given later. These the writers consider to be of first-rate value and importance, and of intense interest to every native or admirer of Eskdale. Mr. Goldsbrough's calculations and conclusions have been submitted to Sir Norman Lockyer, the eminent astronomer, and Superintendent of the Solar Physics Observatory at South Kensington, and they have received his approval. We very gladly acknowledge Sir Norman's courtesy in permitting us to refer to this in these pages.

Some general considerations introductory to Mr. Goldsbrough's notes may here be set forth to assist the casual reader to appreciate fully his conclusions.

There are hundreds of these circles scattered throughout the British Isles, whilst traces exist which indicate that perhaps larger numbers have been destroyed by the vandalism or the ignorance of the generations which have come and gone since the circles were built. Even in Eskdale, as already mentioned, such traces are not wanting. In other countries these monuments are found in even larger numbers than in the British Isles. The most wonderful of all, greater and more elaborate in conception and design than Stonehenge or Avebury, is the group of circles at Carnac, in Brittany, a country singularly rich in such ancient monuments. In Den-

mark, in Egypt, and in India, stone circles are often found, a fact which in itself disproves the theory that the circles were Druidical, or that they were of Scandinavian origin. In Africa both stone circles and more extensive and elaborate relics of prehistoric times are constantly being discovered. Dr. Livingstone mentions seeing such circles during his wanderings, and we know that both Rhodesia and Mashonaland abound in magnificent ruins.*

Archæologists regard the beautiful and ancient Temples of Egypt, and its mysterious Pyramids, as their most fruitful field of research, and Lord Avebury suggests that the Pyramids themselves are but the final expression of that same idea which prompted our semi-civilized and pagan ancestors to set up these primitive circles of rough unhewn stones.

The suggestion that between the great Pyramid of Cheops, round which so much mystery and romance have become entwined, and these Stone Circles in the fastnesses of Eskdalemuir there may exist a bond of connection—some, as yet, undiscovered correspondence of purpose and design, is a little startling! It may possibly be, however, that the thought is no more extravagant than that which shows as a fundamental oneness of purpose between St. Peter's of Rome, or St. Paul's of London, and the plain little Cameronian kirk at Davington, in Eskdale—the great and the small united by an identity of faith and worship.

We read with almost monotonous frequency in the Old Testament of stones being set up as historical monuments or as expressions of religious sentiment. These

* See *The Great Zimbabwe*, by R. N. Hall.

indeed were often single stones, but references are also made to the erection of groups of such stones both in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, especially in the land of Moab, where it is said some 700 such circles are found.*

There can be scarcely any doubt but that the "high places" and "groves" which the inhabitants of Canaan so persistently set up, and which were so denounced by the prophets of Israel and Judah, were such circles of stones as we find at the Cote in Eskdalemuir. The "high places" and the "groves" seem to have been an integral part of Baal worship. We read, too, of sun-images and the adoration of the host of heaven, and similar observances, which, it is suggested, also formed part of the purpose of these Circles in Eskdale. These considerations indicate that the erection and use of these prehistoric monuments were part of a widely prevalent system of nature worship practised contemporaneously by many nations of different language and descent. Inferences as to date might be drawn from this correspondence, but the range of time within which these stone monuments were built is so vast, extending from 3600 B.C. to about 650 B.C., that any such inferences would be valueless.

The most remarkable of such monuments in this country are at Stonehenge and Avebury in Wiltshire,

* In Exodus xxiv. v. 4 we are told that Moses set up 12 stones at Sinai, and travellers mention that a stone circle 100 feet in diameter is still to be seen in the Sinai Peninsula. And in the Book of Joshua (iv.) we read that when Joshua had successfully led the people over Jordan he erected 12 stones at Gilgal as a memorial of the event. The number 12 of course was representative of the tribes, but whether the stones were set in circular form we are not told. Probably they were. The Israelitish leader was not presumably initiating a new custom, but simply adapting to its special use one which already had been widely followed. The date given in the Authorised Version of this event is *cir.* 1450 B.C.

and at Callernish in the Island of Lewis. Archæologists are well agreed that all these monuments were built by the race which preceded the Celtic in the series of migrations to these Islands. To Stonehenge, archæologists, working entirely on the evidence furnished by the monuments themselves, by excavating, sifting, classifying, and comparing all the data obtained, assign the approximate date of 1800 B.C. Sir Norman Lockyer, dealing with the monument from an astronomical standpoint, and examining the orientation of its axis, fixed the date of Stonehenge at 1700 B.C.—a virtual agreement arrived at by strictly scientific methods applied along two different lines. By the same method Mr. Morrow fixed the date of the Keswick Circle as 1400 B.C. The Girdle Stanes resemble the Keswick Circle both in the number of the stones and in the general astronomical plan, but in the latter the stones are considerably larger.

In corroboration of these far-off dates it may be mentioned that a peat-moss had actually accumulated over the great circle of Callernish, which is one of the most interesting prehistoric monuments in Britain. It, too, had been built on definite astronomical lines.

In his survey of the Girdle Stanes, made on Good Friday, 1911, Mr. Goldsbrough followed the method so successfully applied by Sir Norman Lockyer to Stonehenge and many other circles in Wiltshire and Cornwall.

Subjoined are the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Goldsbrough, and it may safely be surmised that they will prove of great and lasting interest, not to Eskdale people alone, but to archæologists generally.



THE GIRDLE STANES.

SURVEY OF THE GIRDLE STANES.

“ There is strong evidence to show that the earliest inhabitants of these Islands were sun worshippers. The circles of standing stones were their open-air temples where they conducted the rites and ceremonies connected with their religion. The nature of their worship and belief must of course be largely a matter of conjecture, for it must be remembered that the circles date back to periods long before the Druidical era. The forms and positions of the circles have, however, led observers to the supposition that they had not only a religious but a practical purpose. That practical purpose was to determine the seasons. It is probable that the hold of the priestly class over the common people depended very

much upon the ability of the former to indicate the most suitable time to

“ Plough and sow,
Reap and mow.”

In our almanacs the year is divided into four quarters by the position of the sun in the heavens. Taking the present year (1911) we have—

Spring equinox, March 21st ;
Summer solstice, June 22nd ;
Autumn equinox, Sept. 24th ;
Winter solstice, Dec. 22nd.

At the equinoxes the days are of equal length, and the sun rises due east and sets due west. The day of the summer solstice is the longest day, and the sun rises and sets at its most northerly points. The day of the winter solstice is the shortest day, and the sun rises and sets at its most southerly points. These, the astronomical divisions of the year, could quite easily be determined by the early astronomer-priests by simply observing the position of the sun on the horizon as it rose each day. But they are of less practical value to an agricultural community than another set of divisions, the agricultural divisions, namely—

Spring begins Feb. 4th ;
Summer begins May 6th ;
Autumn begins Aug. 8th ;
Winter begins Nov. 8th.

These dates are, of course, only approximate. Their positions are midway between those of the astronomical year, and their value to the farmer is quite evident.

As the following calculations will show, the Girdle

Stanes were erected in such a position as would enable the priests to fix the quarter days of the agricultural year exactly. Further, it seems probable that these quarter days were days of high festival, when the rising of the sun was greeted with great ceremonial observance. In order that the priests might be prepared to have all their paraphernalia ready for the sun-rise, it would be necessary for them to know the time of night, or at least how near it was to sun-rise. For this purpose they used a "warning star." A bright star was selected which would rise or set just before sun-rise, and so warn the priests to be ready for the appearance of their god. The position of the sun-rise on each quarter-day and the place of rising or setting of the "warning star" were indicated, sometimes by outlying stones which could be illuminated when necessary, and sometimes by making use of the natural features of the horizon in hill districts. Both of these methods were used in the design of the Girdle Stanes.

Now, owing to the astronomical phenomenon known as the Precession of the Equinoxes, the pole of the heavens has changed its place, and consequently the "warning stars" will no longer rise or set in the places indicated. By noting the change to the present positions of the "warning stars," we can form a very accurate estimate of the date when the Circle was set up.

The Girdle Stanes as now existing consist of 22 large stones forming an arc of a circle, standing on the left bank of the White Esk about twelve miles above Langholm. The Circle was obviously complete at one time, but a change in the course of the river has cut away the bank and carried off some of the stones, which can now be seen lying in the river bed. Some of the

stones are upright, some recumbent, and some almost buried, while here and there are smaller portions, obviously pieces broken off the large stones by the action of frost. The Circle is fairly correct. When the centre was found by trial, differences in radius of two or three links were noted here and there as the stones had fallen inwards or outwards; but no great irregularity was found. The diagram given on the next page represents the *positions* of the stones as indicated by the angle subtended at the centre. The distances from the centre are not shown on the plan.

The following are details of the stones, numbered as in the diagram:—

No.	Height.	Girth.	
1	6 feet	12 feet	
2	3½ "	13 "	
3	3 "	7⅔ "	
4	3 "	10½ "	
5	3 "	9½ "	
6	5 "	—	Recumbent
7	5⅓ "	—	Recumbent
8	2 "	8½ "	
9	—	—	Recumbent
10	—	—	Recumbent
11	—	—	Recumbent
12	4½ "	12 "	
13	—	—	Recumbent
14	4¼ "	8 "	
15	—	—	Recumbent
16	—	—	Almost buried
17	—	—	Recumbent
18	—	—	Recumbent
19	2½ "	8 "	
20	3⅔ "	10 "	
21	—	—	Almost buried
22	—	—	Recumbent

The mean diameter of the Circle is 130 feet. About 140 yards away in a north-east direction on the slope of a knove are two outlying stones just protruding through the turf. These stones are important, though their original position is somewhat doubtful. A rough estimate of the number of stones in the complete Circle gives 40. It is noteworthy that a similar Circle at Keswick has 38 stones standing and two or three obvious gaps.

About a third of a mile away in a north-east direction is another complete circle of 9 stones, together with a large number of others somewhat indiscriminately scattered about, possibly the relics of one or more similar circles. The 9 stones form a complete Circle of 36 feet diameter. Two of them are under 5 feet in height, and the rest mere fragments, though clearly in their original positions. This Circle is absolutely invisible from the Girdle Stanes, and therefore has no *astronomical* connection with them, though there may have been, and in all likelihood were, relations of some other kind. There is a course of 11 stones placed at intervals between the two Circles, rudely joining them, but not in a straight line. The last four of these (nearest the Loupin' Stanes) form very nearly a straight line in a direction S. $16^{\circ} 34'$ E., but no satisfactory significance has been found for this line.

The meridian was first found by a double observation of the sun. Then the bearing of the two above mentioned outlying stones was ascertained, as they seemed to be placed as special marks. Next, an inspection of the horizon was made. No specially distinct peaks were noticeable, but there were two clearly marked hill-gaps—that between Holm Craig and Clerk Hill and that of

Thunderbolt Knowe. The bearing of each of these was taken along with the height of the horizon. The observations, corrected for instrumental errors, gave the following particulars :—

Alignment.		True Azimuth	Altitude of Horizon
Centre of Girdle Stanes to :—			
I.—Holm Craig—	} ...	N. 2° 18' 52" E.	. 1° 50' 10"
Clerk Hill Gap			
II.—First outlying stone	... N. 24° 4' 58" E.	... 3° 32' 30"	
III.—Second outlying stone...	... N. 35° 7' 2" E.	... 3° 37' 20"	
IV.—Thunderbolt Knowe	} ...	N. 74° 11' 42" E.	... 8° 58' 0"
Gap			

With regard to the weight to be attached to these azimuths the first and last are very accurate, as the Gaps are clearly defined and at a very considerable distance (between one and two miles in each case). The two outlying stones are only 140 yards away, and their original position is very indefinite. As only a small patch of stone is visible it is difficult to say within two yards where the base of the stone was intended to be. This implies a considerable error in the azimuths. However, it is noticeable that a line from the centre of the Circle to the first outlying stone passes through stone No. 3 of the Circle. We may consider this as strengthening the fact that we have a more trustworthy measurement for Alignment II. than for Alignment III.

The latitude of the centre of the Girdle Stanes is N. 55° 15' 14". With this the above Alignments were then reduced to declinations and a probable interpretation put upon each.

Alignment Centre of Girdle Stanes to:—	Declination.	Purpose.	Date.
I.—Holm Craig— Clerk Hill Gap } ...	N. $36^{\circ} 46'$...	Arcturus, a warning star for August sun- rise.	} 1290 B.C.
II.—First outlying stone } ...	N. $34^{\circ} 27'$...	Capella, a warning star for February sun- rise.	
III.—Second outlying stone } ...	N. $30^{\circ} 3'$...	?	—
IV.—Thunderbolt Knowe Gap } ...	N. $16^{\circ} 5'$...	Sun-rise, May 5th and August 9th.	—

The sun rises at Thunderbolt Knowe on May 5th and August 9th each year. In the centuries that have elapsed since the erection of the Circle there has been only the very slightest alteration in the sun's motion, so that what occurs to-day would occur then. This Alignment was then clearly intended to mark two quarter days of the agricultural year.

Arcturus rose in the Holm Craig—Clerk Hill Gap, just before the sun-rise on August 9th, at the period 1290 B.C. Capella rose just before the sun on February 4th at the period 1300 B.C. As above-mentioned, the angular measurements of the first outlying stone are subject to error, consequently the date 1360 B.C. will be inaccurate. A glance at the diagram shows that the line from the centre to the outlying stone passes through the middle of stone No. 3 but not exactly. In the cases of other circles it has been noticed that the lines of direction often pass exactly through the middle of one of the standing stones. It happens here that stone No. 3 is one that appears to be in its true position, and though weathered down to about 3 feet in height, it seems to preserve its uprightness. Then if we *assume* that the alignment was

intended to pass exactly through the middle of this stone, we may get a more correct value of the azimuth than is possible from the indefiniteness of the position of the outlier. But here again is a source of error, for the sides of the standing stones are very irregular and may not have been denuded equally. However, the assumption is worth considering. The true azimuth of the middle of this stone is N. $23^{\circ} 26' 22''$ E. Taking the horizon height, as before, at $3^{\circ} 32' 30''$, the declination is N. $34^{\circ} 43'$. This value gives 1310 B.C. as the date of rising of Capella before the February sun-rise. We may regard this as a strong confirmation of the date 1290 B.C. given by the more accurate Alignment I.

Alignment III., if it means anything, must refer also to Capella warning the February sun-rise at the period 2150 B.C., but without some confirmation we must refuse to accept this date, and conclude that the correct original position of the stone has not been found.

It will be noticed that there is a method of marking the May and August sun-rises, and "warning" the February and August sun-rises. In all probability there would originally be a mark for the November and February sun-rises, as the latter has a "warning star" indicated, and there would also be an alignment for the "warning" of the May sun-rise. For the November sun-rise no "warning stars" have been found indicated in circles in other parts of this country. It is conjectured that this is because the misty and foggy weather prevailing during November would frequently prevent a "warning star" from being seen on the horizon. Of these missing marks nothing was seen when the observations were made. It is likely, however, that a special search in directions which could be definitely indicated might result in something more fruitful.

From the foregoing it will be clear that this Circle was erected about the year 1290 B.C. with a two-fold astronomical purpose :—

1. To mark the quarters of the agricultural year.
2. To give the priests an indication beforehand of the rise of the sun on these quarter days that they might have ready the appliances of their ritual for the sun's appearance.

The work of the astronomer-priests would be something like this: each morning the sun-rise would be watched from the centre of the Circle, and it would be observed to creep northward along the horizon till it approached Thunderbolt Knowe Gap. With a little experience the priest would be able to estimate when the sun would exactly appear in that Gap on the following day. Then an all-night watcher would wait for the appearance of Arcturus in the Holm Craig—Clerk Hill Gap. In order that he, in the blackness of night, would know where to look, a stone with a hollow at the top in which burning oil was placed, would be erected as one member of the Circle. This member would be, as the diagram shows, between stones 1 and 2 where there is clearly a stone missing. At the appearance of the star all the community would be called and everything put in readiness for the sun-rise, when a high festival would be held; and the announcement would go forth that this was the first day of summer, *i.e.*, the first day of the summer of the agricultural year, May 5th. Then the sun-rise would travel north until Midsummer Day and return southward to Thunderbolt Knowe Gap, when there would be a repetition of similar events, the warning coming this time from another star and another direction, the mark of which has not been discovered.

This would be August 8th, the first day of autumn. The same would occur in other directions in November and February, so that the Circle of Stones with outlying marks would be sufficient for the complete determination of the seasons of the year, as well as the special requirements of their religious observances.

One cannot but admire the intelligence and ingenuity of the early race who, so long ago, erected a contrivance at once so simple and so clever. To arrange the Circle and put up outliers to mark special directions is comparatively easy ; to put up a Circle in such a position that *one* of the natural features of the horizon may be used to mark an alignment is more difficult. But to find the exact spot where the irregularities of the horizon mark *two* alignments is a problem requiring remarkable penetration and acuteness, for in no other spot whatever but the one chosen could the Clerk Hill Gap and the Thunderbolt Knowe Gap both be used for the purposes indicated."

It will be noticed from the results obtained by Mr. Goldsbrough that the Girdle Stanes Circle had this peculiar and singular feature,—that its builders, by their intelligent and careful choice of the site were enabled to utilize for their astronomical purposes, not one only but two of the natural features of the locality. Sir Norman Lockyer commented upon this unusual fact and desired to be furnished with more precise details. These were supplied, to Sir Norman's satisfaction. This indication of careful planning and selection considerably increases the archæological importance of the Circle.

It is of interest to note that the worship of the May-year sun, indicated by Mr. Goldsbrough's investigations

at the Girdle Stanes, was not only common to the builders of the early British circles but was also extensively used in Egypt, Babylon, and Greece. The earliest Temple thus aligned was that of Ptah, at Memphis, 5200 B.C.*

The Circles, as centres of religious influence and also of legal administration, lasted into the Christian era. When this clearer day dawned churches were often built upon the sites of ancient circles, as in the case of the earliest Christian building on Iona. Possibly it was this which gave birth to the title of "The Stones," as applied to a church. It is said that even yet in secluded parishes the question is asked, "Are you going to the Stones?" What we have later called "Circle-ism," a strongly hybrid faith and practice, percolated down into the early Church, and very drastic steps had to be taken to stamp out some of the practices brought in by the converts, even as was done in Corinth and Colosse.

Of these ancient monuments, whether in Egypt or Eskdalemuir, we now see but the architecture, and of it only a small portion,—we guess and debate about the vanished. And so much has gone! No longer does the gleam from the rising sun touch the stone of mystery, or, flashing upon a priestly emblem, is it hailed as a message from the gods; no longer is the "warning star" watched for up in the Eskdale hills, or the sun acclaimed as the only deity as it touches the Thunderbolt Knowe on some bright May morning—Temple and Girdle Stanes have lost their glory and are dead! Their ruins we see, but where are the thought and purpose that gave them form, the life that made each, not a silent

* *Stonehenge*, p. 304.

relic of a far-off day, but an intense reality amongst sentient, intelligent beings? What manner of men were those who, spurred by some commanding purpose or impulse, reared these stones? What they said and did, what they laughed or wept over, what hopes they nursed, what dreams they dreamt, what was their poetry or their song, what aspirations moved them to action, how they occupied the long summer days or the dark winter nights when the snow drifted deep on Eskdalemuir, what crises stirred them to passion—personal, tribal, or religious—all these would be of deepest interest to us now, but alas, we know not nor can know. We gaze upon the ruins which Time has left us, and imagination alone can re-clothe them with the evidences of life and activity—after all enquiry and wondering they are still but Stone Circles among the quiet Eskdale hills!

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGIOUS PURPOSES OF THE CIRCLES.

I N his notes on the Girdles Stanes Mr. Goldsbrough mentioned that the circles had a religious as well as an astronomical purpose. Various are the conjectures which have been made as to the object of those ancient builders. Most writers agree to the religious element, and various cognate purposes are suggested. Lord Avebury* thinks the circles were utilized for purposes of sepulture. This is not improbable, but certainly the suggestion does not apply to the Girdle Stanes. Nature itself has come to the proof of this, for the Esk, changing its course since those far off days when the Cote was the centre of the life and light of Eskdale, has washed away nearly half of the soil on which the Girdle Stanes stand, tumbling the stones into the river-bed, magnificently oblivious to the ruin it made, but no evidence of sepulture has been revealed.

That, if the circles were not primarily designed for religious ceremonial, they were at least utilized in this way, is accepted by all writers of authority. The popular view that Druidical worship was afterwards celebrated in the circles is probably true in a general way. Most of our knowledge of the Druids is derived from Cæsar, and what he has not supplied has been ingeniously invented by writers whose gifts lay like those of the great physiologist in constructing a whole body from a bone! For example, it has been confidently

* *Prehistoric Times*, p. 106.

declared that these Nature worshippers had certain clearly defined views as to certain religious truths. The circle, these writers say, was used because it represented eternity,—without beginning of days or end of years. It is much more probable that it represented nothing at all beyond being an imitation of the horizon which was so intimately related to the worship of the day. But the Druids did not flourish until many centuries after most of these circles were built, and we must look farther back into the misty past to discover the original purpose of the builders.

The elaborate design of many of the larger monuments, such as at Carnac in Brittany, Stonehenge and Avebury in Wiltshire, and Challocombe Down, where there had existed an “avenue” of upright stones of eight rows, three of which still remain, supports the argument that the circles had a religious and ceremonial significance. That this was so with the great Temples of the East is of course known and accepted. The difference between them with their ornate architecture and the rugged plainness of the stone circles is one of degree only. In purpose and primary design they were in harmony. Not only were those monuments in Egypt and Syria oriented to the sun or some prominent star, but so also were both the great British circles already mentioned, and even the smaller circles, hardly noticed except by the antiquarian, scattered throughout this country. It is a fair deduction, then, from their being constructed on the same astronomical and mathematical principles, that these small stone circles were meant to serve the same ends as the more magnificent piles. These large stone temples have been likened to the great cathedrals of to-day. If the simile holds good

then the rude circles of unhewn, unshapen stone, lying far on many a lonely hill, will represent the simple country churches, plain and unadorned, suitable for plain folk. But the distinction between the astronomical purpose and the religious is made only as a concession to our own mental processes, for in practice they were inseparable. The astronomical purpose *was* the religious: the ceremonial observances were virtually the ritual whereby the astronomical ideas were expressed.



THE LOUPIN' STANES.

Mr. Goldsbrough found no evidence that there had been any astronomical relationship between the Girdle Stanes and the Loupin' Stanes. From no point can one be seen from the other, so that any astronomical connection seems unlikely. The incomplete observations made at the Loupin' Stanes indicate that, in all probability, it was considerably the older Circle. A

simple and ready explanation of the two Circles being so near each other yet apparently unrelated, would be that the Loupin' Stanes having served its purpose or proved inconvenient, like some old kirk, was abandoned for a larger and better site some six hundred yards away!

But the evidences seem to indicate that, for some purposes, at any rate, there was a relationship between the two Circles. In many instances such monuments were double, and were often connected by a line or "avenue" of upright stones, which did not always stand in a line directly straight.* Whether there was a single or double line of stones in the "avenue" between these two Circles cannot be said until a careful survey has been made. The theodolite and the link-chain have a curious habit of settling these disputed points and spoiling many a charming theory—without regrets or apologies! But this much may safely be said: if an "avenue" existed between the Loupin' Stanes and the Girdle Stanes, as appearances suggest, it was probably for ceremonial rather than for astronomical purposes. The accompanying rough plan illustrates the relative positions of both circles and connecting stones. It does not profess to indicate the exact position of each stone in the "avenue," but it gives, in the absence of a more careful survey, the general position of the monuments.

To the prehistoric inhabitants of Eskdale, as to other races geographically far removed from them, the celebrations to which Mr. Goldsbrough has referred as connected with the progression of the seasons, were the expressions of those feelings which to-day in ourselves assume the form of adoration, reverence, prayer, and spiritual rejoicing.

* At Merrivale, e.g., the "avenue" has a distinct change of direction—what Sir Norman Lockyer calls "a kink."—*Stonehenge*, p. 161.



In other words the religious observances at the Cote were a phase of that Nature worship which in one form or another is common to primitive peoples. But to the builders of those great stone monuments scattered throughout the world, and of the plain circles set up in the fastnesses of the hills, that worship had in some degree been systematized and was offered, not without rigid forms and ceremonies. Probably it approximated to that form of religion which was practised in the days whose history is recorded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles—that is, it was a mixture of Nature worship and Baalism, a hybrid compound of Phœnician and Assyrian religions with, no doubt, much of local paganism and perhaps barbarity superadded.

To many races, various in language and habitation, Baal, or some such deity, was the representative of the energizing and fertilizing processes of nature, and sun worship was the form it readily assumed. Some of the superstitions and practices still lingering in certain districts of these Islands, such for instance as the oft-quoted Beltane ceremonies at Callander, are traceable to this Baal worship. “Baal's-fire” was associated with May Day, as representing the energy and power of the summer sun, and as Mr. Goldsbrough shows that May Day was a “high day” at the Girdle Stanes, it is more than probable that some of the ceremonial with which sun-rise on that day was greeted by the astronomer-priest and his rude congregation was similar to, if not identical with, the practices connected with Baal worship, which were so unflinchingly condemned by the prophets of Israel and Judah. The voice of Elijah, or of Amos or Hosea, would scarcely penetrate to the Eskdale valley, and neither history nor legend gives a hint of any reformer appearing at the Girdle Stanes.

Sir Norman Lockyer shows in his *Stonehenge* that the many legends, customs, and superstitions which have lived so long in Scotland, were in great part due to the rites and practices observed by the tribes who built these circles. These superstitions and customs survived through the Celtic age down into the early Church, which adopted many observances and gave them Christian symbolism. The prevalence still in Scotland of a May-November year, Sir Norman argues, is a trace of a custom originated by the astronomer-priests in the religious celebrations at the old stone circles, and so are some of the observances and customs, which linger still in rural districts, connected with the seasons of the year, the sowing or reaping of crops, and the various celebrations of country life.

Associated with this worship of the sun and stars was the veneration of rivers, wells, and trees. One can readily sympathize with the impulse of an untutored race to regard the Esk as sacred—many Eskdale men and women of to-day tend to the same sweet faith! And in a district covered as Eskdale would then be, by great primeval forests, there would naturally arise a like impulse towards the veneration of trees. The stone circles were generally erected beside a well or river, and near the well, in later years at any rate, there was a tree on which the votive offerings were hung. This custom or rite belonged more to the Celtic era than the one under review, but the practice arose through the association of rivers and wells with the circles. When the Druids rose to power the veneration of the oak was a part of their ceremonial, and it is interesting to note that in Scotland the object of veneration was not the oak but the rowan and the hawthorn. Without doubt the place

these trees have taken in the romantic literature of the country is the result of this ancient veneration. And to the same source may be traced the old custom of having a rowan tree near a dwelling house, from which it warded off the evil spirits that haunted wood and hill and glade.

In investigating any religious system which in past generations made an appeal to Scottish sympathy, one naturally expects to find that it afforded considerable scope for secessions and disruptions. Whether the special form of Nature worship prevailing at the Cote whilst perhaps Joshua was commanding the sun to stand still upon Gibeon, or the moon in the valley of Ajalon,—a worship which may not inaptly be termed “Circle-ism”—offered facilities for schism or controversy, tradition and history alike are silent. But a solution of the questions raised by the grouping of circles in Eskdale,—two at the Cote, another at Westerker, and possibly others scattered here and there along the valley of the Esk,—may lie in the reputed tendency of our Scots people to “split” into sects, each hanging to some subtle dogma, separated by gossamer threads which have the strength of steel. Could these additional circles arise through the adoption by the parent congregation of some advanced ceremonial or some daring innovation which staunch old Circle-ites resisted resolutely and long? We can almost picture some of our pagan forefathers imbued with that sturdy spirit of ecclesiastical freedom which is the heritage of us to-day, trudging dourly over the hills to Whitcastles or to Nine Stane Rig, there to obtain that purity of worship, that untainted Circle-ism, which, alas, seemed unobtainable at the Cote!

CHAPTER III.

STANDING STONES.

OUR consideration of this branch of the prehistoric antiquities of Eskdale naturally forms itself along two main lines. First, the relation of standing stones to the stone circles, and next, their significance as memorial stones or monuments.

Standing stones are found in great numbers both in these Islands and throughout the world. They are very frequently found associated with stone temples or circles, to which they are related in a very important way. It is frequently found that comparatively near to almost every circle there is at least one large outlying stone, and various conjectures have been launched to explain its presence. The Druidical theory of the circles embodied an assumption that human sacrifice was associated with the religious ceremonial. This by no means unlikely assumption, for it is little more, found support in the presence of these stones, and to them was given the designation of "slaughter stones." Obviously this explanation could not include all such outlying stones even when found in association with circles, for some of the stones were obelisk shaped, and wholly unsuitable as slaughter or altar stones. If the latter were really a necessary part of the circle services, they would just as reasonably be placed in the centre of the circle. The "slaughter stone" theory clearly did not meet the requirements of the case, and some other explanation had to be found.

This has been supplied by Sir Norman Lockyer and

others, who have demonstrated that these outlying stones near stone circles were part of the arrangements used by the astronomer-priests in their observations of the heavenly bodies. By them was obtained the "alignment" from the centre of the circle to a point on the horizon where, say, a star would appear at its rising. They served the same purpose as the foresight of a rifle and, it may be added, were always as accurately adjusted as it, for the desired purpose. Thus the standing, or outlying stone was a very important factor in the determination of a date by the "orientation" method.

Lord Avebury regards the standing stones and stone circles as part of one common plan,* most of them being tombs. Even those which were temples, he thinks, were associated with interments. But Lockyer's theory has the merit of differentiating these various monuments, and of being supported by observations and definite astronomical results.

There are very few of these standing stones extant in Eskdale. In his survey of the Girdle Stanes Mr. Goldsbrough mentions two, both of which seemed to have been used to mark alignments from the centre of the Circle. Two others may be mentioned. One is in the Thunderbolt Knowe Gap, and is seen just protruding through the turf. It was probably set up to emphasise the use of the Gap to mark an alignment. The other is a large recumbent stone in the garden at Cote, lying nearly south of the Girdle Stanes. Whether originally it also was used to mark an alignment cannot now be determined. Undoubtedly there would be other stones in a north-easterly direction. Mr. A. L. Lewis,† in

* *Prehistoric Times*, p. 103.

† *Journal*, Anthropological Institute, quoted in Lockyer's *Stonehenge*, p. 35.

his investigations of Scottish stone circles, found a great preponderance of outlying stones and of hill tops lying between the circles and the north-east quarter of the horizon. Probably owing to weathering and agricultural operations (the ground within and around the Girdle Stanes is under cultivation) some of these outliers have disappeared from the neighbourhood of the Eskdale circles.

Where the standing stones are near to circles their use for aligning is intelligible, but over all the hill districts there are considerable numbers of stones which could never have been put to such use, and to account for these some other explanation must be suggested.

The meaning attaching to most of these standing stones is that they are memorials of persons or of great events in the life of the district. And in this connection they are a most instructive and interesting illustration of the changes which the centuries have produced in the grouping of the population. Doubtless many of these stones were set up where they would be frequently seen by those to whom their significance appealed, and we receive the suggestion that what is now a lonely and deserted moorland must once upon a time have been peopled with considerable communities.

Standing stones set up to commemorate some notable event or achievement are common in all countries, barbarian as well as civilized. Indeed, the untutored savage seems to have had precisely the same instinct as the civilized man. Livingstone, Mungo Park, and other travellers frequently noticed standing stones both singly and in groups or circles, in the heart of Africa.

The practice was a common one with the ancient Jews. The Old Testament abounds in references to these me-

morials. When Jacob made his famous agreement with Laban, he "took a stone and set it up for a pillar" on Mount Gilead, and their retainers set up a heap of stones,—a cairn, as evidence and witness to the compact. Indeed, it was a favourite method of commemoration with Jacob—he found a great satisfaction in thus marking his red-letter days with some seal, the sight of which would awaken many a wonderful memory and cause him to re-live again those events which had so seized hold of his sensitive imagination—a custom which in this age of materialism might be oftener observed! Naturally, then, after his immortal Dream among the boulders of Bethel, "he took the stone that he had put for his pillow and set it up for a pillar and poured oil upon the top of it." And when in after days "he went softlier, sadlier for that Dream's sake," the thought of that standing stone at Bethel would help to keep his experience clear and sharp. We read, too, of Ebenezer, the stone set up by Samuel; of the stone set up where the Ark had rested; of the Stone of Ezel, "which sheweth the way"; and of the Stone of Zohemoth—all of them apparently well known landmarks.

Between two and three hundred yards over the hill from the stone in the Thunderbolt Knowe Gap, mentioned on page 48, there is a somewhat remarkable stone. It stands erect about two feet out of the turf, though obviously its length when set up would be greater. In shape it is a rectangular prism, surmounted by a triangulated prism, and clearly gives the impression of having been wrought. It is quite invisible from the Esk valley—which fact dissociates it from the circles there. On one side of the stone are what look like markings, but owing to weathering it is now impossible to trace

them with sufficient clearness to determine whether the stone belongs to the class, such as the famous "Cat-Stanes" * found in various districts, set up to commemorate some great battle, which Professor Simpson describes in his book on the inscribed stones of Scotland.

Apart from those near the circles at the Cote there are now very few standing stones in Eskdale. There is one within the policies of Castle O'er, a little to the west of Cleve Sike. Possibly it may have had some connection with the cairn on Airdswood Moss, about a mile away and almost due west. But we can only conjecture,—the centuries have engraven no record of its meaning.

Another known as the St. Thorwald's Stone, a modern designation of course, stood below St. Thorwald's on the bank of the Esk, on the spot now known as Land's End. This was one of the most valuable archæological relics in the district, but unfortunately it has been destroyed—by vandals who probably found it in their way when building a dyke! It stood until well within the memory of some still living, who speak of a curious practice in connection with it. Some old superstition had apparently attached itself to it, for children as they passed it deemed it a right and proper thing to spit upon it in contempt and derision,—a custom whose origin it is now impossible to trace. If the legend be accepted that Thor the Long had a cell near what we now call the Thief Stane Quarry, then perhaps the stone became associated with him, though why this should create a superstitious dislike is hard to conjecture.

From the name of Standing Stone Edge being given to the eastern slope of the hills above the old Inn at Cal-

* From Celtic *Cath*, a battle.

lister Ha', part of the ridge separating Annandale from Eskdale, we may assume that at one time a similar stone stood there. Near to it to the northward was Kitty's Cairn, and others un-named, and these, stone and cairns, would probably have some connection as we suggest there was at Airdswood Moss.

The best example of the standing stones in the Eskdale district is that at Meikledale in Ewes, locally known as "The Grey Wether," a print of which is here given. It is about 5 feet in height and its girth is 8 feet 7 inches, and it would probably weigh about two tons.



"THE GREY WETHER."

The stone is the common greywacke, or whinstone of the Silurian series, rough and unhewn. It stands in the centre of a field in front of Meikledale House, and can be seen from the highway. The field is surrounded by

hills on every side, and this situation for the erection of the stone may possibly have been chosen because of its striking natural beauty,—a fitting site whereon to perpetuate the memory of some great event in Ewesdale.

The most acceptable explanation of these stones is that they were set up to celebrate and commemorate some battle, some notable victory won by the primitive tribesmen of the Eskdale valley. Against whom were such battles fought? It might be that all these memorials had their genesis, not in the dim centuries B.C., when the circles were focal points of Eskdale, but in the later centuries, amidst the legend and romance of the Arthurian period, the early part of the sixth century. May they not have been erected in simple memory of battles fought and victories won when Arthur was leading the early Christians of Strathclyde against the pagan Saxons? Who can tell?

As the centuries passed, such standing stones, so long the only effort, silent and feeble, to chronicle the history of the generation, were adopted by the early Church as Christian symbols. From the rough unsculptured obelisk was evolved the richly sculptured cross and the inscribed stone, and from them also came the idea of all our monuments, from the rude tombstone in a country church-yard, keeping green the memory of a simple life, to the most ornate memorial of the mighty dead. In this connection mention may here be made of the Ruthwell Cross, which dates to the ninth century, and to the Bewcastle Cross,—two of the earliest extant Christian monuments in the British Isles, neither of them quite within the bounds of Eskdale, but both so near as to point to the important part taken by the district in the development of Christian Art.

In after years of tumult and strife the standing stones became the points to which the clansmen rallied. Justice was not infrequently dispensed in open-air courts held at a standing stone, even as it was for long years dispensed at the circles. As an example of this, reference may here be made to the famous Lochmaben Stone ; an immense boulder probably dropped by the ice. It stands about a mile south of Sark Foot on the farm of Old Graitney, almost on the site of what is said to have been a stone circle. There, the Wardens of the West March held their courts and arbitrations during the troublous days that afterwards came upon the Borders.

Being a prominent land mark a standing stone was naturally enough chosen as a boundary mark, and in many an old charter or lease the limits of an estate are described by reference to it. It became the site of many sacred covenants, from the anointing of kings to the delimitation of boundaries.

CHAPTER IV.

CAIRNS AND BARROWS.

NOT infrequently there were associated with the stone circles barrows or tumuli, or, in Scotland, cairns. That these were often contemporaneous with, or even earlier in date than, the circles themselves, is shown by their having been utilized to indicate alignments from a circle to the horizon. This is especially applicable to many of the monuments in Wiltshire and Cornwall, and also that of Stennis, in Orkney, where the alignments from the Stones of Stennis are obtained not only to outlying stones, but also to the large, chambered barrow, or tumulus, known as Maeshowe.

Archæologists date the circles to the Stone Age, a view supported by astronomical investigations, and Lord Avebury* is of the opinion that most of the tumuli of western Europe, including those of the British Isles, were constructed during the same period.

These sepulchral monuments are found in almost all countries, and though they exhibit local characteristics they all belong to the same order. In Scotland they most often assume the form of stone cairns, though tumuli are also found. In all cases these cairns or mounds were places of burial, and far away in the misty years of the Stone Age the affections and regrets of people would cling around them. To us they are but archæological items. We examine their contents without sentiment, and hold debate over the poor skulls they con-

* *Prehistoric Times.*

tained, measuring them from *a* to *b*, and drawing conclusions on their measurements, comparing them, but generally forgetting the brain once contained therein, or the human heart that moved in harmony with it. We pull down the stones of the place of their sepulture, cart them away for road metal, or to build dykes and byres, esteeming the little necessities of the moment of more import than these venerable relics left from a far off age of the world's childhood. We smile and crack jokes about the punctilious regard and veneration of the heathen Chinee for his ancestors, but perhaps our own instincts and sentiments would be made worthier by a flavouring of that same heathen feeling.

Usually the cairn was but a heap of stones thrown up to mark the last resting place of some chieftain or warrior, but not infrequently it revealed an elaborate if not actually a symbolic design. A like practice was observed by the ancient Jews. When the King of Ai died he was buried under a heap of stones, and the same honour was paid to Absalom. The importance of the person buried was often indicated by the size of the cairn, which doubtless gave rise to the compliment, "I will add a stone to your cairn."

Many such cairns must have at one time existed in Eskdale, but few now remain. There was a very large one at Langholm close to where the roadway between Stubholm and Murtholm dips into the plantation, and almost on the old Roman road leading from Broomholm towards Calfield. This cairn was stupidly demolished, as so many of those ancient monuments have been, to afford material for building purposes. The stones were used to build some of the cottages of what is now Caroline

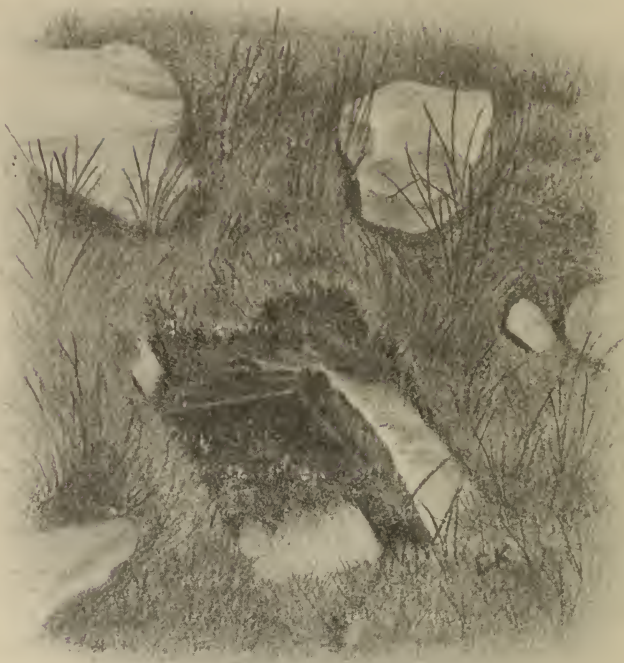
Street.* Indeed, the identical houses given in the illustration in Part IV. were in all probability built of the stones of this cairn. It is said that an urn or cist, then popularly supposed, as all these relics were, to be Roman, was found under the cairn, but whether the urn contained cinerated remains, and whether any bones were discovered, there are now no means of ascertaining.

Traces exist, too, a little to the north of Standing Stone Edge, near Callister Ha', of an ancient cairn. On the Ordnance Map this is named "Kitty's Cairn,"† and its situation is at the head of Kitty's Cleuch. The name is probably derived from the British *Cad*, or Celtic *Cath*, "a battle place." Some years ago a flint spear head was found by a workman making a drain at this place. Near to the cairn, and overlooking it, is the largest of the three camps or hill forts which had existed in this neighbourhood, and it is possible that there may have been some connection between them.

On the hill to the west of Westwater farm three cairns have been found, but all of them had been previously disturbed. The principal one contained a cist, of which an illustration is here given, made of four whinstone slabs set on edge and lying north-east and south-west. It measures three feet two inches in length, one foot six inches in width, and one foot three inches in depth. From these measurements it will be seen that any body it may have contained must have been buried in a sitting posture, as

* We have this on the personal authority of an old man who could recall the circumstances, and who remembered the laying out of the Meikleholm farm for the building of the new town of Langholm between 1770 and 1800.

† Cp. "Kits Coity House" in Kent. This was a cromlech rather than a cairn, consisting of three upright stones, similar to the cromlechs at Avebury and Stanton Drew. The similarity of name is probably only a coincidence but is worth noting.



WESTWATER CIST.

the ancient custom was. The Cist was very carefully examined by Mr. J. M. Ellis, of Westwater, but he only found a few fragments of calcined bone.

About one hundred yards north of this cairn and a little lower on the hill are the remains of two other cairns, which had also been disturbed. A hill near the fort is called Raes Knowes,* or "Kings" Knowes, but probably this name would be originally given to the hill on which the three cairns stood.

* From Celtic *Rac*, a king, or *Rae*, a battle.

At the Camp-Knowes, in Ewes, so-called it is said, from its being a camping place of James V. when he was on his way to Caerlin Rig to entrap the Armstrongs, there was a stone cist found containing human remains, which crumbled to dust on being exposed to the air. Flints, arrow heads, and stone knives were found near by, in considerable quantities, indicating that the discoveries were referable to the Stone Age.

On the hill behind Old Irvine there are several small cairns, one however, much larger than the others. None of these have been opened.

The most important cairn of the Eskdale valley was undoubtedly that on Airdswood Moss, between the lands of Castle O'er and Billholm. It was disturbed in 1828—a new march-dyke between the two estates was needed, and this ancient landmark, reverently built up by Eskdale men possibly two thousand years ago, was irreverently demolished to supply the temporary necessities of a stone-dyker! It is useless at this date to censure such vandalism or the desecration that followed it. Similar outrages have been perpetrated all over the land, and the Government obtained its powers to preserve these monuments too late to save many from wanton destruction.

The cairn “consisted, as usual, of a heap of loose stones surrounded by larger ones closely set together, forming a regular circle fifty-four feet in diameter. Its form, however, was singular. For about fourteen feet from the inner side of the encircling stones it rose gradually, but above this the angle of elevation abruptly changed, and the centre was formed into a steep cone. Directly underneath this a cist was found, lying north and south, composed of six large unhewn stones and measuring in the interior four feet two inches in greatest length, with a

depth of two feet. It contained only human bones, indicating a person of large stature laid with the head towards the north. But the further demolition of the cairn disclosed a curious example of regular internal construction on a systematic plan. From the four corners of the central cist there extended in the form of a St. Andrew's Cross* rows of stones overlapping each other, like the slating of a house. At the extremity of one of these, about fourteen feet from the central chamber, another cist was found of corresponding structure and dimensions, but laid at right angles to the radiating row of stones. Another is said to have been found at the extremity of one of the opposite limbs of the cross, and most probably the whole four were originally conjoined to corresponding cists, but a considerable portion of one side of the cairn had been removed before attention was directed to the subject. Between the limbs of the cross a quantity of bones in a fragmentary state were strewn about. Such a disposition of a group of cists under a large cairn, though rare, is not without a parallel, and may perhaps be characteristic of a class."†

Mr. Bell‡ says that no fewer than 150 cartloads of stones were taken from the cairn, whose site can still be identified. A thigh bone of the skeleton was taken to Castle O'er but it mysteriously disappeared, the result of a practical joke, it is supposed. A tooth was also preserved, concerning which a local poet, William Park, wrote some verses. No mention is made by any of the

* A tumulus, or barrow, in the shape of a St. Andrew's Cross was also discovered in Picardy.—*Scottish Gael*, Vol. II., p. 10.

These cruciform cairns, or barrows, are considered as belonging to the Stone Age.

† *Dumfries Journal*, June 24th, 1828; MS. communication Soc. Antiq. Scot. Andrew Brown, Esq., and read March, 1829. Quoted in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Vol. I. pp. 88-89.

‡ *My Strange Pets*, p. 307.

writers of the shape and size of the crania of these skeletons, nor any details given which might enable the archæologist to determine the approximate age to which they belonged.

The Airdswood Moss cairn was locally known as "King Shaw's Grave." The tradition is that a battle between the Picts and the Scots was fought near by, and that, fleeing, the Pictish King was drowned in the deep pool, known since as the "King's Pool," at the junction of the Black and White Esks. His body, it is added, was afterwards recovered and was given a chieftain's burial—and the great cairn on Airdswood Moss was reared above him in honour of his deeds and renown, and that the Shaw Rig, one of the wildest hillsides in all the Esk valley, was named after him. A pretty tradition—but unfortunately it will not bear examination. Pictish history records no King Shaw. The name is Norse rather than Celtic. The above particulars of the cairn do not bear out the story of the drowning. To account for the name "King Pool" it would probably be nearer the truth to connect it with the visit to Eskdale paid by King James IV. in 1504, when he came with a great retinue, partly to hunt, and partly to overawe the turbulent Eskdale men into submission to his royal will. The name of Bailey Hill which, gaunt and bare, overlooks the Esk just round the spur of the hill, suggests the site of a "town," where once an old British hill-fort stood. And Mr. Bell tells us* that on Handfasting Haugh, down at the confluence of the waters, the foundations of old buildings may still be seen. May it not then be that King James halted here in his toil-

* *My Strange Pets*, p. 307.

some journey and that the pool is named in *his* honour? An explanation more probable still is that suggested by Mr. John Reid, that "king" is a corruption of *ccann*, the Celtic for *head*. "King Pool" would then mean the "head pool" of the united Esks. The traditional story is the prettiest, but unfortunately it seems to melt away under the white light.

There was also a cairn on the farm of Craighaugh. It, too, has been scattered and no trace left of its contents. In the Ordnance Map of 1861 the site is marked as that of a tumulus, a term which unfortunately seems indiscriminately used to designate those ancient sepulchral monuments. On the 1861 Map there is also marked a cist at Garwald House.

There was another at Sorbie, in the plantation near the Ewes Road, where the meagre remnants^o of it may still be seen, for alas it, too, was despoiled—to provide the trustees with road metal. Whilst the spoilation was in progress it is said a stone coffin was found. Where it is now no man knoweth, probably it is being utilized about some of the farm buildings!

Distinct from the stone cairns, yet possibly of equal antiquity, are the prehistoric mounds or barrows. In the Tarras valley there are two of these mounds. One, on the farm of Bogg, is a large symmetrical cone.* It is called the "Counter's-Seat," their being a tradition that the old Border raiders were accustomed to halt here to do their accounting—which, one has often thought, must, in a large and successful raid, have proved a somewhat complicated and delicate undertaking.

* Conical barrows were, centuries later, adopted at public meeting places, as at Silbury. They were termed Moot hills. The name still lingers in the Moot Halls in some of our oldest towns, and in the word "moot" meaning to discuss.

The other mound, this time oblong in shape, is at Rashiel, on the eastern side of Whita Hill, as it slopes down into Tarras Water. Whether these, like those at Airdswood Moss and elsewhere, were actually and without doubt places of sepulture, has not as yet been definitely proved. Excavations might possibly bring to light some valuable relics.

The fact that these mounds at Bogg and Rashiel differ in shape, points to their having been made at dates considerably distant from each other. If the Rashiel mound should ever be found to contain human remains, they would probably belong to the Stone Age, whereas, if such be found in the round barrow at Bogg, they would refer to a later, the Bronze Age.

CHAPTER V.

THE HILL FORTS.

FEW branches of archæological research have provided more interest, or excited more discussion, than the ancient hill forts, so characteristic of Scotland generally and of the Borders in a very marked degree.* Next to the stone monuments these forts are perhaps the most definite indications now existing of the conditions prevailing in those early days. Our primitive forefathers threw up those strongholds mostly for purposes of defence. This defence was effective both against the wild animals which lurked in hill and wood and gill, and also against the surprises and incursions of invaders. The position of some of these forts on the lower slopes of high hills has suggested the theory that defence was not their primary purpose, seeing they would be so open to attack from above. But this is an argument equally strong against their being the ordinary dwelling places of the tribes.

Our present subject touches the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era and possibly those following. This was an age when historical data became available, though not for some centuries yet were the materials definite or reliable. The inhabitants of the Britain of this period were Celtic. The old settlers who had built the stone circles had gone—dispossessed by a later-

* In his *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Great Britain*, General Roy describes some of the Eskdale forts.

Dr. Wilson says that many of these old hill forts were contemporary with the Stone Age.—*Prehistoric Annals*, Vol. II. p. 87,—but general opinion places them at a much later date.

migration of westward-moving peoples. It is to this early Celtic race that the hill forts are attributed—the race that opposed so splendidly the overpowering legions of Cæsar. It seems clear that, when the Romans came, they found that the Celtic tribes were not undisciplined barbarians, as is often assumed, but that they followed certain principles of warfare and systems of offence and defence. Amongst the latter were these fortifications on the hills, which afforded so many natural advantages to the people attacked. The Romans themselves seem to have been considerably impressed by the fortifications of the Britons, which are referred to in the works of Cæsar with something akin to admiration.

This fact seems to indicate that most of the forts, at any rate, were British, but it appears natural and feasible that, as the Romans slowly forced their way into the Scottish lowlands, they would utilize the places of defence vacated by the vanquished, if for no other reason than this, that they occupied the best strategic positions.

They seem in this way to have utilized the great fort known as “Lyddal’s Strength,” or “The Mote,” near to Riddings Junction—one of the most important fortifications in the south of Scotland, corresponding in some degree to those at Castle O’er. Historians* tell us that there was an *iter* or *way* from The Mote to the Roman Camp at Netherby, clearly suggesting that as the Romans drove out the tribesmen they themselves adopted The Mote as part of their system of fortifications.

So far as the Eskdale fortifications are concerned the principal of them are admittedly British. The evidences

* Hutchinson’s *History of Cumberland*, Vol. III., p. 529.

of any prolonged or effective occupation of Eskdale by the Romans are meagre. It was their custom to throw up earthworks, similar in nature to the British mounds, even if they encamped only for one night, but the fortifications of Eskdale, especially those in the Castle O'er area, are not isolated entrenchments hastily constructed, and as hastily abandoned, but form a large correlated system.

Few valleys show such a network of those hill forts and trenches as Eskdale does. The Ordnance Map shows no fewer than forty-one forts, none of them, as far as known, being of the vitrified type which has so puzzled both archæologists and military writers. They are generally found to follow the course of the river valleys which they strategically command, defending not the main valley alone, but all the valleys tributary to it, as the distribution of the forts of Eskdale valley so well illustrate.

For the most part the forts in Eskdale occupy something like an acre in extent* and are round or oval in shape. The exceptions to this rule are those at Eskdalemuir Kirk and on Old Irvine Hill, which are rectilinear. The general plan of the fortifications is usually modified by the nature of the ground. Where, as at Castle O'er, there is a steep declivity on any side, it has been utilized and regarded as a sufficient defence—no trenches or ramparts being made.

Writing of the Eskdale forts in general, Mr. Bell says :†
 “They are of the same type, round or oval in shape and defended by one or more lines of deep trenches, the soil

* Dr. Wilson says the hill forts were generally three to four hundred feet in diameter.—*Prehistoric Annals*, Vol. II., p. 89.

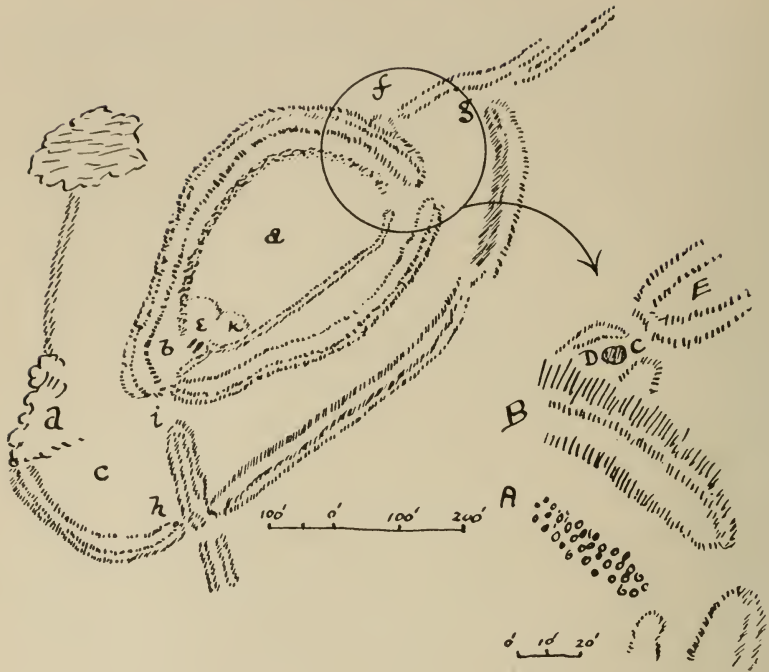
† *My Strange Pets*, pp. 297-8.

from which has been thrown up either on one or both sides so as to form mounds and ramparts, and so add to the difficulty of attack from the outside. These ramparts were probably still further strengthened by stockades, and all combined would offer a strong defence against an enemy armed with the primitive weapons in use at the time these forts were occupied."

Mr. Bell also gives a description of the principal of the eight forts at Castle O'er, which apparently was the key to all the fortifications of upper Eskdale. The main fort stands on the top of a hill some 884 feet above sea-level, and 296 feet higher than the dwelling house of Castle O'er, which is on the river holm. It had consisted "of an inner stronghold defended by deep trenches, on the inner side of which had been strong stone walls, now entirely destroyed. The outer sides of the trenches are mounds or ramparts, formed as usual with the soil excavated from the trenches."

This stronghold, the most elaborate and impregnable in the Eskdale valley, "occupies the whole of the top of the hill and measures, roughly speaking, 510 feet long and 350 feet wide, whilst the size of the whole fort with its immediately surrounding trenches is close on 900 feet long by 750 feet wide." These measurements are unusual for this type of fort.

In his exhaustive work on *The Early Fortifications of Scotland*, Dr. Christison, F.S.A., gives an elaborate description of the forts at Castle O'er. We have the permission of Dr. Christison, whose courtesy we cordially acknowledge, to quote from this account and to reproduce the accompanying drawings of the forts and connecting trenches. Dr. Christison says:—"The variety of forts in which the inner wall of dry masonry



— Castle O'er. —

Enlarged details.

is girt by one or more trenches, with or without ramparts, is not common. . . . Of the unusual length of about 900 feet over all, and broadly pear-shaped in form, the work is situated on a knoll, precipitous on the south-east, that stands on the top of a broad ridge separating the White Esk from the Black Burn. The inner enceinte measures 320 by 170 feet inside on the Ordnance Map and is semi-oval, the form being regulated by the shape of the summit of the knoll, the edge of its rocky slope to the south-east being straight. On this edge there is but a slight vallum, but

the curved side being more accessible has been defended by a strong stone wall. Outside the wall at a lower level, and somewhat retired from it, is a trench with a mound on the outer side, continued under the rocky south-east face and prolonged at the south-west end so as to form a forecourt *b* (see drawing opposite) to the citadel *a*. A much larger outer enclosure *c* lies in front of this forecourt and is prolonged to the north-east end *g* of the work. It is shut in by an entrenchment which, after rounding the south-west end, continues for some distance on the south-west side, but ends abruptly on the rocky face of a knoll *d*. Beyond the knoll it is traceable, but soon ends in a marsh, so that this outer enceinte is altogether deficient at the north end.

A section through the apparent green mound of the inner enceinte revealed the remains of a wall, unfortunately so much ruined and plundered that no facing stones remained. Placed longitudinally on a bed of clay at the base of the wall near its middle, lay a log of wood seven feet long and one foot wide, black as if charred, easily going to pieces, and a good deal mixed up with the clay which rested on hard ground.

A slight excavation revealed on the north-west side of the inner south-west entrance *e*, four stones of the first course of a built gateway still *in situ*. They were carefully laid, and measured seven and a half feet in total length. At least one more had evidently been torn from its place. This gives a breadth for the wall of at least nine feet.

A section through the inner trench where the scarp was eight feet and the counter-scarp five feet nine inches in perpendicular depth, showed a silting up of three feet nine, increasing the depth to above eleven feet below

the top of the rampart and nine feet below the top of the counter-scarp. Allowing for the wash-down of ages the original height of the rampart must have been at least thirteen feet. Similar measurements were got in a section through the outer trench, and both trenches were found to be cut through solid rock.

There appear to have been two entrances, *f* and *g*, to the outer enclosure at its north-east end, one, *c* (see enlarged details, p. 68), is dominated by the inner wall *A* and trench *B*, and it was found on excavation that it had been narrowed by a pit *D* dug in the solid rock on the west side, so as to form a counterpart to the east side of the entrance. The pit was at least four feet deep, but neither its full depth nor lateral extent was ascertained.

The southern entrance *h* to the outer enclosure is divided by a little circular mound into two parts. From this entrance a strong entrenchment makes a straight line for the entrance to the main work, but stops abruptly short of it by fifty feet at *i*, the blind end being so neatly finished that it looks as if there had been no intention of carrying it farther. Outside, the trench is continuous with one of those mysterious "catrails" with which the neighbourhood of Castle O'er is so abundantly provided, and another branches off from the north-east entrance. Exploratory excavations in the interior of the fort disclosed nothing of note except that the oval levelled space *k* had a layer of stones very rudely laid only a few inches below the surface."*

A very striking characteristic of the Castle O'er group of forts is the system of "ways" connecting them with the main fortification. Much discussion has been directed towards the satisfactory explanation of these "ways."

* *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, pp. 159-162.



Lines of Trenches and Mounds — Castle O'er.
 O = Forts

Local antiquaries have insisted on regarding them as Roman roads, but in spite of the speculative nature of our knowledge of this branch of the subject, it seems clear that the "ways" and forts are parts of one and the same plan. A glance at the accompanying diagram copied from Dr. Christison's book seems to establish

this beyond any doubt. The principal forts in the Castle O'er group are all connected by these trenches. Respecting these Dr. Christison says:—

“In the Parish of Eskdalemuir the strong fort at Castle O'er is surrounded within a radius of less than a mile by six others of lesser degree, and this in a purely pastoral district where the population is now extremely small. . . .

But perhaps the most remarkable example of lines connected with forts is at the group surrounding Castle O'er, Dumfriesshire. This example has been brought to light only last year* by Mr. Richard Bell, proprietor of the ground, who has patiently traced out the complex network shewn in the above figure, the general accuracy of which can be vouched for by personal observation on the spot by Mr. Lynn and myself.

The extraordinary number of the lines may be at once recognised from the figure. Indeed their very number is an objection to the road theory, as they would seem to be altogether beyond the requirements of primitive times in a district apparently never capable of cultivation. Nevertheless, as seen on the map they are more suggestive of roads than fences or boundaries, from the manner in which they cross the Esk at various points and join on the east side of the river the long line *a b* which Mr. Bell has traced from *a*, across the moor for five or six miles in the direction of Selkirkshire, and which, he has been informed, may be seen at various points almost as far as the Catrail.

The question now arises, what can we make of these long lines of mound and trench, so like the Catrail that Mr. Lynn calls them all ‘catrails,’ and says that they

* 1897.

must apparently stand or fall with it in any theory that may be found as to their object? The chief theories concerning the Catrail are :—

1. A military work for defence.
2. A road.
3. A boundary.

The first view is now abandoned, but the other two still hold the field, and whatever arguments are advanced in favour of them must apparently be applicable to the other lines of which we have treated, as well as to the Heriot's Dyke in the east, and the Deil's Dyke in the south west of the lowlands. Disregarding these last, however, as not yet sufficiently investigated, Mr. Lynn holds that all the others are roads. This in some respects is the most rational theory, but the objections to it are strong. For instance, I do not know that roads of the kind, ancient or modern, have been met with in any other country. Again it may well be asked : is a trench suitable to the purposes of a road? Would it not easily drift up with snow and become a wet ditch in rain? Another strong objection is that these lines in crossing ravines invariably go straight down and up, and sometimes so steeply that it is a hard scramble for a man making use of them, while they would be impassible for wheeled traffic, or even to pack-horses, and this, although the slightest detour would have got rid of the difficulty. Mr. Lynn believes that the trench form was adopted in order to get down to hard bottom in the subsoil. It is in favour of the road theory that where the lines pass through districts with forts they wind about among them and give off branches as if to serve them, and that in the Castle O'er district after the forts are thus served, the line follows a straight course

for miles through a country destitute of forts, as if to join the Catrail.

No doubt the boundary theory has also much to say for itself. The longer lines, such as the Catrail, may have marked the limits of principalities,* and the shorter ones the marches of lesser chiefs, or of communities. But the Catrail cannot justly be compared with a Roman *limes*, backed as the latter was by a chain of fortified stations.

These intrenched lines are generally too extended, and too little subdivided, to be regarded as fences, for which they are also ill-adapted structurally. Even at Castle O'er, where the subdivision is so much greater, the enclosed spaces are very large compared with modern fields. On the whole I do not think that the purpose or purposes of these long trenches have been clearly made out. Possibly excavations might help to solve the difficulties. Sections, which have never yet been made through them, as far as I know, might at least teach us their original form.”†

Mr. Richard Bell was of opinion that these trenches “were used as ‘hollow ways,’ along which fort dwellers could move to and from the different forts without being seen by their enemies,” though he admits the up and down formation even at the exceedingly steep scaurs is evidence against his theory. On running a wheelometer over the lines of these trenches laid down by him on the

* As confirming Dr. Christison's opinion, Dr. Skene, in his *Celtic Scotland*, says the Catrail was utilized as the frontier between the Saxon kingdom of Bernicia and the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde. Perhaps it was this use of it that suggested to the late Professor Veitch the idea that the purpose of the hill forts was to protect the tribal boundaries. “After having formed this boundary line,” he says “they flanked it as frequently as they could with their rude hill forts and behind the line they patiently awaited the issue of events.”

† *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, pp. 360-363.

Ordnance Map, Mr. Bell found that they extended to a total length of thirteen miles, and were considerably within an area of 2,700 acres. The connection between the forts and trenches is complete as to six of the eight in the Castle O'er group. "At whatever part of the ground one enters a trench and walks along it," says Mr. Bell, "either to the right or to the left, he will find his way into one of the five minor forts or into the main fort, as he chooses."

On the opposite side of the river to Castle O'er is what is named on the Ordnance Map "The Deil's Jingle,"* a deep trench or hollow between hills or mounds, running due north and south for over a mile and then inclining to the north-east. Mr. Bell thought that this "way" might be found to be connected with the famous Cat-rail, as it is noticeable at various places in this direction.† Before leaving the Castle O'er group of forts, mention must be made of one lying so close to the Esk that, through a change of its course, it has washed half of it away. This enclosure (an illustration of which is given on next page), also is described as a fort, but this seems unlikely, lying as it does on low ground commanded on every side by steep hills. Mr. Francis Lynn, F.S.A., already referred to by Dr. Christison as an authority on these matters, considered it unique, both because of its peculiar position and because its floor is raised higher than the ground outside the inner

* Cp. "The Devil's Dyke" at Newmarket, "The Deil's Dyke"—the so-called Roman road running through Northumberland into Scotland, and others similarly named. This nomenclature embodies the old superstition of connecting with the evil one anything mysterious. Deep pools, hollows in woods, and such like were also named after him.

† Pennant (Vol. III., p. 264).—" . . . on the borders of Northumberland, and from thence may be traced beyond Langholm pointing towards Canonsby on the river Esk."

There seems to be some geographical confusion in this note.



THE SUPPOSED CREMATORIUM.

trench. He suggested that it had been used for athletic sports.

Mr. Barbour, of Dumfries, thinks it might have been the cemetery or crematorium for the main fort, and excavations disclosed, under some logs of wood which had been used apparently for a floor, and under a heap of rough stones in the centre, a quantity of bone fragments, which to all appearance had been subjected to fire. On their being submitted to Professor Struthers, of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, however, he gave it as his opinion that they might be the bones of some lower animals, though he could not definitely say they were not human. Mr. Clement Armstrong informs the writers that Mr. Bell himself was of the opinion that this was, as Mr. Barbour suggests, the ancient crematorium, a view also endorsed by Mr. Armstrong, though why, if this suggestion be accepted, there should

be a double row of mounds and trenches does not seem clear.

Wat-Carrick kirkyard stands in an old oval fort, and Eskdalemuir Kirk is within a rectilinear fort similar in form to that of Raeburn, which is now proved to have been a Roman station. Possibly excavations at Eskdalemuir Kirk might show that it also was a minor and temporary Roman encampment. Other forts in upper Eskdale in addition to those mentioned are at Tanlaw Hill, Bailie Hill, Bankburnfoot (two), Sheil Burn, (two), Lyneholm, Enzieholm, Bonese, Westerhall (two), Stapelgortoun, and Craig.

In Ewes there is also a considerable number of forts, viz., at Footsburn, Loch Hill, Arkleton, Mosspebble, Unthank, Eweslees, Meikledale, Rigsfoot Bush, Bykefoot, and Briery Shaw. Those at Meikledale and Rigsfoot Bush are in line with that at Mosspebble, and the three were evidently intended to defend this, the widest part of the Ewes valley. The Briery Shaw fort is the only one in Ewes which is defended by two ramparts and a trench. Other traces of camps and forts exist in Ewes, but they do not warrant any definite conclusion. Few of these exceed one acre in area, and some of them are less. Perhaps the most interesting of the Ewes forts is that on the top of the Loch Hill. The loch, unlike the large pond at Broomholm Knowe referred to later, is a natural basin, and seems connected with the camp, which is some two acres in extent, and is opposite the fort at Briery Shaw, of which probably it was a complement. The proximity of this natural basin may suggest some purpose for the artificial pond at Broomholm. Reference must also be made to the turf Dyke which ran through the valley of Ewes, and can still be easily traced at

various points. Commencing on the face of Tudhope Hill, though most likely connected originally with the Catrail which, it will be remembered, runs across Teviotdale, not very far from the head of Ewes, the Dyke proceeds along the hillsides above Unthank and Mosspebble, past the base of Arkleton Crags, then over the heights of Glendiven and Howgill. It crosses Ewes Water near Terrona, goes over the Potholm Hill and straight over the Craig Hill on the other side of Esk, and then heads away towards the hills at the head of Carlesgill Burn. This, too, it is suggested, defined some old tribal boundaries.

In Wauchope there is a fort at the Schoolhouse, and another at Calfield, whilst several are to be found on the hills behind Westwater. That at Calfield is altogether different in construction from the others. There has been a building rather than mounds and trenches, and the masonry, both of the outer and inner walls, is clearly seen and is unmistakable. It occupies a commanding position on the steep hill side, and the Roman road running from Broomholm has swerved to avoid it. In this respect the Calfield fort is like that at Castle O'er, where Dr. Christison shews there are not a few indications of buildings, and also those on the Craig Hill and Old Irvine Hill, both of which retain unmistakable evidences of masonry. Probably these are later in date than the others, which have only earth mounds as ramparts. It is the opinion of some local antiquaries that the Old Irvine fort is Roman, but Dr. Christison is of the contrary view. There is also a small fort on the road from Wauchope into Canonby, near to the Kerr to which it has probably given its name, *Car* or *Caer* being the Celtic for a fort or camp.

The rectilinear camp at New Woodhead or Thornie-whats will be referred to under Roman antiquities. But it may here be noted that Dr. Christison's opinion is that this camp is not to be attributed to the Romans.

Probably next in importance, though different in design from the Castle O'er fort, is that of Broomholm Knowe, a plan of which is given on next page. Here are evidences of an ancient British settlement of considerable size and importance. Straight across the fort runs the Roman road, which, branching off at Netherby, runs up through lower Eskdale. It will be seen from the plan that the Roman road almost touches the outmost trench of the fort, suggesting that the Britons had abandoned it ere the road was made. Attention is also drawn to the small circular fort near the railway viaduct. It is placed on a high knoll overlooking the gorge in which the Tarras runs.

This is the site which Pennant considered* to answer such a description as Cæsar gives of an old British town† in his *De Bell. Gall.* v., c. 21.

The fort at Broomholm Knowe has a content of some six or seven acres, and is of the usual oval shape. The south-west section is in fair preservation and its details can

* "Mr. Pennant when in this country was clearly of opinion that the house in Broomholm, which is surrounded by the most enchanting scenery, stands in the heart of an old British town, and answers Cæsar's description: 'oppidum . . . munitum sylvis paludibusque, quo satis magnus numerus hominum pecorisque convenerit.'"

This opinion, quoted by the parish minister of 1793 in Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, is nowhere given in Pennant's *Tour*. It is possible, however, that the Statist may have derived it from Mr. Maxwell, of Broomholm, who was Pennant's host. It seems very singular that Pennant should have expressed such an opinion. The description of the British town is given in chapter 21 and not 17 as stated by Mr. Martin, and no one reading the chapter could reasonably suppose that by any chance it could refer to Broomholm.

† Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causa, convenire consueverunt.—Cæs. *De Bell. Gall.* v., c. 21.



be traced with some certainty. There is an inner enclosure defended by the usual trench and rampart, with two outer trenches circling at a distance of some thirty yards from the inner one. Though the site of the fort has been

ploughed these trenches can be followed more or less distinctly in a north-easterly direction to the top of the Knowe. The peculiarity of the Broomholm Knowe, however, lies not in the mounds or trenches, but in the large pond or reservoir on the south-east side, and marked A on the accompanying plan. This is some eighty yards long, and eight yards broad at the present level of the silt, which is almost five feet in depth. Whether the pond or even the rectilinear mounds had any connection with the oval fort shown on the plan is difficult to say. It will be noticed that the earth mounds running towards the south-west, cross the Roman road instead of being broken by it. This points to the mounds being constructed after the road had ceased to be used. These various features of the works at Broomholm Knowe present difficulties which have not yet been solved.

There is one feature of Broomholm Knowe which is singular, viz. : the enormous number of sandstone boulders scattered promiscuously about it. How these boulders have come there has not been determined, but an explanation of their presence might throw an interesting light on the history of the place. That they have not been ice-borne seems evident, as they are confined to practically the area of the Knowe, nor can they be fragments broken from the hill. They appear to have been carried to the Knowe—for what purpose might prove a useful and interesting archæological enquiry.

CHAPTER VI.

GLIMPSES AT PREHISTORIC ESKDALE.

LITTLE trustworthy information exists to show what life in Eskdale was like between the building of the Girdle Stanes in 1290 B.C. and the Roman invasion of Scotland in the first century A.D.

Without the faintest thought that thereby he might be providing historical material, primitive man accumulated, in or near his dwelling, heaps of domestic refuse, which to-day are being excavated and sifted, with important and interesting results. From these refuse-heaps information is obtained as to the pottery, the weapons of war, domestic utensils, ornaments, food and fuel of the races who, so many centuries ago, accumulated them. But, unfortunately, this source of evidence does not exist in Eskdale. With the hope of learning something definite of the life and habits of primitive man in Eskdale, the late Mr. Richard Bell had cross sections cut along the sides of the hill on which the main fort at Castle O'er is built, but the result was entirely negative—a surprise and disappointment.

Such evidence as has been obtained elsewhere has been very fragmentary. Some glass beads and a stone whorl, both now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, were found at Mosspebble in the years 1867 and 1869, and apart from the evidence supplied by the circles, the standing stones, and the cairns, these are practically all that has been discovered of a tangible nature, dating from this misty but most interesting period of local history. This scarcity of material makes it all

the more regrettable, that when the cairns were demolished (despoiled would perhaps be a more accurate term), no record of their contents was kept. Evidence is not wanting, however, in the immediate neighbourhood of Eskdale, to show to us something of what the primitive tribes were and what they did. From Lochar Moss, in Nithsdale, there have been dug up, not only the smaller articles of ornament or domestic use, such as beads and torcs, but ancient canoes and oars and anchors, stone relics, bronze implements, and various articles of Roman civilization and early art. From a collation of all the evidence thus obtained some general idea can be got of the life of that far-off day.

Few traces now remain of the dwellings of these ancient races. Eskdale is devoid of caves, and probably the variations in the course of the rivers may have helped to obliterate many traces of primitive man which would have helped us rightly to understand his life.

Reference has been made to certain traces of ancient structures now designated Stone Rings. These, it has been suggested, are the remnants of "burghs" or "Picts' Houses." In discussing the various types of the stone circles of Scotland, Mr. A. L. Lewis* arranged them into groups, each having certain local characteristics. The western Scottish type was either irregular or concentric in form, and the stone rings of Eskdale seem to show some features in harmony with these outlines. The Eskdale rings are in four groups, two on each bank of the Esk. One group is a little to the south of Middleburn Farm on the left bank of the Esk, almost directly opposite Eskdalemuir Manse. It consists of two rings, both oval in shape. The smaller is held, as it were, in

* *Journal*, of Anthropological Institute, N.S. III., 1900.

the northern arc of the larger, through which another course of masonry runs. On the same bank of the Esk, a little to the south of the eleventh milestone on the Langholm road and to the west of the Saugh Hill plantation, there is a smaller ring in almost a perfect circle. On the opposite bank of the Esk there are also two groups. These do not appear to have had any definite relationship to those just named, though the four groups form a rough sort of parallelogram. One of the latter groups is on the farm at Wat-Carrick. It is an incomplete ring, with one of its limbs extended instead of being curved inwards to complete the circle. This may possibly be a suggestion of the concentric arrangement mentioned by Lewis. Farther south, on the slope of the Castle Hill and almost directly opposite to Crurie, is the second group on this side of Esk. It, too, is formed of two rings. The larger, which is oval in shape, is incomplete in its northern arc, where it holds within its arms a second oval ring of smaller size. Whether these structures are the remains of "Picts' Houses" it is now impossible to say, but the suggestion is an interesting one. We know* that the Celtic tribes had circular booths *within* their fortifications, the doors facing the east. There is a certain similarity between the rings thus described and the forts at Craig, Calfield, and Old Irvine Hill. The objection has been made that the presence of stonework denotes a date later than the early British or Celtic age, but such an argument is not now regarded as applying. Another suggestion is that these structures were the dwelling places of the Druids. It is not improbable, however, that these stone

* See *The Scottish Gael*, Vol. II., p. 7.

rings, if they were at any time parts of dwellings, belonged to the Saxon rather than the Celtic period.

The dwelling places of the common people would be either in the forests or on their outskirts. The negative results of Mr. Bell's excavations at Castle O'er point to the forts being refuges in days of peril or war rather than regular dwelling places. The forest homes would be rudely constructed of branches built round the trunks of trees and covered with moss and leaves—poor enough places, especially in winter, yet when attacked they were defended with patriotic courage. Such temporary dwellings accorded with the usages of the age, and when migration or flight became necessary they could be left without much inconvenience or loss.

The occupations of these primitive tribesmen would also be simple, befitting the stage of civilization to which they had attained. The stone whorls found at Mosspebble and elsewhere indicate that at a very early day spinning was known. A rude form of agriculture together with hunting and warfare, would embrace the bulk of the occupations of the people. Hunting became to the Celt both occupation and recreation. Quarry in plenty lay to his hand. The forests of Eskdale and Etrick abounded in game of which we to-day know nothing. Species long ago extinct afforded sport and sustenance, both on the hills and in the great forests. In his fascinating book on the wild life of Eskdale, *My Strange Pets*, Mr. Richard Bell mentions many animals and birds now extinct, but, at the time of which we write, indigenous to Eskdale. The wolf, the red deer, the wild boar, the brown bear, and the wild ox* were amongst the fauna of

* In Roxburghshire the fossil remains of this animal have been dug up. The skull measured 28 inches in length.

Eskdale and neighbouring dales. The abundance of such game would help to render the district a more exciting habitation than it is in these softer days, and would also develop that skill in hunting and in archery which, centuries later, shone out amongst the Forest men who fought in the Battle of the Standard, and alas! on the fateful field of Flodden.

Owing to his veneration of rivers the Celt abjured fish as a food,* but when this superstition began to decline fishing would also be a source of wealth and amusement. But when the Esk and its tributaries were in the grip of a rigorous winter, when snow lay deep upon field and fell, other resources had to be found, and to what did the tribesmen turn then—when curling was unknown? That they had domestic amusements seems fairly certain. The glass beads found at Mosspeeble were possibly used for this purpose. These relics, indeed, may even date from the Stone Age, and it is suggested that they were used as counters in some domestic game, as well as for personal ornament. Dr. Wilson† thinks that the game of “paips”‡ so beloved of every Scottish schoolboy, is the lineal descendant of this game which the ancient Celts played with these glass beads. If at any time the days hung heavily upon the Eskdale tribesman and he was in danger of becoming enervated, then probably a swift invasion of some other tribe or race would serve to brace him up to his wonted efficiency.

In war our tribesman was brave and skilled. Cæsar vividly describes the methods of warfare of the Britons, and we may accept his words as applying also to the

* *The Scottish Gael*, Vol. II., p. 42.

† *Prehistoric Annals*, Vol. II., p. 338.

‡ *Idem*.

tribes of the lowlands. In the use of the war chariot the tribesman was an expert, and the Roman leader pays many an involuntary tribute to his dashing attack, his leaping down from the chariot and waging "an unequal combat" with the disciplined troops or the impressed auxiliaries of Rome. He writes admiringly, too, of their strongholds, "excellently fortified," he says, "both by nature and by art." Praise from Cæsar is praise intleed!

In the days when the circles were built the use of metals was unknown in these Islands, but as the Roman era approached the weapons of warfare would be of iron. Tacitus indicates that in his day the swords of the Caledonians were made of this metal. Eskdale is not without evidence of the early acquaintance of its Celtic tribes with the process of iron making. Quite recently there were discovered on Old Irvine Hill some pockets of slag, and some years ago a like discovery was made at Tarras Bridge. These slag deposits are considered by some authorities to belong to the Celtic period, but whether before or after the Roman invasion is not certain. The origin of the ore for this process of smelting is doubtful. So far as Eskdale is concerned it was probably imported, but in the north of Scotland a bog ore, a hydrated oxide of iron, readily fusible, has been found in considerable abundance. It is to be regretted that, excepting the slag, no other relic has been found near these ancient forges.

As already indicated, the religion of these early tribes was of an elementary character. The modified Baal worship practised at the circles developed into a secret cult, popularly associated with the Druids. The earliest Celtic races seems to have had native priests, but there is

no indication that in their sacred places, whether these were the ancient stone circles or other structures, there was any visible form set up and worshipped other than that homage and adoration were offered to the sun. It is from their religious practices, more than from any other characteristic of their age, that these primitive races have exerted a traceable influence. The religious instincts of the tribesmen found expression in forms and observances to which some of our own, though now apparently widely separated, can be traced. These influences, indeed, still survive in not a few Christian rites. Their veneration of wells, for example, was the origin of that position accorded to them by the early Christian Church, and the pagan pilgrimages to the wells were Christianized, and entered into the early religious ritual, and were justified by the medicinal value many of the wells possessed. To Langholm people it is interesting to note that to obtain the desired effect the pilgrimages had to be made in the early morning before the sun was up. It was doubtless this pagan superstition lingering in Eskdale which originated, and perhaps perpetuated, the annual visits to the Bloch Well, which were once regarded as part of the ceremonies attaching to the due observance of the Summer Fast Day. It will be remembered that these excursions were made in the early morning. In the days of their decay, as is generally the case, the Bloch Well pilgrimages, first made by adults, fell to be performed by the children, and then finally disappeared along with the Fast Day itself.

As always happens in nature worship, its "doctrines" became the superstitions of a more enlightened day and race. Their faith scarcely went beyond a profound

belief in the agency of supernatural beings. Good or evil spirits, mostly evil, dwelt in every wood, well, or river. Charms, such as the rowan tree, were employed to ward off their malign influence. Wizardry and magic, the evil eye, the potent power of witches, and the presence of fairies, brownies, bogles, and kelpies in every pool and in every burn, were accepted as truth by primitive man in Eskdale. So down to the present generation, certain places were popularly believed to be the special abodes of these sprites. The Little Brig in the Galaside Wood was supposed to be a favourite sporting ground—

“Where 'tis said, the fairies ramble
And strange spectres nightly march.”

The Bogle Gill in the Stubholm Wood was also held to be a haunted place, and brave was he who dared to cross it after night had fallen. In the name of Fairy Loup, given to the charming waterfall in the Byre Burn, an illustration of which is given on page 11, we have an instance of the connection of fairies and elves with brooks and streams. Many of the places thus associated with these “uncanny folk” were regarded with fear by the inhabitants of Eskdale, and not many years have gone since people could be found who would not pass such a place without using certain incantations or charms. The practice of carrying perforated or curiously shaped stones as charms against ill luck or disease is of course still observed. A generation or two ago it was also a custom much favoured in Langholm to have a large stone, a perforated one by preference, laid at the door of one's house. It was these superstitions which gave to *Hallow-e'en* its unique hold upon the Scottish lowlands, down even to recent times. On this evening

the fairies held high festival, and the influence they were supposed to exert, especially over the relationships of the sexes, is chronicled in many a volume. The old ballad of Ettrick Forest, the *Tale of Young Tamlane*,* is characteristic of the beliefs of the people in the actual existence and magic power of these supernatural visitants. A vivid conception of these superstitions is obtained from the prose and poetical works of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. Much of his literary work was expressly designed to preserve these old beliefs and superstitions. Such tales as *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, for instance, give us a clear insight into the eerie beliefs then current and not yet wholly dead amongst the lowland hills.

Fire festivals were among the most important observances of the early Celtic days. Cremation was largely practised, and was given as a mark of honour to a man of might, even as cairn burial also was. It was in this connection that the bonfire came into being. Originally it was "banefire,"—the burning of the bones of the mighty dead, a practice which seems to have been the Celtic equivalent for a public funeral.†

From these fire-festivals there arose not a few of the practices in the Christian Church, such as the burning of candles and lamps. Candlemas, which is, even to this day, a legal term in Scotland, thus originated. Ash Wednesday, and such like festivals of the Church, are all referable to the pagan period. In his Survey of the Girdle Stanes, Mr. Goldsbrough mentions the practice in

* See Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Vol. II., p. 337.

† Cp. II. Chron. xvi., v. 14, and xxi. v. 19,—when King Asa died his people "made a very great burning for him." But when the less popular Jehoram was gathered to his fathers, "his people made no burning for him like the burning of his fathers."

connection with the sun-rise celebrations at the circles, of illuminating one of the outlying stones and it is not improbable that from this simple origin, far back in the prehistoric age, the various fire observances, both of the later pagan and the Christian eras, came into being.

Mr. Goldsbrough mentions, too (page 27), that at the date of the building of the Girdle Stanes the year began approximately on February 4th. In the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, however, that is during the Celtic period, the year began on December 25th, our Christmas Day, and the event was signaled by a fire festival in honour of the sun and by the exchanging of gifts. This gave rise to our custom of burning the Yule log on Christmas Eve.* It is possible that the old northern celebration of Hogmanay† originated in the same way and about the same time. Its observance in Eskdale and Langholm will be referred to later, but though its precise purpose and origin are obscure, it seems clearly to have been a special festival to mark the passing of the year.

Although licentiousness entered largely into all the pagan rites observed at the circles as part of the worship, in after years among the Celtic tribes there seems

* *The Scottish Gael*, Vol. II., p. 362.

† "The term 'Hogmanay' has puzzled antiquarians," says Chambers' *Book of Days*, (p. 788), "even more than that of 'Yule' and what is of still greater consequence, it has never yet received a satisfactory explanation."

One derivation suggested is that from the Greek *'άγια μήνη*, the holy moon, in support of which the term used in the north of England, *Hagmena*, is quoted. Another suggestion is that the word is derived from *Hoggu-nott*, or *Hogg-night*, the ancient Scandinavian term for the night preceding the first of Yule. A third derivation suggested is from the French patois *Au-gui-menez*, referring to the gathering of the mistletoe by the Druids. Some support is lent to this last by the custom in Normandy, and also in Guernsey, of poor persons and children being in the habit on this day of soliciting contributions under the title of *Hoguinanno*.

to have existed a well defined marriage law. Near to, and apparently in connection with, some of the circles in Cornwall, there have been found stones pierced with a circular hole. These perforated stones are said to have been used in the marriage rites at a very early date, the contracting parties pledging their troth by clasping hands through the opening.* It is quite likely that it was a similar custom prevailing among the Eskdale tribes which gave rise to the custom of "handfasting." Handfasting was a modified form of marriage, observed by the parties clasping hands in token of their mutual contract, of which the act of "joining hands" in the present marriage ceremony is doubtless a survival. The marriage existed for a year, on the expiry of which either person could annul it, in which case due care was taken to recognise the legitimacy of the offspring. If the parties were mutually agreeable to the union, or had failed to have it annulled within the required period, the marriage was made absolute. We have no record of the use of any perforated stone in Eskdale, but the custom itself was probably part of the old Celtic marriage ceremony. And it is no doubt due to these same customs that the marriage laws and customs of Scotland differ so materially from those of other countries.

Handfasting was performed at Handfasting Haugh, situated appropriately enough, where the waters of the Black Esk and White Esk unite :—

* The Stone of Odin, in Orkney, was so used. A promise either in civil contract or in marriage made in this way was held to be specially binding, and its breach to be more reprehensible than under ordinary circumstances. The person who broke his vow, sworn by the Stone of Odin, was held to be infamous, and was excluded all society.—*Prehistoric Annals*, Vol. I. p. 144.

“ Even as rivulets twain from distant and separate sources
 Seeing each other afar, as they leap from their rocks, and pursuing
 Each its devious path, but drawing nearer and nearer,
 Rush together at last at their trysting place in the forest.

* * * * *

Rush together at last and one is lost in the other.

There is no doubt but that other local customs, especially the quaint superstitions which lingered long in Eskdale, had their birth in those distant days. Readers who care to examine more minutely into the origin of these beliefs and practices, will obtain plentiful information from Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, a marvellous compendium of the folk-lore of every land.

PART II.

FROM THE ROMAN INVASION
TO THE FEUDAL PERIOD.

ROMAN INVASION TO FEUDAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROMANS IN ESKDALE.

THE first invasion of Britain by the Romans took place in the year 55 B.C. under Julius Cæsar. This was, however, only a reconnoitering expedition, and it was during the summer of the following year that Cæsar returned with five legions of soldiers. This expedition, like that of the year before, returned to Rome for the winter.

After an interval of 98 years, that is in 43 A.D., there was another expedition under the Emperor Claudius, but it was not until the year 80 that the attempted conquest of North Britain was entered upon by Julius Agricola. In that year we read of him overrunning the country as far as the Firth of Tay. The following year was spent by Agricola in securing his previous conquests and in building a chain of forts across the upper isthmus. In 82 he was in "that part of Britain which is opposite Ireland." In 84 he defeated the Caledonians under Galgacus at Mons Granpius (commonly, but wrongly, called *Grampius*). This was the most decisive battle of the campaign, and his victory enabled Agricola to penetrate even to the Moray Firth. After the recall of Agricola, two years later, little is known of Britain till the reign of Hadrian, 117—138 A.D. It was during this period that the Wall from the Tyne to the Solway was built. The barrier erected from Forth to Clyde was on the line of Agricola's forts in the time of Antoninus, the

successor of Hadrian. Henceforth for many years one insurrection was succeeded by another, until in 209 Severus endeavoured to compel the submission of the Britons of the north. After he had repaired the Wall of Hadrian, restored stations, and generally improved the roads he marched against the Caledonians, but three years later he returned to York, to die a victim of disease and vexation.

It was at the Borders that the Roman soldiery encountered their most formidable difficulties. Some 130 years elapsed between their first landing in Britain and their obtaining any hold upon Caledonian territory. The bravery of the native tribes and their guerilla tactics, aided as these were by the physical features of the country—hill, forest, and morass,—made the Roman advance beyond the Cheviots slow and arduous. The building of Hadrian's Wall from the Tyne to the Solway was itself a tacit confession that the Romans themselves deemed the task of subjugating the Caledonian tribes too great for their troops.

The occupation of Scotland therefore was never more than partial, and was finally terminated about the year 410 when, distracted by their own national affairs and the dangers that were then looming darkly over their country, the Romans relinquished the ambitions of half a millenium and withdrew their armies home to Rome.

The ancient tribes of the Borders fought as bravely and tenaciously for the inviolability of their rude homes—wattle huts for the most part—as did their hardy successors, when centuries later, their independence was in danger. During the first century the tract of country we now call the lowlands, lying between the Wall of Hadrian on the south and the Wall of Antoninus on the

north, was peopled by a variety of Celtic tribes. These were all descendants of that common Aryan family which ethnologists conjecture to have "come over" about a thousand years or so before the Christian era, and to have gradually superseded the Iberian or Basque population. This Celtic occupation of the British Isles was one stage in that great westward movement of races, which is in operation to-day quite as markedly as it was two or even three thousand years ago.

The most numerous and powerful branch of this Celtic race were the Brigantes, whose tribes were in the effective occupation of the greater part of the southern lowlands. The Brigantes were subdivided into tribes who peopled certain districts roughly defined by the watersheds of the country. These tribes were independent, each being ruled by its own king or chief, and here we have the germ of the clan system, which afterwards became so characteristic of Scotland generally and its Celtic people in particular.

Eskdale, indeed the entire county of Dumfries, was occupied by the Selgovæ.* Though not infrequently the Brigantes were temporarily subdued, they never lost their independence, nor abated their hostility to the invaders of their country. And thus it came to pass that the Roman occupation of the country between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, virtually the entire lowlands, was uncertain and broken. Never, indeed, did they attain in Scotland to the same influence as they exercised in England. South of Hadrian's Wall they colonised the country; even as far north as Netherby

* It is said that it is from the word "Selgovæ" that "Solway" is derived. The Romans, unable to pronounce the guttural, called it the *Mare Sulwe*—hence our word *Solway*.

they built their villas and their baths; but north of it their occupation was almost entirely military, and only in a few instances did it exhibit the characteristics of a permanent and civil settlement. The recent discoveries at Newstead, near Melrose, and those at Birrens, together with the earlier finds at Duntocher, Cramond, Inveresk Bar Hill, and other places, for the most part along the Wall of Antoninus, seem to disprove this claim, but these discoveries are indications of the camps of a garrison rather than the dwellings of a settled population.

It may safely be said that immediately north of the Borders the evidences point only to a military and not to a civil Roman occupation. In Eskdale, especially, such antiquities as have been found in abundance at Netherby are wanting. Netherby being in Cumberland does not come within the primary intention and scope of this work, except in so far as its history is of service in emphasizing or illustrating that of the part of Eskdale with which we are mainly concerned—that lying on the Scottish side of the Border. But the camp at Netherby seems to have been the key to the Roman history of Eskdale, and an appreciation of its importance appears to furnish the correct perspective in which to regard the latter. The physical extent of the camp, and the number and nature of the discoveries there made, show not only that Netherby was a great military station, but also that it had a settled civil community of considerable repute and influence. These discoveries need not be referred to in detail here. They are fully recorded by Pennant, Hutchinson, Horsley,* and others, and many of them can be seen and studied in the Municipal Museum,

* See Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, Vol. II., p. 533.

Tullie House, Carlisle. Netherby, indeed, would appear to have ranked in importance with the large stations along the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. Camden thought that it was here that "the tribune of the first cohort of the Astures was in garrison against the barbarian," and "the name of the Esk running by them does so well concur," that he considered Netherby was the site of *Æsica*,—a view that was held also by Sir John Clark. Pennant, and Horsley the historian, both believed Netherby to be the *Castra Exploratorum* of Antoninus, which, however, Sir John Clark held to be Birrens, in Middleby.* The Netherby relics are many and varied, including altars, inscribed stones, tablets, carvings, and groups, as well as pieces of pottery, domestic utensils, coins and ornaments, and all the usual indications of a settled community, such as are now being unearthed at Corbridge, the *Corstopitum* of the Roman legions. But in Eskdale not an inscribed altar, no trace of villa or bath has been discovered, nothing save meagre evidences of a temporary military occupation. Even these have not been found in such abundance as at Carlisle, Netherby, or Birrens. Possibly the lack of definite and systematic excavation may account for this, for little or no effort apart from the search at Raeburn-foot has been made to discover Roman relics in Eskdale.

* Sir John adds: "I do not know why it [Netherby] might not have been *Luguvallium* rather than Carlisle; if the etymology of the word could be admitted to be *Longovallis* which is a part which we call *Eskdale* or *Escaë vallis*. I own the next station of Antoninus's Itinerary would create some difficulty, but that would be only in the distances, about which we can have but little certainty."—(Letter to Roger Gale dated from Edinburgh, 29th Oct., 1734). Quoted in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, Vol. II., p. 540.

NETHERBY, MIDDLEBY, AND OVERBY.

Archæologists have assumed as a postulate in all their researches into the Roman period, that there was what curiously has been termed a "trilogy" of camps on the Borders. The camps at Netherby and Middleby were known. These two names implied a third place, Overby, and it was expected that here would be discovered the missing member of the group, and reasoning from the similarity in the names the archæologist placed the third camp at Castle O'er. This assumption was logical enough, despite the fact that the termination *by* has of itself nothing to do with Roman camps. The three names are of Norse derivation, but camps having been located at Netherby and Middleby it was not unnatural that another should be expected to be found at Overby, and in the locating of it there has been much ingenuity displayed. The generally accepted opinion was that the strong hill-forts at Castle O'er constituted the missing camp. Castle O'er was regarded as Overby until in 1810 when Dr. Brown, the minister of Eskdalemuir, recognised in the earthworks at Raeburnfoot the usual rectilinear form of the Roman camp, and he therefore transferred the name Overby to the Raeburnfoot camp. Was he justified in doing so? It was to solve this question that the excavations at Raeburnfoot were made by Mr. James Barbour of Dumfries. These excavations indicated conclusively that Raeburnfoot was indeed a Roman camp, though by every standard of comparison inferior to the camps at Netherby and Middleby. Mr. Barbour came therefore to the conclusion that Raeburnfoot was *not* Overby, and suggested that researches be made at other places in Dumfriesshire ending in *by* for the missing camp. Mr. Barbour, it may be pointed out, *assumed*

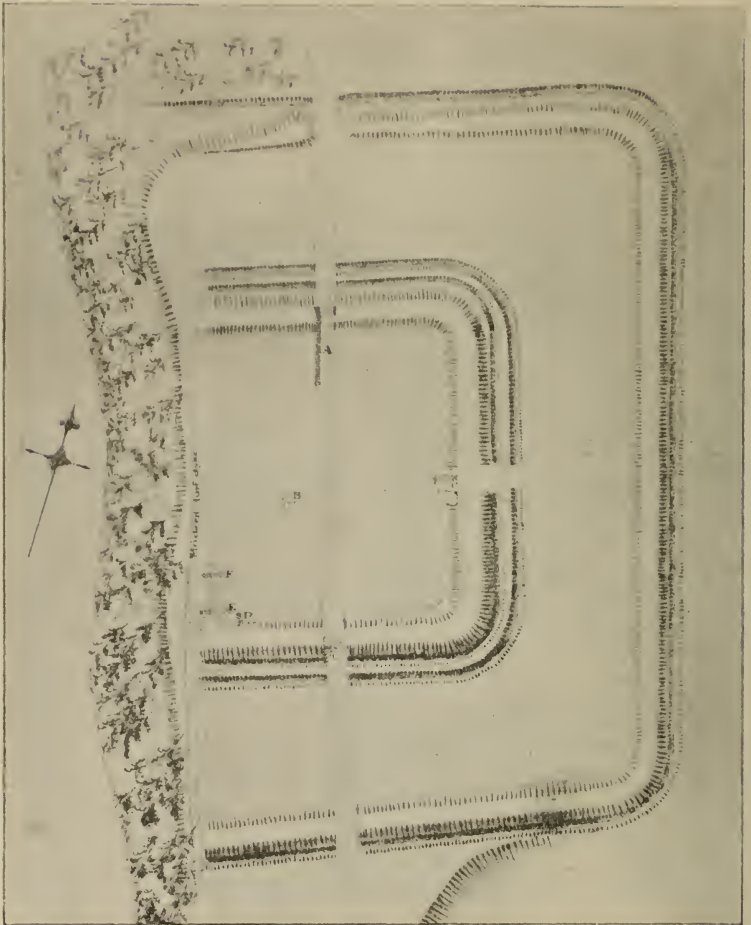
that the third camp would be of equal size to the others, but may it not easily have been that though not the place called Overby, Raeburnfoot may yet have been the sought for camp? It may have been garrisoned and fortified for part of the year, but not employed as winter quarters. Roman writers refer frequently to the troops going into tents, and these may have sufficed for Raeburnfoot, whereas stone buildings were required for such winter quarters as Netherby and Middleby seem to have been.

RAEBURNFOOT.

In his book *My Strange Pets*,* the late Mr. Richard Bell argues that Castle O'er is the ancient Overby, and seems somewhat to resent Dr. Brown's change of opinion on his discovery of the rectilinear camp at Raeburnfoot, although he too hesitates to accept the opinion of General Roy that Castle O'er was the supposed *Uxellum* of the Romans.† He quotes the late Dr. Macdonald, F.S.A., to support his plea that Castle O'er had "been known as Overby from time immemorial." It thus seems clearly established that the view of archæologists that the third camp of the "trilogy" would be at Overby, has been proved incorrect. It was to settle this point as much as to ascertain whether the works at Raeburnfoot were actually Roman that the excavations were made by Mr. Barbour. The second point seems thereby to have been conclusively settled—that is that the rectilinear works at the Rae Burn were not early British, like those at Castle O'er and elsewhere in Eskdale, but were undoubtedly Roman. In addition to the similarities dis-

* p. 293.

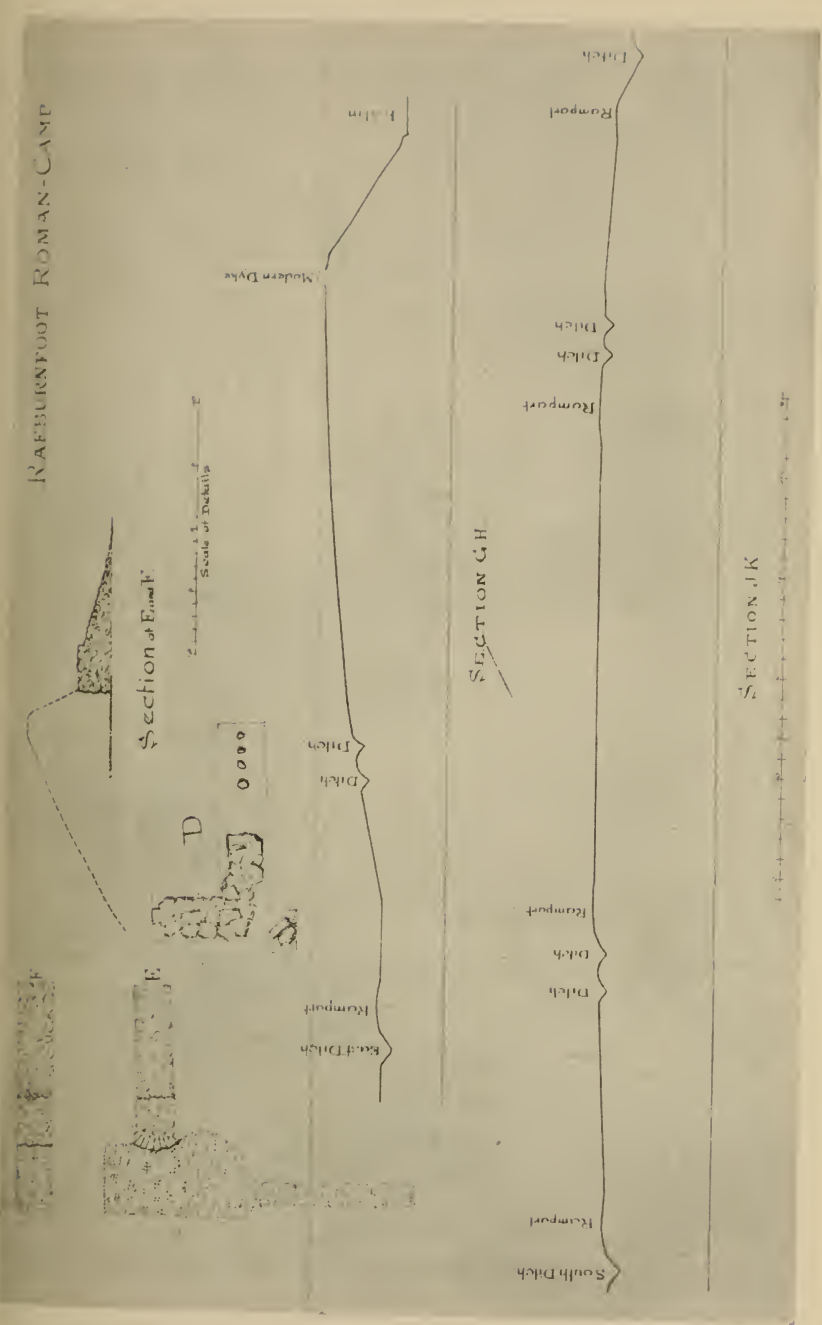
† *Uxellum* has also been placed at Wardlaw Hill, in Caerlaverock parish.



RAEBURNFOOT ROMAN CAMP, ESKDALEMUIR.

covered at Raeburnfoot to the large camp at Birrens, Mr. Barbour adduces further proof from Delph, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The camps there are admittedly Roman, and the plan of the earth-works is so similar to that of Raeburnfoot, especially the arrange-

RAEBURNFOOT ROMAN-CAMP



Section of East K.

Scale of Feet

D

0000

East Ditch

Rampart

Ditch

Ditch

Ditch

South Ditch

Rampart

Ditch

Ditch

Rampart

SECTION G, H

Rampart

Ditch

Ditch

Ditch

Rampart

Ditch

SECTION J, K



ment of forts inside one another as it were, that the report of the excavators at Delph, prepared by Mr. F. A. Bruton, M.A., of Manchester Grammar School, not only makes mention of the similarity of the two plans, but reproduces the plan of Raeburnfoot to illustrate their own discoveries. The plans are so exactly alike as to leave no legitimate doubt that they have been made by the same builders. The Romans were regulated in their camp construction by well known military rules and specifications, and they sought uniformity not only in their large camps but also in less important works. With reference to Mr. Barbour's primary purpose in excavating at Raeburnfoot, he admits that he is forced to the conclusion that "Overby has still to be discovered." The step succeeding Dr. Brown's discovery of Raeburnfoot in 1810, was not taken until 1896, when the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, at the suggestion of Dr. Macdonald, decided to excavate. This was done in November, 1897, under the expert direction of Mr. James Barbour of Dumfries, who afterwards embodied his conclusions in a paper read to the Society in the following month.

From that paper the following notes are taken with Mr. Barbour's kind permission, and the accompanying plans illustrating Mr. Barbour's paper are given by the courtesy of Messrs. Annan, photographers, Glasgow.

The Raeburnfoot camp is inferior in size and military importance to that at Birrens in Middleby. It occupies the tongue of land formed at the junction of the Rae Burn with the White Esk. It rises about forty feet above the holm lying between it and the Esk, and commands the valley of that river and considerable stretches of adjacent hill country. Its height above sea level is about 650 feet.

The camps at Birrens and Raeburnfoot present points of resemblance in some features, and the direction of the major axis of both is N.N.W., thereby conforming to the Vitruvian rule for guarding against noxious winds. Each occupies "a bluff rising in a hollow part of the country and skirted on its sides by running streams,"—the White Esk and the Rae Burn in the case of the Eskdalemuir camp. The interior dimensions also correspond,—by design, Mr. Barbour thinks, and the structural details have also much in common. Both camps seem to have been laid down according to the well known established rules, e.g., a certain part of the stonework at Raeburnfoot "agrees with the steps and ascents which Hyginus says should be made to the ramparts."

The principal dimensions of the camp are:—Including the ramparts and ditches the length is 605 feet at the east side and 625 at the west. Approximately the width as far as it can be ascertained is about 400 feet. With the fortifications the camp extends over five and a half acres, the interior area being rather less than four acres. The interior of the fort itself measures 220 feet by about 185 and contains nearly an acre.

Much of the form of the camp has been rendered indistinct, and occasionally completely obliterated, by ploughing and other agricultural operations, and through the same cause many relics have been lost which might have proved valuable data. Many of the stones used in the construction of the camp seem to have been appropriated for farm purposes, and thus another valuable piece of evidence has been lost.

The ditches are almost V-shaped, but the sides appear to be slightly convex in some cases. The outer one extending on three sides of the camp measures fifteen feet

in width and five feet in depth. Those of the central fort are each ten feet wide and three and a-half deep, and sixteen to eighteen feet apart between the centres of one and the other. The mound separating them is of a rounded section. The outer rampart was probably about thirty feet in width at the base. The rampart of the fort is differently constructed and appears to have been about thirty-five feet at the base.

No indications exist of east or west gateways, but depressions in the rampart at the north and south mark where the entrances were at these points. The south gateway of the camp shows a roadway of gravel, level with the camp, but nothing remains to mark its width. The gateway on the north is similar but the gravel surface is wanting.

At the south entrance of the central fort a good deal of cobble pavement surfacing is found, and several larger stones, which Mr. Barbour suggests might be for edging, also remain.

No certain vestiges of buildings were discovered by Mr. Barbour, but there were seen several pieces of stonework more or less regularly disposed. Pieces of undressed whinstone from twenty-four to thirty inches long were found covering a drain, about sixty feet in length, which extended southwards from the north gateway of the central fort along the west margin of the street at the point marked A on the accompanying plan. They were placed across the drain so as to fit closely together, and the top of the work which was on a level with the street had the appearance of a broad and well-set edging. Similar stones were found composing the side of the drain, and the sub-soil formed the bottom.

On the east side of the fort, too, a structural piece of

work was discovered where the tail of the rampart would be, and nearly midway from north to south, marked C on the plan. It was composed of clay and roundish whinstones about six or nine inches in diameter, put together in such a way as to resemble a mass of concrete. The outline was irregular, but the surface was hard and straight like a floor. It measured about ten feet from north to south and fourteen feet from east to west, and the substance was about two feet thick. Immediately to the north of this there was a breadth of spread stones, and to the west were fragments of cobble paving, also a few stones put together like a fragment of walling about a yard long and nine inches in height. These spread stones, Mr. Barbour thinks, are suggestive of a roadway, and probably the east gateway of the fort stood there, in which case, he thinks, the main structure described might have been a platform for the reception of the engine to be used in defence of the gate, according to the rules of Hyginus.

Another fragment of stonework lies under the tail of the south rampart of the fort near the west side, marked D on the plan. It is arranged in the form of the letter L reversed, and consists of a single layer of flat stones fitted together, and opposite the centre of the lower limb eastwards are four comparatively small stones placed in a row and at almost equal distances.

No very certain evidence of a west rampart exists, but structural remains on that side at the south-west corner of the fort, marked E and F on the plan, favour the idea that the plan as regards the fort originally embraced such a rampart.

Mr. Barbour mentions as peculiar the construction of a return. A cobble pavement underlies the piece of ram-

part, which is built partly of earth and partly of stone, and the stonework agrees with the rule of Hyginus already quoted. Undressed whin is the only description of stone met with.

Only the one street or roadway has been discovered. It extends in a nearly straight line from the north end of the camp to the south, passing through the four gateways, and it is surfaced with gravel, but the width is uncertain. The four gates are opposite one another, and supposing there were a west rampart as conjectured, the street passing through the gateways would divide the fort equally in two.

The relics found during the excavations were not numerous, and consisted chiefly of fragments of pottery, very similar to those obtained at Birrens which Dr. Anderson considered to be of the Romano-British type. This pottery is a thick, coarse, yellowish ware, with parts of vessels of large size, one fragment being part of the handle of some vessel. Charcoal was found widely distributed, and also some pieces of glass and iron. Near the south gateway of the fort there was found a part of a socket stone.

From these evidences and from other proofs of occupation, Mr. Barbour concluded that the Raeburnfoot camp was Roman—not, indeed, a station like Birrens, but a camp of inferior importance. These conclusions have received the assent both of Dr. Macdonald and Dr. Christison, both eminent authorities. It may be noted, however, that prior to Mr. Barbour's excavations Dr. Macdonald was of the opinion that the rectilinear earthworks at Raeburnfoot were merely a temporary entrenchment, thrown up by the Romans for the security of some punitive force sent out to quell the tribesmen,

a security which might have sufficed for a month or perhaps but for a night.* The camp is readily recognisable as of Roman origin, Mr. Barbour says, and is an interesting memento of the footsteps of the Romans in the county of Dumfries.

GILNOCKIE CAMP.

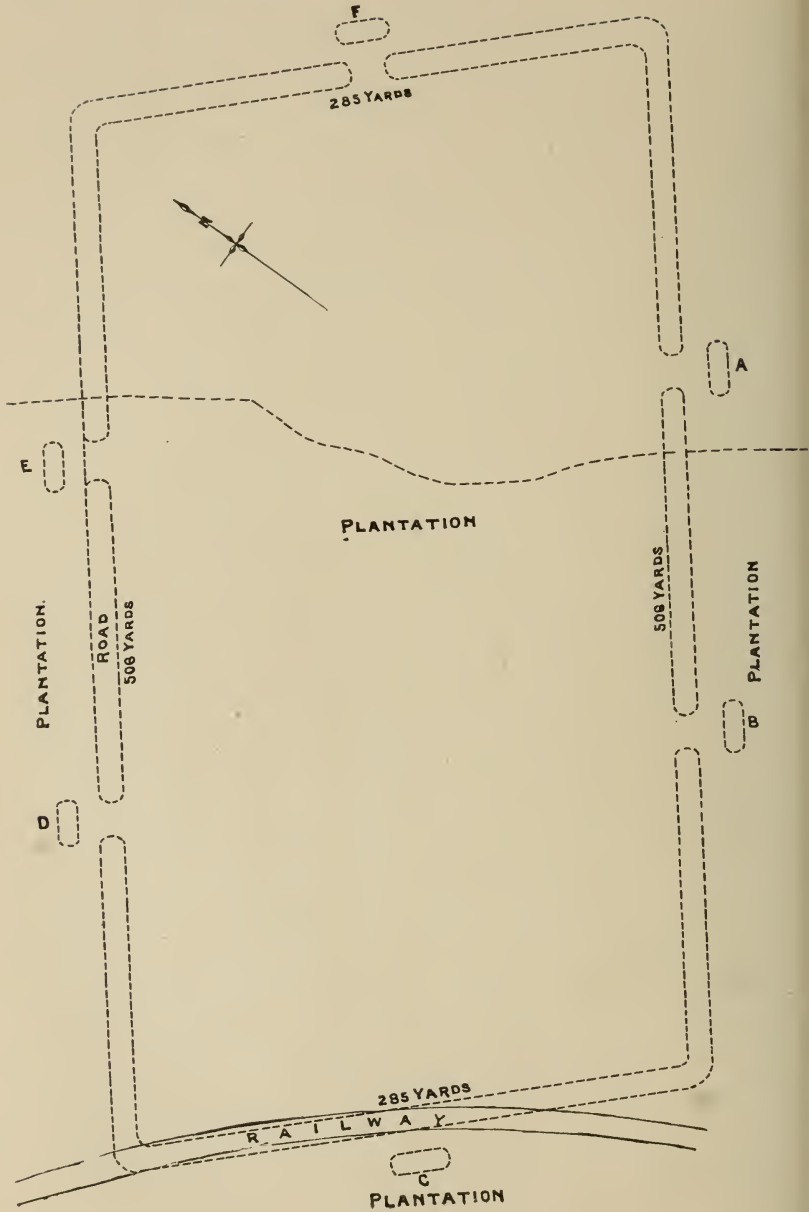
There is also a Roman camp at New Woodhead, a little to the north-east of Gilnockie Station. This was surveyed in 1897 by the late Mr. James Burnet, whose outline of the camp we here reproduce by the courtesy of his son, Mr. James Burnet, architect, Langholm. The camp is in the form of a parallelogram, measuring about 506 yards on the sides and 285 yards at the ends, and enclosing an area of thirty acres or thereabout. Mr. Burnet was of the opinion that there had been six gates or entrances to the camp, two on either side and one at each end. There was a raised mound in front of each of the gates. The gateway at the west end of the camp has been obliterated by the North British Railway line to Langholm, and the accommodation road on the north-west side has destroyed the mounds and gateways on that side. The larger part of the camp is in the plantation, and the embankment can be easily traced.

There seems to be no record of any Roman relics having been discovered at the Gilnockie camp. In 1864 a very valuable find of brooches and coins was made at New Woodhead, and these were held to be treasure trove. Reference will be made to them in a later chapter. It is enough to say here that none of the relics was Roman.

Some doubt has been thrown upon the Gilnockie camp

* *My Strange Pets*, p. 296.

LANGHOLM AS IT WAS.



being Roman. It has been argued that there would not be a camp of this size so near to the large one at Netherby. But there is nothing inherently improbable in this. For military purposes the Romans frequently established subsidiary camps within easy reach of their larger stations, and this seems to have been done at Gilnockie. Dr. Macdonald considered the camp of some importance, and stated that in certain features it was distinctly Roman.* A drawing of the Camp is given on the opposite page.

ROMAN ROADS.

Apart from the camps at Raeburnfoot and Gilnockie, and from certain relics mentioned below, the principal evidence that the Romans had been in Eskdale are the roads or "ways" traceable throughout the valley. These seem, however, to be not main roads, but vicinal or tributary ways. One branch of the Watling Street of the Romans ran through Liddesdale, and the Eskdale roads would appear to be branches of that main road which, starting from Stanwix, ran through Dumfriesshire in more than one direction. The Eskdale road, however, can easily be traced. There seems little doubt that, as already suggested, the Romans readily availed themselves of the strategic advantages offered by some of the old British hill-forts and the "ways" or trenches connecting them. This they seem to have done at The Mote of Liddel. Pennant mentions† that in his time the "way" from The Mote to Netherby could be traced, though it ought to be said that Pennant considered The Mote itself to be Roman. General Roy in his *Military Antiquities* refers

* Letter 21st September, 1897, to Mr. James Burnet, acknowledging copy of the accompanying plan.

† *Tour*, Vol. II., p. 85.

to a Roman road which, beginning at Carlisle, ran by Netherby, crossed the Liddel, passed by Nether Woodhead, and then ran along the Tarras side of Whita towards Teviotdale. Such a road would probably lead to Newstead, where, General Roy indicated such a camp as has since been unearthed, would be found.

It seems clear that there were Roman military "ways" leading from Netherby into both Annandale and Eskdale. The principal of these can still be traced past Nether Woodhead and across the old British camp at Broomholm Knowe, as indicated on the plan given on page 80. Here the roadway is quite clearly seen. It then heads towards Glenfirra where it crosses the Esk. It reappears in the fields at the top of the Murtholm bank, and runs along the bottom of the fields lying south of Stubholm. Indications of it are traceable in the Stubholm Wood near the Bogle-gill, and it then runs over the Corsholm and crosses Wauchope at the Auld Caul. Local tradition says there was a Roman bridge at this spot, and the masonry of the abutments can still be seen on the Manse side. Concerning the masonry there can be no doubt, and certain antiquaries, whose opinions are entitled to respect, consider the remains to be Roman. This bridge was still standing in 1793, but soon afterwards was demolished by the parish minister, the Rev. Thomas Martin. In the *Statistical Account* supplied by him for Sinclair's series, he refers to the discovery of some Roman coins on the Corsholm, but is silent as to the bridge. Tradition has it that he repented of his vandalism and discreetly left the whole subject out of his article. To the present writers it seems scarcely conceivable that if this bridge had been built by the Romans it could still be safely

usable in 1793.* The name, the "Auld Caul," given to the place where it crossed Wauchope, suggests that at one time, much later certainly than the Roman period, there had been such a structure in the river bed. Tradition speaks of an old mill lade somewhere about the foot of the Manse Brae, and it is said that the door-steps of some of the houses in Caroline Street were made out of covers removed from it.

Apart altogether from this bridge, however, there seems little doubt that the Roman road crossed Wauchope at or near this point. It is next seen on the northern edge of the Becks Moss as a well defined causeway running diagonally through a field towards the old fort at Calfield. Just at this point the Moss is thickly covered with stones, and within the memory of some still living the pavement was distinctly visible. In the next field the form of the road has been obliterated by the plough. At the fort the road seems to wheel, and beyond it, it can be seen stretching in a westerly course for nearly half a mile until ultimately it is lost on the Moss. The next trace of the road is just behind Westwater, where it can be clearly seen running in a broad line, similar to its appearance below the Calfield fort, straight up over the hill.

On the hills round about Hopsrig and Carlesgill, and about the head of Boyken Burn, certain roads can be traced. It is the opinion of some local antiquaries that these are also Roman roads leading over to Raeburnfoot, but as most of them lead to old British forts it seems

* In 1721 a reference is made to the bridge in the records of the Kirk Session: "April, 1721. No sermon, the minister being 'barred' by the waters. This occurred for 2 Sundays and application was made to Mr. Melville to have the bridge over Wauchope put right."

more probable that they are akin to the "ways" referred to by Mr. Bell in his account of the Castle O'er forts.*

Popular opinion gives another Roman bridge at Loganhead. Here some remains of masonry are visible, indeed, the bridge, of which a print is given below, was



LOGANHEAD BRIDGE.

standing until the year 1901, when it fell. Mr. Welsh inclines to the view that between this pretty and old-

* Mr. Matthew Welsh, whose knowledge of all these roads is so complete, refers to an old tradition still current in Eskdale, that from the road running along the Black Esk there branched off at Twiglees another path, along which the smugglers brought their goods into Eskdale from the creeks on the Galloway coast,

world bridge and the various "ways" traceable on the hills, there is a connection. This is more than probable, but that all these were Roman is more open to doubt. In Pingle Burn there are also remains of masonry as of the abutments of a bridge. A well defined roadway also exists similar to that referred to at Calfield, towards which it also points.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

As already indicated, the memorials of the Romans found in Eskdale, apart from those in the Netherby collection, are very meagre. Undoubtedly the most noteworthy of them all is a tablet mentioned by Dr. Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.* "The following tablet," he says, "thus oddly located in the Morton MS. belongs to the district of the Selgovæ. This inscription is in a house of Jockie Graham's, in Eskdale, fixed in a wall, set up as appears, by the Legio Augusta Secunda in memorial of the Emperor Hadrian":—

IMP · CÆS · TRA · HAD
RIANO · AUG ·
LEG · II · AUG · F ·

"Camden mentions an inscription the counterpart of this, dug up at Netherby, and Pennant† describes another nearly similar (possibly, indeed, the Eskdale tablet) which he examined among the antiquities at Hoddam Castle, Dumfriesshire." Dr. Wilson points out that "all the inscriptions transcribed at Hoddam were understood, where not otherwise specified, to be from the neighbouring sta-

* Vol. II. p. 67.

† *Tour*, Vol. III. p. 409. The inscription is given thus: "Imp-eratori Cæsari Trajan-o Hadrian-o Leg-*io* Secund-a Aug-usta."

tion at Birrens—the *Blatum Bulgium* of Antoninus, and that the Eskdale tablet therefore forms an important addition to the traces of the elder Emperor Hadrian found thus far within the transmural province”—that is, in the province of Valentia, which comprised that part of Scotland between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus.

A little doubt exists as to the location of this tablet. Some consider, on the authority of Camden, that though this is designated an Eskdale tablet yet it rightly belongs to the Netherby collection,—Netherby, of course, being in a geographical sense, in Eskdale. Its being found in the house of a Graham seems to support this view.

But Camden's story of the tablet at Netherby is not without its elements of doubt. His words are: “. . . and in the walls of the house [Netherby] is this Roman inscription, set up in the memory of Hadrian the Emperor, by the *legio secunda Augusta*:—

IMP. CÆS. TRA.
HADRIANO
AUG.
LEG. II. AUG. F.”

But when Horsley, the well known historian, came to Netherby and looked for this tablet described by Camden, it could not be found. He says:* “this stone is not now to be found; Mr. Gordon enquired for and I likewise sought after it but in vain, and as part of this house is pulled down and altered, I doubt not this stone has been destroyed or lost in the ruins. However this makes it evident that the Romans were possessed of this station [Netherby] in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, and by the medals both of the High and Low Empire

* Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, Vol. II. p. 534.

that have been found here, it seems probable they were long in possession of it."

It seems very strange that if Camden *saw** this stone at Netherby it should disappear from Netherby and afterwards be found at Hoddam. It is true that small differences are noticeable between the inscription given by Camden and that given by Pennant, but these are in such general agreement that it appears probable that they relate to one and the same stone. The explanation seems to be that Camden was in error in ascribing the tablet to Netherby, and that according to the Morton MS. the stone was found in Eskdale, as distinct entirely from Netherby. Admittedly the place named as "a house of Jockie Graham's in Eskdale" is somewhat indefinite. Its situation cannot now be determined, which is much to be regretted.†

There have been several discoveries of Roman coins in Eskdale, but none of them was of first importance. About the year 1783 some gold denarii were found on the Broomholm estate, viz., four *Neros*, two *Vespasians*, and one *Domitian*. These are said by the Statist to have been then in the possession of Lady Douglas of Douglas.

* In a Latin distich published in his own day, it was said of Camden, "that he explored England with two eyes, Scotland with one, and Ireland with none."—*Imper. Dict. Univ. Biog.*

† The Grahams were not only a powerful clan on the English Border but there were considerable numbers of them both in lower and upper Eskdale. Grahams, e.g. have been in the farm of Cote for about 200 years. So the argument from the name in favour of this tablet being at Netherby is not conclusive. Armstrong mentions (page 111) one John Grame who, in 1494 was balyffe to the Prior of Cannonby. This John would be a well known man exercising many public functions. Is it too much to suggest that *he* may be the "Jockie Graham" Camden refers to? Only 100 years separate the dates, and if the "balyffe" was a man well known and much discussed, it seems in every way likely that his house became marked in this way. If this suggestion is right then the tablet may have been found in Cannonby.

A *Nero* was found on Cannonby glebe land by the Rev. John Russell, who was minister of the parish from 1784 to 1815. From this it was argued that there must have been a Roman road there; if so, it might possibly be the continuation of the road at New Woodhead.

On the Roman road running from Broomholm Knowe to Calfield was the cairn referred to on page 56. As mentioned there, the urn then found was held to be Roman. Its nearness to the Roman road would naturally lead to this conclusion, but it was, as stated, much more likely that the cairn was a Celtic and not a Roman monument. However, farther along this road where it crosses Wauchope some coins were discovered, viz., one *Otho* and two *denarii aurei*, which the Statist in 1793 said were in the possession of the family of Mr. Little, late baron-bailie of Langholm.

A *Nero* was also found on the surface of the road at Craighaugh in Eskdalemuir, but probably this coin had been accidentally lost by some one.

Probably there have been other finds of Roman relics in Eskdale, but unfortunately there have been no systematic efforts to have them recorded. May we not, owing to this, have lost many an interesting link with one of the most fascinating periods in the history of Eskdale?

CHAPTER VIII.

ESKDALE IN STRATHCLYDE.

WHEN the Roman legions were recalled home in 410 A.D. to further the purposes of the usurper Constantine, and help to stem the ravages of the Goths, their withdrawal from the Borders produced something approaching to chaos. The tribes who had had a common purpose in opposing the invaders were left hopelessly divided, and the balance of power which the Romans had held—that “artificial fabric of civil and military government,” as Gibbon terms it*—could not at first be assumed by any of the tribes. Certain of these had yielded, more or less willingly, to the Romans, who on their demission counselled them as to the government and defence of the province. This province, known as Valentia in honour of the Roman Emperor, comprised roughly all the territory within the Wall of Hadrian, stretching from the Tyne to the Solway, and the Wall of Antoninus, stretching between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. This section of the native tribes is of interest to us because those of Eskdale would seem to be included therein, and the fact of their having adopted certain of the Roman ideas may have predisposed them to the acceptance of the Christian faith not many generations later.

Meanwhile the influences of the Roman occupation were soon dissipated, and the Borders were left to political chaos and to inter-tribal conflicts and jealousies. One

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II. c. 31.

effect of the Roman invasion was that it planted in the Celtic tribes the rudiments of a monarchical government, and these ideas tended to modify their clan or tribal customs. Apart from this, and the cognate effect of inducing a readiness to recognise the authority of some central government, the influence left by the Romans upon the Borders was imperceptible, certainly in no way worthy of comparison with that of the later invaders. The Saxons and the Norsemen, when they came, effected a much more potent change upon the language and thought and literature of the Celts, and, by inter-marriage, upon their features, than the Romans had done.

During those years, years still much obscured by the mists of time, the Celtic race seems to have slowly evolved into two main branches—the Gaelic and the Cymric or Welsh, a distinction still existing in the separation of the Scottish and Irish Gaels from those of Wales and Cornwall. Some authorities think that the Cymri belonged to a later Celtic race, who entered Britain about the year 300 B.C., but this is doubtful. It was to the Cymric branch that the tribes inhabiting Eskdale belonged. What we now call Scotland did not, of course, then exist as a geographical expression. The land was appropriated by various tribes sprung from a common Celtic stock, but as time passed, tending to develop along somewhat different lines, and thus gradually separating in purpose and sympathy.

The Picts occupied the highlands, the region beyond the Wall of Antoninus—a land of mystery even to the Romans. The Scots, who had come from Ireland—or Scotia, as it was first named—occupied the Argyle district, which afterwards became known as the kingdom of Dalriada. The Damnii occupied Clydesdale. The

Ottadini and Gadeni were in Selkirk, Roxburgh, and the Lothians. The Novantæ held Wigton and Galloway, and what is of more intimate concern to us, Dumfriesshire was occupied by the Selgovæ. All these tribes were of Celtic origin, but time and chance had drifted them into separate paths.

The tract occupied by the Selgovæ extended like a wedge from the river Derwent in the south, towards the Clyde in the north. In after years this developed into a more or less compact kingdom known as Strathclyde, and later as Cumbria, with Alclyde or Dumbarton as its capital, and at its southern extremity was the important town of Carlisle, one of the twenty-eight towns of any considerable size existing when the Romans left. It will thus be seen that Eskdale was almost the central valley in Strathclyde, a geographical position which was bound to give it considerable importance.

The adjustment to the new order of things created by the demission of the Romans was slow, accompanied, too, by unrest, turmoil, and internecine strife. The Selgovæ had come under Roman influence to some extent, and they tended, perhaps as a result of this, to what we might term a primitive liberalism, in distinction to the attitude of their less advanced or more conservative neighbours, who had reverted to what was most pagan in their previous customs. Except the Picts of Galloway, who had been isolated from these post-Roman quarrels as a pool is left by a flood, the Strathclyde Britons were for a time the dominant race in the lowlands.

But to this native situation a new element was to be added which, in after centuries, would exercise an enormous influence on the north of England and south of

Scotland. This was the coming of the Saxons. The precise date of the Saxon invasion is uncertain. Bede says 428, but Mr. Skene, whose authority in this field of historic research is unrivalled, says the Saxons were growing to considerable power before this, and fixes the date of their coming at 374. It would appear that during the waning of the Roman authority the King of the Romanized Britons of Strathclyde invited foreign aid, and in answer to his appeal a mixed migration of Frisians, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes landed on these shores. Probably the Frisians came first, and they left clear a indication of their colonization in the name of Dumfries—the camp or stronghold of the Frisians. Traces of their influence, too, are found in the dialect of that county and of Eskdale.

By the year 547 Ida, the Saxon King, had established himself as King of Northumbria, a tract embracing not only what we now know by this name, but also Berwickshire, part of Roxburghshire, and the Lothians. These territories were consolidated into the Saxon kingdom of Bernicia, which marched with Strathclyde, the boundary being probably the Catrail, as previously mentioned. Bamburgh was the capital of this kingdom of Bernicia.

At this date, therefore, Scotland and northern England as far as the Humber, were partitioned into four kingdoms inhabited by the Picts, Scots, Cumbrians, and Saxons. Thereafter the history of the country was simply the story of the contests and warfare waged by these four parties for the choicest and fairest tracts of territory, or for political domination.

Constant warfare was carried on between the Britons of Strathclyde and the invading Saxon, who was ultimately to colonise the valleys of almost the entire

lowlands, and stamp both his physical and mental characteristics upon the old Celtic race. It is these wars between Briton and Saxon, with their deeds of prowess which provided the foundation on which rest the historical or legendary tales of Arthur, the "leader of the battles" of the Strathclyde Britons—the hero of so much poetry and romance. Arthur was the representative of the Christian faith, which had begun to exert a powerful influence in the lowlands, especially among the Britons who inhabited Eskdale and the adjacent dales. His prowess and chivalry have provided the motive for the creation of a considerable range of literature, exalting his virtues and celebrating his fame. Milton, who at one time meditated an Arthurian epic, seems to have regarded Arthur as more legendary than historical, but Tennyson in his *Idylls of the King* and *The Holy Grail* so gives form and shape to legend and tradition, that the Arthurian story will live in literature as the embodiment of all that was romantic and chivalrous in that far off and tumultuous day.

The story of Arthur is referred to here, not to claim him as an Eskdale man (which might indeed be safely done without fear of contradiction—or proof!) but because many of his famous exploits are admitted to have been performed in the district of which Eskdale is the centre. His Twelve Battles were the outstanding features of his campaign, or crusade—for so it was regarded.* Though none of these great battles seems to have been fought in or near Eskdale, unless, indeed, the seventh was fought in Etrick Forest—"the gloomy skirts of Celidon, the

* It is said that in one battle Arthur himself, by virtue of an image of the Virgin engraven on his shield, was enabled to slay large numbers of his enemies.—Prof. Veitch's *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 73.

forest,"*—as Professor Veitch seems to suggest, yet the Scottish lowlands was the scene of most if not all of them. We have indications of this connection in such names as Arthur's Seat and Arthur's Oven. Whether Arthur really existed, whether his virtues and glorious deeds are the posthumous honours paid to some old Celtic chieftain, whether the Bards of the Cymri created him, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, with his romantic imagination, idealized him, is beyond our province to discuss.† Nevertheless, it is of interest to every Eskdale man to note the connection of Arthur with the district, even though it be only legendary. We have this connection in the name Arthuret, an ancient and charming parish near to Netherby and Longtown. The name is the modernised form of Ardderyd, the scene of one of the determining battles of the early Christian period. This battle was fought in 573, but Arthur himself seems to have been slain in battle in 537, not by the hostile Saxon, whose persistent advance he so strenuously opposed, but, alas, by his own disloyal followers. The scene of the battle of Ardderyd, says Mr. Skene,‡ "was at Arthuret, situated on a raised platform on the west side of the river Esk, about eight miles north of Carlisle. . . . Two small hills here are called Arthuret Knowes, and the top of the highest, which over hangs the river, is fortified by an earthen rampart. About four miles north of this is a stream which flows into the Esk and bears the name of Car-

* Tennyson's *Lancelot and Elaine*.—This *Idyll* gives a list of the Twelve Battles, the localities of which seem scarcely to harmonise with either Mr. Skene or Prof. Veitch's list.

† This subject is impartially dealt with by Sir James Macintosh, in his *Britain after the Romans*.

‡ *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 158.

whinelow, in which the name of Gwendolew,* the leader of the pagan tribes, can be easily recognised, and near the junction of the Esk and Liddel, at no great distance from it, is the magnificent hill fort called the Mote of Liddel. Here this great battle was fought, the centre of a group of Welsh traditions. It resulted in the victory of the Christian party and the establishment of Rhydderch as the King of the Cumbrian Britons."

The battle seems to have been one of great ferocity if we may judge from the traditions of it handed down by the Bards. It lasted over forty-six days, and when "the war drum throbbed no longer" some 80,000 corpses, it is said, were left in the meadows between the vales of Esk and Liddel.† Of this battle the Bard sang:

"Guendydd loves me not, greets me not,
I am hated by the chiefs of Rhydderch,
For after Gwendolew no princes honour me,
Yet in the battle of Ardderyd I wore the golden torques."

Amongst those who fought in this great battle was one Nud, whose name is found on an inscribed stone, "The Muckle Stane," discovered in Yarrow. He was buried under a tumulus there.

Rhydderch Hael, King of the Strathclyde Britons, was killed in 603 near the Nine Stane Rig in Hermitage Water. After his death the warfare among the tribes occupying the lowlands continued without intermission, but the conflicting groups were not defined. They

* Mr. John Reid has put forward the interesting suggestion that similarly Rhydderch Hael, the leader of the Christianized Cumbrians, has left a trace of his own name in "Riddings." In a map of the Debateable Land dated 1590 the spelling is "ye Rydings." In Bleau's reproduction of Timothy Pont's map of 1608 it is named "Ryidbanck."

† Bogg's *Border Country*, p. 317. It is to be noted that Mr. Skene does not give any of these figures in his *Celtic Scotland*. They should, therefore, be accepted with considerable reserve.

arranged themselves first into one combination, then into another. It was out of these groupings that the Scottish nation finally emerged, a result attained only after several centuries of faction and fighting. In the see-saw of this fighting, with all its details of victory and defeat, we have only a partial interest here,—that which is aroused by the part played in these civil wars and political evolutions by Eskdale or Strathclyde.

At first the conflict lay, roughly, between east and west. The Scots of Dalriada and the Britons of Strathclyde united their forces to wage war upon the Angles of Bernicia,—that long stretch of fertile country bordering the North Sea from the Tees almost to the Forth,—and their vassals the Picts of Galloway.

Between the Britons of Strathclyde and the Saxons of Bernicia there was carried on a fierce and almost continuous warfare. Lying so near the boundary line between the two kingdoms, Eskdale would share largely in these conflicts. But its hills and ravines, and the Catrail itself, if this indeed were its purpose, proved only a temporary defence to the Britons, for the Saxons and Frisians spread themselves over Strathclyde in a persistent and successful invasion. The Celts were either put to the sword or became the serfs of the mixed Teutonic hordes who now filled the beautiful lowland valleys.

It was this invading race which was destined to give to us that language which, mixed with the earlier Celtic and the later Norse, forms to-day the speech of the Scottish lowlands,—a vivid, picturesque, and flexible language which is dear to the heart of every lowlander, a language immortalized in prose and poetry, but especially in song.

On the death of Rhydderch Hael the leadership of the combined forces against the Saxons was assumed by the King of the Scots, and for a time the allies observed their offensive and defensive agreement. But within another generation the Scots and Britons were themselves at war. This conflict resulted in the latter, the Britons of Strathclyde, subduing the Scots, who thereafter yielded them allegiance. This in turn gave place to the supremacy of the Angles, who thus secured under their domination, not only the Picts of Galloway but the Scots and the Britons as well. This overship lasted some thirty years, and as the kingdom of Northumbria, which was virtually identical with Bernicia, and was inhabited by Angles and their kinsfolk, was a Christian country under King Osuin, it must have left upon Strathclyde, and not least upon Eskdale, because of its geographical position, an impress which has lasted throughout all the succeeding centuries.

In 685 still another change occurred in the balance of power. On the initiative of the Pictish tribes Northumbria was invaded, and its King, now Ecgfrid, son of Osuin, was killed in the battle of Dunnichen. This battle was decisive, and its immediate result was to liberate nearly all those tributaries of Northumbria to whom reference has just been made. In this release, however, there were certain of the Strathclyde Britons who failed to break their serfdom to the powerful Angles. We read that the Picts of Galloway and the Britons residing between the Solway and the Derwent still remained in vassalage to the Angles of Bernicia, and as the latter could only gain access to Galloway by way of the northern shores of the Solway, it would seem to follow that the tribes occupying the districts of Annandale and

Eskdale may also have remained in subjection to their ancient enemies, though the records appear to indicate that the people of Dumfriesshire were amongst those liberated. The tribes who, by the battle of Dunnichen, had gained their freedom from the Anglie sway, maintained it for a period of forty years. During these years considerable fighting took place between the quondam allies, the Scots of Dalriada and the Britons of Strathclyde. Whether the Eskdale tribes participated in these conflicts does not seem clear. In 731 the persistent Angles seem again to have asserted their dominance over the Britons.* A few years later the old alliances re-appear, Scots and Britons sinking their cousinly differences to co-operate against the Angles and their Celtic allies, the Galloway Picts. As a result of several years desultory fighting, the Anglie King Eadbert, with his Pictish ally, Angus, led an army against the Strathclyde Britons, whose submission they succeeded in compelling at Dumbarton in 756. So once again the tribes of Eskdale would be under the power and influence of the Angles and Saxons—a very important factor in the later evolution of the character, appearance, and speech of the people of the district.

The history of this whole period is admittedly obscure and mostly unreliable, but this fact seems established, that towards the end of the eighth century, in 793, a new factor intruded itself into these swift alternations in the struggle for supremacy. This was the piratical and harassing raids of the Norsemen—Danes and Norwe-

* It has been said of the Britons of that day that "their disposition was fierce and warlike, their hatred to the Saxons inveterate, and above all their country was mountainous and abounded with lakes, marshes, moors, and forests."—McFarlane and Thompson's *History of England*, Vol. I. p. 71.

gians, who swooped down upon the northern coasts and harried with consistent impartiality all the old contesting races. These raids seem to have been almost incessant during the first half of the ninth century. In 875 the Danes again ravaged the east coast, laying waste not only Northumbria, which lay most exposed to their onslaughts, but destroying in their wantonness the people of Strathclyde also.

Possibly owing to these frequent raids the kingdom of Northumbria, ever liable to attack along its lengthy seaboard, had fallen into a state of disorganization, and that domination which for many years of the ninth century the Angles had exercised over the Britons of southern Strathclyde, or Cumbria as it had come to be called, came to an end. Giric, the King of the Britons, invaded Bernicia, or Saxonia, and restored Strathclyde, from the Clyde to the Derwent, to its old independence under a native British King.

Perhaps the next most important event in the dim history of our Eskdale forefathers was in the year 924, when the King of Wessex received the "submission" of the Scots and the people of Strathclyde, as well as of the Northumbrians. In 934 Athelstan defeated Osuin, King of Cumbria, and Constantin, King of Scots, and ravaged their territories. From these successes of the King of Wessex, efforts have been made to show that the Scottish lowlands lost their independence, but the people themselves do not appear to have so regarded their position, and a great united effort was speedily made to dispute this claim. The Britons of Cumbria, together with the Danes from Dublin as temporary allies, who had probably landed in the Solway and travelled across Annandale and Eskdale, supplied a

contingent for this supreme effort. We are told* that they crossed the hills separating Cumbria from the Anglie kingdom of Saxonia, formerly Bernicia, and in the great battle which followed, whose site Mr. Skene places at Aldborough, in Yorkshire, they bore their part in the fight for independence, a fight, however, which went all in favour of the Saxon Athelstan, who drove the Scottish and Cumbrian Kings back to their ships and slew most of their troops. In 942, five years after this battle, Malcolm succeeded to the Scottish throne, and during his reign an important consolidation was effected by the cession of Cumbria to the Scots, the first of a series of events whose culmination was the formation of a united kingdom of Scotland. The immediate occasion of the cession was that the Saxon King, Edmund, who had been incessantly harrying the territories of the Cumbrians, of which Donald, son of Osuin, was King, had granted these territories to Malcolm as the price of his vassalage. It is probably to this period in the history of Eskdale that we may ascribe a not inconsiderable share of that Saxon influence which made itself felt in the district. These ravages of Cumbria by the Saxons continued, but were resisted by Kenneth, grandson of Donald, in whose reign the amalgamation of the Cumbrians and the Scots was effected. About this date, too, 1005, the Picts and Scots were united under Malcolm.

In the year 1018 whilst still under the dominion of Malcolm, King of Scots, the Cumbrian King, Eugenius, invaded Northumbria and fought a great battle at Carham on Tweed, when many were slain. Mr. Skene records† the

* Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 353.

† *Idem*, Vol. I. p. 393.

story told by Simeon of Durham how about that time a comet appeared presaging the calamity of this war.

The most important effect of this victory by the Scots King was that the territory of Saxonia, as far south as the Tweed, was ceded to him. His kingdom of Scotia now embraced the whole of the present area of Scotland, except the lands in the western islands and in Caithness and Galloway, which were in the possession of the Norwegians, but it included that portion of Cumbria which lay between the Solway and the river Derwent.

But even this important amalgamation did not entirely relieve Eskdale from war and strife, indeed its days of peace and rest were not to dawn for several centuries.

In the year 1044 Duncan, King of Scotia, grandson of Malcolm, was murdered by Macbeth who seized the throne. Mr. Skene suggests that Cumbria remained faithful to the children of the murdered king. In 1054 Siward, Earl of Northumberland, of Danish descent, assisted Duncan to execute vengeance upon the murderer of his father, and having defeated him, though he could not just then drive him from the throne of Duncan, he placed Malcolm in possession of Cumbria, which though then wedged off from Scotia included the Lothians. The Cumbrians recognised Malcolm as their king, and three years later he succeeded in depriving Macbeth of the throne and thus became King of Scotia, an event which may be said to mark the birth of Scotland as a well defined country. In 1068 Malcolm married Margaret, a sister of Edgar Atheling, who was destined to exert a most powerful and humane influence over both her warlike husband and his subjects, and was largely instrumental in extending the Christian faith throughout Scotland. Two years later, perhaps before

Margaret's influence had made itself felt, Malcolm organized an expedition into England. He marched through Cumberland and Durham, ravaged all the country between Tyne and Tees, burning St. Peter's church at Wearmouth and carried back to Scotland many prisoners, "slaves and handmaidens of the English race, so that even to this day, I do not say no little village but even no cottage can be found without one of them."* These people settled in the lowlands and helped to Saxonize the district. A Celtic king sat on the throne but the power was gradually passing away from that long line arising from the oldest Aryan colonists in Europe.†

In 1092 the Scottish King lost that part of the territory of Cumbria which lay between the Solway and the river Derwent, with Carlisle as its chief town. This was wrested from Malcolm by William the Conqueror, who had secured the English throne after his coming in 1066. In this reprisal Malcolm was slain at Alnwick. His reign had lasted thirty-five years, and at his death the kingdom had been welded into a fairly compact nation.

After several years of unsettled government David, youngest son of Malcolm, came to the throne. He first reigned over the ancient territories of Strathclyde and Cumbria and the Lothians, and then in the year 1124 he assumed the sovereignty over the whole of Scotland. David's attempt to add Northumberland to Scotland led in 1138 to the Battle of the Standard. In this great and decisive battle the Cumbrians formed one wing, together with the men of Teviotdale. No doubt the Eskdale men were also in this contingent. David, however, was

* Simeon of Durham. Quoted by Mr. Skene: *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 422.

† Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 397.

defeated, and the Solway, the Cheviots, and the Tweed were made the southern boundary of his kingdom. With the reign of David there began a new era in Scottish history.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

EVEN amidst all the wars and turmoils mentioned in the last chapter, a new light was slowly dawning amongst the Eskdale hills. The Christian faith, whose way had been prepared in the province of Valentia by the Roman conquerors, began slowly to influence the life of the tribes. The Britons of Strathclyde were regarded as the Christian party among the ancient Celtic tribes, and the great battle of Arderydd was in one sense, (a subordinate one certainly), a religious conflict, in which Rhydderch Hael, the British King, was the Defender of the Faith.

The Christianity of these early centuries in Britain was not an apostolic faith. Many of the observances of Celtic paganism had been incorporated into the new religion, as diplomatic concessions, partly to the prejudices of the tribes, and partly to the force of custom, to which even then our Scottish forefathers seem to have been wedded! It was during these early years of transition that many of the rites, referred to in Chapter VI., were allowed to become ingrafted upon the recently planted faith. During the sixth and seventh centuries rulers and church councils continued to denounce the pagan practices of some of their converts. Even so late as the eleventh century it was found necessary "to strictly discharge and forbid our subjects to worship the gods of the Gentiles—that is to say the sun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, and trees, or woods of any kind." The Norse invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries were perhaps

quite as disastrous to the early Christian communities as they were to the civil liberties of the people, and Norse paganism infected the entire thought of the age. It is seen, indeed, even to the present day in the names we attach to the days of the week.

The source of Scottish Christianity, apart from any influence that may have lingered from the Roman occupation, was the Irish mission on Iona, established by St. Columba about the year 563. It ought ever to be remembered that the introduction of the Christian faith into Scotland was separate from, and independent of, the mission of St. Augustine to England. The two movements were in no way associated. The early Church in Scotland was a Church independent both of Rome and England.

The monks of Iona had established a mission at Lindisfarne, off the Northumbrian coast, and it was through its instrumentality that the conversion of Northumbria to the Christian faith was effected, and for many years the Lindisfarne community remained subordinate ecclesiastically to Iona. It was not until the famous Synod of Whitby, presided over by the Abbess Hilda in 664, that the Northumbrian Church submitted to Rome. It was twenty-four years later when events, largely political, produced a like submission of the Christians of Strathclyde. The earliest Christian community in the south of Scotland was established at Candida Casa, or Whithern, among the Picts of Galloway. As Eskdale was, partially at least, Christianized before the Roman demission in 410, it is not improbable that it came within the sphere of influence of Whithern, though we admit there is no evidence supporting the suggestion that there was any Christian community established in Eskdale at or near that period.

The founding of the church on Iona by St. Columba and his twelve companions from the Irish Church has ever possessed a unique interest for the student of ecclesiastical history, but to the people of Eskdale and of Strathclyde generally, it is of equal, if not greater, interest to note that St. Patrick, who became the patron saint of Ireland, was a native of Strathclyde,* and that his influence seems to have been more potent in the Dumfriesshire area than even that of St. Columba himself. We may not, without proof, claim St. Patrick as an Eskdale man, yet it may be suggested that his birthplace was in the shire. Judging from the evidences found in the place-names, St. Patrick would appear to have left a greater impress upon Dumfriesshire, than upon any other part of Scotland. We have Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Kirkpatrick-Irongray, and Kirkpatrick-Juxta. His name appears, too, in the place-names of Eskdale. In an old thirteenth century charter delineating certain boundaries, reference is made to the fountain of St. Patrick,† in the neighbourhood of Stapelgortoun,—no doubt one of the many holy wells then existing, though its site cannot now be identified. Such dedications indicate the popularity of the Saint, and they usually point to his having laboured in that district. It may also have been due to the influence of St. Patrick that there existed a friendly intercourse, if not indeed an organic union, between the early Church in Ireland and the Christian communities of Strathclyde. Doubtless in this association St. Bridget, or St. Bride, as she was popularly named in the lowlands, had also a share. St.

* Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 19.

† Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, &c.*, p. 152.—“Beginning at the end of Langholm, as the fountain of St. Patrick runs down into the Eske.”

Bridget was the Virgin Saint of Ireland. She was contemporary with St. Patrick, and was far renowned for her faith and works of charity. She exercised a gracious influence upon the imagination of the early Church, both in Ireland and Scotland, and excited the admiration and imitation of its adherents. Kildare church was dedicated to her, and became the mother-church of all similar foundations which bore the name of the Virgin Saint. Early in the eighth century a chapel at St. Andrews, one of seven, was dedicated to her—"to God and St. Bridgid till the day of Judgment," and the famous old church at Abernethy was also dedicated "to God and St. Bridgid." In the highlands and islands of Scotland dedications to her were frequent. "The Hebrides paid her divine honors: to her the greatest number of their churches were dedicated: from her they had oracular responses. 'By the divinity of St. Brigid' was one of their solemn oaths: to her they devoted the first day of February, and in the evening of that festival performed many strange ceremonies of a Druidical and most superstitious kind."* St. Bridget died in 525,† and her *Life* was compiled in the first half of the ninth century.‡

Reference at such length is here made to St. Bridget because to her was dedicated what was probably the earliest Christian church in Eskdale. The name lingers still in St. Bride's Chapel and St. Bride's Hill in Wauchopedale, a little to the north-west of the Schoolhouse. The site of the chapel seems to have been on the top of the hill separating Westwater from Cleuchfoot. Doubtless the first building would be a very simple structure

* Pennant's *Tour*, Vol. III. p. 184, quoting Doctor Macpherson.

† Pennant (*Tour*, Vol. III. p. 183) says she died in 513.

‡ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 296.

of timber and wattles according to "the custom of the Scots," so often mentioned by Bede. This in time would be replaced by the usual stone building, which probably for many generations would suffice for the spiritual wants of Wauchopedale. Armstrong mentions* that in 1220 it was agreed by arbitration in the dispute between the Bishop of Glasgow and the Abbot of Jedburgh "in regard to the Church of Walleuhope that the vicar . . . should have five merks uplifted in the said



THE CHAPEL STANE.

Church." This no doubt was the Chapel of St. Bride, which would be in the diocese of the Prior of Canonby. Probably the only relic left of this second church is a large stone, a drawing of which is here given, known in Wauc-

* History of *Liddesdale, Eskdale, &c.* p. 107

hopedale as "The Chapel Stane," still lying on what the Ordnance Map marks as the site of St. Bride. It is a sandstone of the district measuring nearly seven feet in girth and weighing approximately eight cwts. It is rudely worked and has evidently been used as a receptacle for holy water, possibly as a baptismal font, or more likely still, as a porch stone. Near to St. Bride's Hill are the Chapel Grains and Chapel Cleuch, and there are other indications in the local place-names, of St. Bride's having been once upon a time a centre of the life and light of Wauchopedale.

In Cumberland there is a village of Bridekirk, which contains the famous baptismal font whose inscribed runes, said to be Saxon, have occasioned so much learned discussion amongst archæologists. The date of the founding of this Cumberland Kirk of St. Bride is not known, but from the fact of the Saxon runes it may be inferred to be not much later than the seventh century. There is also a Bridekirk in Annandale, almost opposite to that in Cumberland—each a lighthouse, as it were, for the Solway. The Annandale Bridekirk is in the parish of Hoddam, and it may be that it was one of the early foundations of the See of Hoddam, established by St. Kentigern. It is not unlikely that these three churches were established about the same date. The private chapel of the Douglasses, founded in the thirteenth century, was also dedicated to St. Bride.*

Though the name of Columba stands pre-eminent as the apostle of early Scottish Christianity, yet it is not so much to him as to St. Kentigern that the veneration of the people of Dumfriesshire has been given. St. Kentigern,

* Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 12.

or St. Mungo as he was affectionately called,* left upon the whole district of Strathclyde an influence that was deep and lasting. To the people of Dumfriesshire it is a matter of interest and pride that his first diocese was at Hoddam in Annandale. After the battle of Arderydd, in which Rhydderch Hael was victorious, when the persecution of the pagan chief who had seized the government waxed great, St. Kentigern, like many of his compatriots, was driven for safety from Strathclyde into Wales. But when the Christian party again rose to power he was recalled, and as already mentioned, he established his first See at Hoddam. No doubt can exist that his diocese embraced Eskdale, for in that era of transition the ethnic boundaries were generally also the diocesan boundaries, and the people of Annandale and Eskdale were of the same kith and kin. There is no evidence of any subsequent dedication to him of any church in the neighbourhood, which, however, is not without its witness to his labours. Old documents show that over 200 years ago there existed, apparently somewhere between Calfield and Westwater, a farm known as Cross-Mungo. This is interesting, not only as a reminiscence of the Saint, but also as an indication that at this place there had existed, in the early days, one of those wayside crosses which holy men of old set up as a call to the devotions of the passers by, and that they had associated it with the labours of the venerated Saint. When St. Kentigern returned from Wales his biographer, Jocelyn, who became Bishop of St. Kentigern's old See of Glasgow, says he travelled by way of Carlisle, but whether by Annandale or Eskdale is not stated.

After St. Kentigern, came St. Cuthbert, fruitful in many labours, who left a deep and permanent impression on

* The name *Mungo* was a term of endearment in the ancient British language, meaning "dear friend." *Kentigern* signified "chief lord."

the early Church, both in the south of Scotland and north of England. That Eskdale was not outside St. Cuthbert's sphere of influence is seen by the dedication to his memory of the Over-Kirk of Ewes, founded probably in the early part of the 13th century, and situated at Unthank where the graveyard still exists. There is no dedication to St. Cuthbert in Eskdale, a fact which indicates the separate part played by Ewesdale in the early days. Ecclesiastically Ewes was under Melrose which was first in Saxonia, the scene of St. Cuthbert's early labours, but was afterwards transferred to Glasgow, whose diocese embraced the whole district of Strathclyde.

The church founded by St. Ninian at Whithern in Galloway, had been dedicated to St. Martin of Tours.* The dedications to St. Martin in Eskdale are, first, in the twelfth century, the Priory of Canonby, and next, founded about the thirteenth century,† the ancient church at Boykin, or Byken, in Westerkirk. Though the Over-Kirk of Ewes had been dedicated to St. Cuthbert, some influence of the earlier dedications to St. Martin seems to have lingered in the valley. We have a suggestion of this in the place-name of Martinhope, shown on Bleau's map of 1662 as contiguous to Unthank.

We have another indication of the early days of the Christian Church in Eskdale in the name of St. Thorwald's. The derivation of the name is not easy to trace. The name *Thor* is not infrequently met with, e.g., in Torthorwald, a village associated with the early years of J. G. Paton, the well known missionary of the New Hebrides. Probably the name in both

* "The feast of St. Martin [Martinmas] was adopted from an old pagan custom."—*Encyclo. Brit.*

† Armstrong, p. 99.

cases relates to Thor the Long, a Saxon settler, who on the invitation of Edgar, son of King Malcolm, established a religious settlement at Ednam, or Edenham, on the Tweed, the birthplace of Thomson the poet, author of *The Seasons*. It is related that there, in the twelfth century, Thor the Long built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert, and it is not an extravagant suggestion that the name and fame of Thor may have extended to Eskdale, and that the dedication to St. Cuthbert of the Over-Kirk of Ewes, may have been due to the influence of the Saxon devotee. The addition of "Saint" to the name of Thor may have been a popular rather than a canonical recognition of his generosity and many virtues.

Tradition associates a nameless monk with a cell at what is now called the "Thief Stane Quarry," and it is said that the doorstep of Clinthead House, Langholm, was cut out of the stone which guarded the entrance to the cell. What truth there is in the legend it is impossible to say.*

At New Woodhead, Canonby, there were discovered in 1864 certain relics of the early Christian Church in this district. These were held to be treasure trove, and are now deposited in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. The find consisted of brooches, rings, and beads, together with some silver pennies of Edward I. and Edward II., of John Baliol and Alexander III.

* In the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser* of September 17th, 1902, there appeared a reprint of an article taken from the *Scots Weekly Magazine* of April 18th, 1833, describing the life of the "Monk of Whita Well," whom it named "St. Toddle"—a corruption of St. Thorwald. Probably the article in question was meant to be a piece of ingenious fooling, though some have estimated it as a serious contribution to local history.



NEW WOODHEAD BROOCH.

Most interest attaches to the brooch here represented. "It is circular in shape, formed of a rod of silver, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, ornamented with six rosettes alternating with six ornamental knobs."* The pin of the brooch was missing. A second brooch, also of silver, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, was inscribed "IHESUS NAZARENUS REX." A third was imperfect, with "lozenge shaped ornaments covered with diapered pattern." There was another brooch similar to the first, but broken. There were also found some finger rings and jet beads.

In 1851 a similar discovery was made near Middleby church. Writing of the Middleby and similar specimens of early Christian art Dr. Wilson says,† "such Christian amulets indeed appear to have been exceedingly common, so that examples might be greatly multiplied. But most, if not all of them, belong to a later period than the Scoto-Scandinavian or Celtic relics, or the con-

* *Catalogue of National Museum of Antiquities*, 1892 ed. p. 358.

† *Prehistoric Annals*, Vol. II. p. 315.

temporary specimens of Anglo-Saxon workmanship graven in northern runes."

These discoveries at New Woodhead may be set down as belonging, approximately, to the early part of the fourteenth century. The lands of Woodhead were part of the possessions of the Priory of Canonby, and were included in the Barony of Tarras, erected in 1606.

That the entire district bordering on the shores of the Solway Firth was well advanced in Christian civilization, even at an early date, is well attested by the two remarkable specimens of Christian art, already referred to on page 53,—the two Crosses, one at Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire and the other at Bewcastle, in Cumberland. It is probably to about the period of the ninth century that these monuments must be assigned.* After much learned controversy, it seems to be clearly established that the Ruthwell inscriptions are not in northern or Scandinavian runes, but in Anglo-Saxon, and this indicates as the approximate date, the time when the Northumbrian Church was missioning the whole of Cumbria and Bernicia. The Bewcastle Cross is akin in design to that at Ruthwell, and the two are representative of the Christian art of the early Church. Situated as it is between these two districts, Eskdale would come under the same influences, though there no similar relics have been discovered, but in the old church at Hoddam stones engraven in runic characters were found in 1815.

* Buchanan considered that both the Bewcastle Cross and the Bridekirk Font were Danish, and that they were the only monuments of that nation left in Britain.

Many of the symbolic details of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses have been made use of by Mr. C. C. Hodges, of Hexham, the architect of the beautiful Cædmon Cross at Whitby, and the Bede Cross at Sunderland.

CHAPTER X.

THE ETHNOLOGY OF ESKDALE.

OUR knowledge of the races inhabiting the British Islands in the prehistoric ages is vague and uncertain. It is impossible to say definitely when, in the great series of migrations, one race disappeared and another took its place. These movements are generally gradual. The fusion of one race with another, the changes of form and feature or of language, are only slowly effected. Especially is this so during colonization. Then the modifications are brought about by individuals and families, and extend over several generations. When, instead of colonization, there has been war, tribes are exterminated and the changes are sudden and swift. Both of these agents have at various times helped in the ethnic movements in the Esk valley.

Elsewhere we have indicated that, at the date of the building of the Girdle Stanes, about 1290 B.C., the inhabitants of Eskdale were of the Iberian race. We say this without committing ourselves to either side in the great ethnological discussion which ever gathers round the word Iberian. There is so much ignorance and mist hanging over those far past ages, that in place of definite knowledge we are thrown back upon mere conjecture. But, where history is silent, archæology has come to our aid, and we may assume as a convenient working theory that the builders of the stone circles of Eskdale were at least of a non-Aryan race, whether Iberian, as so many authorities suppose, or even Semitic, as Lockyer seems inclined to believe, it is not possible on our present inform-

ation to determine absolutely. We cannot even say that this was the first race to inhabit Eskdale. The valley did not come into existence when its people began to build stone circles, and doubtless before then people lived there whose antiquity makes even the Stone Age a modern era!

All the processes of evolution have been at work in Eskdale to produce that type to which its present inhabitants belong. Each succeeding race has left its legacy in colour of hair or of eyes, in cranial shape, in stature, in feature, or in language. The blending of many and varied traits of character, the modification of old forms and the production of new, extend themselves over long periods of time. But it will be most convenient for our present purpose to assume the history of Eskdale as beginning about 1290 B.C., the date, ascertained by Mr. Goldsbrough, of the erection of the Girdle Stanes.

THE IBERIAN.

Of the race who set up these circles very little 1290 B.C.* is known. Ethnologists speak of them as dark and small of stature, but these features are also held to be characteristic of the succeeding race, who dispossessed the Iberian. By certain authorities in ethnology it is accepted as proved that about the time of the Roman invasion these Islands were inhabited by two types of people, one fair in complexion, the other dark. The latter are considered to have been the Iberians, the former the Gauls or Celts. If this be correct, then we must assume that the Iberians had persisted from the Stone Age down to the Roman period, despite the evi-

* It need scarcely be pointed out that this and the following dates are only approximate.

dence of the barrows that, after the Celtic migration, there was a swift modification and merging of races. The Iberian race formed the basis of the present population of Spain, Italy, and other Latin countries, but its precise place in the family of nations has never been satisfactorily settled. The researches in the most ancient barrows point to this early race having been long skulled, and Dr. Thurman, one of the chief authorities on craniology, attributes these long skulls to the Iberian race of the Stone Age. Lord Avebury thinks that the race succeeding this long-skulled people also belonged to the Stone Age, and archæology shows that this was probable even if it is not definitely settled.

In Eskdale this supposed Iberian race left no traces of its life, excepting the stone circles, and possibly some of the standing stones of the district. They were accustomed, it is said, to bury their dead, yet no trace of any of their burial places exists if, as we assume, the cairns and cists all belong to the succeeding or Celtic age. Had any record been kept of the skull measurements of the skeletons found at Airdswood Moss or Westwater, some indication at least would have been given which would have enabled the archæologist to form a surer opinion than he dare now offer. Nor is there any trace of Iberian words in the language of the people. Indeed, one of the weighty objections against the assumption that they ever peopled these Islands is the absence of their influence in any of our lingual forms. The Basque language, spoken in the north of Spain, is believed to be the lineal descendant of the Iberian. Nor can it be confidently said that there exists any relic of their dwelling places. In a previous chapter reference has been made to the stone rings of Eskdale, and the sug-

gestion noted that these might have been "Picts' Houses." But the recent discovery of a neolithic village at Fewstone, in Yorkshire, seems to suggest the idea that these rings might be remains of the hut-circles of a people who inhabited Eskdale during the earlier or Stone Age. The smallness of the number of these stone rings may be compensated for by the large number of hill-forts. These seem to indicate that at that date the people of Eskdale were not so much a pastoral as a warlike race, who did not trouble to build for themselves even such rude hut-circles as have been found at Fewstone, but dwelt in or near the forests in times of peace, and in war betook themselves to the hill-forts.

THE CELTIC.

The discoveries in the oldest, or long, barrows, 1000 B.C. point only to a long-skulled race. But in the round or conical barrows and mounds there are indications that the long-skulled people were slowly changed, probably by colonization and intermarriage, first into an oval, and later into a round-skulled race. No round skull has ever been found in a long barrow, but long skulls have, in small numbers, been found in the round barrows.

These facts, together with the discoveries of flint and other implements, suggest a migration of a new race into these Islands during the later Stone Age, and this migration Mr. Read, of the British Museum, places cir. 1000 B.C., a date which seems to be virtually accepted by all other authorities. This race was Celtic, a round headed curly haired, dark complexioned people, for the most part, though some branches of the race were light haired, tending to red.

It was this race that built the cairns and made the cists, whose stone implements have been found in small numbers at Westwater and Camp Knowes. It contributed very markedly too, both to the complexion and physical features of the present Scottish people. It left as a legacy many a superstition, many a legend, many a romance. These have entered into the religious notions of Scotland and, for many generations, have also permeated its literature.

THE BRYTHONIC OR CYMRIC.

Whether there was one Celtic migration or 300 B.C. two is another point upon which ethnologists differ. Mr. Read, who is one of our greatest authorities, thinks there were two, and the people of the second migration he calls the Brythons. Both Brython and Celt were of Aryan stock, and their coming to Britain marked one of the early stages of that great movement which can still be noted, tending ever towards the west.

It was probably to this branch of the Celtic race that the Britons of Strathclyde belonged. It was distinguished by the name of Cymri, and though of the same original stock as the older Celtic people it gradually diverged into a distinct family, whose descendants are now found in Wales and Cornwall.

The language spoken by this people, differing only slightly from the Gaelic, is still traceable in Eskdale. It was they who named the rivers—Esk, and Ewes, and gave names to some of our higher hills and to many of our glens,—a strong and virile race, able to perpetuate its qualities down through many centuries, and to impress itself profoundly upon the history of the world.

THE ROMAN.

Next in order was the occupation by the Romans. But they left singularly little mark on Eskdale, either racial or linguistic. North of Hadrian's Wall their occupation was wholly military. It was intermittent and separate from the more intimate life of the people. Thus the Roman influence, in its effect on the language, was not appreciable, but it helped to emphasize the gradual separation of the Strathclyde Celts from the other branches of the sept. On the departure of the Romans about 410 A.D., the Celtic tribes were left in a chaotic condition, and many reverted to their former pagan customs. Inter-marriage does not seem to have taken place extensively, and the ethnic influence of the Romans soon died out.

THE ANGLIC, OR SAXON.

The Saxon invasion has been perhaps the most influential factor in the evolution of the people of Eskdale. Not only did the coming of the Saxon affect the appearance of the race, but it completely altered the structure of the language. The ancient Gaelic or Cymric language of the people of Strathclyde had begun to lose its hold when Malcolm succeeded to the throne of Cumbria in 1056. Then the Scots element soon became the dominating factor in the speech and life of the people. But the Saxon invasion slowly but surely brought about the complete Saxonization of the whole of Eskdale and the lowlands generally, and the Celtic tongue once general in Strathclyde gave way to the language of the colonists. With the coming of the Saxons we may conveniently

group the earlier invasions by the Frisians and the contemporary invasion by the Angles. All these were Teutonic in race and speech. It is doubtful whether this Saxon influence was soonest and most felt in the features of the people or in their language. The Saxons brought to Eskdale the fair complexion and the blue eyes. The conjunction of these features with the darker hues of the Celt produced a type that is still characteristic of the lowlands. The language was also profoundly affected, not in Eskdale or the lowlands alone, but throughout the east of Scotland and the north of England. This effect has lived longest in the lowlands, and many of the words, phrases, and idioms which are accounted as of the Scots tongue, were contributed by the Angles and the Saxons over 1000 years ago.

The union of Saxon and Celt, or later of Celt and Norseman, is interestingly shown in the occasional conjunction of terms in the place-names of Eskdale,—this word itself indeed is a conjunction of the British *Isca* and the Norse *dale*. The welding of place-names is an indication of the gradual decay of racial feeling which would at first be acute between the old and the new settlers.

Through the marriage of Malcolm with Margaret, his Saxon Queen, the disintegrating forces at work on the Celtic language were reinforced, so that by the accession of Alexander III., in 1249, the language of the Celts as a spoken tongue had entirely disappeared from Eskdale and a Teutonic speech had taken its place.

THE NORSE.

In the ninth century the Danes and Norwegians poured down upon the coasts of Scotland, and after much warfare and struggle they established themselves in the country. Eskdale would very soon experience their onslaughts. From their base on the Solway they would speedily spread themselves over both Annandale and Eskdale,—an event which can be easily traced to-day in the many place-names in Dumfriesshire of Norse origin. It was mainly by way of the valleys of Esk and Liddel that they spread themselves over the Scottish Borders. “Extremely few places with Scandinavian names are to be found in the Scottish lowlands and even these are confined almost without exception to the counties nearest the Border. Dumfriesshire lying directly north of Cumberland and the Solway forms the central point of such places.”* Their coming introduced another factor into the progression and development of the people of Eskdale. A tall, fair complexioned, sandy-haired race, pagan in religion but brave and strong in physical powers, clear sighted and determined, the Norse people contributed many of the qualities which are characteristic of the present population of Eskdale, and also some which were perhaps more observable in the grim old days of the Border raiders. Between these raids and the piratical voyages of the Norsemen there is a strong affinity. Perhaps quite as much as the Saxons the Norsemen influenced and altered the language. They introduced the word “holm,” for instance, and the word “Langholm” itself is Norse in form. Not a few of the families who afterwards

* Worsæe: *Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland* p. 217.

became conspicuous in Eskdale and the Borders, came originally with the Norsemen. Many of our family names are of Norse origin—those ending in *son*, the Andersons, Hotsons, and others, being either Norse or adopted from Norse custom. Mr. Worsæ in his travels noted that the people of the north of England and south of Scotland were of the same type with which he was familiar in Scandinavia. Had he met them there, he says, they would not have appeared to him to be strangers. It has to be admitted that much of the completeness with which they dominated the resident tribes was due to the unsparing and pagan severity of their warfare.

Qualities are proverbially difficult to trace, but heredity operates even though its methods are capricious. The inheritances from the Saxon and the Norseman may be hard to define separately, but it will not be called in question that their qualities and characteristics have made a profound impression throughout Scotland and nowhere more than in Eskdale. "The peculiar characteristics of the lowlands," says Dr. Wilson,* "are chiefly derived from the mingled Norse and Saxon blood of a Teutonic ancestry." What has been said of the lowlands generally can be said with greater certainty of Eskdale.

THE NORMAN.

The last great migration of an alien people 1150 A.D. into Eskdale was that which took place when the Norman barons, who with their retainers had "come over with the Conqueror" in 1066, came into Scotland during the reign of David, whose residence at

* *Prehistoric Annals*, Vol. I. p. 12.

the English court had familiarized him with the Norman manners, customs, and speech. On his accession to the throne he made grants of land on a feudal tenure to many of his Norman friends, settling them on the lands which had once been held by the old Celtic tribes or clans. Nowhere was this influx greater or its results more pronounced than in Eskdale and Ewesdale. The old lands, many of which had been communal or tribal, were divided amongst the Norman barons. These brought with them into Eskdale great crowds of serving men and women of Saxon descent, whose intermarriage with the natives helped still further to obliterate the characteristics of the ancient peoples. In this case, therefore, the settlement exerted a double effect in the country by bringing both a Norman and yet another Saxon element into Eskdale life. This Saxon intermixture was intensified by a further migration, which occurred when Malcolm made his notorious raid into Northumberland and Durham in 1070. He then burned and pillaged the country, either putting its people to the sword or driving them into Scotland as his serfs, so that, says Simeon of Durham, there was "scarce a Scottish home but had its Anglie slave."

The effect of all these migrations is evident in modern customs and speech, and perhaps more noticeable still in the system of land tenure. The feudal system was of Norman planting, but so complete was David's policy that the new tenure quickly settled throughout the lowlands into the established order, and its customs and forms are even now in constant use. The Normans exerted also a considerable influence upon the written and spoken language of the people, and not a few of the words and phrases, which are regarded as Scots, were brought into the language at the feudal settlement. Some of the customs intro-

duced by the Normans still prevail in village life. The ringing of the bell in Langholm every evening in winter at eight o'clock and in summer at seven, is a survival of the old Norman "curfew" bell.* No trace of their architecture is left to us, except stray portions, such as the old sedilia in Canonby kirk-yard, reference to which will be made later. There is also the Hasp found some years ago at Wauchope Castle, a rare and beautiful specimen of French enamel work of the School of Limoges of the thirteenth century—no doubt brought over by the De Lindesays. A description of this is given in a later chapter. The scarcity of these relics is not to be marvelled at when we remember the troublous condition of the Borders during the succeeding centuries.

These, then, are the constituent elements which, during many centuries, have gone to the moulding of the people of Eskdale. Each migration has left an impress, which can be traced in the features of the people, in their mental characteristics, in their customs and beliefs, in their laws and in their language. Eskdale itself has remained the same throughout all these ages. The rivers run a little deeper in their channels. These channels have changed. The gullies on the hillsides have been eaten deeper by the frosts and storms of many centuries. Forests have given place to fields. The climate has been modified by these physical changes, and the wild life of Eskdale has been completely altered. Yet in its main features Eskdale is to-day what it was to

* This custom is popularly ascribed to the Normans. Probably they introduced it into Britain, but it had obtained throughout the north of Europe independent altogether of Norman influence. The object, of course, was to prevent conflagrations, when so many of the buildings were of wood. Eight o'clock was the regular hour for the ringing of the bell.

the primitive race who erected the Girdle Stanes or built the great cairns. Through all these ages, however, the people have been changing. Their physical attributes, their colour, their stature, their customs and speech have been slowly modified, and we who now people the valley of the Esk are but "the long result of time,"—the amalgam composed of all these various elements,—inheriting their failings but, let us hope, retaining also many of the qualities and virtues which made them men.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF ESKDALE.

THE various races, referred to in the preceding chapter, left behind them many evidences of their residence in Eskdale. It is especially by the evidences in the language or dialect of a district that their successive occupation can be traced. Words which are now regarded by literary purists as provincial or vulgar, are present in the lowland Scots tongue by an ancient lineage, and have been used in centuries past, not only as the means of expressing the thought and emotion of the people, but also as the language of culture and of learning. The speech in which Burns and other lowland poets wrote was not the patois of an ignorant peasantry,—it was a language capable of conveying the thoughts and hopes and loves and sorrows of an intelligent and virile race. Alas! that tongue is fast becoming obsolete, even in Eskdale. Our grandfathers used words of whose import we are ignorant, at the pronunciation of which we smile with the superior air of the Schools.

The speech of Eskdale, as of the entire lowlands, is a mixed language containing words and idioms from the Celtic, the Saxon, the Norse,* and the Norman, with the additions of recent centuries. In the spoken language of the district these elements may be identified with comparative ease, but the present chapter is intended to deal with them principally as revealed in the place-names of Eskdale.

* The words *Celtic* and *Norse* are used throughout this chapter as sufficiently accurate to indicate all the different branches of these languages.

The fact has been already noted that no word, even in local place-names, can now be identified as coming from the Iberian race, which is supposed to have preceded the Celtic in the occupation of our Islands. But with the Celtic era there seems to have begun that naming of places and natural features which continued down to the days of the Normans, and then proceeded by way of corruption or modification of the original—a process which is still going on. It is this modification which makes all efforts definitely to fix the origin of the place-names difficult and uncertain. Because a place to-day, for example, is known by a Celtic, Saxon, or Norse appellation, it does not of necessity follow that it actually received its name from the Celts, or the Saxons, or the Norsemen, or that it even existed, say, 1000 years ago. The name may belong to one of these languages, but it may possibly have been given to a particular place long after the people speaking that tongue had disappeared from Eskdale, or, as will be seen, a name attaching to a place now may be compounded of two or even three different root-words. But whilst this is admitted, it may be assumed that the terms used to denote certain physical features, such as rivers or mountains or homesteads, were brought into the district by the race speaking the language to which the nomenclature belongs. And not unnaturally it follows that as places are fixed and not liable to changing influences, they will generally retain those early names with possibly more or less modification. Arguing back, then, we shall not be seriously wrong if we take it that most of the names of natural objects, and of the main physical features of Eskdale, were really bestowed by the people who spoke these languages, and likewise that those place-names which have remained vir-

tually the same for several centuries, date approximately to the periods indicated.

The oldest place-names in Eskdale belong naturally to fixed and permanent objects, such as the rivers, hills and glens, and the various aspects which they present. Consequently we find a large number of the names are Celtic. Professor Veitch* contends that it is to the Cymric branch of the language that most of the place-names of Celtic derivation on the Borders belong. He quotes Zeuss, the Celtic philologist,† to show that in the older Cymric dialect preference was given to the sharp consonants, e.g., *p* to *b*, as in *pen* (a head, as applied to a hill) in the lowlands, instead of *ben*, as almost invariably used in the highlands. But for the purposes of the present chapter the term Celtic is applied generally, without committing the writers to an opinion whether a certain place-name is, or is not, of the Cymric branch of the language, as distinguished from the Gaelic.

From this Celtic language, then, there remain in Eskdale only a few place-names. Some have become united to Saxon or Norse suffixes, as in *Corsholm*, *Lynholm*, *Eskdale*, *Wauchope*. Others have undergone a change of form as well as conjunction with other root-words. An instance is *Wud-Carrick*,‡ now pronounced and spelt *Wat-Carrick*. In such cases the more modern denomination has probably displaced an original Celtic suffix. But in not a few cases the entire Celtic name remains. Some of these are here indicated :—

* *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, chap. 1.

† *Idem*, chap. 1, p. 55.

‡ In Note lv. to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Sir Walter Scott spells it WOODKERRICK.

ESK. } Celtic root *uisge*, meaning water or a current.
 EWES. } From this root came the early British *Isca*.

Variants of the words are *Ouse*, *Usk*, *Exe*, *Axe*, *Ux*, and others.

WAUCHOPE. Probably from the Celtic *wagh*, a den, (or perhaps *wau*, indicating the source of a stream), and the Norse *hope*, a valley. One of the old forms of spelling quoted by Armstrong is *Walghope*.

ALLANGILL. Is probably compounded of the Celtic *al-wen* or *all*, white, and the Norse *gil*, a ravine.

GARWALD. From the Celtic *garw*, rough, and *alt*, a brook, or possibly the word is a combination of the Celtic *garw* and the Teutonic *wald*, a wood.

In the case of GARWALD WATER the *wald* probably refers to the ravine, but in ST. THORWALD'S it is more likely that the meaning is that of a wood, as in the English place-name *wold*. The LONGWOOD referred to in the verses prefacing the Proclamation of the Fair at the Langholm Common Riding, stretched along the side of Whita, where the remains of it may still be seen in the old oaks near the Round House.

From the same Celtic root *garw*, the river-names *Yarrow* and *Garry* are also derived.

In LYNEHOLM we have *linn*, a pool, and Norse *holm*.
 DUMLINNS. In Wauchope Water, possibly from Celtic *dun*, a fortress or hill, and *linn*, so: "the pool at the hill."

LYNE. A tributary of the Esk; also from *linn*.

Curiously enough the Celtic roots do not appear so prominently in the names of the Eskdale hills. *Pen*, meaning a head, or a hill, appears in TIMPEN,* PENTON,

* What has of late years been called the TIMPEN is designated GALA-SIDE HILL in Bleau's map of 1662.

and in PENANGUS, the ancient name of Moss-paul, (meaning a hill named after Angus, who, perhaps, was the King of this name occupying the Pictish throne about 730), and in the PEN OF ESKDALEMUIR, often called ETTRICK PEN. The word is the equivalent of the Gaelic *ben*, as applied to mountains.

Tor, Celtic for a towering rock, may be the root of TERRONA, spelt by Bleau *Torronna*. Probably it also enters into TARRAS, though this may be a corruption of the Latin *turrus*, a tower. In either case the reference implied would probably be to Tinnis Hill rather than Whita.

Craig, or *carraig* is a Celtic root indicating a rock. We have it in THE CRAIG, and in the Celtic-Norse compound CRAIGCLEUCH, and in WUD-CARRICK—that is *wudu*, Anglo-Saxon a wood, and Celtic *carraig*, a rock, the name being a literal description of the place.

Glen is a Celtic root which has come down to us with its original meaning. Its form in the Gaelic is *gleann*, a valley. In Eskdale it is of frequent occurrence:—

GLENDARG. *Glen*, and *dearg*, red, *i.e.*, the red glen.

DOWGLEN. *Dubh*, black, and *glen*: the black glen.

GLENCORF. *Glen*, and *garw*, rough: the rough glen.

GLENVOREN. *Glen*, and *mhoran*, plenty, or *mhor*, big: the glen of plenty, or the big glen.

GLENFIRRA. *Glen*, and *firean*, an eagle: the eagles' glen.

GLENDIVEN. *Glen*, and probably *dubh*, black.

FINGLAND. Originally Finglen: * *finn*, white, and *glen*: the white glen.

GLENTENMONT. The higher reach of the Wauchope.

There is also the Celtic *cnoc*, meaning a hill. It appears in Eskdale in THE KNOCK and in the pleonasm

* Bleau's map, 1662.

KNOCKHILL, and in GILNOCKIE, where it is joined to the Norse *gil*, a ravine. THE KNOCK itself is on the farm of Tanlawhill. In Westerkirk parish there are MID-KNOCK and NETHER-KNOCK.

In NEASEHILL we have a pleonasm of Celtic *neas*, a hill, and the Saxon *hill*.

In AUCHEN-RIVOCK, we have a distinctively Gaelic name. It comes from *auchen*, or *achadh*, a field, a very common prefix in Scotland; *rivock* is probably a corruption of the Gaelic *riabach*, meaning grey: thus the grey field.

In GALASIDE we get the Celtic *gal*, an open plain, the reference being no doubt to the Castleholm, or possibly from *gala*, clear water, referring to the Esk.

CORSHOLM is the union of the Celtic *cors*, a marsh, and the Anglo-Saxon or Norse *holm*. The word really means "the boggy island."

Dun, a fort, is Celtic. It appears in DUNABY, in DUMFEDLING and in DUMLINNS. If the residence of the Celt was on low-lying ground instead of on a hill, it was called *logan* instead of *dun*. This may be the origin of the name of LOGAN WATER, given to one of the sources of the Wauchope.

In BONESE, or BOONIES as it was spelt 200 years ago, and still is so spelt in the Estate papers (and in BONSHAW) the *bon* is probably from *ban*, meaning fair or beautiful.

The Celtic *caer* or *car* also occurs. As already mentioned, it means a stronghold or fort, and in this signification left its name in the farm of KERR, between Wauchopedale and Canonby, and also in the patronymic Ker or Kerr, a well-known Border name, which has probably descended from the days of the Strathclyde

Britons, though certain writers have endeavoured to trace it to a Norman origin. It is also found in CARWOOD-RIG in Ewesdale, the original name of the corrupted Carrotrig, or as on Bleau's map, Kerriot-rig.

In the place-name of COOMS we have the Celtic *cwm*, meaning a hollow or shelter between hills. This, we believe, is the only instance of its survival in the Eskdale district.

In RASHIEL the root may be the Celtic *rhos*, a moor, or perhaps *rasach*, in either of its meanings, the ridge of a hill, or a place covered with shrubwood.

In BAILEY HILL we have the Celtic *baile*, a village. The same word is very common in Ireland as *bally*. In some charters granted after the coming of the Norman barons it is spelt *La Baly*.

The *tan* in TANLAWHILL is probably the Celtic *ton*, the back of a hill or knoll, the *law* and *hill* being one of those duplications already referred to as so frequently found in districts in which there has been a succession of different races. Thus the same root idea is expressed in each of the three syllables.

The race succeeding the Celtic in Eskdale was the Saxon, who, as before mentioned, effected a complete change in the language, substituting the Anglo-Saxon for the old British tongue. They, too, have left their traces in the place-names in Eskdale. Not infrequently a Saxon name is conjoined to a Celtic root. Nearly all the distinctive Saxon names for natural objects and features are found in Eskdale. These, so far as they were given to permanent objects, such as hills and streams and burns, very probably date back to the Saxon invasion, but naturally the names given to dwell-

ing places, either singly or in groups, though Saxon or Norse in form, may be of recent date. Many of the original place-names have, of course, been modified or corrupted by that inevitable transmutation which occurs in a language spoken in various dialects, but many of the original words still remain.

One of the most frequent affixes in Eskdale is *ton* or *toun*. This is the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, meaning an enclosure, and in this sense it has been applied, not only to towns and villages in the lowlands, but even to separate farms. It is still the custom in Eskdale and the lowlands generally to speak of a farm as a *farm-toun*.

The *ton* is seen in :

STAPELGORTOUN. This name is composed of three Anglo-Saxon roots: *Stapel* refers to an authorised market town, and is found in Whitstable, Barnstaple, Dunstable, and others. Trades are now described as "staple," but in the days of the Anglo-Saxons it was the place that was so styled. *Gor* is a muddy or marshy place, and *toun* is town. So that the name may be construed as "the market town on the marsh." What trade STAPELGORTOUN was *staple* for can only be conjectured—probably it was wool.

In this connection we have the word "woolstapler."

ARKLETON. From Scandinavian *ark*, a temple, and *ton*, or from the Celtic *ar*, a hill, *kil*, a church or cell (e.g. UNTHANK), and *ton*.

ARKIN is from the same root, with (possibly) the Celtic suffix *kin*, which is also seen in BOYKIN or BYKEN.

This suffix seems to be used as a variant of *pen*.

FIDDLETON. Possibly from Celtic *fidd*, a wood, or *fich*, a castle, and *ton*.

KIRKTON, *i.e.* *kirk* and *ton*, the village grouped round a kirk.

MILNTOWN or MILTON. From Anglo-Saxon *miln*, a mill, and *ton*, the village near the mill; or in some cases the *middle* town. The prefix is frequently met with in Canonby: SARKMILNTOWN, MILNSTEADS, HARELAWMILN, &c.

DAVINGTON. Evidently from the name *David*, i.e. David I., and *ton*.

We have already mentioned that in Eskdale there are not a few place-names made up partly of Celtic and partly of Anglo-Saxon or Norse roots. Some have been given and others are :

ABERTOWN or EVERTOWN. The Celtic *aber*, (supposed by some authorities to be originally a Phœnician word) indicates the mouth of a river, but it seems doubtful whether in this case it is not a corrupted form of some other prefix. The place not so long ago was called OVERTOWN, and half a mile from it there is still a NETHERTOWN, so possibly there would also be a *Middletown*, a group corresponding to OVERBY, NETHERBY, and MIDDLEBY.

BROCKETLINNS. From Anglo-Saxon *brocc*, a badger, and Celtic *linn*, a pool. Cp. BROCKWOODLEES.

BOGLE-GILL. From the Celtic *breg*, a spirit, and the Norse *gil*, a ravine.

CARLESGILL. The *car* may be from the Celtic *caer*, a fort, or from *carle*, a man of low social class or a husbandman, but more probably from *Carl*, the name of a Scandinavian hero, and *gil*, a ravine.

The Celtic root *kil*, the synonym of the Welsh *llan*, meaning a cell, the residence of a hermit or a saintly personage, is very seldom found in Eskdale. One instance, linked to an Anglo-Saxon suffix, is KILNCLEUCH, and of course it is also in KILNGREEN, in which instance

the *kil* referred to was possibly the old kirk of Stapelgortoun, although on Bleau's map of 1662 there is noted a place called KILHILL near to Stapelgortoun kirk.

In KILNCLEUCH the cell might be that of Thor the Long, referred to on page 51. The *n* added to *kil* is probably recent.

The word "water" as applied to a stream is a well-known term throughout the south of Scotland. In Eskdale we have WESTWATER, STENNIESWATER, GARWALDWATER, WAUCHOPEWATER, TARRAS WATER, and others. *Water* in the Anglo-Saxon is *wæter*,—a pronunciation still used in Teviotdale.*

STENNIESWATER is "the stony stream," from Anglo-Saxon *stan*, a stone. The same word comes into STANEHOLM SCAR, often wrongly spelt STEENOM, where one time there was a farm.

Burn, so common in Eskdale, is Anglo-Saxon. *Cleuch* is from the Anglo-Saxon *claugh*, a cleft in the rock. It occurs in CRAIGCLEUCH, CLEUCHFOOT, HOGILLCLEUCH, and others.

Haugh is from the Norse *hagi*, pasture ground, and occurs in CRAIGHAUGH, WHITHAUGH and a few other place-names.

The Anglo-Saxon *hall*, a safe place, or a stone house, is found in HA' CROFTS,—the "ll" being dropped in conformity with the Scottish custom, CALLISTER HA', and WESTERHALL, the pronunciation of which was formerly Westerha',—a name dating only from the seventeenth century. The name given in Bleau's map of 1662 to Westerhall is DARDERRENN, but in the oldest charters it is

* Professor Veitch in his *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 23, says the same pronunciation occurs in Eskdale, but in this surely he is wrong.

DALDORAN or DALDURIANE. The *dor* is probably Anglo-Saxon *deor*, a deer. The *dal*, which also occurs in DALBETH, an old place on the opposite bank of the Esk below Lynholm, may be the Norse, but more likely still the Celtic, for dale. *Croft* is a piece of land that has been cropped.

Cote or *cot* is Anglo-Saxon for a cottage, generally a mud hut, the only instance in Eskdale being the farm of COTE, so often referred to in previous chapters.

Feld, a field, occurs in CALFIELD and GEORGEFIELD. In HAGG-ON-ESK we have the Anglo-Saxon *hagg*, a small estate.

WHITA is from the Anglo-Saxon *hwit*, white.

WARBLA—pronounced *Wurbla* and so spelt on Bleau's map,—is probably a modified form of *Wardlaw*,* a name given to hills on which the watchers were posted in times of danger. On the first Ordnance Map of 1859 the spelling was Warb Law. *Law* is Anglo-Saxon *hlaw*, a small hill. *Ward* is used in the same sense as in *Warden* of the Marches. We also get the Anglo-Saxon *watch* in the WATCH KNOWE. We thus have precisely the same idea in different forms in WARBLA and WATCH KNOWE, the two hills of observation for the valley.

In MOODLAW, the *law* also refers to a hill. *Mood* is probably a corruption of *mid*, or *middle*, and the word is locally pronounced *midlaw*. The term MOODLAW-POINT referring to a district in the new town of Langholm, is said by old inhabitants to have been given through the farmer of Moodlaw pasturing his sheep at this particular point of the old Meikleholm farm.

BRECKONWRAY, which is now spelt BRACKENWRÆE, is a union of the Anglo-Saxon *braccan*, the plural of

* Cp. WARDEN LAW, a well known hill in the county of Durham.

bracce, a fern, and the Norse *wran* or *ra*, a corner. The latter may also be the root of the *WRAE* in Ewes, though possibly this may be from the Danish *rath*, a fort.

The name *shaw* applied to a wood is fairly frequent in Eskdale, e.g., *EARSHAW*, *SHAW RIG*, *THE SHAWS*, &c. It is from the Anglo-Saxon *scaga*, a little wood.

In that patch of hazel wood on the east side of Castle Hill, known as *THE SCROGGS*, the happy hunting ground for hazel nuts, beloved of every Langholm boy, we have the Anglo-Saxon *scrob*, meaning brushwood.

DORNEGILL is doubtless from Anglo-Saxon *deor*, a deer or a wild animal, and the Norse *gil*. Nothing now remains of the steading of Dorniegill. It stood on the right bank of Megget Water, about two miles from its junction with the Esk.

A noticeable omission from the place-names of Saxon origin in Eskdale is that of the suffix *wick*, as in *HAWICK*, and other places in Tweeddale and Teviotdale. To the best of our knowledge the termination is entirely absent, the ending *ton* always being preferred.

The ending *ham*, Anglo-Saxon for a home or dwelling place, is seldom found in Eskdale, perhaps the only instance being the farm of *MIDDLEHAMS*, sometimes wrongly called *Middleholms*.

Reference has been made to the possibility of the place-name *RIDDINGS* being derived from Rhydderch Hael. Or it may be from the Celtic *rhyd*, a ford. The syllable *ing* is usually an indication of a hamlet or village, and is Anglo-Saxon, therefore it may be "the dwelling at the ford."

The Anglo-Saxon *ley*, a pasture land, is found in Eskdale in *WOODHOUSELEE*, *WOODSLEES*, *EWESLEES*, and *BROCKWOODLEES*.

The Norse appellations in Eskdale are equally common with the Saxon, to which they are frequently conjoined. The best known is of course *holm*, which is so predominant a suffix in the place-names of the Eskdale valley. The word is also Saxon. "Originally it meant an island in a river or bay, hence a meadow near the sea or a river. It is of frequent occurrence in proper names in Iceland. The application of *holm* to spots in the river valleys of the lowlands of Scotland, seems to point to a time when the rivers were streams passing through inland lakes with green islets appearing in the midst of them."* The instances in which the word is used in Eskdale are so numerous as to render it scarcely necessary to make mention of them.† The name of LANGHOLM is sometimes attributed to Scandinavian origin,‡ but both parts of the name are also Saxon words, and the same may be said of MEIKLEHOLM, which is doubtless from the Saxon *micel*, meaning much. The suffix *by* or *bye*, which in Eskdale has so often been corrupted into *bie*, is a Norse term meaning a habitation or dwelling place. It appears in NETHERBY, CANONBY, MUMBY, BOMBY, OVERBY, SORBY. Canon Isaac Taylor says§ that the only Scandinavian settlement in the south of Scotland was in Dumfriesshire, and he adds that there are more than a dozen names with the suffix *by*. Eskdale must, in this case, account for about half of them.

The derivation of CANONBY is traced by some to the old ecclesiastical foundation, the Priory at Hallgreen,

* Professor Veitch's *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 23.

† The following may be quoted:—Langholm, Broomholm, Meikleholm, Castleholm, Arkinholm, Eldingholm, Bowholm, Glencartholm, Nittyholm, Knottyholm, Potholm, Staneholm, Corsholm, Lyneholm, Enzieholm, Flaskholm, The Holm, Murtholm, Stubholm, Bigholms, Billholm, Holmhead.

‡ See Dr. Adams' *Elements of the English Language*, p. 6.

§ *Words and Places*, p. 136.

and in this connection it would mean the residence of the canons. Others connect it with the Latin *Cœnobium* from the Greek *Koinos βίος*, common life, indicating the communal life of the monastery. Near Maryport, in Cumberland, there is a parish called Cross-Canonby.

Another Norse word almost identical with this suffix is *byre*, a dwelling. It comes into BYREBURN, DINLYBYRE, and YETBYRE. The last is the old name of CASTLE O'ER, or CASTLE OWYRN. The late Mr. Richard Bell* gives the meaning as "the chief's stronghold," but a more accurate rendering would probably be "the house by the gate."

The Scandinavian term *rig* or *ryg*, a hill, is often found along the watershed of the Esk, e.g., SHAW RIG, WESTERKER RIG, CALFIELD RIG, THE RIG, HOPSRIG, OVER RIG, PARSON'S RIG, BLACKRIG.

Fell, from the Norse *fjall*, is less frequently met with among the hills of Eskdale, but it appears in COOMSFELL in Tarras, EWENSHOPE FELL at the head of Ewes, and a few others.

The Norse *beck*, a burn, is seldom found, perhaps the only instances being THE BECKS in Wauchopedale and ARCHERBECK in Canonby.

The suffix *gil* is of common occurrence: BOGLEGILL, EFFGILL, CARLESGILL, KERNIEGILL, GABERGILL, and others. In all of these it indicates a ravine.

Grains, as in THE GRAINS, an old farm which once stood behind Wauchope Schoolhouse, and in CHAPEL GRAINS, further up the same valley, and the GRAINS WELL, also in Wauchopedale, and CLERKHILL GRAINS, in Eskdalemuir, is from the Norse *greni*, meaning a branch, as applied to a valley where it divides into other smaller glens, or to the fork of a stream. These seem to

* *My Strange Pets*, p. 294.

be the only instances of the word occurring in the Eskdale district.

Shields, as in BROOMHOLMSHIELDS, ARKLETONSHIELDS, WHITSHIELDS and others, is from the Norse *skali*, a shepherd's hut.

Hope, a small valley between hills, may be either Celtic or Norse. Probably in Eskdale it was the Scandinavians who brought it into use. It appears in WAUCHOPE, TUDHOPE, HOPSRIG, MARTINHOPE, WOLPHOPE, and many others.

Hass, a hill pass, is seldom found, but we get it in SORBY HASS, the wild hill-road leading from Ewesdale into Eskdale, in WRAE HASS close to it, and in GUILHASS at the head of Carrotrig Burn. The word *hass*, as applied to the throat, once current in Eskdale, is now obsolete.

The word *thwaite*, a clearing, is not so common as in Cumberland, indeed it is hardly found at all in Eskdale. It is present in HARPERWHAT and THORNIWHAT.

In COPELAWGAIR the first syllable may be the Anglo-Saxon *cop*, a hill or mound, as in *Copshaw*. If so, then there is a duplication in adding *law*. Or the root may be the Danish *copen*, as in Copenhagen, *i.e.*, a place for traders. *Gair* is also found in RAWGAIR, the name of the hillside between Warbla and Earshaw.

In ELDINGHOLM, the name given to the holm on which the present Established Kirk of Langholm stands, we have the old north-country word *elding*, meaning fuel, doubtless derived from the Norse *eld*, fire. In this case the name suggests that once the holm was thickly covered with brushwood, instead of the stately oaks and beeches of recent years.

The word *dale*, which is found so abundantly in the

lowlands, and in Cumberland and Yorkshire, is a Norse appellation. It is said that in England there are no fewer than one hundred and fifty-two valleys known as dales. This suggests the wide extent of the Norse settlements. Both in the south of Scotland and north of England the Norse influence in place-names and in the general dialect of the people has been most marked.

In the places named after wild animals we get a glimpse into that far-past age when Eskdale was the habitat of species now completely extinct in the district. These place-names are suggestive of their having been the special resorts of these animals, e.g., BROCKETLINNS and BROCKWOODLEES would be the resorts of the *badger*, TODSHAWHILL of the *fox*, WOLFHOPE and WOLFCLEUCH of the *wolf*, CATGILL of the *wild cat*, DORNIEGILL of the *deer*, and so on.

Some discussion has taken place anent the derivation of CASSOCK in Eskdalemuir. The local pronunciation is *Cassa*, and this has suggested the theory that it might indicate the locality of an old Roman "causeway," which in Eskdale is also pronounced *cassa*, and not *causey* as in some parts of Scotland. It appears much more probable, however, that the name is derived from the Latin *casa*, a cottage. Cp. *Candida Casa* in Galloway.

The place-name WOODHOUSE, occurring so frequently throughout the Borders, either in this form or in conjunction with a suffix, relates to that period in local history when the chief house in the hamlet was built of wood and not of mud, as those of the vassals were. It is, therefore, almost synonymous with TOWER.

For lists of words derived from the Celtic and Norse, now or recently in regular use in the speech of Eskdale, see Appendix I.

PART III.
FEUDAL AND MEDIÆVAL.

Septentrio.

P A R S T V E D I Æ

Vulgo

T W E D A I L

T E V J O J J Æ P A R S,

T I F F

D A I L

P A R S

L I D A

L I Æ

Vulgo

L I D I S

D A I L

Aut Ten Part
I Blas Exced

Meridies.

BLEAU'S MAP OF 1662.



FEUDAL AND MEDIÆVAL.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NORMAN BARONS.

DAVID the First came to the throne of Scotland in 1124 on the death of Alexander, his brother. The new king, in whom there met the Celtic and Saxon lines of kings, had already ruled, as Earl, over Cumbria, in which territory, it will be remembered, Eskdale was situated. With his accession another epoch in the history of Scotland dawned. David had spent some of his earlier years at the English court, where, as the Earl of Northampton, he had an acknowledged position. During this impressionable period of his life he had been brought into close touch with the Norman Barons, who had settled in England after the Conquest. By these he was considerably influenced, and he seems to have conceived an admiration for many of their customs, their language, and especially for that theory of the social basis of society on which they erected their feudal system. Accordingly, on his accession to the Crown of Scotland, David set about the entire reorganization of its system of land tenure. To carry out this purpose the more quickly and efficiently he introduced a large number of his Norman acquaintances, to whom he granted the superiority of the lands on a strictly feudal tenure,—that of vassalage and obedience to himself as the chief feudal lord.

During the Celtic and Saxon periods, the tenure of land in Scotland had been, more or less, on a feudal basis. The

feudal idea, indeed, lay at the root of the tribal system, and also entered into the social and economic life of the clans. But *their* feudal tenure was indigenous, and had a communal purpose, whereas that now introduced by David was a foreign importation, and it was personal and regal. Consequently it entirely shifted the fulcrum of government. At its base lay the theory that "every man should find a lord," and on this axiom David now proceeded to set up a system which profoundly altered both the political and social history of the country, and indeed still dominates all our theories of land tenure. We believe we are right in saying that, even in this democratic age, the idea which underlies and governs the transference of land is that even the holder of the fee-simple himself can enjoy only an interest therein, and can never be legally regarded as the absolute owner. The conveyance always assumes a superior, or a "lord," as David termed him. Where the superior cannot be now identified his existence is nevertheless implied. David had imbibed this feudal theory from his Norman associates, but in essence it was only a modification of the system of fiefage which had long prevailed in the German states.

The introduction of the Norman nobles into the lowlands produced an effect out of all proportion to their numbers. At the most, only a few thousands of them settled in the country. Their disproportionate influence arose through the power which, by virtue of the feudal laws, they were enabled to wield over their vassals and bondmen. As the superior under the feudal system of tenure, the Baron was a person of very great authority. It was largely by virtue of his power over these Barons and their Anglie vassals that, during his Earldom, David had exercised his sovereignty over Cum-

bria. Both then and during his reign, all the grants of land in Scotland were made upon the feudal condition of vassalage and military service,—a picturesque basis of society which had the additional merit of being extremely simple. This vassalage was fundamental to feudalism and it provides the explanation of the many changes in the ownership of the lands in Eskdale during the centuries which followed the reign of David. Baron succeeded baron as the lord of these territories, and the changes were nearly always due to some violation of this basic feudal principle. Failure to provide military help or to give due service and homage, was at once visited by forfeiture—a word which provides the key to open out many a confused period of the history of Eskdale. Grants of land were made by Royal charter, but even an instrument of this character was subject to repeated confirmation, or as frequent revocation, if the feudal conditions were not absolutely fulfilled. Their possession of those estates did not render the Barons themselves immune from service. They toiled not, neither did they spin, as their vassals did, but still they had many duties to perform. They had to hold courts and dispense justice on behalf of the King, but, of course, solely as his representatives, liable to be called upon at any time for an account of their stewardship. For the essential dogma of the feudal system was that the King was the embodiment of the State, and was also the fount and origin of wealth, and of every other good. To the present day we speak of “the King’s peace” and even “the King’s English,”—phrases which embody the true feudal idea. As well as these civil duties, military service was being continually demanded of the Barons, who were likewise responsible for the good conduct and obedience of their dependants.

Another feature of the policy of David I. speedily made itself felt in Eskdale. The personal character of that King is said to have been one comprising not a few attractive qualities. Fond of gardening and tree culture, and of gentle habits, he was devoted also to religious exercises. One of his successors, with dry humour, styled him "ane sair sanct to the Croon." His inclination to serious things doubtless came from his mother, Queen Margaret, for his father, Malcolm Canmore, was not by nature either gentle in habit or religious in practice. David showed his sympathy with the church by lavish gifts of land to the various religious communities which quickly sprang up during his reign, and of these benefactions Eskdale, as we shall show later, was not left without a fair share.

Along with the feudal system,—partly, perhaps, a natural result of it, and partly arising through the temperament and historic training of the Normans,—there came into being the practice and recognition of chivalry as an obligation upon those placed in high positions and in touch with the throne itself. A trace of this practice of chivalry survives in Eskdale in the name "Turnerholm," given to that strip of land now divided by the Ewes road, immediately south of the Whitshields Burn. The name is a corruption of "Tourney-holm," that is, the place where were decided those tournaments, combats, and tests of military skill or courage which were such prominent features of the romantic days of chivalry.

In its main effects the Norman invasion was nowhere more complete than in Eskdale and the neighbouring dales. These were portioned out amongst David's Norman friends. Amongst those thus introduced into Eskdale were the De Kunyburgs, Avenels, De Rossedals, De Lindsays, Lovels, Frasers, Moffats, and later the Douglasses.

Annandale was awarded to Robertus de Brus, a Norman name which, modified into "Robert the Bruce," was afterwards to become dear to the heart of every Scot. Teviotdale was divided among the families of Ridel, Corbet, Percie, and others. Lands in Clydesdale and the Lothians were given to Walterus de Lindesaya, whose family was afterwards to play a very influential part in the history of Eskdale and Wauchopedale. Other Norman names appearing in Dumfriesshire at this time were Comyn, Jardine, Sinclair, Johnstone, Baliol, Grant, and Fleming. Some writers, also, ascribe a Norman origin to the old Border name of Ker, but, as indicated in the preceding chapter, the name in this form is most probably British, though its English synonym, Carre, may be Norman in form. It will be seen from this list that the Bruce was of Norman blood, and so was the father of Sir William Wallace, the greatest and most unselfish of all our Scottish patriots. The elder Wallace is said to have come from Wales with the Norman Walter Fitz-Allan, who founded the Scottish Royal House of Stuart. Margaret Crawford, the mother of the patriot, is said to have traced her descent back to Thor the Long, to whom reference is made on pages 51 and 144.

The name of Maxwell which for many generations was destined to wield so great a power throughout Dumfriesshire, and certainly not least in Eskdale, was, in ancient documents, written in the Norman form of Mac-cusville.* But the original form of the name seems to have been Maccus-well, derived it is said from a Saxon lord one Maccus who lived about 950 near Kelso, and there became possessed of a famous salmon pool, still known by the corrupted form of Maxwheel.

* Canon Taylor's *Words and Places*, c. viii.

The name of Moffat, with its synonym Mowatt, is said to have come from the Norman De Montealt. Frequent reference will be made in the following pages to the Maxwells, but something should be here noted of the connection with Eskdale of the family of Moffat. Armstrong mentions* that there are records of four charters from Robert I. (the Bruce) of lands in the Barony of Westerker to persons of the name of Moffat. Two of these were grants to Adam Moffat of the "lands of Knocis and Crokis" [the Knock and Crooks], and two to Thomas Moffat of the lands of Glen-crofts and Suegill, and another of the lands of Suegill only. These latter places cannot now be identified, unless Suegill be the original of Effgill, the local pronunciation of which—Ā-gill—is nearer to the spelling of the former than it is to the latter. Armstrong remarks in a note that the lands of Knock were in the possession of the Moffats as late as 1607, but he seems uncertain whether the Knock was in Eskdale or Annandale. The Moffats continued, as owners, to occupy the Knock, which, of course, is in Eskdale, until it was purchased by the Buccleuch family, probably by Anne, the great Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth. When the Duchess came to reside at Branxholme, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, she made it her policy to buy all the lands in the district she could possibly obtain. Thereafter the Moffats remained in the Knock, or Mid-knock, as tenants of the Duke of Buccleuch until 1905. The last tenant of the name was Mr. Robert Moffat, J.P., of Gowanlea, Canonby, who entered into the tenancy in succession to his father, the late James Moffat. The termination of so long an occupancy, dating as we have

* *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 151.

seen from about 1300, and probably without parallel in Eskdale, was a matter of keen regret to his Grace the present Duke of Buccleuch. Some of the Moffats of the Knock, it is said, accompanied Robert the Bruce to Bannockburn. From the Privy Council Records it appears that on August 12th, 1504, King James IV., held a Court at Dumfries,* and amongst other business despatched was the trial of John Litill for the cruel slaughter of the King's liege man Thomas Moffet, of Knock, and "being at the King's horn for the same slaughter, and for art and part for supplying and assisting the rebels of Eskdale." Of this crime Litill was found guilty and was hanged.†

The survival of such well-known family names as Douglas, Maxwell and Moffat seems to bridge over the gulf of seven centuries, and to bring the gay and sprightly Normans much nearer to our more sombre selves.

In this manner, then, began Eskdale to take on some of those characteristics which it still retains, not a few of which were acquired from the Norman Barons who had so summarily dispossessed the Saxon settlers, even as they themselves had dispossessed the ancient British chieftains.

* Later in the same month the King paid his famous visit to Eskdale. See c. xix.

† Armstrong, *History*, p. 151, and *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser*, May 31st, 1905

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BARONIES.

WITH the settlement in Scotland of the Norman and English Barons, the entire political administration of the country underwent a change. The government by the King, with the advice and consent of the Seven Earls, which had been the constitutional rule, now gave place to a system imported from abroad. In the place of the Earls, David set those Barons of Norman or English race whom he had brought into Scotland on his accession, and amongst them he divided the land. The areas over which the Barons were placed were appropriately termed Baronies. These corresponded roughly to the Manors of England, indeed, by some writers, the Baronies are occasionally referred to as Manors. The name remains in various forms to remind us of those far-off days, but the tenure itself has passed away with the setting suns. These territories were granted, usually by charter, to the favourites of the King, to be enjoyed by them at his royal will and pleasure, or during such time as the Barons might remain loyal to his person and throne. The latter stipulation was essential to the feudal system, and was the more necessary in Scotland, because the larger number of the Barons introduced by David were already vassals of Edward of England, and the feudal obligations to the two thrones were often difficult of adjustment. As already indicated, this conflict of loyalties was responsible in Eskdale, as in other districts, for the many and frequent changes in the ownership.

A further consideration for the due enjoyment of these possessions was obedience and military service. Occasionally the Barons were seriously distracted by their being under the same rule of service to the two different Kings. The vacillation of some of the Scottish Barons during the War of Independence was induced by these irreconcilable obligations, which afford the key to what is otherwise very puzzling. By remembering this, the seemingly arbitrary actions of Edward I. may perhaps appear in a different perspective, and so also may the apparent lack of patriotism of many of the Scoto-Norman Barons during those days of trial and testing.

The same military service, and the same obedience which the Barons, more or less consistently, gave to the sovereign, they exacted from their vassals and from all their feudal inferiors. The system certainly had the commendations of simplicity and ordered arrangement, and thereby it possessed advantages over the more loosely organized relationships existing before the reign of David.

One of the immediate results of this more settled order was that the people were enabled to attend more zealously and continuously to the cultivation of their land, than had been possible during the frequent wars which previously harassed the country. The pious habit of the King of making settlements of the religious orders also helped this civilizing process. The monks of the conventual houses were, to some extent, skilled in agriculture and the useful crafts, and thus combining these arts and handicrafts with the exercise of their more spiritual functions, they were enabled to instil habits of industry into the surrounding population. This movement was arrested, however, by the war which followed the at-

tempted usurpation by Edward I. of England. In like manner, the commercial intercourse which had been steadily developing between Scotland and England received a severe check, which, so far as Eskdale and the Borders were concerned, was not to be completely overcome for several centuries.

The Barons who had settled on lowland soil soon accommodated themselves to the requirements of their new allegiance, and throughout the troublous years which were to follow most of them remained loyal to the Scottish cause, though to this, as one might expect, there were some exceptions.

A Barony, then, was the feudal possession and the sphere of influence of the Baron. Within its limits he exercised over his tenants and vassals powers of almost unlimited scope, being subject only to the over-lordship of the King, from whom directly he held his rights and privileges. These powers were not only political and administrative, but were also judicial. Within his Barony the Baron possessed not only all the subordinate powers of fine and imprisonment, but he also held the right of dismemberment, and wielded absolute powers of life and death. It must be admitted, however, that though the vassals and inferiors were often arbitrarily treated by their Barons or immediate superiors, they were, nevertheless, recognised as occupying a definite position in the State, and in Scotland this position was respected, as it was in perhaps no other feudal country. When a change of ownership occurred it was marked by some ceremony which took place, sometimes in the church, sometimes in the churchyard. Such a ceremony would doubtless serve as a proof of title in the absence of a charter or a bond.

From the time of David to that of Robert the Bruce, both Annandale and Eskdale were under this baronial jurisdiction, which was separate from, and practically independent of, that of the sheriff. In Annandale such jurisdiction was exercised by the ancestors of the Bruce, but in Eskdale, as has been indicated, it was exercised by the different great landowning Barons. The county of Dumfries, as then constituted, consisted of the Sheriffdom of Nithsdale, the Stewartry of Annandale, and the Regality of Eskdale,—jurisdictions approximating roughly to the three main river systems. The Regality of Eskdale, which must not be confused with a burgh of regality whose title and privileges the monks of the conventual houses often obtained for the village which clustered round their house, consisted of the different Baronies enumerated below. The Lord of the Regality held the same powers over the larger area that the Baron himself held over the smaller. Should the Lord of Regality fail to perform his judicial functions, these reverted theoretically to the Sheriff, but, in actual practice all the powers and privileges were again assumed by the King himself.

In 1610, by Royal charter, to which reference will be made later, Langholm was created a free Barony, with an area carved out of several of the other Baronies of Eskdale. Such a burgh was inferior in status and privileges to a Royal burgh, but there were assigned to it some of the prerogatives of the Baron or the Lord of Regality, though to him many rights were still reserved.

Gradually most of these special prerogatives, exercised by the Baron within his Barony, fell into disuse, notably his capital jurisdiction, and his right of dismemberment and imprisonment in civil cases, but it was not until

1747 that most of his judicial functions, and certain other privileges, were formally resumed by the Crown.

The Eskdale Baronies, which, in a rough and indefinite way, comprised the entire dale, were :—

STAPELGORTOUN.

WESTERKER.

DUMFEDLING.*

WAUCHOPE.

LANGHOLM.

BRYNTALLONE, or CANONBY.†

TARRAS.

It does not appear from the records that Ewesdale was ever constituted into a separate Barony, though in some of the documents allusion is made to the Lordship of Ewes. Probably it was apportioned between Stapelgortoun, and Westerker, and in its northern parts it was held by smaller owners.

In estimating the effect of this Baronial settlement and jurisdiction, regard must also be paid to the coeval rise into positions of power of the conventual foundations, to which, not only the King himself, but the Barons as well, made frequent and considerable grants of land or teinds, and other privileges. In Eskdale there was a considerable number of these foundations, not all of them, as will be seen later, being under the same diocesan authority. The growing influence of these religious houses afterwards created a factor often distinct from the power of the Barons. Perhaps it would better describe the

* In a grant dated 1609 to "william erle of mortoun" the wording is "ane hail and frie tennendrie to be callit now and in all tyme cumming the tennendrie of dumfedling."

Tennendrie and *Barony* we have taken as virtually synonymous.

† Sometimes called BRETALACH, and so named in a grant of Robert I. to John de Soulis.

position to say that the monasteries became in effect Barons, and exercised all their feudal functions. As a matter of fact this was legally the case with the higher dignitaries of the church, both in Scotland and England. The Bishops of the Palatinate counties of Durham and Lancaster, especially, held their lands on the ordinary feudal tenure, and they were not infrequently called upon to marshal their vassals and lead them into the fight. The Regality of Eskdale corresponded to these Palatinate counties, whose rights and duties were akin to those attached to the lordship of the Regality. In the Regality of Hexham, the Bishops of the early church exercised Palatinate rights. It is worthy of note, too, that the monks were quite as eager as the barons in the use and enjoyment of the sports of the field. They preserved their forest and fishing rights as tenaciously as they held their dogmas.

Attached to each Barony there was, what might be called, a municipal or baronial corn mill, at which the holders of land were required, as a condition of their tenure, to have all their grinding done. The tenancy of the mill, with all its concurrent privileges, *in molendinis cum multuris et sequelis*, was commonly given with the grants of land, and, as a result of this custom, the religious foundations often possessed this, even as they acquired other, industrial privileges. To the vassals or feuars there was no option given of selecting any other mill for the grinding of their corn. They were feudally bound to go to the mill within the Barony, and the miller, or his superior, had grounds of action against any one who failed to perform this condition of tenure. This law continued to a comparatively recent date. As in the case mentioned below, grants were sometimes

made which carried with them the privilege of grinding at the Barony mill "without multure." According to the old Scots law, "multure" was the quantity of grain payable to the miller for grinding the corn for the tenant. From the frequent mention of freedom from multure, it would appear that the feudal superior was, on the principle of "to him that hath shall be given," generally exempt from the dues, but that his vassals and inferiors were always required to pay the tribute. The monks, however, had all their goods and merchandise admitted duty free.

The mill of Stapelgortoun would be a very important centre of activity in the "toun." It probably stood on that side of the river opposite to the feudal castle, which is still called the Milnholm. Near to the present Milnholm House there are evidences of a mill lade once having existed. Its course can still be easily seen by anyone walking round the spur of the hill between Craighcleuch and Milnholm. The mill belonging to the Barony of Westerker was on the Shiel Burn,* and, in later years at any rate, there was another mill at the Knock. Wauchope mill was at the Earshaw, a little to the west of the Big Dowie Stane. On Bleu's map it is marked on the left bank of the Wauchope, but we hazard the suggestion that the mill was not there, but on the right bank of the river. An examination of the ground in the recess formed by the curve of the hill, about a hundred yards west of the Big Dowie Stane, suggests that a dam had once run in this place. The bed of gravel can still be traced almost into Wauchope. If this was not the actual site of the mill, it must at some date have been used for a similar

* From a rent-roll of the Buccleuch Estates supplied to the Commission of 1679, we find that "the milne of Shiel and Holm with the pertinents were sett in tack to the Laird of Westerhall for 21 years."

purpose. Langholm mill was of course where it stands to-day, and round about it was clustered the "mill-town," a name attaching until quite recently to the dwelling house at the end of Ewes Bridge. To the tenancy of the "corn and walk-milne of Langholm," there was sometimes attached the right to farm "the pettie customs of Langholm and salmon fisheries of Esk and Ewes." We read of one such tenancy held by Robert Elliot and Jannet Maxwell, his spouse, at a rental of £466 13s. 4d. Scots, or about £39 sterling.

The mill of Bryntallone Barony, or Canonby, as it afterwards came to be called, was at the Hollows. Where the Tarras mill stood does not appear to be known, unless the old mill which stood near to Sorby served for Ewes and Tarras jointly,—an arrangement not unlikely, seeing that farms both in Ewes and Tarras were comprised in the Barony of Stapelgortoun. What possibly may have been the basin for the storage of the water for this mill can still be seen in Sorby Hass. Some artificial work has obviously existed there, and the configuration of the ground suggests some such use as this.

There was also a mill attached to Arkleton, and it doubtless served for the higher parts of Ewesdale. That at the Holm of Eskdalemuir, mentioned above, no doubt belonged to the Barony of Dumfedling.

STAPELGORTOUN.

Of all the Baronies created in Eskdale that of Stapelgortoun was the most compact, and preserved for the longest time its ancient Baronial boundaries. Perhaps owing to its geographical position it came to be the most considerable and powerful of them all, and developed

into a "town" of some importance. Afterwards, in 1628, it was merged into the Burgh of Barony of Langholm under the charter of the Earl of Nithsdale.

Stapelgortoun appears to have had some claim to the dignity of a burgh. Until a comparatively recent date there was within the Barony a tract of some twenty-six acres of land known as "the burgh-roods of Stapelgortoun." This portion remained distinct from the rest of the Barony. At one time it was in the possession of the Earl of Annandale, the only land he owned in Eskdale, and it ran as a wedge into the Duke of Buccleuch's land. The explanation given concerning these twenty-six acres is that, originally, they were church lands, granted to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem as a reward or thank-offering for the defeat of the Saracens in the Crusades. They were, consequently, held as inalienable until, at the Reformation, they reverted to the Crown and were afterwards granted to the Earl of Annandale.

When first mentioned, the Barony of Stapelgortoun, which extended southwards from Westerker on both banks of the Esk, was in the possession of one William de Kunyburg, to whom, evidently, the Barony had been granted by David I. in the twelfth century. The boundaries of the Barony are now difficult of exact demarcation. Probably it lay between the neighbouring Baronies of Westerker and Langholm, and extended, as a fourteenth century rent-roll would show, even into Ewesdale, and included Arkin, Tarrisholm, Rashiell, and Whitshields. Westward, it would march with the Barony of Wauchope, and the so-called Roman road along the flank of the hill, now popularly known as the Timpen, was probably the main line of communication between the two Baronies, and also between Stapelgortoun and Canonby.

During the reign of Alexander III., a son of the above-named Sir William de Kunyburg was in possession of the lands, and he granted to Herbert Maxwell "one carucate* of land in Langholme" in feu-farm. Some of the boundaries of this grant were defined as: "Beginning at the end of Langholme, as the fountain of St. Patrick runs down into the Eske and ascends in the same direction as far as the Blakesike which descends into the Eske. . . .†" The grant also included part of the Langfauld, and half a carucate of land in Brakanwra, and there was added to the grant the right "that the said Herbert and his heirs shall grind at the mill of Stabilgortoun freely without multure." There appears to be little further trace in Eskdale of the Kunyburg family. A daughter of the second Sir William married Sir John Fraser of Ewes, to whom there was given, evidently as a marriage portion with his wife, a grant of the lands of Rig, in Westerkirk, on payment of a nominal acknowledgment.

This mention of Herbert Maxwell is the first occurrence of the name in Eskdale, where, in later centuries, it was to be so intimately associated with the varying fortunes of the valley.

In 1281, however, Herbert Maxwell, or de Makiswell, (the name during the transition period whilst the Norman element was being slowly superseded), resigned these lands of Langholm and Brakanwra. Possibly they re-

* A carucate, or ploughland, was the extent of land such as a team of oxen could plough in one season. An ox-gate, or what effeired to the cultivation of one ox "where pleuch and scythe may gang," was 13 acres. The husbandus, or cultivator, who kept two oxen for the common plough and possessed two ox-gates, had 26 acres, and this acreage was called a husbandland. Four husbandi, generally joint tenants, working their common plough, had as their whole possession a plough-gate, that is the land tilled by eight oxen, or 104 acres.

† Armstrong, *History*, p. 152.

verted to the Crown on the decease of Sir William de Kunyburg. Alexander III. then conferred the lands of Stapelgortoun on Sir John of Lyndesay, his chamberlain. Some four years afterwards, the King made Lyndesay still another gift of lands in Stapelgortoun and Wauchope. It is as feudal Barons of Wauchope that the Lindsays principally figure in the history of Eskdale, but even at this period, about 1290, they must have wielded a paramount influence throughout the district of which the town of Langholm is now the centre. Sir Philip Lindsay, son of Sir John, had a son, also named John, who seems to have adopted a religious life, and become canon of Glasgow. At Newbattle, in 1315, he resigned into the hands of King Robert the Bruce, "with staff and baton, the Barony of Stapilgortoun."* That this was a voluntary cession may be doubted. Possibly, being a monk, he could not hold property on his own behalf and separate from his community. His father, Sir Philip, like so many others, was an English as well as a Scottish Baron, and held lands in Cumberland, Northumberland, and Lincolnshire under Edward I., with whom he sided in the wars of succession. Bannockburn had only recently been fought, and the Bruce was now sifting the wheat from the chaff of the Scottish Baronage. It was possibly as a part of this process that the "resignation" of John Lindsay occurred.

The lands thus reverting to the King were granted by him in 1319 to James Douglas, surnamed "the good."

Other grants, also within the Barony of Stapelgortoun, were made from time to time to Sir James "for his homage and service." On his death they all passed to his heir, Sir Hugh Douglas. The connection of the Douglasses

* Armstrong, *History*, p. 153.

with Eskdale is dealt with more fully in a later chapter, and so need not further be touched on here.

The annual value of the Barony of Stapelgortoun was (*circa* 1376) returned at this time as under:—

PROPRIETORS.

Stapilgortoun	-	-	-	£10	os.	od.
Langholme	-	-	-	£ 6	os.	od.
Brakanwra*	-	-	-	£ 6	13s.	4d.
Dalblane, with Rig	-	-	-	£ 6	13s.	4d.

TENANDRIA.

Carlowsgyl	-	-	-	£ 0	4s.	4d.
Bondby	-	-	-	£ 4	os.	od.
Cowchargland	-	-	-	£ 6	os.	od.
Cragg	-	-	-	£ 6	13s.	4d.
Douglenn	-	-	-	£ 5	os.	od.
Ardkane and Tarrisholme				£20	os.	od.
Rischelbusk	-	-	-	£ 2	os.	od.
Tenetschel	-	-	-	£ 1	4s.	od.
Quitschel	-	-	-	—————		

Near to Stapelgortoun kirk stood the Castle of Barnalloch, its site now, alas, only a grassy mound. It was doubtless originally a Baronial house of considerable strength, encircled as it was by the river Esk, flowing at the base of the cliff. That William de Kunyburg built or occupied this castle is now largely a matter of conjecture. But of this there can be no doubt, that it became the centre of a hamlet, which served as the market town for an extensive area.

* Mr. Bruce Armstrong remarks anent this entry, that, though included in the Barony of Stapelgortoun, the lands at Brakanwra are in Annandale. — *History*, p. 154. This is a curious mistake, as Brakanwra and Stapelgortoun almost face each other across the Esk, and though only a kirkyard remains of the latter there is still a house called Breckonwrae.

WESTERKER.

The Barony of Westerker* was situated between the Barony of Stapelgortoun and that of upper Eskdale, or Dumfedling. The first Baron of whom we have knowledge was Sir William de Soulis, a name that was to add greatly to the picturesqueness of later Border history. But mention is made of Westerker some years earlier than the appearance of Soulis. During the wars of succession the valley of the Esk was claimed by Edward I., King of England, as within the territories of his kingdom. In 1298 he issued an Order dated from Newcastle-on-Tyne to "his people of Westerkere in the valley of the Esk," appointing "our faithful and beloved Simon de Lindsay" chief keeper of the district, and commanding the attention and obedience of the people.† It ought to be said concerning this Order that at no time did the people of Eskdale, apart from some of the Barons such as the Lindsays, recognise in any way the right of the English King to their "obedience." Soon afterwards Edward formally acknowledged that all the lands of the monks of Melrose, which included the Barony of Westerker, belonged to the kingdom of Scotland.

Soulis had received the charter of these lands, described as being "in the Barony of Watistirkir in the valley of

* The Rev. James Green, writer of the *Statistical Account of 1841*, says: "This name is derived from the British *caer*, a fortlet, which stood near the hamlet of Westerker upon the Megget Water, a little above its confluence with the Esk. In Scoto-Saxon times "this strength" was named Wester Caer, or Ker, to distinguish it from the Eastern Caer, which is still visible on the farm of Effgill. There is another supposition that Westerkirk derived its name from being the most westerly of the Five Kirks of Eskdale."

The Statist of 1793 refers to Westerkirk as being in the Barony of Hawick.

† Armstrong, *History*, p. 150.

Simon was second son of the Sir John Lindsay mentioned on p. 194. Both he and his brother John were made knights-banneret by Edward I.

the Esk and shire of Roxburgh,"* from John of Graham. He had come into possession through descent from the daughter of Robert Avenel, who had held lands both in the Barony of upper Eskdale and in that of Westerker.† Soulis forfeited these lands to the Crown during the war of succession, and Robert I., who had the previous year at Berwick confirmed the Graham charter, now granted one moiety of the Barony to the conventual house of Melrose, and the other he gave to Sir James Douglas. From another charter quoted by Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong, it would appear as if Sir James had been given the enjoyment of the entire Barony, but the term "whole Barony" must be construed as meaning only this moiety, seeing that Robert I. had already granted charters of lands in Westerker to the Moffats.

It would appear that certain lands in Westerker were bestowed on one Sir James Lovel, who also held lands in Ewes. These Westerker lands may have been part of those formerly conferred by Robert I. on the Moffats. They were forfeited by the treason of Lovel in the reign of David II., who then granted them to Sir William Douglas, the descendant of the good Sir James. After the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, however, the half Barony of Westerker was again settled, by Edward III. of England, on Richard Lovel. In 1354 David II. restored to William, Lord of Douglas, all the lands in Eskdale of which James, Lord of Douglas, had died invested.

The rent-roll of Westerker is interesting because of the names of lands there given, some of which are now

* At this time both Ewesdale and Eskdale were in Roxburghshire, an arrangement which will be explained in a subsequent chapter.

† The late Mr. George R. Rome (1880) ascribed the charter to Soulis to David I., but Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong (*History*, p. 150), quoting from the *Morton Registers*, says it was given by John of Graham.

impossible of identification, and also because of the Norman-French style in which some of them are set forth. Thus:—

PROPRIETORS.

Wodkoclandis	-	-	-	£1	os.	od.
Dalbech	-	-	-	£4	os.	od.
Le Irahw	-	-	-	£0	4s.	4d.
Crimyanetoun	-	-	-	£5	6s.	8d.
La Schilde	-	-	-	£2	13s.	4d.
La Wdhond	-	-	-	£2	os.	od.
Watirstirkertoun	-	-	-	£4	13s.	4d.
Albraisterland	-	-	-	£3	6s.	4d.
Terre dominice	-	-	-	£2	os.	od.
Le Howis (in manu domini)				£2	os.	od.
Lyneholme	-	-	-	£1	4s.	od.

TENANDRIA.

Eskdalemur	{	c. s. tenente Domino	}	—		
La Baly					Ade de Glendenwyne	
Le Howis et the Harperswate				£3	os.	od.
Le Knock	-	-	-	£6	13s.	4d.
Botkane	-	-	-	£3	6s.	8d.
Dalduran	-	-	-	£8	os.	od.
Ivegill	-	-	-	£2	os.	od.
Pegdale	-	-	-	£8	os.	od.
Megdale	-	-	-	£5	os.	od.
Glenscharne	-	-	-			—
Glenchroichon	-	-	-			—
Le Wetbothinis	-	-	-			—
Glendow	-	-	-	£4	os.	od.

Several of these places still retain the names here given or are easily recognisable, but others are impossible of exact identification. The above roll, and also that of

Stapelgortoun given on page 195, are taken by Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong from the *Morton Registers*.

The *terre dominice* was doubtless those lands which later were described as the mains of a Baronial holding, whether ecclesiastical or lay.

DUMFEDLING.

Concerning the early history of the part of Eskdale now comprised in the parish of Eskdalemuir, there does not seem to be much information on record. It is generally accepted that most of the lands of upper Eskdale were in the Barony of Westerker. Support is given to this idea by the record of Sir Adam Glendonwyn being a tenant in 1376 of the lands of "Eskdale mur and La Baly" within the Barony of Westerker, but whether "Eskdale mur" was anything more than a vassal's holding is very doubtful.

Other evidences point to there having been a separate unit in the feudal division of Eskdale, with Dumfedling as its centre. Justice was dispensed and business transacted at Stapelgortoun and Dumfedling,* which seem to have been the administrative centres of Eskdale, though curiously enough the gallows, then an instrument very freely employed in the administration of the law, was situated in Westerker.

In his *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong mentions that David I., in return for certain services rendered, granted a charter to Robert Avenel† of the lands of "Tumloher and Weidkerroc in Upper Esk-

* *New Statistical Account*, 1841.

† Robertus Avenel and Walterus de Lyndysay were amongst the witnesses of the charter granted by Malcolm IV. to the town of St. Andrews. — Pennant's *Tour*, Vol. III., p. 461.

dale." In 1880, before the publication of the above *History*, the late Mr. George R. Rome wrote of these lands as "Tomleuchar* and West Cassock." Geographically, Cassock is nearer to Tomleuchar than Wat-Carrick is, but there can be little doubt that the inference from the charter points to the latter and not to Cassock. There was generally a church attached to a Barony, and that at Wat-Carrick served the district comprised in these grants.† From an entry in the Taxt Roll of Melrose, it would appear that the terms Dumfedling and Eskdalemuir designated the same place and were interchangeable. This Barony may therefore be most conveniently distinguished as that of Dumfedling.

In his later years, Robert Avenel entered the monastery of Melrose as a novice. He had previously invested the monks with the teinds of the Barony. He died in 1186, and was buried at Melrose, as was also his son Gervase, who had succeeded him. His grandson, Roger Avenel, confirmed the various grants, but disputed with the monks as to the forest rights which his grandfather had expressly reserved in his gift of the teinds. Incidentally, in the award made by the King and his Barons in this dispute, an interesting glimpse is given of the wild life of Eskdale at this date. The monks, we observe, were prohibited from snaring any animals except wolves. Roger Avenel's only child married Henry de Graham, who by her became possessed of all the lands. Henry Graham's grandson, Sir John, conferred additional privileges to those already given by the Avenels, to the conventual house of Melrose. He yielded to the monks all the

* This is the name given on Bleau's map of 1662.

† At Wat-Carrick, as at Unthank and Wauchope, only the old kirk-yard remains to identify the spot where the kirk once stood.

rights of hunting, fishing, and hawking, which the Avenels had so jealously reserved. He also added one which seems a doubtful compliment to a religious foundation—that of adjudging to death anyone who robbed the property, and he also undertook to have the sentences carried out on the gallows at Westerker by his own bailies!

From Graham the lands passed to Sir William Soulis and then, on his forfeiture, to Sir James Douglas. The obscurity concerning the bestowal of the whole Barony of Westerker on Douglas, referred to on page 197, may be cleared by considering the Barony of Dumfedling to have been included in the grant. On this assumption, the Douglas would, in 1321, be possessed of virtually all the lands within the Baronies of Westerker and Dumfedling, except those in the former, which Robert the Bruce had given to the Moffats, viz., the Knock and Crooks. The Avenels appear to have been Barons of considerable importance. Robert, the first Baron, had a daughter by whom William the Lion had a natural daughter Isabel, who, in 1183, married Robert Bruce*, the third Lord of Annandale. Both his son Gervase, and his grandson Roger, were in turn hostages for the Scots King.

The ownership of considerable portions of the lands comprised within the Barony or *Tennendrie* of Dumfedling underwent frequent changes. As shown in a subsequent chapter, a considerable number of new proprietors were created after the battle of Arkinholm in 1455, and some of the smaller lairdships then formed continue to the present day, whilst others existed separately until the middle of the eighteenth century. An estate plan of the parish of Eskdalemuir, dated 1718, shows the

* Armstrong's *History*, p. 148.

subjoined lairdships then independent of the Duke of Buccleuch but now belonging to him:—Nether Cassock; Aberlosk, now part of Langshawburn; Grassyards, now part of Dumfedling; Johnstone; Clerkhill; Rennaldburn and Cot. The lairdships still existing are Davington; Over Cassock; Raeburn; Moodlaw and Castle O'er or Yetbyre. The lands of Burncleuch belonged to the laird of Crurie, who exchanged them with the Duke of Buccleuch for those of Castlehill, which adjoins his property of Yetbyre.

WAUCHOPE.

In 1281 Sir John Lindsay, who held the office of great chamberlain to Alexander III., was in possession of the lands of Langholm, and in 1285 he received additional lands in Stapelgortoun and Wauchope. His son, Sir Philip died in 1317, and was succeeded by his son John, canon of Glasgow, to whom reference has already been made. His second son, Sir Simon, was made guardian of Hermitage Castle by Edward. He was taken prisoner by the Scots at Bannockburn, but was afterwards released, and Robert the Bruce restored his son, Sir John, to the Barony of Wauchope. This knight, who was forfeited by Edward Baliol* in 1340, fought on the side of David II. at Neville's Cross in 1346, and there lost his life, David himself being made a prisoner.

The Lindsays continued in possession of Wauchopedale until 1505,† when John Lindsay, for the slaying of

* Baliol's decree of forfeiture, issued in the name of Edward III. of England, was as follows:—"Rex. Confirmavit Johanni de Orreton, in fœda omnino, terras et tenementa infra Scotiam quæ fuerant Johannis de Lyndesay de Walghopp militis concessa per Edwardum Regem Scotorum.

† At this date Lindsay held not only the lands already enumerated, but, in Ewes, he held Fiddleton, Blakhaw, Glenvorane, Glenvachane, Hardway, Moss paw, Unthank, and Mosspeble.

Bartholomew Glendonwin,* the sheriff or bailie of Eskdale, was sentenced to forfeit his life and estates. Justice was apparently satisfied with the sentence only, for it was never carried out. All these lands in Wauchopedale and Ewesdale were indeed forfeited, but, as will be shown later, John Lindsay soon afterwards received grants of lands in other places to compensate him.

The lands in Wauchope were restored in 1593. Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong says† they remained in the possession of the Lindsays until 1707, when they passed to the House of Buccleuch, but this statement is scarcely accurate. As early as 1679 the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch were in possession of virtually the whole of Wauchopedale. In the information given to the Commission of this date, consisting of Walter, Earl of Tarras, Alexander, Master of Melvile, Sir William Scott, of Harden, elder, and Sir William Scott, younger, the following farms are returned as then belonging to them:—Irving, Coldstoune, Middleholm, Mirtholme, Stubholme, Ersha, Hole, Neishill, Cross-Mungo, Blochburnfoot, Bigholms, Glentinmont, Whitehope Knowe, Hallishaw, Racknows, Wallholm, Dewiscore, Kinglandfoot, Currieholm, Westwater, Puttingstaneholm, St. Bride Hill, Brigstand, Waterholm, Glencorve, Tanabie, Water Grains, Cleuchfoot, Calfield, “and the milne together with the Rownie Hole sett to Hugh Scott minister.” We have quoted this list in full partly to show that there could have been very little left for the Lindsays to possess, and partly to give some idea of the population of Wauchope at that date. This list comprises no fewer than thirty farms and a corn mill. It will be noticed that Irving,

* The process gives the name as “bertilmow glendinningow.”

† *History*, p. 168.

Coldstoune, &c., which one would have expected to find in Canonby, are included.

LANGHOLM.

The Barony of Langholm was one of less importance than either Stapelgortoun or Wauchope, and like that of Tarras seems to have been of later creation. It was situated partly where the Old Town of Langholm now stands. In the documents of the period covered by the foregoing notes mention is seldom made of the Barony of Langholm, and it does not appear to have been of co-ordinate extent or importance with some of the others in Eskdale.

The first notice of the lands of Langholm is the grant made by Sir William de Kunyburg of Stapelgortoun to Herbert de Maxwell, in 1268, of "one carucate of land in Langholme," which, from the boundaries defined,* appears to have been virtually what are now known as the Castle Holm and Kilngreen. This land was resigned in 1281 to Sir John of Lyndsay, as already indicated.

The occasional mention in contemporary records of the lands of Arkin (or Ardkyne) may relate to what in some of them is called Langholm, for during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the site of the Old Town of Langholm was known as Arkinholm, and therefore it is possible that the references in these ancient documents to Arkin and Langholm may indicate the same territory.†

In common with those of the neighbouring Baronies, the lands of Langholm came into the possession of the

* Armstrong's *History*, p. 153.

† In one charter mentioned (*History*, p. 162), by Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong, the order of enumeration is "Broomholme, Ardkyne, Langholme."

Douglases. In 1451 James II. gave to the eighth Earl of Douglas a charter of the whole lands in the Regality of Eskdale. But after the battle of Arkinholm (or Langholm, as it was alternatively designated), in 1455, when the power of the House of Douglas in Eskdale was broken, there was a re-arrangement of territories, whereby Langholm, together with the possessions and privileges belonging to the Lordship of Eskdale, was awarded to the Earl of Angus "on account of his faithful service." Later, as we shall see, all these lands passed to the House of Maxwell, a very powerful clan already holding large estates in Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Annandale.

BRYNTALLONE, OR BRETALLACH.

Considerable doubt may be expressed whether at any time the Barony of Bryntallone was included within the Regality of Eskdale. It was one of a group of three comprising what was afterwards known as the Debateable Land. These three Baronies were Bryntallone, Morton, and Kirkandrews-on-Esk. We shall see that in 1528 Lord Dacre declined to admit that the Hollows was in the Lordship of Eskdale, but claimed it as "a parcell of the Debateable grounde."

The first mention of Bryntallone is in the reign of David I. A Norman baron, one Turgot de Rossedal, was then in possession of the lands. Probably he was the only baron who exercised the feudal control of these territories, for, in the succeeding reign, that of Malcolm, Turgot de Rossedal bestowed them upon the monks of Jedburgh, then a religious house of great influence. From this date the lands of the Barony seem to have

been administered as church property, and the grants having been confirmed by William the Lion, the control of the ecclesiastical foundation was substituted for that of the feudal baron. It was in 1220, following the arbitration between the Bishop of Glasgow and the Abbot of Jedburgh, referred to on page 140, that the religious foundation received a separate and definite position, with the customary rights and privileges of such establishments. The Barony of Bryntallone, thereafter, became known as Canonby, "the residence of the canons." From this date, the history of Canonby is principally a record of the religious house, and it will therefore be dealt with as such, in a later chapter.

TARRAS.

The Barony of Tarras was one of late creation, and it is seldom mentioned and then only briefly. As we have seen, the Barony of Stapelgortoun stretched through Ewes and into the Tarras valley. On the south, embracing most of the lands of lower Eskdale, was the Barony of Bryntallone. When the Barony of Tarras was created in 1606 it comprised the lands lying between those of Bryntallone and Langholm. These had previously been the property of the Priory of Canonby, but had been transferred to the Crown by the General Annexation Act of 29th July, 1587, which enabled the King to dispose of the vacant lands. The properties mentioned below he formed into the Barony of Tarras. Others were granted to Alexander, Earl of Home, under dates 1606 and 1610. These were afterwards, in 1619, acquired by purchase by Walter, the first Earl of Buccleuch, who, in 1629, by a bond conferred on his son

David "the cloister-houses, biggings and yards of Canonbie," which included Bowholm, the mains of Canonby, and also "the lands of Hoillhouse." Although Hoillhouse is thus assigned to David of Buccleuch, the Barony of Tarras in which it was included is expressly reserved by the bond. The occasion of the erection of the Barony was a grant to James Maxwell and Robert Douglas. The Act of the Scots Parliament recites the charter as follows:—" . . . to his hienes domestick servitoris James maxwell ane of the gentlemen ischearis* and Robert douglas ane of the equyriers to his hienes derrest sone the Prince for guid trew and thankfull services and for other grave wechtie and proffitable caussis . . . the landis underwrittin of before callit the debetable landis viz. the landis of Tarresfute, monibyherst, broumshielhill, quhitliesyde, bankheid, menmeirburn, harlaw & harlaw wod, rowingburne, wodeheid, thorniequhattis, waberhillis, barresknowis, wodhousleyis, hoillhouse, torcune, broumshielburne, auchinriffok lyand wthin the parochin of Cannabie and of the landis of glunzeart, mortoun, and barnegleis, lyand within the parochin of mortoun . . . to be unite annexit erectit & Incorporat in ane haill and frie baronie to be callit in all tyme cuming the baronie of Tarres. To be haldin of oure said soverane lord and his successoures in frie blenshe for the payment of a pair of gilt spurs.† . . . Zierlie at the feist of witsunday

* Ushers.

† Such considerations as these were customary. When on the death of the "good" Sir James Douglas his lands were granted by his brother Hugh to William Douglas, afterwards the Knight of Liddesdale, the latter covenanted to pay to Hugh an acknowledgment of one pair of Paris gloves at Christmas.

James III. granted a charter to David Scott, one of the progenitors of the Scotts of Buccleuch, erecting into a free barony some of his lands, for payment of a red rose as blenche-ferme on the festival of St. John, and many others might be quoted.

if it beis askit allendarlie.”*

It was from the Tarras Water that the title of Earl Tarras was given, in 1660, to Walter Scott, of Highchester, the youthful husband of the more youthful Countess Mary, daughter of the second Earl of Buccleuch. The romantic marriage of this boy of fourteen and girl of eleven was of brief duration, for she died in about a year. Walter Scott was the first and only holder of this title.

EWES.

The valley of the Ewes, though the river is a tributary of the Esk, was not regarded as an integral part of Eskdale. During the period of the Baronies, Ewesdale was under separate jurisdiction, and does not seem to have been ever ruled over by any one great feudal lord. As has been shown, the valley was cut across by the Barony of Stapelgortoun, and that portion of it south of Arkin belonged either to Stapelgortoun or Langholm.

The upper portion of the Ewes valley was in the possession of several feudal owners. It was probably its nearness to Roxburghshire which originally brought, not it alone, but Eskdale also, within the Sherifffdom of that county. Indeed, Ewes seems to have been more closely linked with Liddesdale than Eskdale. In 1528, when the Earl of Cumberland, the English Warden, enquired of Lord Maxwell, the Warden of the West March, whether he should look to him to redress the injuries done by the Liddesdale raiders, Maxwell replied that not only Liddesdale, but Ewesdale also was “out of his commission, and he would not answer for them.” There

* Allendarlie = only.

are not lacking indications that, at one time, Ewesdale was esteemed of greater importance than Eskdale itself. In Bleau's map of 1662, *e.g.*, the title given is "Eusdail and Eskdail."

The earliest owners of land in Ewesdale were the Lovels and Kunyburgs. Where precisely their lands were situated we have no means of knowing. The Lovels possessed lands in Eskdale, adjoining those granted to the Moffats, as well as in Ewesdale, but forfeited all their possessions in 1341. They were the first holders of the Barony of Hawick, which, with Branxholm, remained in their possession for about 250 years. It may therefore be presumed that the lands owned by them in Ewesdale, marched with, or, at least, were near to, those in Teviotdale. This would place them in the neighbourhood of Moss-paul. The Lovels were English both by birth and sympathies, and consistently supported the claims of Edward. It was owing to this that their lands in Ewesdale and Eskdale were alienated. On the forfeiture of the Lovels, David II. granted their possessions to Sir William Douglas. The name of Lovel does not again appear in the history of the district.

A daughter of Sir William de Kunyburg, about the year 1240, married Sir John Fraser, a feudal lord of Ewesdale, who, by the marriage, became possessed of certain lands at Rig, in the Barony of Stapelgortoun. The Frasers appear to have been about this time proprietors of Arkleton, which we believe has continued to the present time as a separate lairdship. They were a family of considerable repute, as one of them is mentioned as holding the office of Sheriff of Aberdeen.*

* For pedigree of the Frasers of Ewesdale see Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong's *History*, p. 164.

The charter granting these lands in Ewesdale to the Frasers was resigned by them in 1426 to the Duke of Albany, whom James I., his nephew, had made Governor of Scotland. They were at once bestowed by him upon "his beloved and faithful Simon Lytil," who in return agreed to "perform to the King and his heirs the services due and wont from the said lands." The territory thus granted included "Mikkildale, Sourbie, and Kirktown." Probably it was at the last place that Simon Lytil then resided,* though he seems afterwards to have gone to Meikledale, from which he took his territorial designation—"the Laird of Mikkildale."

It is of interest to note that when, in 1482, the Duke of Albany laid claim to the Scottish Crown, the price to be paid by him to the English for their help was the cession of Ewesdale to England,—a promise that Albany was never able to fulfil!

In 1456 there were Armstrongs in Sorby, David and Archibald Armstrong appearing at that date as witnesses to a notarial document. In the sixteenth century grants of land in Ewesdale were made to certain of the Armstrongs. In 1528 Lord Home obtained from David Armstrong a bond of man-rent in consideration of certain lands in the "Uvyr parrochin of Ewisdale." In 1535 a charter was given by the King to Herbert Armstrong of the lands of Park, what is now called the Bush, in Ewesdale, and in 1537 Robert, Lord Maxwell, by charter, conferred the land of Arklitoun on Ninian Armstrong.

At this time the Douglasses dominated the Esk valley, and evidences are not wanting that they endeavoured to extend their sway to Ewesdale as well. There, however,

* In the printed inventory of the Maxwell Muniments, he is given as of Kirktown, in witnessing a document of date 29th December, 1469.

they had a rival in their own kinsman the Earl of Angus, who held the Lordship of Liddesdale, to which Regality, Ewesdale was more closely attached than it was to Eskdale. An instance of this interference of the Douglas with the prerogatives of Angus is on record, wherein the Countess of Angus, widow of the fourth Earl, sues one of the Douglases in respect of £100 damage caused by him in the "spoliacion" of her Ewesdale revenues.

Most of the lands of Ewesdale, like those of Eskdale, fell into the hands of the Maxwells when that House rose to power.

A reminder of the ancient prevalence of separate lairdships in Ewesdale is seen in the fact that even to the present day Arkleton and Meikledale remain in hands other than those of the paramount owner.

CHAPTER XIV.

THREE ESKDALE FAMILIES.

IT was a saying of Thomas Carlyle that the history of a nation was the history of its great men. If this be true of a nation, it is also true of a locality : it is undoubtedly true of Eskdale. For a period covering some 500 years, the valley of the Esk was dominated by three great families, in whose life-story its history is almost completely merged. During that long stretch of time one or other of these families exercised a controlling influence in Eskdale, and in its hands lay the failure or success of the people. As the story of its fortunes and misfortunes, its successes and defeats, rises or falls, so do the destinies, the happiness, and well-being of the entire people of Eskdale. The narrative of these centuries, even in such outline as is possible within the limits of this volume, is one of romance, of excitement, of struggle, and of tumult. The great barons quickly rose to power and influence, and as quickly fell into disfavour and disaster ; and it may almost all appear as if in those intrigues for power,—those rivalries of clans and factions, those ambitions of individuals or families,—the ordinary, undistinguished people of Eskdale, who after all were the bulk of its population, had neither part nor lot. But that was not so. By the rigidity of the feudal system, the people were in the bundle of life tied tightly to the baron. His fortunes could not fall without theirs also declining ; he could not go to war and they remain at home in peace and quiet. Should the paramount lord quarrel with his neighbour, the quarrel

was not confined to him alone—the entire vassalage was in it. Individuality was disobedience, personal success was incipient treason.

Thus, for 500 years, the history of Eskdale was the history of its leading barons—their jealousies and quarrels were the people's politics, the supercession or defeat of their lord was a household and personal disaster. It was this that made feudal Scotland so exciting a place to live in—this that made its history a tragedy or a romance.

From *circa* 1300 to 1800, then, the fame and fortunes of Eskdale were successively under—

- I. THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS.
- II. THE HOUSE OF MAXWELL.
- III. THE HOUSE OF SCOTT OF BUCCLEUCH.

It must not be concluded that at any time one of these families had sole possession of the lands in the watershed of the Esk. Through these turbulent centuries proprietors were continually changing, and even in the days of undisputed supremacy on the part of a single family, there were other barons and owners of land. But the above division is definite enough to indicate the main lines of local history.

The periods of these great divisions may be approximately assigned thus:—

DOUGLASES, 1319 to 1455.

MAXWELLS, 1455 to 1643.

SCOTTS OF BUCCLEUCH, from 1643.

As indicated above, there were other families who wielded some power in Eskdale during these periods. For instance, with more or less continuity, the Lindsays occupied Wauchopedale for some 300 years, but this family exercised a wonderfully small part in shaping the

destinies of the district. There were various other smaller and less powerful clans in upper Eskdale and Ewesdale, but their effect on the stream of Eskdale history was a ripple, not a wave.

I. THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS.

The first mention of the Douglasses in Eskdale is about 1319. Bannockburn had been fought five years previously, and the adherence of some of the Eskdale barons to the standard of Edward had placed in the hands of Robert the Bruce a number of forfeited estates. It was in the allocation of these that the Douglasses were introduced to Eskdale. They, like most of the other barons who had come into Scotland during the reigns of Alexander and David, were English as well as Scottish barons, and they, too, had sworn fealty to the English Edward. But when John Baliol, the vassal-king, summoned his first Parliament at Scone in 1293, the Douglas and the Bruce both failed to appear, and Baliol declared them defaulters. This seems to have been the first occasion on which these two barons, whose descendants were to provide one of the most thrilling chapters in Scottish history, were united by a common purpose, and it may have been this, perhaps only an accidental coincidence, which first forged the bonds of friendship—one can never tell. The histories of individuals are sometimes mingled for life as a consequence of a word or a look.

The father of Sir James Douglas "the good" had adhered to the cause of Wallace, when most of the Scottish barons had fallen away, and one, at least, of the Lindsays of Wauchope, Sir Alexander, had also remained true

to the national cause. Here, too, is an association, interesting to Eskdale people, for the descendants of these barons, that is, James, Earl of Douglas, and Sir Alexander Lindsay of Wauchope, fought shoulder to shoulder at Otterburn,—

“Where Douglas dead, his name hath won the field.”

On the field of Bannockburn, the good Sir James Douglas was created a knight-banneret by King Robert the Bruce. And when the allocation of the vacant lands was made, in 1319, the King gave to the Douglas those in the Barony of Stapelgortoun, which had been “resigned” by canon John Lindsay, of Glasgow. Is it possible that, in selecting Stapelgortoun as part of the reward to Sir James Douglas, King Robert the Bruce was partly influenced by sentimental considerations? It was here, at Stapelgortoun, that was signed, in the reign of David I. the charter, which first gave to the great-grandfather of the Bruce those lands in Annandale with which went the lordship of that dale.* True, the Douglas already possessed lands in the Barony of Westerker, but what more likely than that the sentimental reason was the determining one? It is a matter of pride to the people of Eskdale that their beautiful vale should have been associated with one of the most charming romances in Scottish history. The story of the faithful friendship between King Robert the Bruce and Sir James Douglas is known and cherished by every Scotsman, and that Eskdale should have provided one of the tangible tokens of that friendship is indeed pleasant to remember.

These grants were confirmed, in 1324, by the famous

* *Armstrong's History*, p. 152, note 5.

Emerald Charter,* which was not so much a conveyance of lands, as a story from the olden days of chivalry. After giving to Sir James the criminal jurisdiction of all the Douglas possessions, and releasing him from the customary feudal services, excepting those required for the defence of the realm, the Charter proceeds:—

“ And in order that this Charter may have perpetual effect, We, in our own person and with our own hand, have placed on the hand of the said James of Douglas a ring, with a certain stone called an Emeraude, in token of sasine and perpetual endurance to the said James and his heirs for ever.”

In this almost sentimental action of the Bruce, we get a swift glimpse into the deeper relationship which existed between the King and his gallant Knight.

Sir Herbert Maxwell laments† the loss of the emerald ring. The Charter remains, but the Ring is gone! Sir James had fought by the Bruce's side throughout the War of Independence. His patriotism was almost solitary amongst the Scottish Barons, in its undoubted sincerity. Some four years after the Emerald Charter had been granted, Robert the Bruce died, and the Douglas accepted the solemn charge to bury the King's heart in Jerusalem. Where is the Scottish breast that has not thrilled at the story?—how, beset by the Moors in Spain, and, seeing that death was imminent, the good Sir James took from round his neck the silver casket containing the heart of the Bruce, and, flinging it into the Moorish ranks, cried: “ Forward, gallant heart, as thou wert

* Stapelgortoun is therein named “ baronium de Stabilgorthaon.” The Charter is quoted in full in Hume of Godscroft's *History of the House of Douglas*, Vol. I., p. 74

† *History of the House of Douglas*, Vol. I., p. 56.

wont ; the Douglas will follow thee or die " ; and, later, how Sir James was found dead with the casket clasped in his arms ! Was there on the finger of the knight at that moment the emerald ring which had been given him by the Bruce ? Most likely there was. Who knows, then, but that this ring, for which to-day Scotland would give a king's ransom, now adorns the finger of some Moorish chief or some Spanish grandee ignorant of its romantic story ? Thus began the connection of the Douglasses with Eskdale, which lasted until the family fortunes were broken in the battle of Arkinholm. Strange that Eskdale should also have come to be the Philippi of the House of Douglas !

After the death of the good Sir James, whose body was brought home and buried in the church at Douglas, in Lanarkshire, dedicated to St. Bride, the lands in Eskdale fell to his brother, Hugh, Lord of Jedworth Forest. Hugh Douglas granted one moiety of the lands of Westerker to William Douglas, Knight of Liddesdale, who was known as the Flower of Chivalry, (though, indeed, his treatment of Sir Alexander Ramsay at Hermitage Castle, was barbaric rather than chivalrous), but he reserved to his own use the manor-place, with the church lands and mains. The reservation seems to indicate that Sir Hugh Douglas, occasionally at least, resided at the baron's house of Westerker, the situation of which cannot now be identified. Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong says* that the Douglasses did not usually reside in Eskdale. Their paternal estates were, of course, in Lanarkshire, but from the reservation of the manor-place, and also from the fact that Archibald, surnamed "the grim," issued his summons to his vassals from "his castell in Eskdale," it would appear that at

* *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 154.

times he, at any rate, resided there, probably in the old baronial Castle of Barntalloch.

Further estates were given to this family, in 1341, when, on the Lovels being attainted as traitors, David II. granted to Sir William Douglas part of their lands in Eskdale and also Ewesdale where the Earl of Angus already held the principal share. It will thus be seen that, early in the fourteenth century, the Douglasses were virtually masters of Eskdale, excepting that the Lindsays had the lands of Wauchope, and Angus, the Red Douglas, some part of Ewes.

In 1389 Archibald Douglas, who was the natural son of Sir James "the good," registered his title to the Barony of Stapelgortoun before the Scots Parliament. Archibald was Warden of the Marches, and, in 1385, did useful work in amending and codifying the old Border laws, in which onerous duty he was assisted by Sir Herbert Maxwell, his factor. The Douglasses and Maxwells were, at that time, in close friendship, which, alas, was severed when the fateful day of the battle of Arkinholm had dawned.

The splendour of Archibald Douglas's station was scarcely inferior to that of the King himself. He and his family exercised almost unlimited power over half of the lowlands. Small wonder then that the Douglasses excited the suspicion of the King and the Barons. And small wonder that even amongst their allies and friends, there grew up a deep feeling of resentment, not against their semi-regal state, but rather against their tyrannous and insolent bearing. This was to reveal itself in an increasing volume in the coming years until its culmination was reached in the field of Arkinholm.

At the date of his succession to the lands of Eskdale,

Archibald Douglas was probably the most powerful subject of the King of Scotland. His life, accordingly, was full of exciting adventure, for in those stirring times only the lives of the obscure could possibly be quiet and uneventful—a possibility, however, which was seldom realised even by them. Raids into England—that unfailing resource of the Border baron—skirmishes with hostile clans, acting as umpire at duels,*—a lighter recreation thrown in to balance the more serious duties of his position,—these filled up the days of Archibald “the grim.”

Not lacking in humour, either, was this Archibald. When the first Scottish dukes were created, in 1398, he was offered a dukedom, and the Herald addressed him as “Sir Duke,” or as he would pronounce it, “Sir Duik,” to which the jocular Archibald made answer: “Sir Drake! Sir Drake!”† Then, more so than now, must humour have been a saving grace, for, says a contemporary writer, “the whole kingdom was a den of thieves. Murders, robberies, fire raisings, and other crimes, went unpunished, and justice seemed to have passed into exile from the lard.”‡

The knightly character of Sir James “the good” seems to have embraced and almost monopolized all the virtues of the Douglas family, but his descendants were not lacking in certain qualities which were valuable in such times as those. Archibald “the grim” died in 1400, and at the time of his death the family possessed, not only the extensive lands in Eskdale, and the paternal estates in Lanarkshire, but also territories in Stirlingshire, Moray, Selkirk Forest, Clydesdale, Annandale, and Lothian.

* Sir Herbert Maxwell's *History of the House of Douglas*, Vol. I., p. 122.

† In Robertson's edition of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, note xc., a story almost identical, quoted from Godscroft, is told of Angus.

‡ *History of the House of Douglas*, Vol. I., p. 123.

He was succeeded by his son, known as Archibald the "tineman,"—the loser of battles, the man of the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin. And with his accession to power, the Douglas star began to wane. Factions, jealousies, and conspiracies worked their inevitable result. The Red Douglas intrigued against the Black, and the House, being thus divided against itself, could not stand, and began to totter to its fall.

In 1451, the forces of disintegration were at work, but the cracks in the structure were plastered over by a charter granted by James II., confirming to the Earl of Douglas, then a young man of 25, all the possessions his family had enjoyed, and amongst the lands enumerated were "Eskdale, with Stapilgortoun," in the county of Roxburgh. In the following year, the Douglas received a summons to attend the King at Stirling, and, evidently without any suspicion, obeyed the mandate. Next day, as he sat at the King's table, after supper, the monarch beckoned him into an ante-chamber, and there, it is supposed, demanded of him a renunciation of an offensive and defensive alliance he had entered into with Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, a relative of the Lindsays of Wauchope and chief of their clan. To this demand, the Douglas peremptorily refused to accede, whereupon, without further parley, the passionate monarch* stabbed him in the neck, and Sir Patrick Gray finished the treacherous deed. This incident—such occurrences were, in those days, but "incidents" in the common, everyday life—tarnished the honour of the King, but it was equally easy of redecoration, and his subservient Parliament

* James had a red spot on his face, which caused him to be known as "James with the fiery face." Sir Walter Scott thought they might have called him "James with the fiery temper"! W. Riddell Carre's *Border Memories*, p. 18.

passed a "white-washing" Act to wipe away the stain of the murder.

This Douglas had married the Fair Maid of Galloway, but by her had no children. She afterwards married the brother of her murdered husband, who had succeeded to the family estates. In 1452, the new Earl of Douglas and his brother, the Earl of Ormond, refused to attend Parliament, but later the King effected a reconciliation with them, and things went more smoothly. But only for a time. The King harboured a suspicion, more or less well-founded, that the Douglas was not sincere in his professions of homage and loyalty, and, without warning, he made war upon him in 1455. Douglas sought the aid of Henry V., but was refused, and the King's forces laid waste his lands in Douglasdale, Annandale, and Etrick Forest. The battles went against the Douglas, who sought refuge in England, leaving his brothers, the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Ormond, and young John Douglas of Balveny, to defend the family cause. These three established themselves in the fastnesses of Ewesdale, whence they raided and harried all the surrounding country, thereby arousing the anger and hostility of the other barons.

The man to strike the blow which was to reduce, for the time being, the fortunes of the House was another Douglas, George, the fourth Earl of Angus, known as the Red Douglas, who, it is said, considered himself to be the rightful owner of the family titles and estates. Angus accepted the King's commission to meet the redoubtable trio of knights. In this he was assisted by a body of Border chiefs, to whom the supremacy of the Douglasses had been distasteful, and their arbitrary methods a cause of ill-feeling and irritation. This combination

of chiefs included the Scotts of Buccleuch, the Johnstones, Beattisons, Carlyles, Glendinnings, and others. The hereditary friendship with the Maxwells had also been broken by the ill-advised policy of the Douglasses, and they, too, were found amongst their enemies.

The united forces of the King and the Border chiefs joined battle with the forces of the three brothers on the 1st May, 1455, in the battle of Arkinholm. This battle was fought on the ground upon which the town of Langholm is built, and it was decisive. Angus won the day. Moray was slain. Ormond was wounded and taken prisoner. John of Balveny fled and joined his brother, the Earl, in England. A price of 1200 marks was set upon his head. For eight years he eluded his pursuers, but at last he was captured in Eskdale by John Scott and eight others,* taken to Edinburgh and beheaded. A month later the estates of the Douglas were declared forfeited, and so was his occupancy of the office of Warden of the Marches, which had been hereditary in his House.

The Douglas lands in Eskdale were apportioned amongst the chiefs who had borne a conspicuous part in the battle. Naturally, the main share fell to Angus, but the Scotts and Beattisons (Beatties) and the Glendinnings (who, at the last, had deserted the Douglas, from whom they had enjoyed many marks of goodwill), were rewarded with ample grants.

The lands attaching to the position of lord of Eskdale were given to Angus in 1458—"all and whole the lands of Stapilgortoun and Eskdaile."† Jane Douglas, the

* *History of the House of Douglas*, Vol. I., p. 181.

† Mr. Armstrong (*History*, p. 159, note 4), mentions that, though the family of Douglas ceased to possess the lordship of Liddesdale in 1491-2, there was reason to suppose that the Master of Angus still ruled Eskdale in 1501-2, and quotes in support an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts,

Earl's sister, in 1472, married David Scott, heir-apparent of Buccleuch. One of the provisions of the marriage settlement was that the Scotts were to have the bailiaries of Eskdale and Ewesdale for a period of seventeen years.

The battle of Arkinholm was, therefore, an event of great importance in determining the future of Eskdale, for by it, in addition to the establishment of the Beatties and Glendinnings, the Scotts were given a firm footing in the district, and the Maxwells were also brought into immediate prominence.*

II. THE HOUSE OF MAXWELL.

The Maxwells, who had taken the side of the King against their old allies and superiors, the Douglasses, had been known in Dumfriesshire, and partly in Eskdale, for some 250 years. As early as 1093, one Ewen de Maccuswell accompanied Malcolm III. to the siege of Alnwick. This Baron had married a daughter of the Lord of Galloway, with whom he received the castle of Caerlaverock.†

The first mention of the Maxwells in Eskdale was in 1268, when Herbert, son of Sir Eymer Maxwell, Sheriff of Dumfries, received from Sir William de Kunyburg the grant of land in the barony of Stapelgortoun to which reference has been made on page 193. These lands Herbert Maxwell held until the death of the grantor in 1281. Sir Herbert adhered to the Bruce during the war of in-

* In 1706, the Duke of Queensberry, the representative of the Douglas family, was the largest proprietor in Dumfriesshire. His title and estates passed to the Duke of Buccleuch, who was a descendant in the female line of the first Duke of Queensberry. His nearest male collateral succeeded to the titles and estates of Marquess of Queensberry.

† *The Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*, G. C. L. Johnstone. p. 17.

dependence, and fought and died for his country at Bannockburn, as did his second son Sir Eustace.

John, son of Sir Eustace, went with David II. to Neville's Cross, and shared both in the defeat of the King and in his subsequent imprisonment in the Tower of London. The next Maxwell, like so many of the Scottish barons, made his submission to Edward III. and received back from that monarch the castle of Caerlaverock.

When the Douglasses rose to power in Dumfriesshire the Maxwells were on terms of friendship and alliance with them, and the friendship remained intact until the Douglas rebellion, as mentioned above. It was on the joint summons of the Douglas and Maxwell that the Scottish barons were called to Lincluden in 1450 to codify the Border laws. These were then embodied as Acts of the Scottish Parliament. Amongst the provisions of these Acts was one restoring the system of bale-fires as signals of danger,—one of the many picturesque practices of the Borders.

As early as 1425 a Maxwell was appointed Warden of the Marches, and it was probably in this way that their connection with Eskdale was re-established. In 1488 John, the fourth Lord Maxwell, not only held this office, but he was also Lord of the Regality of Eskdale. Maxwell was nominally on the side of the King in the second Douglas rebellion, but after the death of James III. at Sauchieburn he managed to get himself nominated to these positions, whilst Angus was made Warden of the East and Middle Marches. These two, therefore, practically ruled Dumfriesshire at this time. John was slain at Flodden on that fateful and dark day in September, 1513—one of the "Flowers o' the Forest" which then "were a' wede awae."

It is to his son Robert, the fifth Lord of Maxwell, that the interest of Eskdale people chiefly attaches. In 1505, the Lindsays, owing to the affair of the Glendinnings,* had forfeited their lands in Wauchope and Ewesdale. Those lying in the latter valley, that is, the ten pound lands of Moss paul, Fiddleton, Blakhaw, Unthank and Mosspeble were bestowed upon Alexander, Lord Home. They again reverted to the King, however, on the execution of Home in October 1516, and were given to Robert, Lord Maxwell, who was quickly rising to a position of influence and power on the Borders. In 1510, whilst still apparent to the fourth Lord, Robert Maxwell had received some of the lands of the Lindsays in Ewesdale. On Lindsay's forfeiture, his possessions in Wauchope had gone to the Crown, but Lord Home was in possession of some parts of that dale, for in 1523 he is enjoined "to put rewle in his landis of Wauchopdaill or ellis to discharge him of the same to the Lord Maxwelle," from which it would appear that Home was holding Wauchope with a somewhat slack rein.

However, in 1525, Maxwell was granted a tack for nine years of all the lands of Wauchope with the mills, fortalice, and fisheries. But in 1530, before the tack had expired, Maxwell received a charter putting him in full possession of the lands, one of the conditions being that he should build and repair "the house, tower, and fortalice of Wauchope," and retain it for the King's service. Two years later, Maxwell's possessions and power in Eskdale were further augmented by a grant from the King of some of the lands which had been given to the Beattisons for their services at the

* See Chapter xv.

Battle of Arkinholm, viz., Enzieholm [Eynze], Lyneholm, Shiel, and also Billholm, and other places.* In 1540 Maxwell obtained from the Prior of Canonby, a lease of the glebe land of Wauchope, for a period of five years at five marks per annum. These facts indicate a position of great responsibility and power, and Maxwell's task was not made any easier by the distractions on the Borders. The Government did not seem to fear that the disturbances on the Borders jeopardised in any way the patriotism of Eskdale and the other dales,† but, being at peace with England, seemed to have left the Border clans free to engage in something akin to civil war. To help to pacify the "broken-men" Maxwell, in 1525, had granted to "my lovit frend" John Armstrong,—on the principle of appointing the most unruly boy of the school to be prefect,—a charter of certain lands in Eskdale—"the lands of Mylgill and Eriswood with the pertinents lying in the lordship of Eskdale." In November of the same year, John Armstrong of Gilnockie gave to Maxwell a bond of man-rent,‡ undertaking to yield him "in man-

* The charter is dated July 27, 1532.—"Rex concessit Roberto Domino Maxwell, heredibus ejus et assignatis terrarum 6 marcat : de Eynze (clamat : per Adam Batie et ejus heredes, 20 solidat : de Lymholm clamat : per Johannem Batie, in Moffet. 3 marcat : de Erschewode clamat : per Adam Batie in Scheill, Adam Batie in Yetbyre et Heredes quondam John Batie). 5 marcat : de Harparquhat et Appilquhat clamat : per John Glendingin de Bellholme, &c. (viz., Scots, Grahams, Johnstounes, Litylls, Kirkpatrickes de Knok heredes quondam John Armstrong, Thomesoun, &c.) extenden in integro ad 245 Mercates antiqui extensus inter limites de Eskdaill vic. Dumfries. Sheriff in hoc parte . . . And. Batie et alii.

(Witnesses)

ADAM BATIE in Scheill.

ADAM BATIE in Yetbyre, &c., &c.

† Ewesdale at this time does not seem to have been included in Lord Maxwell's commission as Warden.

‡ As an evidence of the paramount authority of Lord Maxwell mention may be made of the fact that he received similar bonds of man-rent, not from vassals alone, such as the Armstrongs, but also from such powerful lairds as Johnstone, Gordon of Lochinver, ancestor of Lord Kenmure, Stewart, ancestor of the Earl of Galloway, Douglas of Drumlanrig, and others. These were doubtless given, not as tokens of vassalage, but with the wholesome desire to safeguard their own pro-

rent and service first and before all others, myne allegiance to our soverane lord the King allanerly excepted and to be trewe, gude and lele servantis to my said Lord." In return for this bond, and under the same date, Robert, Lord Maxwell, bestowed on Armstrong the lands of "Dalbeth, Schield, Dalblane, Stapilgortoun, Langholme, and Crwsnowte* with the pertinentis." Armstrong accepted the bond with his hand at the pen, and by affixing his seal.† In 1529 Armstrong resigned the lands of Langholm in favour of Lord Maxwell.

It seems fairly well agreed that if Maxwell did not actually instigate many of the raids made by the Armstrongs, he at any rate winked at them, and in the presence of Lord Dacre, the English Warden, he sometimes resisted, not always passively, the attempts to bring them to justice. Of course, he was bound, as their feudal superior, to defend them from unjust attacks and false accusations, but there is ground for the suspicion that his protection amounted to something beyond that.

In connection with Johnie Armstrong's death in 1529, when he was entrapped and murdered by the King at Carlinrig, in Teviotdale, some doubt has been expressed concerning Lord Maxwell's good faith. It seems to be based on the fact that, three days after Armstrong's murder, Maxwell received an absolute grant to himself of the lands Armstrong had held under the bond of man-

perty from the raids of the "broken-men," over whom Maxwell exercised control.

In 1528 Ninian and David Armstrong gave a bond of man-rent to George, Lord Home, in return for a grant of lands in the Over-parish of Ewes, probably Arkleton. For the text of these various bonds see the Appendix to Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale, &c.*

* This is probably what is now known as "Crawsknowe,"—a lonely cottage standing far up on the side of Whita.

† An excellent drawing of the coat of arms is given by Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong in his *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 228.

rent. Probably, however, the grant was only a legal formality. It will be remembered that when James V. contemplated the decoying of the Armstrongs he took the precaution of first inviting Maxwell, Buccleuch, and other Border chiefs to Edinburgh where he had them securely imprisoned before he set out for the Borders. And in after years the clan of the Armstrongs loyally served the heirs of Maxwell, which they would never have done had they suspected him of being privy to the contemplated treachery and guilty of breaking his word—a sin heinous above all others in the eyes of the Borderers.

In 1536 Maxwell was entrusted by the King with a mission of a very delicate nature. He was sent to France to arrange the marriage of the King to Mary of Guise. On the successful completion of the mission, (though the poor princess died soon after her arrival at Leith), James is said to have given a Maxwell the advowson of the Five Kirks of Eskdale.*

In 1542 Lord Maxwell had an adventure of a more exciting kind. At the battle of Solway Moss he, with many other Scottish nobles, was taken prisoner, as were also his brothers John and Henry, and the son of his traditional enemy, the laird of Johnstone. Maxwell is described by Sir Thomas Wharton in his report as Admiral of Scotland and Warden of the Marches, and his resources are given as “in lands per annum 1000 marks sterling (English) and in goods £500 which is £2000 Scotch.” The re-

* This tradition was accepted by Dr. Brown, the Statist of the parish of Eskdalemuir. It appears to obtain confirmation from an entry dated 1550 in the Dumfries *Retours*, which mentions that Robert, Lord Maxwell, succeeded his father in the advocacy of the churches in the lordship of Eskdaill, as well as from the recommendation of Lord Herries, quoted on p. 230. But, as will be shown later, the grant made to Lord Maxwell in 1537 related to Wauchope alone and not to Eskdale generally.

sources of his brother Henry are given as nil under both heads! Whilst Maxwell was thus imprisoned the King "ordainit our lovit Johne Johnestone of that Ilk," to act as Warden of the West March. Maxwell was liberated in the following year, but in 1544 his parole was cancelled and he was commanded to go to London, his son Robert being appointed in his stead as Warden of the West March. One day, however, soon after Robert's appointment, as he was going to Stakeheuch to arrest some freebooters, he was waylaid by certain Armstrongs,* probably from the English Border whither many of the clan had fled after the murder of John of Gilnockie, at Yelowsike Head, near the farm of Blough in Wauchopedale, and was sent to London where he was imprisoned. In 1546 Maxwell was liberated, but died a few weeks after his reinstatement. He was succeeded by his son Robert, sixth Lord Maxwell, then a prisoner in London, who is also recorded as succeeding to the advowson of the churches within the lordship of Eskdale.

In 1557, Cristofer Armstrong,† son of John of Gilnockie, gave a bond of man-rent to John, Lord Maxwell, and in consideration, received from him a grant of the lands held by his father at the time of his murder in 1529. And in 1562 another bond was executed by which Christie Armstrong of Barnegleis was made keeper of Langholm Castle, and factor of all Max-

* Whilst he was prisoner in England, the Armstrongs are said to have "spoiled his town of Langholm and put the English in possession of it." This incident is probably a part of that referred to above. There is no proof that this was done, as has been hastily assumed, by those Armstrongs who had given Maxwell bonds of man-rent. In 1550 a long correspondence took place between Lord Dacre and the Privy Council concerning one Sande Armstrong, a partisan of England, who threatened to become a Scottishman, if he was not protected by the English Warden against the Lord Maxwell.

† In his *Border Minstrelsy*, Sir Walter Scott says the reference in the ballad, "God be with thee Kirsty, my son," is to this Cristofer.

well's property in Eskdale, until John, Lord Maxwell, should be "of perfyct age."* At this time the Armstrongs appear to have held the lands of Broomholm, in addition to other places in Eskdale. Their tenancy of Broomholm lasted probably until 1585, that is after Lord Maxwell's raid to Stirling.†

In 1578 there happened an incident the effects of which were felt for many a long year in Eskdale, and throughout the Borders, viz., the appointment of the Laird of Johnstone as Warden of the West March. Lord Maxwell's tenure of the office of Warden was characterized by gross misgovernment. So evident was this that Lord Herries, another Maxwell, and uncle of the Warden, made a recommendation which can be best described in his own quaint language:—

“It is expedient that the Lord Maxwell quhais guidshire gat the maist part of the lands of Eskdale Ewisdale and Wauchopedale fra the said late Kingis heines of gude memory, gif he be Warden and remaine at Lochmaben, have ane honest man his depute and capitane in the Langholme and to dantoun that gret nowmer of mischevous thevis, spend upoun him and ane househald thair, the haill proffeittis that may be gottin of they landis and kirkis of Watstreker, Stephen Gortoun, Wauchhope and Natherkirk of Ewis (alwyse Goddis service the ministeris to be first sustenit), the haill advantage with the maillis, multuris manis

* *Border Minstrelsy*, p. 259.

† It is worthy of note that Lord Maxwell in 1572 was "handfasted" to a niece of the Regent Morton. Whether this took place in Eskdale, at Handfasting Haugh, does not appear. More probably it was at Unthank, of which at this date Maxwell had the right of patronage. Sir Walter Scott (in note xxxvi. to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*), says it was to Unthank that the priest from Melrose, known as Book-a-Bosom, came once a year to perform the "handfasting."

and utheris detfull dewiteis to be spendit in the Langholme quhilk I think, may wele sustene twelf habil horsemen with thair capitane."

Maxwell replied that such a proposal was needless, as he was already bound to keep the peace. He had, however, so incurred the displeasure of the Regent Morton that the latter removed him from the office of Warden, which, as just mentioned, he gave to Johnstone. Scarcely anything could have occurred more likely to intensify the bitter feeling already existing between these two great Barons. The Wardenry, a thankless office, certainly, was nevertheless the symbol of power on the Borders, and was as eagerly coveted by the Johnstones, as it was jealously retained by the Maxwells. These families had been rivals for the office since the defeat of the Douglases at Arkinholm, when both clans participated in the overthrow. Efforts were continually being made by friends to heal the relentless feud, which so often drenched the fair dales of Annan and Esk in blood, but these efforts met with scanty success.

The point now at issue seems to have been connected with the tenancy of the house or fortalice of Langholm. The Johnstones were in possession of it, and, possession counting then (as now) as nine points of the law, they refused to give it up to the Maxwells, to whom it really belonged. The Johnstones themselves were not living in the fortalice, (which, of course, was that situated on the Castle Holm), but yet they clung to it—on principle, no doubt. Maxwell's complaint was that the Castle remained "unhabite be him or ony of his and the key thereof is cassin only in ane byre to the said Lordis awin servandis that duellis in the laich housis besyde the same; the want of the said house is hurtful

to the haill country," and so on.* The arrangement come to was that the Johnstones were to let the Maxwells have the fortalice when they themselves were not requiring it, but when, for the better government of the Border, the Johnstones might want it, then they must have it, though if, at any time, they left it, the Maxwells were to get it. On paper, this seemed quite an equitable and friendly arrangement, but for clans, at such bitter enmity, there were lurking in it possibilities of considerable friction. One would like to know how the arrangement worked out in practice, but, like so many Border incidents, the outcome of the scheme is left to conjecture.

In the year 1581, after the execution of the Regent Morton, Maxwell was again restored to favour. This so enraged the Earl of Angus, that he made a raid into Eskdale, ravaged the lands of Maxwell, and seized the Castle of Langholm. The hostilities continuing, Maxwell, as Warden, was summoned, in 1586, to answer before the Council for the disturbances. Refusing to obey, an edict was issued again depriving him of his office and titles, but graciously permitting him to leave the country. This he did. He went to Spain where he assisted the King of Spain to prepare the famous Armada, and was able to offer him very valuable counsel. He then returned to Scotland. When the King heard of this he resolved upon active measures, and, marching into Maxwell's lands, he burned some of his castles—Langholm and Lochmaben amongst others. Maxwell himself was seized, and lodged as a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, but two years later he was set at liberty.

* *Privy Council Records*, 1578.

The climax of the feud between the Johnstones and the Maxwells was reached in 1593. The former had raided the lands of Lord Sanquhar, who appealed to Maxwell, as Warden, for redress. Despite the fact that he had only recently concluded an amicable agreement with his hereditary enemies, Maxwell marched against the Johnstones with 1500 men. He was heavily defeated on Dryfe Sands by Johnstone, who was supported by several of the most important Border clans, amongst others, the Elliots and Grahams and the Scotts of Eskdale and Teviotdale. The Armstrongs, however, loyal to their bonds, rode with Lord Maxwell, who not only lost 700 men, but was himself killed—murdered, really, in a barbarous manner, after being sorely wounded in the fight.*

His son, John, who succeeded him, was only a youth of sixteen, but, naturally, he was filled with a desire to avenge his father's cruel death. Very soon, indeed, he began to make himself felt, and, for the next few years, he managed in a way, wonderful for a youth of so tender an age, to keep the whole of Annandale and Eskdale in a state of unrest and turmoil. Not only had he burning in his heart the antagonism of his House to the Johnstones, but he and Angus also came to a rupture concerning their respective jurisdictions in Eskdale. Both Barons called out all their forces and Maxwell, who seems to have been of an impetuous and turbulent nature, challenged the Earl of Angus to a duel, to decide by single combat in the orthodox Norman way, what had failed to be determined by legal right and equity. For this he was thrown into prison, but

* Maxwell was now granted the title of Earl of Morton, and, though six years later it was revoked, he continued so to style himself up to the day of his death.

escaped, with a daring and resourcefulness characteristic of the youth. He next endeavoured to heal his feud with the laird of Johnstone. Securing the good offices of a mutual acquaintance, he succeeded in arranging a meeting between himself and Johnstone, each accompanied by a friend. These friends quarrelled, and the chiefs, of course, were soon embroiled. In the commotion, Maxwell fatally shot Johnstone in the back. He fled the country and went to France. Naturally, this treachery exhausted the patience of the King—never too abundant at any time—and he declared the fugitive's lands forfeited. This was in 1609,* when Maxwell was 32. Some years later, thinking the murder would be forgotten, he ventured to return to Scotland, and was arrested, and, finally, on 21st May, 1613, he was beheaded. As usual, the lands he had held were divided amongst those who, for the time being, were in the favour of King James.

It was in connection with his fleeing to France that the well-known Border ballad entitled *Lord Maxwell's Good-night* was written. It is akin to the rest of the ballads of the period, but perhaps obtains some special celebrity from the exile and subsequent death of the hero.

To Eskdale people there is an especial interest in the following verses :—

“ Adieu ! Dumfries, my proper place,
 But and Carlaverock fair !
 Adieu my castle of the Thrieve,
 Wi' a' my buildings there :
 Adieu ! Lockmaben's gate sae fair,
 The Langholm-holm, where birks there be ;
 Adieu ! my ladye and only joy
 For, trust me, I may not stay wi' thee.

* Seven years earlier than this, the master of Maxwell was possessed, evidently in his own right, of the kirk of Wauchope, and, in 1604, his father is recorded as possessing the donation of the churches and chapels of Wauchopdaill, *i.e.*, Wauchope and St. Bride.

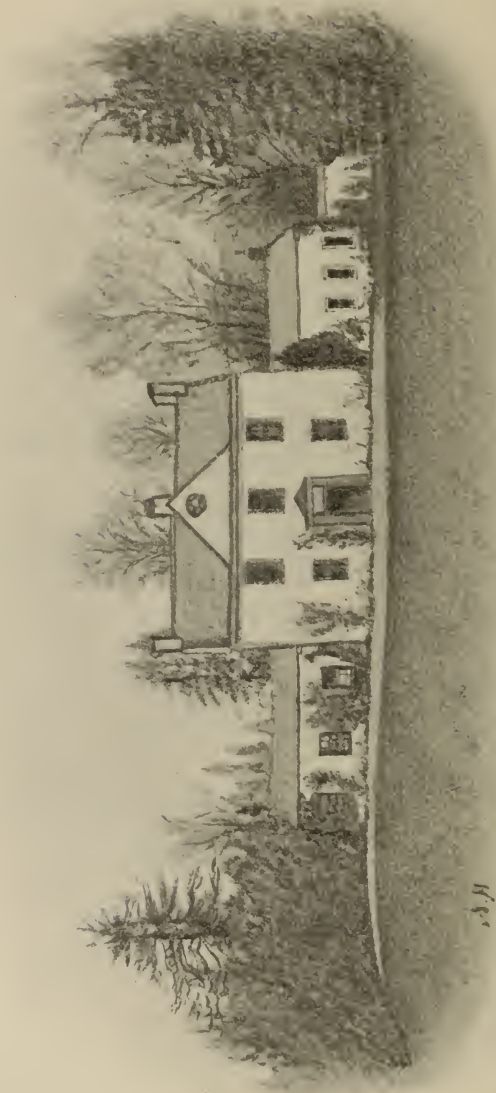
Adieu ! fair Eskdale up and down
Where my puir friends do dwell ;
The bangisters will ding them down,
And will them sair compell.
But I'll avenge their feid mysell,
When I come o'er the sea !
Adieu ! my ladye, and only joy,
For I may not stay wi' thee."

In the last verse of the ballad reference is made to the circumstance that "most part of his friends were there" to see him embark, which is hardly likely, and is doubtless a mediæval illustration of poetic licence, though in Glenriddel's MS.* Maxwell of Broomholm is specially "mentioned as having attended his chieftain in his distress and as having received a grant of lands in reward of his manifestation of attachment." Whether these were the present lands of Broomholm, or whether the grant was made by Robert, tenth Lord Maxwell, when the family estates were restored, is not clear. However, Broomholm has been continuously occupied by that branch of the House of Maxwell to the present day, and its association with Langholm has thus been maintained.

Following the flight of Lord Maxwell, his lands were apportioned at the King's pleasure. This fact has a most important bearing upon the history of the district, for it was then that Langholm was erected into "the free barony" as will be shown in a subsequent chapter. Maxwell's lands in Eskdale remained alienated from the tenth Lord until the year 1618, when, by successive Acts in this and the two following years, they were restored.

Robert, Lord Maxwell, seems to have taken warning by his father's wild and tragic career, for he speedily ingratiated himself into the royal favour. It was probably in gratitude for this restoration, as well as the fact that they were of like sympathies in matters religious, that

* *Minstreisy of the Scottish Border.*



BROOMHOLM HOUSE.

he held so loyally and earnestly by the failing Stuart cause in the stormy years preceding the execution of Charles I. And may not gratitude also have been the motive of his successor the fifth Earl of Nithsdale, when he so gallantly upheld the cause of the Pretender in 1715?

Lord Maxwell was, in 1620, advanced a step in the peerage, being made Earl of Nithsdale, and given precedence as Earl from the date of his father's being made Earl of Morton in 1581. In the following year he received a grant of the teinds of Nether Ewes. In 1628 Lord Nithsdale made the grants of land to the ten members of the Maxwell family, on the condition that each of them should erect a house of certain dimensions in the High Street of Langholm. This charter is dealt with more fully in Chapter XIX., and need not be further commented upon here.

It would appear that Lord Nithsdale about this time must have granted throughout Eskdale a considerable number of perpetual tenancies of lands, as before the Commission of 1679 appointed to make a return of the Buccleuch properties, claims were frequently made that such tenancies had been granted by the Earl of Nithsdale, evidently without any charter or other deed.

When the controversies between the Scottish Parliament and King Charles I. became acute, Nithsdale adhered devotedly to the Stuart cause, with whose fortunes he and his successors rose or fell. He was commissioned by charter to summon the Convention of Estates, for the express purpose of annulling those Acts of the two preceding reigns which alienated the old church lands and settled them on the nobles.

During the Civil War in England Nithsdale safeguarded the King's cause on the Borders. His castle of Caer-

laverock was the rallying point of the Royalists, and was besieged by Colonel Home, the Parliamentary general. In the end it had to surrender, one of the conditions being that the Earl of Nithsdale should have a safe journey guaranteed to either Springkell or Langholm Castle. The Earl came to neither place, but, crossing the Border joined the Royalist forces operating in the north of England. In condonation of what seems to have been Nithsdale's breach of good faith, it is urged that Colonel Home, whilst ostensibly agreeing to the above condition, had given orders for both Springkell and Langholm to be closed against the Earl. Later, Nithsdale again crossed the Border with Claverhouse, on the latter attempting to break through into the Highlands. Meanwhile, in 1644, Nithsdale's estates had been declared forfeit by the Parliament, and thus there came to an end that predominance of the House of Maxwell in Eskdale which had lasted virtually from 1455, the date of the Battle of Arkinholm. Thereafter, the Scotts of Buccleuch, who had been slowly consolidating their possessions and prestige, both in Roxburghshire and Dumfriesshire, became the paramount feudal lords.

III. THE SCOTTS OF BUCCLEUCH.

The third of the three great families whose fortunes were closely identified with Eskdale, was the Scotts of Buccleuch. The Scotts did not "come over with the Conqueror." They were indigenious to the country,—and this assurance comes as a relief in the story of our noble families. Some authorities tell us that the name signifies "wanderer" or "hunter," a meaning which well accords with their history in the centuries with which we are now concerned.

By some writers the ancestry of the Scotts has been traced to Michael Scott, the wizard; by others to Duns Scotus, the scholar. But lineages back to saints or heroes are usually mythical, and we prefer to date this sketch from the man of action rather than from the misty figure of antiquity—from Richard Scott of Rankilburn, who, in 1296, signed the Ragman Rolls, rather than from Michael the enchanter and seer. The Scotts had been mentioned earlier than 1296, as witnesses to the *Inquisition* of the See of Glasgow made by David I. But this action of Richard Scott of swearing allegiance to Edward I. in 1296 simply brings the family into the main stream of the history of that period. In 1346, fifty years later, it is recorded that Sir Michael Scott fell at Neville's Cross fighting for his King. Thereafter the Scotts were among the foremost Scottish barons, and though their blood was Scottish, and scarce a drop of it Norman, the *noblesse oblige* of their position has ever made to them its high appeal, and received from them an adequate response.

The first ancestor of the Scotts of Buccleuch, with whom we are here concerned, was Walter Scott of Kirkurd. This chief was knighted for the help he gave in defeating the Douglasses at Arkinholm, that place round which so much of the family history was to be grouped. He also received grants of various lands including Buccleuch and part of Branxholme.

The late W. Riddell Carre states* that Scott of Kirkurd obtained in 1458 certain lands "as well as part of the barony of Langholm." It is doubtful whether Langholm was a barony at this date, or that Scott of Kirkurd then received any grants in Langholm. There

* *Border Memories*, note, p. 51.

is a charter quoted in Fraser's *Scotts of Buccleuch*, of date 10th September, 1455, which sets forth that Sir Walter Scott, knight, and David Scott were given "the lands of Quhitchester in the barony of Hawick, for the faithful services rendered to us in the victory against our traitors Archibald Douglas called Earl of Moray and Hugh of Douglas his brother, Earl of Ormonde," but no mention is made of any grant of lands in Langholm.

Down to the middle of the seventeenth century Branxholme was the chief seat of the Scott clan, but Sir Walter was styled "of Buccleuch." This title is said to have originated in an incident which occurred one day whilst James III. was hunting in the royal forest of Etrick. The King had pursued a stag from Etrick Heuch to the glen now called Buccleuch. There it stood at bay, when one of the Scotts seized it by the antlers and, it is said, carried it to his sovereign, who exclaimed:—

"As for the buck thou stoutly brought
 "To us, up that steep heuch
 "Thy designation ever shall
 "Be John Scott of Bucksleuch."*

Though this territorial designation was always given, Kirkurd and Branxholme were also used alternatively therewith, but ultimately they were entirely superseded by Buccleuch.

When Sir Walter Scott died in 1467-70 he was possessed of very considerable portions of the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, most of which the family still hold. He was succeeded by his son David, who had also fought in the Battle of Arkinholm. From James III. he received a charter erecting many of his lands into free baronies, for payment of a red rose as *blenche-ferme*. In 1470 the

* W. Riddell Carre's *Border Memories*, p. 52.

Sir Herbert Maxwell rejects this story and gives *Balcleuch* as the original name.

Earl of Angus gave a charter of certain lands in Liddesdale to his kinsman Douglas of Cavers, failing whom they were to revert to David Scott of Buccleuch. Two years later we find that David Scott was married to Jane Douglas, sister of Angus, who possibly had in view such an eventuality when he granted his charter to Cavers. With this marriage David Scott received some territory in Liddesdale, and in the Lordship of Ewesdale, as part of the bride's dowry, as well as the appointment of himself and his father to the bailiaries of Eskdale and Ewesdale for a period of seventeen years.* Angus, famous as "Archibald Bell-the-Cat," does not appear to have been over-confident of being able to give his future son-in-law possession, either in Ewesdale or Liddesdale, for he inserted a clause in the marriage contract to the effect that, "gif through war with Englishmen [he] can nocht have these farmes," then others elsewhere would be substituted. Some years later, in 1484, the monks of Melrose appointed David Scott of Branxholme, and Robert, his son, to the office of bailies of the abbey lands in Eskdale for a period of five years, and this office the lairds of Buccleuch held heritably until the passing of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747. This appointment marked an important stage in the connection of the Scotts of Buccleuch with Eskdale and their subsequent pre-dominance there.

It is interesting to note that at this time there was a marriage relationship of the Scotts, not only with the Maxwells but also with the Johnstones, the historical antagonists of the Maxwells. About the year 1488, Adam, laird of Johnstone, who was first cousin to the governing Maxwell of that day, married a Scott of

* Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong's *History*, pp. 158 and 165.

Branxholme and Buccleuch, and by a precept of sasine in 1493 he was charged "to infest Walter Scott of Buccleuch" with certain lands in the Stewartry of Annandale. Thus, gradually, four centuries ago, there was being built up the acreage of the Buccleuch territories in Dumfriesshire. In 1878 the Duke's rental from Dumfriesshire was not less than £79,000.*

David Scott, who had received the honour of knighthood from James III., died in 1492 and was succeeded by his son Walter. The inventory of David's will gives an interesting indication of the nature and extent of the wealth of the Border lairds of that day. The value of his oxen, sheep, cows, and growing crops amounted to £740 Scots, or some £61 13s. 4d. sterling. This trifling valuation is explainable by the facts that most of the lands were waste, and that the value of farm produce and live stock was very small. One could buy an ox for six shillings and a horse for thirteen or fourteen. A boll of wheat brought two shillings, and a boll of oats about sixpence. He left a sum to the kirks of Hawick, Rankilburn, and St. Mary of the Forest for a suitable priest to pray for his soul.

The Sir Walter Scott just mentioned was taken prisoner in the Battle of Flodden in 1513, where James IV. was killed, and where so many of the Scottish nobility and so many worthy citizens gave their lives for James and Scotland. He died in 1516, and was succeeded by his son Walter. Walter's mother was a Ker of Cessford, between which family and the Scotts, there sprang up, about this time, one of those prolonged and bitter feuds which characterized the mediæval life of the Borders. Through this ill feeling a great deal of un-

* *The Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*, p. 20.

rest and bloodshed occurred. The feud arose out of an attempt of Sir Walter Scott to aid James V. to free himself from the irksome surveillance and domination of his powerful step-father, the Earl of Angus. Whether the King appealed to Buccleuch to attempt his forcible rescue, or whether it was the danger and romance of the situation that appealed to him, we do not know. At this time Buccleuch could easily raise 1000 horse from Eskdale, Ewesdale, Teviotdale, and Ettrickdale, and perhaps it was this power over his own clan, as well as his influence over the Armstrongs and Elliots, that caused Lord Dacre to describe him as "the chief maintainer of all misguided men on the Borders of Scotland." The Kers supported Angus, and it was supposed that Sir Andrew Ker had slain one of the Elliots, who were then allies of Buccleuch. This initiated the feud which reached its culmination in 1552, in the brutal murder of Sir Walter Scott in the streets of Edinburgh.*

A further step in the consolidation of the power of Buccleuch in Eskdale was taken during the lifetime of this Sir Walter. In 1524 he received the heritable office of the bailiary of the lands of Eskdalemuir, i.e. in the Barony or Tennandry of Dumfedling. This office enabled him to hold courts, appoint officers, execute justice, and to levy rents for the behoof of the monks of Melrose, with Dumfedling as the seat of authority.

On Angus being exiled in 1528, his lands were divided amongst some of the King's supporters, and Buccleuch again received a fair share. It was this laird of Buccleuch who, in 1529, was "commanded" by the King to Edinburgh, where, with Maxwell and others, he was quietly imprisoned, whilst the crafty King repaired to the

* See *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto i. stanza vii.

Borders, ostensibly to repress the disturbances and hunt in Ettrick Forest, but really to entrap and murder the Armstrongs, and, as another item in his itinerary, to arrest and afterwards execute Adam Scott, of Tushielaw, "the king of the Border thieves."

Sir Walter was succeeded in the title and estates in 1535 by yet another Walter, whose occupancy of the family lands was distinguished by a romantic raid into England to further the interests of Mary, Queen of Scots, to whom both the Scotts and the Kers were devotedly attached. Queen Elizabeth retaliated by sending an expedition to the Borders. Writing of this raid, Lord Hundson says, "My Lord Lieut. [i.e. Sussex] and I with sertan bands of horsmen only went to Branksum, Bukklews pryncypale howse which we found burnt to our hand by hymselfe as cruelly as ourselves cowld have burnt ytt."

It was during Sir Walter's tenure of the estates that, according to Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, there occurred one of those surprising developments which give such a charm to the history of our romantic Borderland. We have already stated on page 222 that after the Battle of Arkinholm grants of land in Eskdale were made to the Baties or Beattisons, in reward for their services on that historic 1st of May. Lord Maxwell in 1532 got a charter of other Eskdale lands (see page 225), and later, in 1537, he also received a grant of the Five Kirks of Eskdale, according to some authorities, for acting as deputy on behalf of the King in his marriage with Mary of Guise.* There was an old tradition that when

* We again mention this tradition because of its being so generally accepted in Eskdale, but reference to the Great Seal Registers does not confirm its accuracy. The 1537 grant makes no mention of the Five Kirks of Eskdale. The words are "terras de Wauchopdale, cum turre, for-

Maxwell came up into Eskdale to take effective possession of his lands, the Beattisons did not take kindly to the arrangement, and forcibly resisted his action.* Things were looking very threatening for the Lord Maxwell, when one of the Beattisons, Rolland of Wat-Carrick, urged him to escape, and offered him the loan of his white mare. Maxwell, it is said, was wise enough to recognise the golden moment, and sped with all haste to Branxholme. There, he offered to sell his rights in Eskdale to Scott "for a cast of hawks and a purse of gold." Scott closed with the bargain and speedily mustering his retainers proceeded to Eskdalemuir to take forcible possession of his purchase. He expelled the Beattisons, but on Maxwell's appeal granted to Rolland Beattison the perpetual tenant-right of Wat-Carrick, for a consideration. The story of this mediæval "conveyance" is related in the poem, which is in the form of a recital by the author to one of the Countesses of Buccleuch:—

"Scotts of Eskdale a stalwart band
Came trooping down the Todshaw hill,
By the sword they won their land
And by the sword they hold it still.
Hearken, Ladye, to the tale
How thy sires won fair Eskdale."†

taliis, molendinis, tenentibus etc. advocacionibus ecclesiarum et capellaniarum earundem (si que essent) in dominio de Eskdale vic. Drumfries." The translation of which is: "lands of Wauchopdale, with the tower, fortalices, mills, tenants, etc., with the advowsons of the churches and chapels of the same (if any there be) in the lordship of Eskdale, county of Dumfries." This seems clearly to show that the lands given in 1537 related to Wauchopdale only, and not to the other parts of Eskdale. The grant was given, "pro bono servitio in regimine limitum occidentalium regni in sua abstentia in Francie." This sentence seems to suggest that the reward was given to Maxwell for his good government of the West March whilst the *King himself* was in France.

* As a matter of historic fact Maxwell's lands at this date did not extend farther into Eskdale than Westerkirk.

† *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto iv., Stanza 10.

One of the Beatties the Minstrel calls "Gilbert the galliard," and adds in a note that in his day old people in Eskdale pointed out "Galliard's Haugh" as the scene of the encounter, but the place cannot now be identified. In the ballad of *The Lads o' Wamphray*, the term "galliard" is

Rolland's descendants, Sir Walter Scott says,[†] continued to occupy Wat-Carrick till within living memory.

“His own good sword the chieftain drew
And he bore the galliard through and through;
Where the Beattison blood mixed with the rill
The ‘Galliard’s-Haugh’ men call it still.

The Scotts have scattered the Beattison clan,
In Eskdale they left but one landed man;
The valley of Eske from the mouth to its source
Was lost and won for that bonnie white horse.”

Such is the story told by the Minstrel, and concerning it this must be said,—that it forms a romantic tale: it is fascinating as poetry, but it will not pass muster as history. In the first place Sir Walter is here guilty of an anachronism. The Minstrel speaks of Maxwell as Earl Morton. He was not created Earl of Morton until 1581, whereas it was in 1532 that he received the lands of Dalbeth, which were then claimed by the descendants of John Beattison, to whom they were given in 1458 as a reward for services at Arkinholm. Secondly, the poem implies that “the valley of Eske from its mouth to its source” belonged to the Beattison clan. This was never so. Sir Walter Scott may perhaps have been misled by what Thomas Musgrave wrote in one of his letters to Burleigh in 1584: “Eske is a fayre river,” he says, “and cometh through Esdell untile it come near a place called the Langholme Castill and is Scottishe, inhabyted

applied to a Johnstone, and Sir Walter Scott refers to Galliard’s Faulds being in Teviotdale, so probably there has been some confusion between the two incidents, as Sir Walter’s geography was frequently at fault, *e.g.* his placing of Arkinholm in Annandale. It is stated that Sir Walter obtained this and other traditions of Eskdale which he introduces into his works, from Mr. Beattie, the laird of Meikledale, a descendant of the Beattisons of Eskdale.

A “galliard” Sir Walter defines as “an active, gay, dissipated character,” though he also quotes a reference wherein the word is applied in a complimentary sense to one of the Westminster divines. Cp. *Lochinvar*, “never a hall such a galliard did grace,” where the word evidently relates to the dance rather than any person.

† *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, note Iv.

with Battsosons of Esdell." But it is a violent interpretation of this summary description to deduce from it that all the valley belonged to the Beattison clan. Again, it scarcely requires to be pointed out that the Beattisons were not in such easy manner "scattered" from Eskdale. They remained a fairly compact clan until the dawn of the seventeenth century. It was certainly not the Scotts who scattered the clan, but, as we shall see in the following chapter, it was the steady application of repressive measures against the "broken-men" of the Borders that finally destroyed the power of the Beattisons.*

There were, however, many feuds between the Scotts and the Beattisons, and we read of one reprisal by the latter when, in 1547, being then under assurance to Lord Wharton, they attacked Branxholme and did a certain amount of damage to his barmekyns and towers.

Sir Walter Scott's romantic poem, unfortunately, has been accepted as authentic history even by such a careful observer as the late Rev. Dr. Brown, minister of Eskdalemuir and author of the *Statistical Accounts* of 1793 and 1841. In the latter he refers to the Beattie tradition as being current in Eskdale, and adds that when Scott of Branxholme had cleared out the Beattisons he proceeded, according to the custom of the clans, to grant feu-rights to his vassals and dependants, and he gives a list of these settlements, without, however, vouching for its accuracy.

* It is no part of the argument, of course, but in the following passage from the *Lay* the author seems to have stretched poetic licence to its breaking point:—

"He blew his bugle so loud and hoarse
That the dun deer started at fair Craikcross ;
He blew again so loud and clear
Through the grey mountain mist there did lances appear ;
And the third blast rang with such a din
That the echoes answered from Pentoun-linn."

The distance from Wat-Carrick to Penton Linns is approximately 17 miles!

The apportionment was : Scott of Harden got Over Cassock ; Scott of Davington got Upper and Nether Davington, Fingland, and Pentland, Upper and Nether Dumfedling, Nether Cassock, Wester Polclive, Wetwood Rig, and Burncleugh ; Scott of Johnston got Johnston, Johnston Dinnings, Raeburnfoot, Craighaugh, and Saughill ; Scott of Raeburn got Moodlaw, Raeburnhead, Harewoodhead, Yetbyre, and Yards ; Scott of Rennelburn got Rennelburn, Aberlosh, Midraeburn, Clerkhill, Greystonelee, Cote, and Coathope ; Scott of Bailielee got Moodlaw Knowe, Grassyards, Kimmingsyke, Langshawburn, and Crurie ; and Scott of Branxholme reserved to himself the upper part of Thickside, Easter Polclive, Garwald Holm, Castle Hill, and all Black Esk.

This list, more or less accurately represents the holdings of a clan of Scotts, in Eskdale, but, like other writers, including Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Brown has wrongly assumed that they were the Scotts of Buccleuch. These lands belonged not to the Scotts of Buccleuch but to the Scotts of Howpaslet and Thirlestane, known in Border history by the somewhat misleading designation of "The Scotts of Ewisdaill," who did not at this date recognise Buccleuch as head of the clan. Most of these estates did ultimately come into the possession of Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, by purchase or in some other way, but in no case until the end of the seventeenth century.

Fuller reference to this will be made in the succeeding chapter, and it need only be said here that Dr. Brown's history of the matter was based upon a confusion of the two clans of Scott, and upon the pretty, but absolutely unhistoric tradition of the "white horse" incident. Sir

Walter Scott, of course, in his treatment of this theme sacrificed historical accuracy to the poetic joy of entertaining by his romantic "tale," the fair and charming Countess of Buccleuch.

Further proof of the incorrectness of the above list is obtained from a charter, dated 7th June, 1568, by which James VI. confirmed a grant made by the Comendator of Melrose to Alexander Balfour, of Denemyne, of, amongst others, the lands of Cassock, Finglen, Raeburn, Dumfedling, Powcliff [Polclive], Cruikithaugh [Craighaugh], and Moodlawheid.

Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch took an active part in resisting the deplorable raids into Scotland made about this time by Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, who, amongst his other atrocities, burnt Jedburgh and Dryburgh Abbeys. He accepted one of the commands in the army of the Earl of Arran, and was assigned the duty of driving the English out of Eskdale and Ewesdale. He besieged the Castle of Langholm, and reduced it after three days, carrying its captain prisoner to Edinburgh.

In 1551 Sir Walter was made Keeper of Liddesdale by Mary, Queen of Scots. Though owning devotion to the cause of the Queen, Buccleuch headed the Border Barons in 1569 in signing a Bond in support of the young King (James VI.) In this Bond "they professed themselves enemies of all persons named Armstrong, Elliot, Nickson, Little, Beattie, Thomson, Irving, Bell, Johnstone, Glendinning, Routledge, Henderson, and Scott of Ewisdale—in fact of those families who had fought on the side of the Queen at Langholm."*

* *The Historic Families of Dumfriesshire*, p. 20.

All such, the signatories declare, "we sall persew to the deid with fyre, sword, and all other kynd of hostile."

Sir Walter died in 1574 whilst yet the task of rebuilding Braxholme was unfinished. His widow married young Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, a lad of about fourteen years of age, who developed into a man of the most unrestrained and dissolute life. Bothwell made over all his property to Walter Scott, his step-son, who, however, had afterwards to restore the lands of Liddesdale to Bothwell's son, who had obtained a partial restitution. Later, however, the Scotts of Buccleuch again came into the possession of Liddesdale, which they still hold.

This step-son of Bothwell succeeded his father in 1574. Whilst only about twenty years of age he was appointed Warden of the Middle Marches. He, perhaps, more than any of his predecessors, raised the fame and prestige of the House of Buccleuch, and gave it that unique hold upon the imagination of the Borderers which it has ever since retained. Fearless, brave, full of resource, he won the title of the "bold Buccleuch," which is still one of the popular titles of this great House. These qualities helped to win him a peerage in 1606, but they did more than any peerage to establish the Scotts of Buccleuch in the undisputed position they have since occupied. Probably the incident which appealed most of all to the Border clans, whose training in a stern school had taught them to value personal bravery, was the oft-quoted rescue of Kinmont Willie.

This William Armstrong, known as Kinmont Willie, is said to have been a grandson of Johnie of Gilnockie. The exact relationship is not very clear, but certainly Kinmont emulated the exploits of his famous kinsman. In 1587 James VI. made an expedition into Dumfriesshire

purposely to capture Willie, but failed. However, in 1596 he was arrested,—some writers say “caught,”—by the English Warden, Lord Scrope, and lodged in Carlisle Castle. Now this was a breach of the truce then existing between the Wardens.

“ And have they ta'en him, Kimmont Willie,
Against the truce of Border tide?
And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
Is keeper here on the Scottish side?”

Scott of Buccleuch did not hesitate long. After exhausting the usual diplomatic means,—protests to the English Warden and representations to the Ambassador,—and wearying of the delay, he resolved to take the settlement into his own hands. The plan of campaign was settled a day or two before at Langholm, where the principals met at a race meeting. Assembling his retainers from Teviotdale, Liddesdale, and Eskdale, he marched down Ewesdale and concentrated his forces at the Tower of Sark. Providing himself with ladders and masons' and smiths' tools he set off with 40* picked men.

“ He has call'd him forty marchmen bauld
Were kinsmen to the bauld Buccleuch,
With spur on heel and splent on spauld,†
And gleuves of green and feathers blue.

There were five and five before them a',
Wi' hunting horns and bugles bright,
And five and five came wi' Buccleuch
Like Warden's men arrayed for fight.”

The story of how he tried to scale the walls of Carlisle Castle, but failed and had to undermine a postern to obtain entrance, how in the face of the amazed garrison, with Lord Scrope himself at their head, who discreetly kept within

* Lord Scrope declared there were 500; Tytler's *History of Scotland* says 80; the ballad of *Kimmont Willie* says 40, and a MS. *History of Scotland* preserved in the Advocates Library gives the number as under 70.

† Armour on shoulder.

his chamber, and how he effected the release of Kinmont Willie, and bore him over the Border as he had come, fording the Eden and the Esk, both in great flood—is it not amongst the records* of the House of Buccleuch? This brave deed has been accounted one of the finest achievements of warfare, and it compelled the admiration of even Queen Elizabeth herself. As a Queen she was grievously offended at this daring raid into her kingdom, and demanded and obtained the arrest of Buccleuch, but as a woman, she admired the dash and gallantry he had shown. It is said that she asked him how he dared to undertake so hazardous an enterprize, when he replied, “What is there, madam, that a man dare not do?” This answer so impressed the Queen that she exclaimed “This is a man indeed! with ten thousand such men our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe!”† The rescue created a profound sensation throughout the Border country, and it may safely be claimed that it did more to enhance the reputation of Buccleuch than even his later exploits in Holland with his regiment of Borderers, which received both royal and military approval, as well as a further substantial grant of land. It is a matter of interest,—is it not also a matter of pride?—to Eskdale people, that they were represented on this notable occasion. Amongst the “forty marchmen bauld” were Roby of “ye Langhame,” three Armstrongs of the Calfield, Jock o’ the Bighames,‡ young John o’ the Hollows and one of his brethren, the

* For full details of the adventure, together with the gleeful ballad which celebrated the release throughout the entire Borders, see Scott’s *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

† Tytler’s *History of Scotland*, Vol. IV., c. ix.

‡ Tytler gives Bighames as if it were the Christian name of one of the Calfield Armstrongs, instead of his territorial title.

Chingles,* and Christie of Barngleis. The rescue of Kinmont Willie not only created great excitement throughout the Border country, but it attained the importance of a national question. A formidable list of charges was formulated against Buccleuch, one of them being that he had "bound himself with all the notorious riders in Liddesdale, Eskdale, and Ewesdale." Evidently to give moral support to this indictment, Lord Scrope, smarting, no doubt, under the chagrin of having been so outmanœuvred by his fellow Warden, marched into Liddesdale with a large following, burned many homesteads and literally massacred many of the people, including inoffensive "barnis and wemen, three or four score."† However, Buccleuch came safely out of the difficulty, in which he had the sympathy, if not the help, of his King—who, by the way, seems to have stood in mortal fear of offending Queen Elizabeth, whom he hoped to succeed on the English throne.

As already indicated, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch was, in 1606, raised to the Peerage of Scotland with the title of Lord Scott of Buccleuch, and the secondary titles of Lord Scott of Whitcheater and Eskdale. He died in 1611, and was succeeded by his son Walter, who was made an Earl in 1619, and had the patent of his Peerage extended to heirs-female. He also received grants of land, and obtained other territories by purchase. In 1619 he bought the Lordship of Eskdalemuir; and from Sir John Ker of Jedburgh, to whom presumably they had been given after the Act of 1587, he bought all

* The Chingles is named "Zingles" on the map dated 1590, given at the beginning of Chapter xvi. Their tower stood near Ewes church, and the name survives in Swingle—a shepherd's house amongst the hills to the west of the farm of Bush. It may be added that the historian Tytler queries this name in the list of those aiding Buccleuch.

† Rev. R. Borland, *Border Raids and Reivers*, p. 223.

the lands belonging to the old Cell of Canonby, which before that date had been under the Abbey of Jedburgh. This purchase put Buccleuch into possession, not of Canonby alone, but also of the extensive church lands of Wauchope, which were usually conjoined with those of Canonby. In 1629 the Earl granted the lands of Canonby, with certain reservations, to his son David.

A man of considerable learning was this Lord Scott, and a noble of almost princely hospitality. He had a library of about 1200 volumes in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and English. He died in 1633, at the age of twenty-four, and was succeeded by his son Francis, who was then only seven years of age. During his brief life-time, he added considerably to the family estates, acquiring Dalkeith by purchase from the Earl of Morton, and on 7th April, 1643, also receiving a charter of the Barony of Langholm. The granting of this charter coincided with the forfeiture of the Earl of Nithsdale referred to on page 238, and it made the Earl of Buccleuch the principal baron in Eskdale, the greater part of which now fell into his possession.*

Only one farther event need be here recorded of the second Earl. He warmly espoused the cause of Charles I. against the Parliament, and when Cromwell assumed the government, he imposed upon the Earl of Buccleuch a fine, the largest ever inflicted it is said, equal to about £200,000 Scots.†

In 1653 the teind sheaves and other teinds of the kirk of Westerker, within the regality of Melrose, formed part of the property of Mary, Countess of Buccleuch, who had succeeded her father, the second Earl, at the

* For a further reference to this charter see Chapter xix.

† W. Riddell Carre's *Border Memories*, p. 62.

age of five. It was she who, as before stated (page 208), so romantically married Walter Scott of Highchester, afterwards Earl of Tarras. This young nobleman was afterwards implicated in the rebellion of Monmouth, who had become the husband of his sister-in-law Anne, Countess of Buccleuch. Owing to this complicity he forfeited in 1685 all his estates and titles, among the lands mentioned in the Act of Annexation to the Crown being Cassock, Tameuchar, and Glenderig, all of which are in upper Eskdale.

CHAPTER XV.

OTHER ESKDALE CLANS.

ACCORDING to some authorities, there were eighteen recognised clans on the Scottish Border, besides a number of what were known as "broken-men." The latter were numerous groups, more or less closely bound by family ties to act in co-operation, though not necessarily recognising one head. The principal clans, such as the Maxwells, Scotts, and Johnstones, held their baronies from the Crown, and their chiefs exercised a firm control over their members and retainers. The chief of the clan was loyally obeyed by his followers, and possessed more disciplinary power over them, than did the most powerful baron outside the clan. This suggests that the clan system was really a survival of the old tribal laws of the Celts, modified by the altered conditions of tenure. The head of the clan was looked to by the government to pledge the good behaviour of his followers, and was frequently required to give hostages as guarantees of this assurance. These hostages or pledges could be changed for others. The Privy Council Records of the period contain lists of the pledges and their substitutes, and also indicate the various castles where such are to be warded.

The clan system, to which much of the lawlessness of the Borders was, no doubt, attributable, was a corollary of the feudal system. The well-regulated clan made for law and civil order; but with the "broken-men" things were different. Every man's hand was against them. When the Border barons combined against the

“broken-men” in 1569, the latter were not permitted “nor their wives, bairns, tenants, or servants to dwell, remain or abyde or to pasture their gudis upon any landis outwith Liddesdaile.” Their raids, plunderings, and feuds, however, were often the result of the weakness of the central government, and of the political relationships existing between the two countries.

Amongst these clans or “broken-men” the Armstrongs, Elliots, Littles, Beattisons, and Irvings were the most numerous and powerful in Eskdale.

THE LINDSAYS.

The Lindsays were amongst the earliest settlers in Eskdale. As we have shown, they possessed lands in Langholm, Stapelgortoun, and Wauchope, as early as 1285, and for several centuries they maintained a connection with Wauchopedale, more or less broken by forfeitures. These arose from their dual position as barons in both England and Scotland. Their sympathies, for the most part, were with the English King, and at Bannockburn, Lindsay of Wauchope fought against Robert the Bruce, and was taken prisoner. Dr. James Taylor, in a brief sketch of the House of Lindsay, says,* “they were zealous adherents of Wallace and Bruce. One of them assisted at the slaughter of the Red Comyn.” The former of these statements does not accord with the remark in Crawford’s *Lives of the Lindsays*, that several of them sided with Edward, one of these being Sir Simon Lindsay, son of Sir John Lindsay, of Wauchope. It is clear, however, that at the Battle of Otterburn the Lindsays fought bravely on the side of Douglas, Alexander Lind-

* *Imp. Dict. of Univ. Biography*, Vol. X., p. 186.

say, lord of Wauchopedale, being one of the most conspicuous. According to the plan arranged by the Scottish commanders, Lindsay was to advance by way of Carlisle, taking with him the baggage of the Scottish army, and then effect a junction with the other leaders. The head of the House of Lindsay at this time was Sir James of Crawford, and he, too, fought for Douglas at Otterburn. In the Scottish version of *The Battle of Otterburne* reference is made to their valour in that famous fight :—

“ He chose the Gordons and the Græms,
With the Lindsays light and gay.

The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done.” ‡

Their stronghold was Wauchope Castle, adjoining the present kirkyard. Here they kept state as lords of Wauchope, and here many an exciting incident occurred. One such, indeed, resulted in the Lindsays losing, for a time at least, their possessions in Wauchope. The sheriff of Eskdale at this time was Bartholomew Glendinning, in whose family the office was hereditary. The Act of Parliament calls him “our soverane lordis officiare and sherriff in that part.” In 1505, in pursuance of his official duties, he had to proceed to Wauchope to distrain the lands of the Lindsays in respect of the third portion which formed the jointure of Margaret, widow of John Lindsay. His son John, who was in possession, resisted the distraint with the full muster of his feudal retainers, and in the skirmish which ensued, Glendinning and his brother Symon were both killed. John Lindsay followed up this incident with several lawless raids, and when summoned to appear before the King and his Justices, he failed to answer. The proclamation summoning him to appear was made at the “merkat croce of drumfries,” and he

‡ Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*.

had to "compear personally" at Edinburgh, "or quhar it sal happen thaim to be for the tyme." In his absence he was found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to lose his life and his goods. His lands in Ewes—Fiddleton, Unthank, Moss paul, and Mosspeeble—were given to Lord Home, and those in Wauchope reverted to the Crown.

But there seems to have been an element of insincerity in this sentence because, in the April of the following year, Lindsay received grants of land in Galloway and Annandale.* From *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials* we get a further glimpse into this fray at Wauchope Castle. One Patrick Dunwedy was convicted in 1508 of "art and part" in the killing of the Laird of Glendunwin, and "treacherously going forth of Scotland and treasonably remaining out of Scotland for common theft, and for the inputting and outputting of goods between England and Scotland." For his offences, which appear to have been sins of omission, as well as commission, Patrick was hanged, and his goods escheated. The Lindsays do not seem to have identified themselves in any intimate way with the life of Eskdale. Except with the Douglasses, they do not seem to have had friendly relationships with any of the great families of Eskdale, although, according to the *Lives of the Lindsays*, they continued to possess the lands of Wauchopedale down to a late date.

From the Book of Adjournal of the Justiciary Court,

*Apud Edin. 30 April, 1507.

REX—quia terre Johannis Lindesay olim domini de Wauchopdale infra bōndas de Wauchopdale, Eskdale, et Ewisdale, forisfacte fuerant; igitur pietate commotus, concessit eidem Johanni Lindesay ad ejus sustentationem et ejus heredibus—terras de Bordland in Southwic, &c."—From the *Great Seal Register*.

Under the circumstances the phrase "igitur pietate commotus" seems an eloquent commentary on abstract justice!

it appears that at the King's Court held at Dumfries in 1504, the lord of Wauchope was "called" for his lands in Hoddom and also in Wauchope, and not compearing, was fined £10 in respect of each of these. Evidently John Lindsay was even then in that surly mood which in the following year led to the murder of Bartholomew Glendinning. The designation of the Lindsays of Wauchope after they received the lands of Borland and Borcloy was "of Barcloy and Wauchope," but they do not appear to have again resided in Wauchope or to have possessed lands there.

THE GLENDINNINGS.

This family, though it rose to considerable importance and social position in Eskdale, was not one that sensibly influenced local history. Its earlier representatives appear to have come from near Hawick, and to have been introduced into Eskdale by the Douglasses. Members of both families afterwards fought side by side at Otterburn, "upon the bent so brown," where Sir Simon Glendinning fell fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Douglas. The Glendinnings maintained cordial relations with the Douglasses until the Battle of Arkinholm, when, like the Maxwells, they abandoned their old friends and helped in their disastrous defeat. It has been said by one historian, Anderson, that the laird of Glendinning was slain in this battle by the Earl of Ormond, brother of the Douglas, though the statement has not been definitely established. If it be true, it may be conjectured that Ormond sought out Glendinning (to whom the Douglasses had been liberal benefactors) in revenge for what he would, not unnaturally, regard as base ingratitude.

As early as 1376 Sir Adam Glendonwyn occupied, but only as a tenant, the farms of "Eskdalemur and La Baly"—now known as Bailey Hill. In 1380 Sir Adam was the receiver of the Douglas revenues for Eskdale. Later, he attained the high position of Ambassador to the English Court, and about this time received grants of the lands of Bretallow, i.e., Barnalloch or Stapelgortoun. In 1391 he mortified certain of his lands in the barony of Hawick for the establishment of a church or chapel in Westerker, which was that of Byken.

In 1407 Sir Simon Glendoning was appointed by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, hereditary bailie or sheriff of Eskdale, an office which remained in the family for at least 100 years. It was in the exercise of the duties of this office that the conflict at Wauchope Castle occurred, as already described. Towards the end of the fifteenth century John of Glendonwin and Parton "was possessed of the 80 pound land of old extent of Glendoning, the lands and baronies of Bretallow, Wauchope, Langholm, Westerker." Amongst the last were those of Daldorane, the name then given to Westerhall. In 1458 the Glendinnings received a charter of the lands of Parton, and probably most of the family removed there. But a considerable remnant must have remained in Eskdale, as will appear later. Part of the lands of Daldorane belonged to his sister-in-law, but John seems to have appropriated the harvest, and now, by an Order of the Lords of Council, he was ordered to restore it, to wit: "ij chalders and a half of mele and twenty four bolls of mele, price of the boll xs. takin up be the said John of the fermes pertening to the said Merjory of her third and

terce of the lands of Skraisburgh and Daldorane." John of Glendoning did not seem sympathetic towards this arrangement, for when summoned by the Lords he failed to appear, whereupon they issued letters of distraint. A similar Order was made in 1492 in respect of almost the same lands, in favour of Bartholomew, his son and apparent heir, and his wife Margaret, daughter of John Gordoun of Lochinwer. Later, in 1532, we find the Glendinnings occupying Billholm and claiming Harperwhat and Applewhat, which probably had been given to them as their portion of the spoils after Arkinholm. In Monypeny's *Chronicle*, published in 1587, the name of "Glendyning of Portoun" appears in the list of the lairds of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbright. This laird was a descendant of the Glendonings of Eskdale. In 1606 Robert married Margaret Maxwell, daughter of Lord Herries. By this marriage he obtained the enjoyment of Arkin and Broomholm, in addition to the lands above mentioned. After this date most of the Glendinnings seem to have left Eskdale, though representatives of the family are still found in the valley.

THE JOHNSTONES.

The Norman name of which Johnstone is the Scots form was de Janville, and sometimes de Jhoneville.* Like most of the Border barons, the Johnstones came into Scotland in the early part of the thirteenth century. When Edward I. was trying to subdue Scotland, and succeeded in bringing certain districts of the lowlands under his sway, the Johnstones, like so many other

* *The Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*, p. 7.

barons, swore the oath of fidelity to him, for Scotland was as yet only the land of their adoption, not the land of their fathers. But by the date of Otterburn these Scoto-Norman barons had become more strongly imbued with Scottish aspirations, and so we find the Johnstones, as we found the Lindsays, fighting on the side of Douglas.

The Johnstones were, of course, more intimately associated with Annandale than Eskdale. Their principal estates lay in the Stewartry. Their nearness to the Maxwells and the consequent clash of ambitions, provided the opportunity for the family feuds which existed for so many years between these families. Personal rivalry between the Lords of Caerlaverock and the lairds of Johnstone excited, as we have already seen, much unrest and bitterness, aye, and much needless bloodshed on the Borders during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is no part of our duty to apportion the blame—indeed neither clan was blameless.

The Johnstones, who were the direct descendants of Johnstone of Westraw, do not come upon the scene in Eskdale until early in the seventeenth century. In 1608 Johnstone of Westraw was associated with his nephew, the laird of Johnstone, in a petition praying for vengeance to be taken on Lord Maxwell, for the slaying of the laird's father. In 1624 he sold his Lanarkshire estates, which had been given to his ancestor for his services at Arkinholm, and bought lands in Eskdale from the Glendinnings. As already mentioned, these lands were known as Daldoran, or some variant of it, but after his purchase Johnstone changed the name to Westerhall, as a remembrancer of his old estate. The connection of Johnstone of Westraw, afterwards of Westerhall, with the Annan-

dale Johnstones, is indicated by his being made a party to the suit, begun in 1619, by the Earl of Buccleuch and other Border barons against the guardians of the young laird of Johnstone, for the recovery of the Annandale charter chest, which, after some litigation, was finally restored by Lady Wigtown, mother of the laird.

The son of the first laird of Westerhall was the Sir James Johnstone who came into such notoriety in the days of the Covenanting persecution. At first, a zealous supporter of the Presbyterian party, he changed sides and became one of the fiercest of the enemies of the Covenant. In the Eskdale persecutions he was associated with John Graham of Claverhouse, and, as will be seen in Chapter XXI., he was more relentless and more inflamed with fanatical passion, as renegades usually are, than even Claverhouse was. No further monument of his infamy was needed in Eskdale, than the plain stone standing on that bleak hillside at Craighaugh, the spot where Andrew Hislop was ruthlessly shot by Johnstone himself. In the fragment of the Baptismal Register of Stapelgortoun parish, printed as one of the Appendices to this volume, the name of Sir James Johnstone frequently occurs as a witness to baptisms during that "killing time." No doubt it was because of those days that so many legends came to be associated with Westerhall.

Concerning the house itself there is very little that is noteworthy. As will be seen from the illustration, its architecture is mixed, and only a small portion remains of the old Scottish baronial style of the original building. Many weird stories concerning Westerhall have been handed down in Eskdale—stories of strange sights being seen, and strange sounds heard. Many of these no



WESTERHALL.

doubt owed their origin to ordinary and natural causes, but they came to be associated with the religious feeling of the dale and centred themselves in Johnstone, whose name was held in such evil repute in the generation following the Covenanting period. Some of the "prophecies" of Alexander Peden, the Covenanter, related to the Johnstones and to Westerhall, and not a few of these are believed by Eskdale people to have come to pass.

In the hall of the mansion house there is hung the text of a ballad, said to have been written by one of the Johnstone ladies, an aunt of the present baronet we believe, in honour of her family. The verses, whose poetical merit it is not necessary to assess, are as follow, the capitals given here being illuminated in the text:—

The Border Chiefs met at Westerhall,
 And they sang of the Raid and the Moon,
 With their "ready aye ready," the Johnstone cry,
 For they're "ready" both late and soon.
 Sang they: "The Johnstones aye were brave,
 Nae man durst say them nay;
 Their arms are strong their hearts are true,
 And they're mounted by night and by day."
 The bold Buccleuch, the comely race,
 Both chiefs of high degree,
 In honour of the "Flying Spur,"*
 Sang out in mirth and glee—
 "In Eskdale and in Annandale
 The gentle Johnstones ride
 They have been here a thousand years
 A thousand mair they'll byde."

The laird of Westerhall was knighted by Charles II., for, it is said, the part he took in the suppression of the Covenanters. The baronetcy dates from 1700. One of the grandsons of the first Sir James was Governor Johnstone, who acquired a considerable repute as an administrator of Britain's East India possessions, concerning

* The "Flying Spur" is the crest of the Johnstones of Westerhall. Their motto is *Nunquam non paratus*.

which, in 1771, he published a work entitled *Thoughts on our Acquisitions in the East Indies*. In early life a naval commander, he was, in 1778, along with Lord Carlisle, sent out as one of the Commissioners to treat with the Americans, then in rebellion, and to offer them liberal terms of peace. Congress, however, declined to negotiate with the Commissioners, unless as a preliminary they acknowledged the independence of the United States, and they were compelled to return home without having accomplished their object. Governor Johnstone, who had acquired very extensive estates in Virginia, which only recently passed out of the possession of his descendants, afterwards became connected with the East India Company, and was noted for his violent attacks on Lord Clive.

Another member of the Westerhall family who rose to considerable distinction was Sir William Pulteney, lawyer and politician. He married the heiress of William Pulteney, Earl of Bath—the famous Parliamentarian of the reign of George II.—and took her name. The Westerhall baronetcy fell in 1803 to the nephew of Sir William Pulteney, the grandfather of the present Sir Frederick John William Johnstone, who is the eighth baronet.

Sir F. Johnstone of Westerhall was one of the claimants before the House of Lords, in 1881, of the Annandale Peerage. His claim, which was unsuccessful, was based on the ground that he was a descendant of Sir Adam Johnson by the latter's son Matthew, who was an armiger and esquire in 1455. There were several gentlemen of this name in the fifteenth century, but the name Matthew is entirely absent from the line of the Johnstones of that ilk, and Sir Frederick failed to establish his right of succession, as his ancestor, Sir William

Pulteney Johnstone, had also failed. Johnstone of Lockwood, the predecessor of the first Marquis of Annandale, had, it seems, disposed "to his well beloved Matthew Johnstone," certain lands in Clydesdale. The Westerhall Johnstones claimed descent from Matthew, but though the latter was popularly believed to have been one of the younger sons of Lockwood, he is not so designated in the above Disposition, and it was on this ground that the House of Lords seems on both occasions to have decided against the Westerhall claims.*

THE ARMSTRONGS.

Among the Border clans, none was more powerful, none more famous, than the Armstrongs. During the sixteenth century the clan wielded an immense influence on both sides of the Border, an influence which had to be reckoned with, by both the Scottish and English Governments. The Armstrongs occupied many of the well-known Border towers, around which the different branches of the clan were grouped. Not only in Liddesdale, but in Ewesdale, Eskdale, Wauchopedale, and Annandale, they formed a considerable portion of the fighting men. It is said that no fewer than 3000 Armstrongs from the Border dales would answer the call of their chief. Their raids and expeditions are matters of history. Wardens corresponded about them, and so did Kings and Queens, but the Armstrongs persisted and succeeded, despite all "the resources of civilization" which were requisitioned for their suppression.

* Whilst this volume is in the press the Westerhall estates, after being held by the Johnstones for 287 years have been broken up and sold in portions. The historic mansion house and the lands attaching, together with the hostelry of Bentpath and several of the farms, have been purchased by Mr. F. Berkley Matthews, of Lartington Hall, near Barnard Castle.

The head of the clan was the laird of Mangerton, in Liddesdale, though Johnie of Gilnockie seems to have been its recognised leader. As early as 1376 there was an Armstrong in Mangerton, and the connection between the family name and the place lasted until well into the seventeenth century. Whithaugh was also a lairdship belonging to the Armstrongs, and its chieftain ranked in importance next to Mangerton. Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong mentions that the original charter of Whithaugh having been lost, Francis, Earl of Bothwell, re-granted the lands in 1586 to Lancilot Armstrong.*

The main interest in the Armstrong clan, so far as Eskdale is concerned, centres in Johnie Armstrong, "some-time called laird of Gilnockie." The coming of the Armstrongs of Liddesdale to Canonby, however, was not their first appearance in Eskdale, for as early as 1456 there was a David Armstrong in Sorby in Ewesdale. The Armstrongs continued to possess this lairdship until a comparatively recent date.

Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie was a brother of Thomas, laird of Mangerton, and would appear to have migrated from Liddesdale into Canonby, probably in the latter half of the fifteenth century. We read that in 1501 James IV. ordered Bothwell, who was then Warden of the West March, to extirpate the Armstrongs, so evidently even at that early date the clan had become obnoxious to the ruling powers. When the King in person visited Eskdale in 1504 on his tour of repression, known in history as the Raid of Eskdale, he summoned the Armstrongs to his Court, but it does not appear that they obeyed. They had been declared "at the horn"† in the pre-

*Armstrong's *History*, p. 178.

† The state of outlawry indicated by this picturesque phrase was declared by an accompaniment of three blasts on a horn.

vious year, and the King now sent one Jame Tailyour to "fech the Armestrangis to the King," for which service Jame received the sum of fourteen shillings, and considering the risk he ran the payment does not seem excessive. The King gave himself the satisfaction of hanging several of the Eskdale "thevis"* during this visit, but the Armstrongs, who were probably his principal quarry, seem to have eluded his agents.

It must be admitted that during the times of unrest on the Borders the Armstrongs were not consistent upholders of the Scottish authority. They seem to have been swayed by motives of expediency, and occasionally they even incur the suspicion of double dealing. Evidence is not altogether wanting that, whilst they were hunting with Lord Maxwell, they were also running with Lord Dacre. In one of the letters of Dacre to Wolsey dated 1517, whilst yet the English, flushed with their victory at Flodden, were devastating the Borders, Dacre tacitly admits that the Armstrongs are in his service in these raids: "As for the Armestrangs and oder evill disposed personnes, their adherents, the King's highnes shall not be charged with none assistance from them, but only myself."† Some charges against Dacre in respect of his conduct as Warden were made about this time, one being that he allowed the Armstrongs to frequent Carlisle

* The following items from the records of the period indicate the systematic manner in which James IV., who seems to have possessed a genius for this kind of thing, went about the business:—

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| "Item, the xvij day of August to the man that hangit the thevis at the Hullirbus | xiiij <i>s</i> . |
| "Item, for ane raip to hing thaim in | vii <i>d</i> . |
| "Item, the xxj day of August to the man that hangit the thevis in Canonby be the Kingis command | xiiij <i>s</i> . |
| "Adam Baty convicted of art and part with the King's rebels at the horn, being of Eskdale, in their thefts and treasonable deeds and for favouring supplying and assisting them in their thefts, and of common treason of new, hanged." | |

† Armstrong's *History*, p. 208.

market, and another that he had failed to punish them for their offences.

Between this date and the break up of the clan in 1529, the Armstrongs were, under Lord Maxwell as superior, in possession of very considerable holdings in Eskdale. Johnie Armstrong, the chief of the local branch of the clan, occupied the seat of authority in his tower at the Hollows; his son Christie was at Barngleis; other members of the clan had lands in Stapelgortoun and Langholm, and at Shiel and Dalbeth; whilst David and Ninian Armstrong were vassals of Lord Home in respect of lands in the Over-parish of Ewes.* Thus the clan formed almost a circle round Langholm, a disposition of their forces which must have afforded the Armstrongs a great strategic advantage, both in attack and defence.

The repeated raids by the Armstrongs naturally evoked reprisals, and considerable confusion resulted from the fact that neither the English nor the Scottish Warden was quite sure that the other was not aiding and abetting them. Maxwell was strongly suspected of complicity in their raids into England, and Dacre, as we have remarked, admitted employing them in his secret service. At length, the question became one of serious import to both countries, and to solve the problem it was proposed by the Scottish Council to lay waste the entire Debateable Land, and not only dispossess but slay its inhabit-

* In the year 1569 pledges were taken from responsible persons on the Border for the good conduct of their subordinates, and though the break-up of the Armstrong clan virtually dates from 1529, yet, from the subjoined entries it will be seen that individual members exercised considerable authority as late as 1569:—

“Christal Armstrong is enterit pledge for several thieves between Canonby and Langholm—the Armstrongs of Ewisdaile, their branch, and the Armstrongs of Brumeholme and Wauchopedale.”

“Andre Armstrong of Glengillis became surety for Thomas his brother in Eskdail.”

“Eкке Armstrong, son of the said, and Willie, son of the said, for the Laird of Muckledail named Little.”

ants. The Government thought to make a desert, and doubtless they would have called it "Peace!" The plan to be followed was to take from the people, notably the Armstrongs who had caused the commotion, "all ther gudis and possessiones, byrn and destroy ther housis, cornys hay and fewall and tak all thar wiffis and barnys and bring them to portis of the see and send them away in schippis, to be put on land in Irland or uther far partis quhar fra tha might nevir return haim agane." This root and branch policy—whether it was meant as anything beyond a humorous suggestion may well be doubted—required a like resolve on the part of the English Government as to the English raiders—and the idea came to nought.

In 1528 Dr. Magnus, who was the English representative at the Scottish Court, reported that the Armstrongs had destroyed 52 parish churches, a statement which bears upon it the stamp of gross exaggeration. If true, it is a remarkable sequel to the Monition of Cursing issued against the Armstrongs and other clans in 1525, by the Archbishop of Glasgow. The same criticism may be made concerning the admission of Sym, the laird of Whithaugh, who, when soliciting the protection of the English King, at Alwick, on the charming plea that justice could not be obtained in Scotland, claimed that he had "laid waste in the saide realme lx myles, ande laide doune xxx^{ti} parisshe churches and that there was not oone in the realme of Scotlande dar remedy the same."

The Armstrongs paid small respect to the commands of either the Scottish or English Warden, but seem, when occasion demanded, to have played off the one against the other, with much advantage to themselves. In 1526-7 the heads of the clan erected a number of strong towers on

the Debateable Land contrary to the agreement between Lord Maxwell and the Earl of Cumberland. Amongst these the principal one was at the Hole-hous, or Hollows, the stronghold of Johnie Armstrong, now known as Gilnockie Tower. To destroy these towers Lord Dacre raised a force of 2000 men, and marched into the Debateable Land. Johnie Armstrong and his followers had got intelligence of this proposed raid from Richard Game of Esk,* it was supposed, and were prepared to meet Dacre. In the fight the Armstrongs defeated the English; but Dacre, evidently with the aid of some pieces of artillery supplied by the Earl of Northumberland, attacked and burned the Hollows Tower. As a set-off, Armstrong went down the same day and burned Netherby. These occurrences were followed by demands for redress from both Wardens. Dacre claimed from Maxwell in respect of the burning of Netherby, and Maxwell claimed from Dacre in respect of the raid on the Hollows. The bills given in by the two Wardens set forth the claims very clearly and picturesquely. Dacre recites the story of the attack on Netherby, and asks "redresse as the law of march will." Lord Maxwell's answer is:—

"As to the burnyng of the houses in Nederby, in England, this is myn ansuer. The same day before none, com the Lord Dacre, Sir Cristofer Dacre, their complicis and servantis, to the nombr of ij thousand men, within the ground of Scotland and the landis of Cannonby; and there brynt ane place called the Holehouse, and houses and cornes, and draif and took away certain goodes; and desires the said lord

* An elaborate indictment was drawn up against Game for this act, but he was able to satisfy Dacre of his innocence.

that that may be redressed, for causs that all was done at ane tyme accordanly to the todes."

Maxwell at the same time sends in a bill in which "complenes John Armstrang of Stubilgorton, Scottisman," that Dacre came "to the Holehouse within the lordship of Eskdale and the grounde of Scotland, and ther took had and reft, of the said John, goodes, and his servantis, horse, nolt, shepe, gayt, and insight of houses, and brynt houses byggingis and cornes, again the vertue of the treux," &c. Lord Dacre replied that the Hollows was not in the Lordship of Eskdale, but was on "a parcell of the Debatable Grounde," and there the matter seems to have rested.

The great confederation of the Armstrong clan was broken up in 1529 by the murder of Johnie of Gilnockie by King James V. But though the power of the clan was crippled, the Armstrongs continued in considerable strength in the various parishes of Eskdale well into the eighteenth century. The story of the King's treachery has been often told. The massacre, for such it was, had been carefully planned by him and his councillors. Those Border chiefs, such as the Maxwells and Scotts, who might have thwarted the King's purpose, were, by a trick, enticed from the Borders and put in ward in Edinburgh or other places. When all the preliminaries had been thus completed James set out for the Borders. Travelling by way of St. Mary's Loch, he pitched his camp at Carlinrig in Teviotdale, on 5th June, 1529,* and seems, also, to have visited Ewes-doors and Langholm, which Pitscottie calls "Ewindoores and Langhope." It has been said that the King and Armstrong met near to the

* Pitscottie gives the date of the murder of the Armstrongs as 1530, and other writers have accepted this date, but the evidence points clearly to 1529 being the year.

old toll-bar at Fiddleton, and that the former had his camp on the hillside opposite, which thereby received the name of Camp Knowes. The King was accompanied by 8000 men, barons and lords amongst others, all well armed, and provisioned for a month. His purpose was a double one: to hunt game, and to hunt those who were responsible for the unrest on the Scottish Border, or were suspected of raiding. Very good sport of both descriptions had the King and his gentlemen, who had brought their deer hounds with them. Three hundred and sixty deer were killed,* and "efer this hunting the King hanged Johnie Armstrong, laird of Kilnockie quhilk monie Scottis man heavilie lamented for he was ane doubtit man and als guid ane chieftane as ever was upon the borderis aither of Scotland or of England. And albeit he was ane lous lievand man and sustained the number of xxiiij weill-horsed able gentlemen with him yitt he never molested no Scottis man." So says Pitscottie in his picturesque narrative of the King's "hunting." According to the well-known ballad it seems that the King had invited Armstrong to meet him—the letter being couched in terms of peace and friendship. Trusting implicitly in the good faith of the King, they accepted the invitation.

"The King he wrytes a luving letter,
With his ain hand sae tenderly;
And he hath sent it to Johny Armstrang
To cum and speik with him speidily.

The Eliots† and Armstrangs did convene,
They were a gallant company—
'We'll ryde and meit our lawful King,
And bring him safe to Gilnockie.'

They ran their horse on the Langholm holm,
And brake their speirs wi' mickle main;
The ladys lukit frae their loft-windows—
'God bring our men weil back again!'

* Dr. Borland's *Border Raids and Reivers*, p. 183.

† Some writers say that the Armstrongs were also accompanied by the Irvines [of Stakeheuch] and the Littles [of Meikledale].

Such is the introduction given in the ballad to the tragedy of that June day. The men did not come "weil back again." Buchanan hints that Armstrong failed to obtain the King's pass for his security, but whether this were so or not mattered little, for the King was bent on the massacre. Tradition says that Armstrong's company consisted of 50 horse, and that they went unarmed; and the failure to provide himself with a pass only shows the more clearly that he had accepted the King's letter in absolute good faith. The story of the discussion between the King and Johnie Armstrong is powerfully suggestive of the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb: neither to reason nor pleading would the King hearken, and at last Johnie exclaims:—

"To seik het water beneth cauld yce,
Surely it is a great folie—
I haif askit grace at a graceless face
But there is nane for my men and me!"

"Had I my horse and harness gude,
And ryding as I wont to be,
It sould haif bene tald this hundred yeir
The meiting of my King and me!"

"Fareweil! my bonny Gilnock Hall
Quhair on Esk syde thou standest stout!
Gif I had leived but seven yeirs mair,
I wald haif gilt thee round about."

"John murdered was at Carlinrig,
And all his gallant companie;
But Scotland's heart was never sae wae
To see sae mony brave men dee."

Armstrong and most of his company were hanged, the trees upon Carlinrig serving as the gallows. There is still a tradition in Ewesdale and Teviotdale that the trees on which the executions were carried out withered away. It is said that one of Armstrong's attendants broke through the guard, and carried the news to Gilnockie.

Probably nothing in the history of that century created more consternation and indignation on the Borders than this. Much of the bloodshed which happened in the years following was owing to this "judicial murder." The Borderers deeply resented the treachery and breach of faith. The suggestion that Armstrong was betrayed by his brother is not accepted by serious historians. There was no necessity for treachery by any of his clan: the King had already provided sufficient for that day's purpose. James himself seems, at length, to have seen the dishonour of it, for not one word concerning the matter is found in any of the State papers. The "trial" is not recorded,—possibly Carlinrig was not a convenient place for observing all the forms of judicial procedure,—and no mention is made of the hanging. Such a record is scarcely required by the historian, for the story lives still on the Borders, enshrined in the most famous of all the ballads. There have arisen certain apologists who seek to condone the murders by calling the Armstrongs thieves, but it is impossible, even by such a charge, to justify a deed so nefarious and treacherous as this.

One historian refers to Johnie Armstrong as him "who keipit the Castell of Langhame," and adds that there were "with him four and twentie well-horsed men."* Johnie Armstrong was not at that date keeper of Langholm Castle, for he had resigned the lands of Langholm to Lord Maxwell in the February of 1529. They came again into the possession of the Armstrongs in 1558, when Christie, of Barngleis, son of John, gave a bond of man-rent to Lord Maxwell in respect of them. Christie himself resided at Barngleis, and delegated his duties at Langholm Castle to his sons Archie, and Robert, his

* Armstrong's *History*, p. 274

third son John meanwhile occupying Hollows Tower. With Lord Maxwell, when he went to Stirling in 1585, there were Christie Armstrong of Barngleis, Archie and Robert Armstrong of Langholm Castle, and also Armstrongs from Potholm and Milnholm. After the murder of Gilnockie in 1529 many of the Armstrongs sought refuge in England, and served as mercenaries of the Crown, but many remained in Eskdale.

Whatever one's opinion may be concerning Lord Maxwell's attitude towards the murders at Carlinrig, it is of interest to note the friendly relationship which was still maintained between him and the descendants of Gilnockie.

On the date of the above bond Sir John Maxwell of Terregles grants a warrant to "my fameilar frend, Christie Armstrang callit Jhons Christie, to intromet with the hail teyndes of the parroche of Stabillgortoun . . . the said Christie payand tharfoir yeirly ay and quhill he be dischargit, to me, my aris and assignais the sum of viij^{lb} good and usuale money of Scotland at Lames."

In 1562 Christie was appointed by a contract, dated at Lochmaben, keeper of "the hous and place of Langholme" until John, Lord Maxwell should be of "perfyet age, . . . when he cumis to the handling of his auin leving." In consideration thereof, Christie was to have yearly "in tyme of peax the soum of xl pound," and in time of war a sum thought reasonable by "four honest gentlemen." By the same contract Christie had to have the "uptaikine of sic proffettis as my Lord Maxwell haid within the cuntreis of Eskdale, Eusdale, and Wauchhoipdale."

There is a record of a trial in 1605 in which appears a number of Armstrongs "delaitit for taking airt and

pairt for the treasonable* burning of the House of Langholme, and taking Herbert Maxwell of Cavense prisoner and for the thieftious stealing of certain nolt, horse, sheep, gait and burning certaine coirnis pertaining to the said Herbert, Alexander Bell in Eikeholme [i.e. Arkinholm], William Bell in Gallosyde and George Irving in Holmhead." The Armstrongs concerned in these acts, which had occurred in 1581, were: "Ingrie Armstrang, Enzieholm; Archie Armstrang, the merchand in the Hoilhouse; Johnne Armstrang in the Hoilhouse; Nini-an Armstrang called Roweis Niniane, in the Murtholme; Cristie Armstrang cosine to the Gudeman of Langholme (Johnne Armstrang)." Possibly the demonstration against Herbert Maxwell of Cavense was due to his having dispossessed the Armstrongs as keepers of Langholm Castle. Scrope, in a letter to Burghley, of date 30th Sept., 1581, refers to this incident as the "burning and spoiling about the Langholme and taking prisoner Herbert Maxwell the captain. The Earl of Morton, so terming himself, the Warden, demands delivery of certain English Borderers who were present and intends on Tuesday or Wednesday next to seek for the fugitives."† Scrope adds that "James VI. and counsele are verie much offended with the burning of Langeum in Euesdale . . . and keeping the captain of the same prisoner, being the Lord Maxwell his lande, wherefore the said Lord Maxwell threateneth to revenge yt with burnings in the maner in England."

After this trial sureties were required that "the said Herbert Maxwell, his wife and bairnis, shall be harmless and skaythless in their bodies, landis, and gudes and geir, of the said John and Christie Armstrang, sonnes to

* Langholm Castle had been taken over by the Government, which probably accounts for this use of the term "treasonable."

† *Calendar of Border Papers*, Vol. I., p. 76.

Johnne Armstrang of Langholme, the said Johnne under pane of ane thousand pundis and the said Christie under pane of five hundreth pundis.”

Writing the same year to Burghley, Thos. Musgrave gives some interesting facts concerning the Armstrongs: “John Armstrong of the Caufield dwelleth on the Cawfeld—not marryed in England.* Gorthe Armstrong of the Bygams dwelleth on the Bygams and marryed Will of Carl(i)lles daughter. All these are the Lord of Manger-ton unckles or uncles sonnes at the furthest. The Armstrongs of Langholme and their allys with England: Creste Armstrong, goodman of Langholm Castell marryed Robbye Grayme’s sister called Robbe of the Field; John Armstrong of the Hollous married Walter Grayme’s sister of Netherby.”

The Armstrongs of Enzieholm, and other places in upper Eskdale, first came there in 1525, when Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie received from Lord Maxwell the gift of the non-entry of the lands of Dalbeth, Shiel, and Dalblane, &c. Their occupation seems to have continued until 1605, but after this date no trace of them is found in upper Eskdale.

In Ewesdale the Armstrongs occupied Arkleton and Sorby.† The former was given, in 1537, to Ninian Armstrong by Robert, Lord Maxwell, and we believe that the original charter is still in possession of the present laird of Arkleton, W. Scott Elliot, Esquire.

* Marriage with the daughters of the “broken-men” of the English Border was, by a special Act of the Scots Parliament, forbidden to subjects of Scotland, without the King’s express licence given under the Great Seal.

† The grandmother of Mr. Simon Irving, the present tenant, (the last of several generations), of Langholm mill, was a daughter of the laird who held Sorby when it was sold to the Duke of Buccleuch about the end of the eighteenth century.

In Ewes churchyard there is a stone recording the death of Thomas Armstrong of Sorby, who died 14 May, 1761, aged 81 years, and also of William, his son, who died 31 July, 1782, aged 72.

In 1528 Lord Home had granted to Ninian and David Armstrong, in consideration of their bond of man-rent, the lands of the "Uvyr [Over] parrochin of Ewisdale." Probably both of these grants relate to Arkleton. In 1535 David Armstrong received from the King a charter of the lands of Park, now called The Bush, in Ewesdale, which had belonged before to Robert, Lord Maxwell. In 1607 Andrew Armstrong was in Kirkton and Thomas Armstrong in Glendovane. Both were put to the horn and denounced as rebels for not restoring certain teinds to Lord Home.

Frequent reference has been made to the Armstrongs of Wauchopedale. Their stronghold was at Calfield, sometimes called Calhill. In some of the documents Calfield, like Dumfedling, is entitled a *Tennendrie*. In the charter of Langholm given to the Earl of Nithsdale in 1621, to which detailed reference will be made later, "Calfield with its mill" is mentioned. The reference is probably to a mill on the Becks Burn and not to that at Earshaw mentioned on page 190. That there were more mills than one in Wauchope is seen from the Tack of Wauchopedale to Robert, Lord Maxwell, in 1526, in which occur the words "with the mylnis, fortalice, and fischeing of the samin." Calfield therefore, it will be seen, was a place of no small importance. Here they occupied a position dominating the Water of Wauchope. In his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Sir Walter Scott mentions Jock and Geordie of Calfield as well as Archie, the hero of a ballad entitled *Archie o' Ca'field*, which celebrates the forcible rescue of Archie from Dumfries jail. There is little in the Calfield ballad of interest to Eskdale people, as its events seem to have happened in Teviotdale.

There were other members of the clan in Wauchope besides those of Calfield, from whom they had probably descended. Until within living memory there were Armstrongs in Bloughburnfoot and in the Grains,* a farm which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, stood a little to the north-west of Wauchope School-house.

Some cynic has remarked that the history of the noble families of the Borders, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, can best be read in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*. The witticism may be also applied to the history of the Armstrongs of Eskdale and Liddesdale, but the clan did not confine its energies or abilities to cattle-stealing and fire-raising. Surely, however, one of the quaintest chapters of their record is that relating to Archie Armstrong, who was Court fool in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. Most of the Stuart Kings demanded a considerable amount of entertainment of one kind or another. When James IV. made his famous Raid of Eskdale in 1504 he was accompanied by jesters, musicians, and morris-dancers, and some expense was incurred by the carriage of his instruments of music into Eskdale; and when James V. went to hunt in Meggatdale, he too took his musicians and tricksters with him. But there is certainly some humour in the idea of an Armstrong of that ilk, beguiling, by his tomfoolery, the slow hours for the son and grandson of that merry monarch who "after the hunting" murdered Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie!

Archie is said to have been one of the Armstrongs of

* Mention may be permitted of the fact that from the Armstrongs of the Grains and Bloughburnfoot (who were closely related) the present writers are descended in the female line. An account has been orally handed down in the family that an Armstrong lived in the Grains at the date of the Gonial Blast, in 1794, the disasters of which he experienced very severely.

the Stubholm, probably a son of Richie, and to have been himself addicted to the fashionable pursuit of freebooting. The story of the Sheep and the Cradle is possibly only a legend, but if true it may have established Archie's claim to be a humourist. When pursued on one of his sheep-stealing expeditions, Archie, it is said, managed to get home to Stubholm, where he quietly dropped the sheep into the child's cradle. When the Warden's men arrived, he was sitting composedly at the ingle-nook, apparently rocking the baby to sleep. When accused of the theft, Archie is said to have answered:—

“If ere I did sae fause a feat
As thin my neighbour's faulds,
May I be doomed the flesh to eat
This very cradle haulds!”

Search, however, revealed Archie's clever deceit, and he was marched off to Jedburgh where King James was then holding a Court. Sentence of death was passed, but even then Archie's mother-wit did not desert him. He asked to be permitted to read the Bible through before he suffered the penalty of his misdeeds. The King granted this, whereupon Archie exclaimed, “Then deil tak me gin I read a word o't as lang as my een are open!” The King was struck with the originality of the youth, and at once took him into his service as Jester.

The Court fool was, of course, a prominent figure at the royal banquets. “The guests,” we read, “made him their butt, and he repaid their ridicule in his own fashion, with impunity and applause. To the Sovereign his society was almost indispensable.”

When King James sent his heir to Spain, a visit which in the popular mind was fraught with peril, Archie seemed to grasp the possibilities of the situation very neatly:—

"I must change caps with your Majesty," he said.

"Why?" inquired the King, with some astonishment.

"Why!" replied Archie, "who sent the Prince into Spain?"

"But supposing," pleaded James, "that the Prince comes safely back again?"

"Why, in that case," said Archie, "I will take my cap from my head and send it to the King of Spain!"*

In the British Museum there is a scarce and curious pamphlet entitled *Archie's Dream*, which contains some account of the antagonism between Archbishop Laud and Archie Armstrong.

The Jester lost his position at the Court of Charles I. through having incurred the anger of the Archbishop. This quarrel provoked much amusement at Court, though Laud himself does not seem to have enjoyed it. The story goes that on one occasion Archie asked permission to say grace at a dinner at which Laud was present, and the request was granted. "Great praise be to God," he said, "and little *laud* to the devil!"

On another occasion, during the commotion caused by the attempts of Charles and Laud to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland, Archie, who sympathised strongly with the Presbyterians, encountering the Archbishop on his way to the Council chamber, remarked: "Ah, who's fool now?" This sneer is said to have so enraged Laud that he made formal complaint to the King, and Archie Armstrong of the Stubholm was dismissed from his post as Jester at the English Court. The order is dated Whitehall, 11th March, 1637, and is to the effect "that Archibald Armstrong, the King's fool, for certain scandalous

* *Memoirs of the Court of England*, by J. H. Jesse, Vol. I., p. 384.

words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, . . . shall have his coat* pulled over his head and be discharged of the King's service and banished the Court. . . ." Doubtless this deprivation was a severe blow to Archie and his kinsmen, and it would, probably, be discussed at the Hollows, and at Sorby, and at Calfield, and at Stubholm, with considerable warmth. But it did not entirely deprive Archie of his powers of wit. One writer mentions falling in with him a week after his dismissal. "I met Archie," he says, "at the Abbey, all in black. Alas! poor fool, thought I, he mourns for his country. I asked him about his coat. 'Oh,' quoth he, 'my Lord of Canterbury hath taken it from me, because either he or some of the Scots Bishops may have the use of it themselves, but he hath given me a black coat for it; and now I may speak what I please, so it be not against the prelates, for this coat hath a greater privilege than the other had.'"

Whilst Archie was in the King's service he received the freedom of the city of Aberdeen. He lived to hear not only of the death of Laud but also of the beheading of King Charles. He returned to Eskdale and died in 1672, being buried at Arthuret. Probably it is owing to this that several writers† have concluded that Arthuret was also the place of his birth. "It appears by the *Strafford Papers*, and also by the following lines attached to the portrait which is prefixed to his *Jests*, that Archie had contrived to make his fortune before he was disgraced:—

" Archie, by Kings and Princes graced of late,
 Jested himself into a fair estate,
 And in this book doth to his friends commend,
 His jeers, taunts, tales, which no man can offend."‡

* The coat and cap were the symbols of the Jester's office.

† See Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, &c.

‡ *Memoirs of the Court of England*, Vol. I., p. 389.

THE ELLIOTS.

The Elliots, like their allies, the Armstrongs, were a Liddesdale clan. It is said that they came into Liddesdale to join the Douglasses when the power of that famous House was on the wane, but this has not been definitely established. They did not at any time rival the Armstrongs in numerical strength or importance, but they were generally found acting in co-operation with them, and also with other smaller clans. These alliances gave the Elliots a position out of all proportion to their numbers. As we have seen, they formed part of the "gallant companie" which so gaily set out from Gilnockie on that June morning of 1529.

"Armstrongs and Elliots! you know where they were bred,
 Above the dancing mountain burns, among the misty scaurs,
 And through their veins, these Border lads, the raiding blood runs red,
 The blood that's out before the dawn, and home behind the stars."†

In the list of assurances taken in 1544 by Lord Whar-ton, after he had so completely subdued Annandale, Eskdale, and Nithsdale, the Elliots, to the number of 74, are grouped with the Armstrongs and Nixons from "Liddesdell and the Batable landes." But in a subsequent list of "Scotesmen bound and sworne to serve the Kinges majestie," the Elliots are grouped with the Simpsons of Liddesdale to the number of 80. The intimate association of the Elliots and the Armstrongs is humourously illustrated by a story of Armstrong of Sorby. When on circuit, the Lords of Justiciary passed down Ewesdale, and Sorby was accustomed to show them hospitality, by what was epigrammatically called "drawing the bottle." On the occasion when Lord Kames went on circuit for the first time as Advocate-

† W. H. Ogilvie in *The Border Magazine*.

Depute, Sorby noticed him and enquired of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Whae that lang black dour-looking chiel was they had wi' them? "That," jocosely replied Sir Gilbert, "is a man come to hang a' the Armstrongs." "Then," observed Sorby, drily and significantly, "it's high time the Elliots were riding!"

The general alliance between the Elliots and the Armstrongs, however, did not always bind the entire clan, for in 1579 a feud arose between them and the Armstrongs of Ewesdale. These would probably be the Arkleton Armstrongs, and possibly those of Park. But the feud was not "deadly," nor of long duration, and was confined to the sections of the two clans in Ewesdale only.

The name Elliot, which in Eskdale is still pronounced as it was frequently spelt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "Ellot," was found in the north of England at an early date, but it was the early part of the fifteenth century before it was common in Liddesdale. In 1549 one Robert Elliot was captain of the Hermitage. The chief of the clan was the laird of Redheuch, and in 1573 Robin Elliot of Redheuch is mentioned as chief. Braidlie and Larriston were also Elliot strongholds, and towards the end of the sixteenth century the clan numbered 800 to 1000 men. In 1563 "Robert Elliot of Reidhocht, and Martene Elliot of Braidlie," signed a bond to enter one of their clan, Gawin Elliot of Ramsygell, a prisoner to Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehirst.

It was in honour of Jock Elliot of Larriston that James Hogg wrote that stirring song, *Lock the door, Larriston, Lion of Liddesdale*. By reference to the Rent-roll of Crown lands of 1541, some idea can be obtained of the great extent of the lands tenanted in Liddesdale by the Elliots. It was probably from one of these Liddes-

dale branches that the Elliots came into Ewesdale. The members of the clan who went with Gilnockie to Carlinrig would be those of upper Ewesdale, from Arkleton, which was in the possession of the Elliots by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The clan does not seem to have established itself at any time in the lower part of Eskdale.

An interesting bond of connection between Eskdale and the Liddesdale Elliots comes through the Elliots of Midlem Mill, from whom the Elliots of Minto are descended. The last of the name to hold Midlem Mill was Robert Elliot, who became Chamberlain to the Duke of Buccleuch at Branxholme. In 1726 his daughter Magdalen was married at Langholm Castle to James Pasley of Craig, in Westerkirk, and they had eleven children all of whom reached maturity. Their fifth son Thomas was created a baronet for his services on that "glorious first of June," in that great naval victory over the French off Ushant, in 1794. Sir Thomas Pasley's sister Helen married Matthew Little, baron-bailie of Langholm, and their daughter Helen married her cousin, Gilbert Malcolm, son of George Malcolm of Douglen. From these three families, the Malcolms, Pasleys, and Littles, came not only the famous "Four Knights of Eskdale," but other four, making in all eight who received the honour of knighthood.

As freebooters, the Elliots of Liddesdale obtained a notoriety equal to that of the Armstrongs themselves. Nor did they exercise any fastidious discrimination as to what they seized. On page 348 of Volume I. of the *Calendar of Border Papers* there is given an inventory of the booty secured by a number of "Liddesdale limmers" led by John Elliot of Heughehouse: "Six oxen, 6 kye, 4 young nowte, ane horse 10*l.* ; a nag, 40*s.* ; a sword, 13*s.* 4*d.* ;

a steil cap, 10*s.* ; a dagger and knives, 4*s.* ; 2 spears, 6*s.* 8*d.* ; 2 dublets, 12*s.* ; 2 pair of breeches, 8*s.* ; a cloke, 5*s.* ; a jerkyne, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; a womans kertle and a pair of sleeves, 10*s.* ; 9 kerchers, 18*s.* ; 7 railes, 7*s.* ; 7 partletts, 7*s.* ; 5 pair of line(n) sheitis, 27*s.* ; 2 coverletts, 10*s.* ; 2 lynne sheits, 7*s.* ; a purs and 6*s.* in monie ; a womans purs and two silke rybbons, 2*s.* ; a windinge clothe, 6*s.* ; a feather bed, 8*s.* ; a cawdron, 13*s.* 4*d.* ; a panne, 2*s.* 6*d.* ; 4 bonde of hempe, 2*s.* 8*d.* ; a pair of woollcards, 20*d.* ; 4 childrens coates, 8*s.* ; 3 sherts, 3*s.*

The Elliots of Ewesdale and the Scotts (probably of Howpaslet) were at feud in the year 1565. In pursuance of this feud it seems that the Elliots had attacked the Scotts and carried off a great quantity of plunder. The Scotts quickly retaliated. They mustered all their forces and set off in pursuit of the Elliots, who enticed them into Ewesdale. They had reached Ewes-doors, the narrow pass which, skirting the Wisp, branches off in a north-westerly direction from the foot of Moss-paul Burn into Teviotdale, when some 400 Elliots and supporters, who had been lying in ambush, suddenly appeared. The pass, which shows not a few traces of ancient earth fortifications, is narrow and easily defended. In the sharp encounter which ensued the Scotts were taken completely by surprise, and being considerably inferior in numbers they were heavily defeated. A number of them was slain and sixty were taken prisoners. It is said that not only were the Elliots highly delighted with this success, and by the gratification of their feelings of revenge, but that they were highly commended and rewarded by the Government for their defeat of the powerful Scotts.

There is a record in the State Papers of a raid by Johnie Elliot of Copshaw into Wauchope. He took

with him about 100 men, and they went in open day—a serious aggravation of the offence, according to Border law. By this raid the Elliots secured eighty cows and oxen, one hundred sheep, and twelve horses. Whether this was Wauchope in Eskdale, or the valley of the same name on Rule Water, does not seem clear. Probably it was the latter.

The clan of Elliot branched off into a considerable number of families of repute, the principal being those of Stobbs and Minto. Not a few members of the clan settled in Eskdale after the cessation of the Border raids, and in some instances they have occupied as tenants for several generations, lands held from the Duke of Buccleuch. In 1679 Walter Elliot, was tenant of Calfield, and also had sett to him the farms of Glencorf, Tanabie, Water Grains, and Cleuchfoot, and in 1793 there was an Elliot in Yetbyre, the ancestor, we believe, of of the Elliots of Westwater.

It is from the Redheuch stock that the Elliots of Arkleton are descended. In Unthank churchyard are the graves of the Elliots of Millburnholm, the Dandie Dinmont family of Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*.

THE LITTLES.

The Littles formed one of the small clans of Eskdale, and inhabited part of Ewesdale and part of Westerkirk, easy access being obtained from the one to the other through Sorby Hass, and they were also found in Wauchopedale.

A Nicol Lital is mentioned in 1398 as one of the sureties for the Earl of Douglas, who at that date was Warden of the West March. In 1426 James I. confirmed a grant which had been made by Robert, Duke of Albany, of the lands of "Mikkledale of Kirkton" in

favour of "his beloved and faithful Simon Lytil." The grant comprised not only Meikledale and Kirkcubright, but also Sorby, and there were also included certain lands which had belonged to the Frasers of Arkleton, viz. : Senbigil, Malnarlande, Pullis, "lyand in the barony of Mallarknok within the Sheriffdom of Drumfres,"* but they do not appear to have been places in Ewesdale, which at that date was within the Sheriffdom of Roxburgh. Simon Lytil of Meikledale was the head of the clan and he continued in possession of the estates for two hundred years. The clan was never a large one. Their name is not mentioned in the list of headsmen under English assurance in 1547, though, curiously enough in the summary of dales, Ewesdale is included with 364 men, whilst it does not once appear in the detailed list. In the list of 1553 of clans who were under oath to the English King, the Lytles are grouped with the "Batysonnes, Thompsons, and Glendonynges," and the total number of men is returned as 304, most of whom were doubtless Beatties and Thomsons. There seems to have been a working alliance between these two clans and the Littles. As will be seen later, they were frequently associated in committing raids on both sides of the Border.

The Littles of Eskdale and Wauchopedale were probably branches of the Ewesdale family, and acknowledged the headship of the laird of Meikledale. When, in 1532, James V. granted to Robert, Lord Maxwell, the superiority of the lands in Eskdale, claims were lodged by the Beatties, Thomsons, and Littles, in respect of certain lands, such as Yetbyre, Enzieholm, Lyneholm, and

* Armstrong's *History*, p. 164.

Shiel. The Littles seem to have been then located in the lower part of Westerkirk parish. In 1679 William, Thomas, and John Little were joint tenants under the Duke of Buccleuch, with Walter Thompson and William Rewe, of Shiel and Bankhead, and at the same date one Matthew Little was a tenant in Bombie.

In Wauchopedale, the seat of the Littles was at Bigholms, but the number of this branch of the clan must have been small. Subjoined is a copy of a document relating to this Bigholms family. It is one of the few references to the Littles of Wauchope which we have noticed.* In 1679 the farm of Neishill, near to Calfield, was let jointly to John Hislop† and Andrew Little.

During the eighteenth century, the Littles were perhaps the most prominent family in Langholm. Early in the century one John Little‡ practised in Langholm as a

* "Apud Halyrudhous, 19 Novr. 1628. REX—cum consensu Joannis Comititis de Mar, Domini Erskene et Garioch, Thesaurarii, computorum Rotulatoris, collectoris novarumque augmentationum Thesaurarii, dedit literas remissionis THOME GRAHAME in Bigholmes, vocato 'de Schaw,' et ROBERTO LITILL ibidem,—pro cede Joannis Grahame in terris de Grainis, mense. Jun. aut eocirca."

TRANSLATION.

[At Holyroodhouse, 19 Nov. 1628. The King, with the consent of John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine and Gareock, Treasurer, Enroller [and] Collector of Accounts, and Treasurer of the new augmentations, granted letters of pardon to Thomas Grahame in Bigholms, styled "of Shaw," and to Robert Little of the same, for the slaughter of John Grahame in the lands of Grainis in the month of June or thereabouts (1620).]

This association of the Littles and Grahames in Wauchope is interesting when noticed in relation to a record in the Books of Adjournal of the Justiciary Office, of date Dumfries, 13 August, 1504: "John Litill convicted of art and part of the cruel slaughter of the late Thomas Moffet and being at the King's horn for the same slaughter and for art and part for supplying and assisting the rebels of Eskdale and for the theft and concealing the sheep of Robert Grahame of Gillisbe, hanged."

† Our researches into family history lead us to the conclusion that this John Hislop was the father of Andrew Hislop, the Martyr of the Covenanting period.

‡ An antique desk, which at one time belonged to John Little, and would therefore be the repository of many of the family secrets of Langholm, is now in the possession of Mr. Arthur Bell, of Hillside. It came into the possession of the Littles of Old Carlesgill, and from them passed to the Bells of the Walk-mill of Langholm, from whom it came to its present owner.

writer, and also carried on a banking business. In 1746 there was born to him a son who ultimately succeeded him, and became known in Langholm and district as Laird Little. He married Miss Mary Maxwell of Broomholm, and their residence was at Rosevale House. It was from Laird Little that "The Laird's Entry" received its name. He met with an untimely death by being drowned in the Esk. He had been riding, and took his horse down to the river. The night being very dark he was unable to see that it was in flood, and both horse and rider were swept away at the place now known as St. Mary's Stream.

When, by the order of Court, the Commonty of Langholm was divided in 1759, this John Little, together with Simon Little in Nittyholm, and Archibald Little, feuar in Langholm, was in possession of three of the ten merk-lands of Langholm, having the year before conveyed one other merk-land to John Maxwell of Broomholm, presumably his father-in-law.

In 1768 Matthew Little was appointed by William Ogilvie, Chamberlain to Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, to be his Chamberlain-depute and baron-bailie for the parishes of Canonby, Langholm, Castleton, Ewes, Westerkirk, and Eskdalemuir. His surety and cautioner on this appointment was George Malcolm of Douglen, who, as we have seen, was his brother-in-law. Twelve years later Matthew Little received a factorship, or, as it is styled in the document, a "factory," from the Duke himself, authorizing him to collect the revenues of Westerkirk, which had accrued to the Duke as patron of the parish in the vacancy between the translation of the minister, the Rev. Mr. John Scotland, late minister of that parish, to the

parish of Linlithgow, and the induction of his successor, the Rev. Mr. William Little.*

Matthew Little, holding the important office of baron-bailie, was one of the most influential men in Eskdale. He became known, and is still spoken of, as Bailie Little. For a long period he exercised, both wisely and well, his great influence in Langholm, and was regarded by the townsfolk with pride and affection. In addition to the administration and accounting of the Buccleuch estates, there was laid upon him by this instrument of "factory" the duty of holding baron's courts, a feudal custom and right which had survived to the Duke, even after the passing of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747. James, son of Bailie Little, received the honour of knighthood, one of the eight knights above mentioned, and was also a Knight of the most Illustrious Spanish Order of Charles the Third, sacred to Virtue and Merit.

A considerable number of the descendants of the clan Little is still living in Eskdale.

THE BEATTISONS.†

That the Beattison clan was one of some importance in Eskdale, even before the Battle of Arkinholm in 1455, is evidenced by the fact that they are grouped along with the Scotts, Glendinnings, Maxwells, and Carlyles, as taking a considerable share in the overthrow of the Black Douglas on that fatal field. As a

* Matthew Little's own copies of these and several other similar documents are in possession of the writers. The first is witnessed by William Scott, in Greenhead of Langholm, and David Brown, writer, in Melrose. The second, which seems to be the original document, is signed by the Duke (who spells his name "Buccleugh") and is witnessed by James Edgar, collector of customs at Leith, and John Rutherford of Edgerstone.

† The name is variously spelt: Beattison, Batison, Baty, Batie, Batysonne, &c.

reward for their services that day, the Beattisons were given certain lands in Eskdale as their share in the scramble for spoils which occurred during the years immediately following the battle. In 1458 John Beattison was given, by James II., a grant of two and a half of the merk-lands of Dalbeth.* It is affirmed by some authorities that this was the territory to take possession of which Lord Maxwell came into Eskdale in 1532, when, according to Sir Walter Scott, the descendants of John Beattison so forcibly resisted Maxwell's claim that he was glad to escape to Branxholme, there to sell his rights to Walter Scott of Buccleuch. Such a supposition, as we have already shown, is erroneous, seeing that in 1525 the lands of Dalbeth were granted by Maxwell to John Armstrong, under a bond of man-rent.

To Nicholas Beattison the brother of John, there was also given, two days later, a similar grant. This charter, it is curious to note, professes to be signed and witnessed on the same day as the charter given to John, yet, though they are numbered consecutively in the *Great Seal Register*, the first is dated October 20, and the second October 22. In the first, the lands are described as in the barony of Westir Ker; in the second, as in that of Westerker. The grants were made as a suitable acknowledgment of the services of these brothers at Arkinholm, "in the slaying and taking of our rebels the late Archibald and Hugh of Douglas," and they were also given as compensation for the slaughter of their brother by the Douglasses, which occurred the night before the battle. A third brother, Robert Beattison, also fought at Arkinholm, and to him was given a grant of two merk-lands in Whitshiels.

* In the charter it is called "Daweth."

The Beattisons seem to have been given, or to have acquired during the second half of the fifteenth century, a much larger stretch of territory in Eskdalemuir than the charters of 1458 conveyed. We mentioned on page 226 that certain of the lands given to Robert, Lord Maxwell, in 1532, were claimed by Baties, viz., Enzieholm, Lyneholm, and Erschewood. The chief of the clan is said to have lived at the Score,* and in 1584 there were members of the clan in Black Esk, in Whiggills, and in Corse, and in 1605 there were Beattisons in Byken. This summary conveys only a small idea of the strength of the clan in Eskdale in the sixteenth century, and though Dr. Brown's list of their holdings cannot be accepted as historically accurate, yet it is evident that a considerable part of Eskdalemuir and Westerkirk must at one time have been in their occupation. In 1544, like the rest of the Border clans, the Beattisons came under English assurance, as the result of Lord Wharton's raids. In his list they are included with the Thomsons, and the total number returned is 166, and an additional number of 116 is given as under the headship of Sander Batie, making a total of 282. In 1553 the Beattisons appear with the Glendinnings, Lytles, and Thomsons under a similar assurance, and the total number is then given as 304.

In 1504 James IV. organised his famous Raid of Eskdale, and on his way there he visited Dumfries to hold an "ayre," or criminal court.† At this court Nicholas Beattison was called for his lands of Dalbeth, and not "com-

* Called Skoire on Bleau's map of 1662. It was situated on the left bank of the Esk a little to the north of Rennelburn.

† By an Act of his first Parliament the King was expected to "ride in proper personne about to all his aieris" for the "furth-putting of justice." It was in pursuance of this enactment that he now came to Dumfries.

pearing" he was fined £10, as was also the laird of Lymin [Lynholm], who was also a Beattison. At the same time one Adam Batie was convicted and hanged for "art and part with the King's rebels at the horn, being of Eskdale in their thefts and treasonable deeds and favouring, supplying and assisting them in their thefts."

During the days of raiding and reiving, the Beattisons appear as bold, venturesome and, it must be added, somewhat unscrupulous "riders." Like the Armstrongs they were not greatly troubled by considerations, either of patriotism or sentiment, and raided the Scottish Border, on Lord Wharton's instructions, with a zest which was not less than that which they displayed when harrying the subjects of England.

Perhaps the most active period of raiding by the Beattisons was from 1540 to 1550. Then the Borders were in a state of great tumult and unrest. The power of the central Scottish Government was not adequate to the task of keeping order, and the barons were not greatly concerned to stop the raids and the inter-clan fighting. Large companies of the different clans made incursions into England, and the Beattisons were generally well to the front in these forays. Here is a short list, compiled with the care of an accountant by Lord Wharton himself, of those in which the Beattisons took an active part:—

"The Batysones and Thomsons of Eskdail have burnt a town called Grange, with all the corn there and brought away nolt, and other goods amounting to eche of them in their dividing 8s."

"The Batysones, Thomsons and Lytles of Esshdayle, Ewesdail, and Wacopdale burnt a town on the Water of Dryff called Blendallbush and brought away 16 oxen and keyne, some naggs with all the insight of the town."

"The Batysonnes, Thomsons and Litles, Scottishmen, burnt a town upon the Water of Lyne and brought away as muche boutie as was to eche of them 10s."

After the notorious invasion by Lord Wharton in 1544, the clans were brought to terms and received under English assurance, as already mentioned. The Beattisons then turned upon their own countrymen, on Wharton's orders, and burnt and raided in Scotland with as much dash and daring as they had exhibited at the Water of Lyne, showing indeed quite as much ardour under their new allegiance as they had done under the old. Writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Wharton says:—

“Advertising also your Lordship that by my command one hundrethe of the Batysons of Eskdail who with the rest of their surname and the Thomsons entered in bond and delyvered thare pledge unto me in fourme, as I write to your Lordship therein, the same night afore that meeting with Bukcleughe, brent a town called Fastheughe of George Carr landes taking away all the in-sight certaine naggs and fiftie nowte.”

In another expedition initiated by Wharton, the Beattisons attacked Branxholme and Mosshouse, and “smoked very sore the towers,” and slew many of the Scotts. In another they “burned Old Melrose and overrun Buckleugh . . . and gaten gret substance of noulit besides shepe, horses and mares.” Moreover, they did not confine themselves to the Borders in their ravages and forays, but ventured even into Edinburgh itself. We read that the “Beattisons and Scottishmen of Eskdaile wanne a tower of the captains of Edinburgh Castle, called Burdlands, burnt all the roofs within the walls and coming home took many oxen and shepe besides 1 Scott slayn.” Another account of this daring raid mentions that the prey taken was “forty oxen and kyen.”

In 1569 many of the Border barons, landed men and gentlemen of the shires, as we have before mentioned, combined against the “broken-men.” Whether their ardent professions of loyalty to the King, and their desire

for peace on the Borders, were quite sincere, may be doubted, for some of the barons who subscribed the declaration were not in their secret hearts such "inymeis to all thevis inhabitants of the cuntreis of Liddisdail, Eskdaill, Ewesdaill, and Annandaill" as they "professit." But their declaration sounded well, though there is not much evidence of steps being taken for the restoration of order. When the Regent went to Hawick, in October, 1569, "Hew Beattie callit Johnne the Braid enterit plegeis to my Lord Regentis Grace for thame selffis, thair sonniss, men, tenentis, servandis and haill surname of Batesonis and als in name and on behalf of the surnames of Thomson and Glendonynng, thair men tenentis and servandis; that they sall redresse all attemptattis agains England for tymes bigane and to cum, and all Scottismen offendit to sen the Kingis coronation at thair uttir power," &c.*

The above pledges could be relieved by "David Batie, brother to Hew Batie, Mungois Arthour Batie, Nicholl Batie of the Schield, Nickoll Batie of Carnisgill, Johnne Batie in the Yardis, Johnne Batie, son to Wat in the Corse." In accordance with this arrangement, we find, in November, 1569, that David Batie was "placeit" in the Castle of St. Andrew's and Johnne Batie of Yards in the Castle of Glasgow.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, strenuous measures were adopted to suppress the lawlessness on the Borders, and some effect was produced. In 1584 many of the clans gave assurances of good conduct at Hermitage Castle, and among these occurs the name of David Batie of the Black Esk. But this assurance on his part did not bind other members of the clan, for only

* *Privy Council Records*, Vol. II., p. 42.

three years later John Beattison, called John of the Score, John Armstrong, called the Laird's Jock, and four other Armstrongs with 500 men ran a day foray—which was an aggravated offence against the Laws of the Marches—and “carried off 600 kye, 600 sheep, 35 prisoners and insight worth £40 sterling.”

The relationship existing between the Beattisons and Scotts has always been one of great interest in Eskdale, partly, no doubt, because of the glamour of romance thrown upon it by Sir Walter Scott in the charming but mythical tale of the “bonnie white horse.” About the year 1590 a complaint was entered by Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme “that Johnne Batisson in the Scoir, Nickie Batisonn his son, David and Archibald Baitiesonnis his brothers, all dwelling in Eskdale, reft from Somerville furth of the lands of Meineinchald, 26 cows and oxen 2 horses and one staig; and from Mowbray 10 cows and oxen and 1 mare with the plenishment of his house worth 100 merks. Being called as bailie of Melrois* to answer for the Batisonnis he [i.e. Sir Walter Scott] declares that not he but Lord Maxwell is answerable. Moreover, that though he, the complainer, is bailie of the Abbey of Melrose yet the inhabitants of Eskdale never have acknowledged him in the said office, but on the contrary have committed ‘divers herships and oppressions upon him and his servants for which there is deadly feud now standing more especially between the said Sir Walter and the Batiesons of whome the said persons viz. John Batieson of the Scoir, etc. are principalls.’”†

This extract, the latter part of which is taken from the *Privy Council Registers*, is interesting as showing not only

* See p. 241.

† *Story of the Surname of Beatson*, p. 10.

the state of tension between the two clans, but also as an indication of how there arose that conflict of title as to lands in Eskdale, which was revealed before the Commission of 1679. And it shows further, how slight was the authority of the Scotts of Buccleuch in Eskdale towards the end of the sixteenth century.

In 1598 special proclamation was made by the King, with the advice of his Council, concerning the "broken men" of the Borders. A commission of "eight honest gentlemen" was set up to try the offences committed by the Armstrongs, Beattisons, Irvings, and Johnstones. To these clans the King offered his clemency "giff they sall make full redress for their evil deeds," but if, as he had been informed, they should resort to deceit and trickery, then no mercy would be shown them—"they sall be hangit but* mercy or favour."

The Beattisons did not rush to accept these terms, and very soon afterwards a charge was made against certain of the clan, to wit, John Batie of Tanlaw Hill, David Batie his brother, Alic Batie of Black Esk, Rowie Batie, Andro Batie *alias* "Steenie Home," Adam Batie of the Yards, Johnne Batie of Rennelburn, Cristie Batie of Bankhead, John Batie of the Score, and Archie Batie his brother, that they had refused to pay to Lord Maxwell "his mailles, fermes, and duties owing to him by them furth of the Lordships of Eskdaill, Evisdaill, &c." For this refusal they were denounced as rebels. Other charges, some of them almost venerable with age, were formulated against the Beattisons. Several were hanged, including John of the Score, their reputed chief, and the clan generally was broken up. "Let justice be done to the memory of these men. They were no common

* without.

cattle-reivers ; they came of an old race of warlike men, and were probably the direct lineal descendants of the John Beaton who helped James II. to the Scottish Crown.”*

Nevertheless, the Beattisons were not yet wholly driven out of Eskdale. The clan truly was broken, but many of its individual members remained. Even the King seems to have partially relented of his severity towards them, for in 1605 he granted† to Hugo Batye de Boykyne certain lands in the parish of Westerker, which lands Hugo sold in 1610 to Walter Scott of Tushielaw.

This possession of the lands of Byken by Hugo Beattison is the subject of a ballad by William Park, the Eskdale poet, entitled *Burn and Byken*.‡ The ballad recites the story of a duel which, tradition says, was fought between the lairds of Burn and Byken, both of which places are in the parish of Westerkirk. The former, the author remarks in a prefatory note, belonged to the Beattison clan, and that a great number of that name then (1833) resided in Eskdale. He says further that “A large stone, at a pass in the range of hills which separates Eskdale from Wauchopedale, and just at the point where the farm of Craig and those of Calfield and Cleuchfoot meet, is supposed to mark the spot where the rivals fought and fell.” The duel, it is said, was followed by a lawsuit between the families which terminated in the ruin of both

* *Story of the Surname of Beaton*, p. 12.

† *Ibid.* p. 17.

‡ *The Vale of Esk*, p. 74.

It is interesting to note that the poet himself was a descendant of the Beatties of Burn. His father's mother was Grizel Beattie, daughter of William Beattie of Airswood, who was the third son of William Beattie of the Lyneholm who died in 1693 aged 80 years and was a son of Beattie of Burn, one of the reputed combatants in the duel. The wife of William Beattie of Lyneholm, who was known as Will o' Burn, was Grizel Porteus of Hackshaw.

and the alienation of their estates.*

Some of the gravestones in Westerkirk, Canonby, and Ewes churchyard, and also in that of Carruthers, bear the arms of the Beattison clan, and these sculptured arms are similar to those of the different families of Beattie, or its synonyms, found in most of the churchyards of the Borders. In virtually all of the arms, the cross-keys and the "draught-board" design are found, but it does not necessarily follow that both or either of these indicates an armorial bearing. The cross-keys are found in many ecclesiastical coats, and are the emblems of St. Peter. In mediæval times they were a common sign of inns attached to religious houses. A local illustration of this is the Cross-keys hostelry in Canonby, a name which doubtless came down from the days of the old Priory.

On the break up of the Beattison clan in 1599 many of its name migrated into Kirkeudbright, and others into different parts of Scotland, and England. With these migrations there came modifications of the name Beattison. In Eskdale it changed to *Beattie*, in other places to *Bateson*, *Baty*, and other forms.

Of the name of Beattie there are still residing in Eskdale several descendants of the Beattisons of Dalbeth. One is Thomas Beattie, Esq., laird of Davington. As we have shown, the lairdship of Davington was in the possession of the Scotts of the Howpaslet branch, known, owing to a popular geographical idea, as the "Scotts of Ewesdale." About the year 1784, through some dispute about the succession of the Davington estate, it was sold

* Like many another, this tradition is not corroborated by historical research. It is probably an incorrect reminiscence of a duel which was fought between Walter Scott, brother of Sir Robert Scott of Thirlestane, and John Scott, son of the Walter Scott of Tushielaw (who had purchased Byken from Hugo Batye in 1610), of which Robert Batie of Wud-Kerrick was an eye witness.—(*Acts of Privy Council*, 1610).

by order of the Court of Session, and was purchased by James Beattie, son of John Beattie of Dalbeth, of whom the present laird of Davington is a lineal descendant.

One of a list of "plegeis" of 28th October, 1578, is "Johnne Batie of Daventoun, in the custody and keeping of David Boiswall of Balmuto." So that this purchase of 1784 brought about a return of the Beatties to Davington after a lapse of 200 years.

It is a matter of historic interest to note that Wat-Carrick is also in the possession of a descendant of the Beatties.

Another link with the Beattison clan, though with the section of it that migrated into Northumberland when the final dispersion occurred, is the ownership of the estates of Meikledale, in Ewes, by Miss Beattie of Crieve, whose ancestor, Mr. Beattie, laird of Meikledale, is said to have supplied Sir Walter Scott with much of the information concerning Eskdale given in his *Antiquities of the Scottish Border*, and also with many of the tales and traditions introduced into his *Minstrelsy and Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

THE THOMSONS.

The Thomsons were a small clan occupying lands in upper Eskdale. Where their lands were or who was chief of the clan is not definitely known. The clan seems to have obeyed the call of the Beattisons of the Score, and, as already mentioned, generally acted with them, sharing the fruits of their many raids and apparently, too, their reverses and punishments.

THE IRVINGS.

The Irvings, who claim descent from a line of Scottish Kings, were a large and powerful clan on the Borders. At one time, far back probably in the early days of the Saxon period, the Irvings are said by the historian of the clan to have possessed all the lands between the Esk and the Nith. They were originally an Ayrshire sept, and, along with other Scots tribes, came to the Borders with Duncan, when he assumed the government of the lowlands, as Earl of Cumbria. It is interesting to note that their place-names in Ayrshire are the same as those which afterwards came to be associated with the clan in Dumfriesshire, viz., Bonshaw, Bridekirk, Corsehills, Langshaw, and Balgray. The principal seat of the chief of the clan was Bonshaw Tower, on the Kirtle, and here the present chieftain, Col. John Beaufin Irving, still resides.

But the first settlement of the Irvings* in Dumfriesshire was undoubtedly in Eskdale. One Dr. Christopher Irvin, or as he styles himself in Latin, "Christopherus Irvinus, abs Bon Bosco," who was a writer of history in the reign of Charles II., published in Edinburgh in the year 1682, a volume entitled *Historicæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura*, in which he has the following:—"Irvinus: the water of Irvine riseth above Loudon Hill, watereth New Millns, visiteth Kilmarnock and falleth into the Firth of Clyde at the town of Irvine, and divideth Kyle from Cunningham. There is a Castle of the same name between White

* As with most of the Border clans the spelling of their name varies greatly. Some of its most frequent variants are: Irvine, Urwen, Irwin, and Erwen. Thirty-five different ways of spelling the name are quoted by Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong, but Col. Irving of Bonshaw has compiled an even longer list.

and Black Esk on the Border, and a burn and wood of the same name two miles below Langholm, on the west side of the water of Esk, Wauchope." In the same volume, under the heading of "Esk," this writer refers to what he names Castle Orwin, the "Castel Owÿrn" of Bleau's map of 1662, to which he gives the alternative title of "Irvine." His note is as follows:—"Esk, on the borders; it is divided likewise into two rivers, Black on the right hand, which riseth at Powmuck, near Coldlaw hill, and passing by Castle Orwin, or Irwin joineth with White Esk at the Birks, which riseth out of Glenditting in the forest, and both of them keep on their course and join with Ewis at the Castle of Langholm, and so passing by Irwin Burn, they receive Lidder below Broomholm, and afterwards fall into the Firth of Solway." It would therefore appear that his statement as to the castle between the Black and White Esks having been the seat of the Irving clan, is based only upon the verbal similarity of the names—a somewhat unreliable premise for definite historical deduction.

Even in the days of King Robert the Bruce the Irvings are said to have been a clan of power and influence, and an intimate relationship existed between them and the King, an ancestor of the Drum branch being his armour-bearer.* On one occasion, at least, Bruce honoured Bonshaw with his presence, and the room he occupied is still called "King Robert the Bruce's room." This was in 1306, when he was fleeing from Edward "Longshanks." When he came to the throne, the Bruce conferred upon one branch of the clan the lands of Drum in Aberdeenshire, which they still hold, and assigned to them the armorial device of three holly leaves, which now appears

* *Nat. Dict. of Biography.*

on the Irving coat of arms. Another, the third, branch of the clan, are the Irvines of Ireland.*

In lower Eskdale the stronghold of the Irvings was at Stakeheuch, sometimes called Auchenrivock, on the Irvine Burn. Col. Irving of Bonshaw claims to have discovered the site of a more ancient and more important seat, which he calls Castle Irving, near to the present Irvine House. But his opinion on this matter is not shared by local antiquaries. They seem, almost unanimously, to regard the remains indicated by Col. Irving as quite modern, and hold that Stakeheuch, which stood on the hill immediately overlooking Irvine House, was the only stronghold of the Irvings in Eskdale during the middle period.

The eldest of the Irving family acquired by marriage the Tower and lands of Bonshaw, which have since remained the centre of the Irving clan.

The Irvings were mostly horse soldiers, and as such they fought at Flodden, and on many another Border battlefield. The muster of the clan when strongest is given as 500 by Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong, who apparently formed his estimate from the number of Irvings under English assurance in 1547, but Col. Irving of Bonshaw gives their strength as 742 men. The position occupied by the clan in the councils of the Border chiefs may be inferred from the fact that, in 1547, when Lord Wharton had devastated virtually the whole county of Dumfries, and thereby had succeeded in compelling the submission of the clans, it was the Irvings who were deputed to negotiate the terms upon which the clans would come under English assurance. The numbers of Irvings,—

* The Irish and Drum branches of the clan adopted the spelling of "Irvine," but the Bonshaw stock retain the terminal "g."

the name given in the documents relating to this matter is Yrwen,—who then yielded to Wharton were :—Bonshaw 102, Robgill 34, Dick's Ritchie* 142, and various other branches 153, or a total following of 431. Lord Wharton's letter to the Council reporting these overtures is of considerable interest to Eskdale people, and it will be dealt with more fully in our next chapter.

The Irvings also occupied the peel tower of Stakeheuch, on the higher ground on the south side of Irvine Burn, and a short distance from the road to Canonby. It is round this tower that most of the history of the clan in Eskdale is circled. It need scarcely be said that the Irvings took their full share in the raids and tumults of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They both gave and received hard knocks. In the list of ravages committed by the Scots in the West March of England in 1528, it is complained that :—

“ The Irwens of Staikhugh to the number of vj did enter Eng-
land ground and lyght upon Sir John Aruthureth and Jame Grayme,
called Jame Fern, Englyshmen, and chasyd them to the howsez of
Long Will Grayme of Stuble and brent the said Long Will best
howse, with xxx other howsez standyng next to the same and toke
and had away the said Inglyshmen and their horssees.”

This stirring incident occurred on the 9th of May, and on the 17th the Irvings, accompanied by Sande Armstrong, went to Brakanhill, slew William Waugh and Thomas Stavert, and “hed away certain goodis and cattlis.” On the 30th of the same month the Irvings of Hoddom, and the Armstrongs with whom they co-operated in many raids and forays, riding with them, too, that fatal June day when Johnie Armstrong went to Carlinrig, paid a visit to the ground between the Esk and the

* Dyk Irwen was one of the most famous and daring freebooters of the sixteenth century. On one occasion Lord Dacre complained to Wolsey that Dyk respected neither “true pilgrims” of the church nor the King's letters of safe conduct.

Lyne and burnt 41 houses and 12 barns, and bethinking themselves that in their raid of the 9th to Stuble they had left a few houses standing, they repaired thither and burnt them also. Later in the same day sixty of the Armstrongs are reported to have made a day foray in the same locality, and "ther tooke and hed away lxxvj hed of cattail, ij nagis and viij sleyne."*

Of course, the Irvings found, as did the other clans, that they could not play at bowls without getting rubbers. During the invasion of Lord Wharton in 1544, few of the Scottish clans escaped without great loss of men and property. In one of his reports Wharton mentions that, after a raid round about Annandale, his men "in their return burnt Bonshaw, Robgill, and all the houses, peills, steds and corn in their way," and the writer then laconically adds, "4 Scotts slayn." More than once, Stakeheuch suffered a like fate to Bonshaw, but it was all part of the game, and probably either side would have held the other in slight respect had there been no such reprisals.

Three years later, in 1547, the Irvings made their submission to Lord Wharton.

There existed for several generations an informal alliance between the Irvings and the Johnstones of Annandale, though, it is curious to note, the former were on terms of friendship with the Armstrongs, who were at feud with the Johnstones. The families had also intermarried, and probably through this relationship some branches of the Irvings had been "kindlie tenants" of the laird of Johnstone. Another tie between the

* There is a curious method in the accounting of that period which reveals the relative value in which human life was held compared with property. The number of men killed is almost always given *after* the number of cattle captured.

two clans was their mutual enmity towards the Maxwells. When John, Lord Maxwell, was slain at the Battle of Dryfe Sands in 1593, the Irvings were, among other Border clans, found fighting on the side of the Johnstones. *The Book of Caerlaverock* makes mention of the respite granted by James VI. to Sir James Johnstone, and eight score others, for the slaughter of Maxwell, and the list includes "John Irving of Lus, Habbie Irving of Turnschaw, Richie Irving in Staikheugh and Ekkie Irving his brother, William Irving callet Kange, Edward Irving of Bonshaw and his sons." It will be noticed that Richie Irving is described not as *of* Stakeheuch but as *in* that place. The fact of the names being individually mentioned in this and in similar lists of assurances, indicates that the authority of the head of the clan was not invariably accepted as sufficient. The individual responsibility of each man is clearly recognised.

The Irvings are not very often mentioned in Border song or story, but in the popular ballad of *Fair Helen of Kirkconnell*, the clan claims the heroine as one of its members. The romance is too well known to require more than a cursory reference. Helen was loved by two suitors. One, whose name admits of no question, was Adam Fleming, and the other was said to have been a Bell of Blasket House. Adam's was the favoured suit, and the jealousy of the other being aroused, he waited for a favourable moment to slay his rival. This came as the lovers were strolling along the beautiful banks of the Kirtle Water. Seeing the danger her lover was in, Fair Helen stepped between him and his opponent. Receiving in her own bosom the bullet meant for her lover, she died in his arms. Accounts differ as to what en-



BONSHAW TOWER.

sued. One tradition is that there and then the rivals fought and the murderer was slain. Another says that he fled to Spain, pursued by Fleming, who slew him in the streets of Madrid. Returning to Kirkconnell, the distracted lover cast himself upon Fair Helen's grave and died. Their graves may be seen in Kirkconnell churchyard, one of the most charming spots in the county of Dumfries, and on his tombstone are inscribed the words—"HIC JACET ADAMUS FLEMING."

Such is the story of Fair Helen of Kirkconnell. But the family of the heroine is a matter of dispute. She is claimed confidently by the Irvings, who possessed Kirkconnell until the year 1600, when Robert, Lord Maxwell, deprived them of it; but she is also claimed by the Bells of Blacket House, and it is now impossible to ascertain to which family Helen really belonged. No ballad is more characteristic of the tenderer aspect of Border life than this—its charm is immortal. Its exquisite simplicity appeals to the delicate literary taste more than even the verses of Wordsworth, who, for some reason, gives the favoured lover the surname of Bruce:—

"Fair Ellen Irwin, when she sat
Upon the braes of Kirtle,
Was lovely as a Grecian maid
Adorned with wreaths of myrtle.
Young Adam Bruce beside her lay,
And there did they beguile the day,
With love and gentle speeches
Beneath the budding beeches."

Wordsworth's poem indeed fails to catch that peculiar and characteristic note which gives such passionate intensity to our Border ballads. It will not bear comparison with Adam Fleming's lament over Helen's grave:—

"O think na ye my heart was sair
When my love dropt down and spak nae mair!
There did she swoon wi' meikle care
On fair Kirkconnell Lee."

“O Helen fair ! O Helen chaste !
If I were with thee, I were blest,
Where thou lies low and takes thy rest
On fair Kirkconnell Lee.”

THE SCOTTS OF EWESDALE.

The last Eskdale clan to which reference need be made is that formerly known as the “Scotts of Ewesdale.” This title has been the cause of some confusion respecting the identity of the clan, because, not unnaturally, it has been sought for in Ewesdale, as a place distinct from Eskdale. But the Scotts were one of the Upper Eskdale clans, and do not appear to have had any connection with the valley now known as Ewesdale. The explanation of the use of “Ewesdale” lies in the fact that, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the whole of Eskdale, with its tributary valleys, was included in the county of Roxburgh.* Ewesdale, being adjacent thereto, and probably offering the most direct route from the north, assumed therefore a much greater importance than Eskdale itself. In some of the old maps, notably in Herman Moll’s, which was made as late as 1745, but drawn from the works of other geographers such as Timothy Pont, the entire district is called “Eusdale,” and Eskdale is only brought in as a sub-title.

This clan of Scotts, which was entirely distinct from the Scotts of Buccleuch and did not answer to the call of their chief, sprang from Scott of Howpaslet, now called Howpasley, on the Borthwick Water, a valley stretching roughly east and west between Eskdalemuir and

* In one or two charters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the places are described as in the county of Roxburgh, but such entries were probably due to clerical errors,—indeed, in one charter of 1568 the entry is “Watstaker vic. Roxburgh (Dumfries)?” showing that the enroller himself was not quite certain.

Teviotdale. Scott of Howpasley's son became Scott of Thirlestane, and the family was known by either designation, even as their namesakes were known as the Scotts of Buccleuch or Branxholme.

It will be remembered that Robert I. gave to the conventual house of Melrose certain lands in Upper Eskdale, and that the Avenels and Grahams also gave to the monks certain proprietary rights in Eskdalemuir. Now, from 1504 to 1517, the Abbot of Melrose was William Scott, eldest son of Sir William Scott of Howpasley, and, in 1564, Michael Scott, of the same family, was Commendator of Melrose. There is a tradition that the Abbot granted Davington to his relatives of Howpasley, and in 1568 the Commendator granted a charter of the lands of Thirlestane, Ettrick, and other lands to Robert Scott of Thirlestane. When the monasteries were annexed to the state in 1587, the possessions of the Abbey of Melrose—the Regality of Melrose, as they were styled—were forfeited to the Crown. By a charter, dated at Newmarket, England, on 24th March, 1613, the King granted certain specified lands "all formerly incorporated into one tenantry of Dumfelling, in the Regality of Melros," to William, Earl of Morton. Morton, having resigned these lands, the King, by a charter dated Edinburgh, 7th April, 1613, granted them to "Walter, Lord Scott of Bukgleugh." Mr. Carlyle was, therefore, wrong in stating* that the Earl of Buccleuch, in 1642, purchased them from Morton along with Dalkeith.

Robert Scott of Thirlestane married Lady Margaret Scott, sister of Buccleuch. It was their son Walter who fought the duel referred to on page 303. Walter's son, Patrick Scott of Tanlawhill, was great-grandfather to

* *The Scotts of Ewisail.*

Lord Napier of Magdala. Robert Scott of Thirlestane's great-great-grandson was Robert Scott of Davington, who, on the death of his brother John, became heir-male of line to the ancient family of Scott of Howpasley and Thirlestane.*

The grandfather of Robert Scott of Davington had borrowed on "wadset"† a sum of £120,000 Scots from Sir James Douglas of Kelhead, with Thirlestane and Davington as security. On 21st January, 1688, Sir James raised a summons against the heir, requiring him to assign over to him in satisfaction of the "wadset," the lands of Davington, Fingland, Pentland, Dumfedling, Nether Cassock, Wester Polclive, Westwoodrig, and Burncleuch. He succeeded in his action, and having obtained these lands, assigned them, in 1702, to Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, who at that time was eagerly acquiring whatever properties in Eskdale she could obtain.

Exempt from this action-at-law were Thirlestane and Davington Mains, both of which had been previously disposed of. Another lawsuit arose, however, in 1786, over these lands, which, by order of the Court, were sold, and, as already stated, were purchased by James Beattie of Dalbeth.

It will be observed that the lands named above as being acquired by the Duchess of Buccleuch in 1702 are all included in the list given on page 248, which the tradition, quoted by Dr. Brown, said, had been purchased by the Scotts of Buccleuch from Lord Maxwell.

* *The Scotts of Ewisdail*, by the late T. J. Carlyle, F.S.A., Scot., of Templehill, Waterbeck.

† "Wadset" was a legal arrangement akin to a mortgage. It bound the owner to surrender his property if he could not meet the lender's claim on a specified date.

The mistake was, therefore, caused by confusing the Scotts of Howpasley and Thirlestane with the Scotts of Buccleuch.

Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, soon acquired other properties which had formerly belonged to the various families of the "Scotts of Ewesdale." From John Scott she bought Rennelburn.* From Scott of Tushielaw she bought Moodlaw Knowe, Grassyards, Kimmingsyke, and Langshawburn; from Scott of Raeburn—Raeburnhead, Yetbyre, and Yards; from Francis Scott—Tanlawhill.

The estate of Raeburn, which is now known as Moodlaw, still remains, we believe, in the possession of the descendant of the original Scott of Raeburn, from whom Sir Walter Scott of Abbotsford traced his descent.

Whilst dealing with these changes in the ownership of lands in Upper Eskdale, originally belonging to this large clan of Scotts, we may mention the following:—

Robert Scott, the last of Davington,† had sold Burncleuch to George Bell, of Woodhouselees, whose descendants exchanged it with the Duke of Buccleuch for Castlehill. The Bells also acquired Crurie, Yards and Yetbyre. The father of the late Mr. Richard Bell, not liking the last name, changed it to Castle O'er.‡

The rest of the properties in Eskdalemuir which are now owned by the Duke of Buccleuch, but were formerly

* John Scott, the last laird of Rennelburn, was, in 1679, a tenant of the Duke of Buccleuch of the farms of Langholm Mains and Balgray. He became factor to the Duchess, and it is doubtless in this capacity that he appears in the rent-roll for the farms of Arkinholm, Turnerholm, and the Ten-Merk-land.

† One of Robert Scott's sons was John Scott, writer, Langholm, who came to occupy a position of considerable influence in the town, and another was James Scott, surgeon, Carlisle.

‡ *My Strange Pets*, pp. 293-4. On Bleau's map of 1662 the name is given as Castle Owyryn, which the late Mr. Richard Bell considered a more archaic and interesting form than the modern Castle O'er.

in the possession of other persons, mostly Scotts of the Howpasley or Thirlestane branch, are Causivay, now part of Nether Cassock, Aberlosk, now part of Langshawburn, Johnstone, Clerkhill, and Cot. As already mentioned, Over Cassock and Glendearg are owned by Miss Beattie of Crieve.

The "Scotts of Ewesdale" did not acknowledge the headship of the Scotts of Buccleuch. Indeed, considerable doubt seems to have existed as to who was entitled to style himself chief of the whole clan of Scotts. One writer on heraldry, quoted by the late Mr. T. J. Carlyle of Templehill, gave it as his opinion that whilst a male-heir of Thirlestane was alive, neither "Harden, placed by Burke as chieftain, nor any other branch of the Scotts could succeed to the chieftainship of the Scotts." At an Assize Court held at Peebles in November, 1587, Scott of Buccleuch appeared before the King at Neidpath Castle, when he and his friends expressly disclaimed all responsibility for, or connection with, the Scotts of Ewesdale.*

When, in 1590, certain chieftains were required to give cautionary bonds for the good conduct of their followers, the Scotts of Thirlestane, Tushielaw, and Harden, were amongst those enumerated. But, in practice, Scott of Buccleuch had been recognised as, at least, first amongst equals, though the "Scotts of Ewesdale" did not obey his call. The Scotts both of Howpasley and Thirlestane and also of Harden, acted independently of Buccleuch until the year 1596, when Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch enrolled them in his clan and guaranteed that their actions should not be obnoxious to the Government.

There were marriage connections between the Scotts of Howpasley and the Johnstones of Annandale. For

* Craig-Brown's *History of Selkirkshire*, Vol. I., p. 164.

instance, "auld Wat of Harden's" wife was Mary Scott, who for her grace and beauty was called "The Flower of Yarrow," and her grandmother was a Johnstone of that ilk. When the feuds between the Johnstones and Maxwells reached their culmination on Dryfe Sands in 1593, Johnstone was supported by various Border clans, amongst others the Scotts of Eskdale (see page 233). These were not the Scotts of Buccleuch but of Howpasley and Thirlestane. The different Scotts who supported Johnstone are named in the pardon afterwards granted to Sir James Johnstone. When James V. contemplated an invasion of England in 1542, John Scott of Thirlestane was the only baron who responded to the summons of the King.* He brought with him 70 lances, and the King, in gratitude, created him a baronet, and granted him an augmentation to his arms—a double tressure of *fleurs-de-lis* on his shield, a bundle of lances for crest, and "Ready, aye ready" for a motto. This motto, as we have already noted, was also awarded to the Johnstones of Westerhall.†

The "Scotts of Ewesdale" appear to have been a daring and lawless race, and to have distinguished themselves in many a dangerous raid. One of the historical references to the clan is found in a drama by Sir David Lindsay‡ where there appears an impersonation of "Common Thift, a Borderer." Agreeably to the conventions of the drama of that day this representative meets with his just deserts, and in a dying speech bids farewell to all his old associates. As might be expected, his death-bed references to them are not exactly complimentary, for, of

* *Scotts of Ewisdail*, by T. J. Carlyle of Templehill.

† See note p. 266.

‡ Introduction to Scott's *Minstrelsy*.

course, Sir David must needs be "correct" in his working out of the drama :—

" Adew! Robsons, Howis, Pylis,
That in our craft hes many willis,
Littlis, Trumbulls and Armestranges.
Adew! all theeves, that me belangis,
Baileowes, Erewynis and Elwandis,*
Speedy of flicht and slight of handis;
The Scotts of Eisdale and the Gramis,
I haif na time to tell you namis."

In the Border ballad entitled *The Fray of Suport*, there is also a reference to the clan :—

" Sae whether they be Elliots or Armstrangs,
Or rough-riding Scotts or rude Johnstones,
Or whether they be frae the Tarras or Ewsdale,
They maun turn and fight, or try the deeps o' Liddel."

We have dealt at this considerable length on the identity and history of these various clans, because all through the sixteenth century their raids and forays affected so intimately the history of Eskdale, and at the present time afford so interesting a study of Border life.

In Mr. A. Bruce Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, there is a beautifully coloured reproduction of the arms of the clans of Liddesdale and Eskdale with the title :—

" Thir ar
ye armys of ye clannis
quha kept ye bordouris
of Scotland in Liddisdaill,
Eskdaill, Ewisdaill,
Wauchopdaill and ye
Debaitable landis
in ye auld tyme."

Amongst the arms there given are those of the Scotts, Glendinnings, Armstrongs, Elliots, Littles, Beattisons, Thomsons, and Irvings.

* Irvings and Elliots.



From old print owned by
 J. V. Sandison

TOWERS ON THE DEBATEABLE LAND IN 1590.

THE DEBATEABLE LAND IN A.D. 1590.

CHAPTER XVI.

CASTLES AND TOWERS.

THE map opposite, showing the strongholds in Annandale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Liddesdale in the year 1590, makes no distinction between castles and towers, or between towers and "those little stone houses" which existed in considerable numbers on both the Scottish and English Borders during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the places shown as towers or keeps must certainly have been houses of very moderate dimensions and strength. This was a necessity of the times, because the residences of the less wealthy or powerful chiefs were liable to sudden raids and destruction. Houses were burnt one day and re-built the next. There was, therefore, no inducement to spend either time or means upon them. But dotted here and there were strongholds of a superior order. Towers like Hollows and Stakeheuch were meant to serve as refuges in times of more serious warfare, and upon them, therefore, both skill and labour were spent.

Of greater superiority still were the castles of the feudal barons, such as Wauchope, Barntalloch, or Meikledale, whilst military depôts such as Langholm Castle, Thrieve, and especially Hermitage, were not only strongly built, but were well garrisoned and adapted to withstand a siege of considerable duration.

BARNTALLOCH.

Probably the oldest of the feudal castles in Eskdale was that of Barntalloch at Stapelgortoun. It stood on

an eminence overlooking the Esk towards the south-east. On the north-east was the burn, into which there was a precipitous descent from the Castle, and on the west there was a constructed fosse. No record has been left of its erection, and only a fragment of the outlines can now be traced, though the site itself is easily distinguishable. Little doubt exists that the Castle of Barntalloch was of a strength and massiveness in keeping with the size of the barony of Stapelgortoun. As the name implies, this town was the centre of a large agricultural trade, and the baron's castle would be its principal residence, well built, strongly fortified by nature, and set in the midst of a scene of great beauty and charm. It served, too, as the seat of justice for the district. There the baron's out-door court, himself seated, perhaps, on the grassy slopes of the Castle grounds, with his vassals and bondmen ranged before him in strict order of social status, would form one of the picturesque phases of a rude but slowly advancing civilization. The Castle would be occupied by the barons as they quickly followed each other in those days of rapid change: Sir William de Kunyburg; possibly at times Sir John Lindsay or one of his sons; then the succession of the Douglasses, or their factors, for it does not appear that they themselves habitually resided in Eskdale. Unfortunately, we have left to us no relic of those days, and as the references to Barntalloch in the contemporary records are very sparse indeed, we are left largely to conjecture as to what manner of place it was.

WAUCHOPE.

More historical data exist respecting Wauchope Castle. It was built by the Lindsays, and continued in their

hands with little intermission until their final forfeiture, and standing at the confluence of the Wauchope Water and the Becks Burn, on a plateau some 34 feet above the river, it occupied a site admirably adapted for defensive purposes.

The plateau extends from north to south about 103 yards, and from east to west about 30 yards. The Wauchope runs the entire length of the buildings on the east; the Becks Burn forms a natural fosse on the north-west, whilst from north-west to south-west there ran an artificial fosse from the Becks Burn to Wauchope Water, which it joined at the Auld Stane Brig. "It is situated," says Foster in his *Beauties of Scotland*, "on a steep precipice, beautifully romantic, upon the river Wauchope which, with its waters murmuring below on the pointed rocks, and the opposite banks finely shaded with oaks and pendant underwood, renders its situation grave and picturesque."

The Lindsays probably placed more value upon military strength than natural beauty, but the situation they selected for their Scottish castle offered both of these inducements, and herein it may be ranked with Barntalloch. When Lord Dacre made his notorious raid into Dumfriesshire after the Battle of Flodden, he boasted that he had laid waste almost the whole of Ewesdale and Eskdale, and that "all these ploughs and townships are now clearly wasted, and no man dwelleth in any of them at this day, save only in the touns* of Annan, Stepel, and Wauchope." Stepel may refer to Stapelgortoun, if so, the fact that it and Wauchope remained unreduced in that ruthless raid, is evidence of Dacre's inability

* The term "toun" meant the retainers' huts surrounding the baron's castle. Cp. the Scottish "farm toun."

rather than of his unwillingness to take these strongholds.

Wauchope Castle would be erected soon after 1285, when Sir John Lindsay received from King Alexander III. the lands of Wauchope and Stapelgortoun. The Lindsays would hold the Castle almost continuously until 1505, possibly the only break being from the date of the Battle of Bannockburn, when they forfeited their estates on account of their adhering to the cause of Edward of England, until 1319, when the Bruce restored the property of Wauchopedale to the grandson of the original holder. After 1505, when the lands were again forfeited owing to the killing of the brothers Glendinning, the Castle seems to have been left to decay.

During the unsettled days of 1518 when the Armstrongs and other Border clans were creating so much disorder, the Wardens of the different Scottish Marches took counsel as to how peace and order could best be restored. One of their proposals was that Maxwell, who was Warden of the West March, should take up his residence in Wauchope, in which event they trusted "he with thaire help and with the help of other cuntremen nixt adjacent, mycht put reule to the cuntreis of Ewisdale and Eskdale, to the quhilk thai sulde be redy quhen the said Lord Maxwell walde require thaim."*

Eight years later, 1526, Maxwell obtained a tack of Wauchopedale "with the mylnis fortalice and fishing of the samin and thar pertinentis quhilkis pertenit to Johnne Lindsay of Wauchop." The consideration set forth in the tack, or lease, is Maxwell's service "in stancheing of thift and uther misrewle in the cuntre and for the bigging and reparatioun of the hous tour and fortalice of

* *Armstrong's History*, p. 214.

Wauchop.” This charge implies that the Castle of Wauchope had fallen into a state of disrepair if not into actual ruin. By the year 1547, when Wharton and his coadjutors were over-running Eskdale and the adjoining dales, the Castle seems to have become a complete ruin, probably owing, in some measure, to Lord Maxwell being a prisoner of the English King. It is recorded of Sir Thomas Carleton that on one night of their march he and his party “lay in the old walls of Wauchope Tower.”

In 1549 on his return from London, where he had been held as hostage by the English King, Robert, Lord Maxwell, appears to have set himself to restore his Wauchopedale properties. He appointed Patrick Bell as “Sergeant of Wauchope.”* The duties of the office would probably be akin to those of a baron-bailie.

The Bells seem to have settled in Wauchope, as in 1679 we find a Patrick Bell, doubtless a descendant of the sergeant, a tenant of the Duke of Buccleuch “in Wauchope.” The following entry taken from the Stapelgortoun Registers relates to the same family :—

“January 6, 1679.

The sd. dy. Besse Bell d.l. to Patrick Bell in the parish of Wauchope bapt. wit. John Bell in Galaside and Adam Bettie, yr.”

May not this entry explain the origin of the name “Besse Bell’s Brae,” that picturesque corner in Wauchopedale, concerning which there has been much speculation?

On Bleau’s map of 1662 the Castle is marked “Waes” —a ruin. Portions of the walls remained standing until well within living memory. A considerable piece of the eastern wall, fronting Wauchope Water, stood until about the year 1886 when, loosened by frost and rain, most of it fell into the river bed. This piece of

* Armstrong’s *History*, p. 3.

wall, of which only two small remnants now remain, had been long undermined, and there was a local tradition that it was the entrance to a cave. On the north side, another portion of wall stood until about the same date, when it fell into the Burn, probably dislodged by the roots of the great beech under which it stood. This piece of masonry was known as The Auld Wa's. Excavations on a slight scale were made a few years ago by some local antiquaries, and the foundation walls were uncovered, and an idea of the ground plan was obtained. These discoveries revealed a place of considerable strength, but were too partial to admit of a definite idea being formed as to the dimensions of the fortalice itself.

In the year 1726 some of the pipes supplying the moat of the Castle were dug up, and from their position it would appear that the moat was filled from Wauchope.* When the new road into Wauchopedale was made, about the year 1794, the workmen cut through a leaden pipe laid towards the higher ground to the west, and it was surmised that it had brought the water from a cistern on the adjoining hill-side.

Occasional relics have been discovered on the site of the Castle, but undoubtedly the most important is the hasp of a coffer, here illustrated, found in 1895 by James Reid, Langholm, and now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland it is described as the "Enamelled Hasp of a Coffin found in the bank of Becks Burn, between the graveyard of the old church of Wauchope and Wauchope Castle, near Langholm. This beautiful example of thirteenth century enamelled metal-work, of the school of Limoges,

* MS. by the late Geo. R. Rome.



HASP OF COFFER ; WAUCHOPE CASTLE.

consists of two parts, each made in solid copper, and united by a hinge. The larger part, which was fastened across the top of the coffer, is modelled in the form of a dragonesque creature, with folded wings and a twist in its tail, which terminates in another head, from the mouth of which issues a floral scroll. The other part, united to this by a hinge, which allowed it to fall down on the front of the coffer, carries on the under side a loop for the bolt of the lock. It is also modelled as a dragonesque form of slender proportions, issuing from the mouth of another. The enamel is *champleve* in three colours—a pale blue, a light green, and a glistening greyish white. The ridges of metal between the enamelled surfaces have been highly gilt, but are now much corroded. Coffers with such enamelled hinges, and other decorations of Limoges work, were largely used, both in France and Britain, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although this is the only example hitherto known in Scotland. There is in the Museum, however, a crucifix of similar work, in *champleve* enamel, which was found in the churchyard of Ceres, Fife.”

LANGHOLM CASTLE.

The Castle of Langholm belonged neither to the order of baronial residences such as Barntalloch and Wauchope, nor to the ordinary type of Border peel-tower such as the Hollows. It was obviously built for purposes which were military rather than residential, and conformed to a type common all along the Borders,—ranking with such castles as Thrieve, Lochmaben, and Norham. It may, therefore, be regarded as occupying a middle position,—of greater strength and importance than the Hollows Tower, but yet much inferior to Hermitage Castle, which



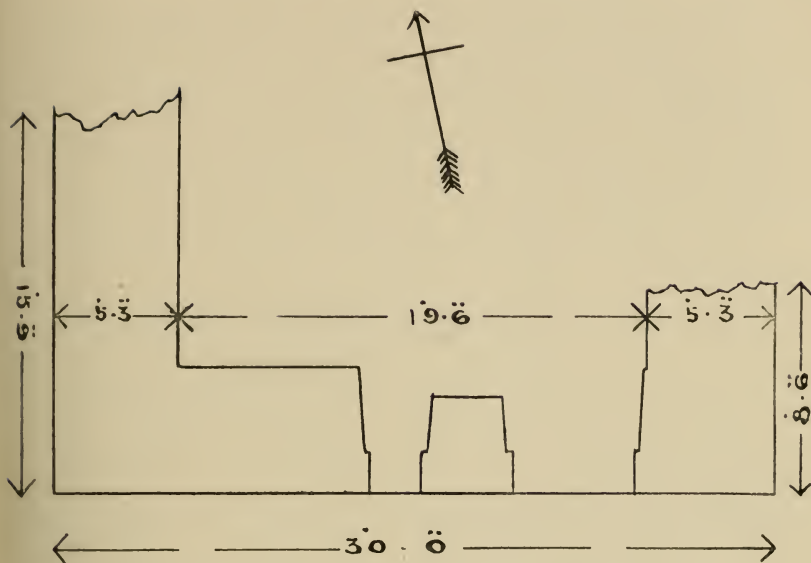
LANGHOLM CASTLE.

was the key to the military situation on the western Borders.

The site of Langholm Castle is one of charming natural beauty. Built on that fine alluvial tract, known as the Castle Holm, it stands almost at the confluence of the Esk and the Ewes. At the date of its building both rivers probably flowed much nearer the Castle than they now do,* and thus on two sides, otherwise vulnerable, it was well protected. The position was chosen with judgment, commanding as it did the passes into Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Wauchopedale.

The illustration shows all that now remains of the Castle, but gives quite an imperfect idea of what the building once was. Most of the material, it is said, was afterwards quarried to build other houses in Langholm, and only this portion has been left to remind us of the brave scenes upon which those broken walls have looked. Probably, what is now left was but part of the central tower. Judging by the wall still standing, and by the part of the foundation visible, this tower would appear to have measured from north to south about 56 feet, and from east to west about 30 feet. The walls, as will be seen from the plan, were about five feet three inches in thickness. It will be observed from the drawing on page 332 that, near to the ground level, there is one of those apertures, which are generally assumed to be shot-holes. It is, however, much more likely that they were used for purposes of ventilation. That the original Castle must have been considerably larger than is indicated by these measurements, is suggested by a reference to the

* *Vide* the evidence given before the Court of Session in 1759, when the question of the division of the Kilngreen, in association with the Commonty, was being argued.

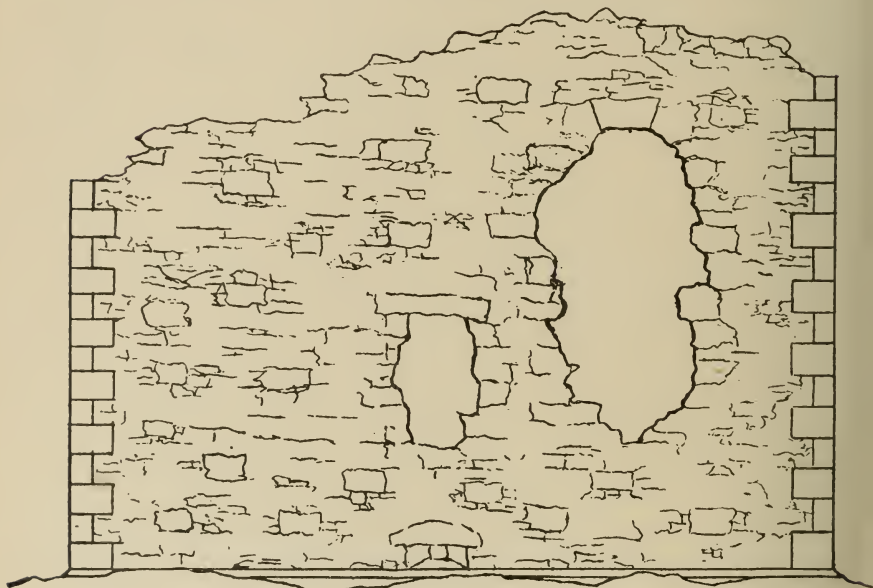


LANGHOLM CASTLE GROUND PLAN.

records of the sixteenth century. In a letter written to the Earl of Shrewsbury, when the Castle was in possession of the English in 1544, Lord Wharton stated that he had placed in Langholm Tower a considerable number of foot soldiers, to whom were to be added 50 horse. And in 1557, when Mary, the Queen-Regent, introduced the Gascoigne soldiers into Scotland, 600 of them were apportioned to Langholm Castle and to Annan for the defence of the Borders. It seems scarcely likely, however, that the Castle itself was capable of holding such a company. Its regulation garrison was a captain and 24 men. Possibly for the temporary accommodation of these troops, tents were requisitioned, and the "laich houses" about the Castle also brought into use.

Concerning the builder we have no definite information. There is a tradition, quoted in Macfarlane's ms., now in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and

repeated by successive writers, that the Castle was built by a brother of Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, but this appears to be nothing more than an intelligent conjecture. Nor of the date of building have we any certain knowledge. About the year 1526 the Armstrongs built a number of strong towers on the Borders, for the better protection of the members of the clan who, at that



ELEVATION OF LANGHOLM CASTLE.

date, held a considerable portion of the Debateable Land, including Hollows, and also the lands of Stapelgortoun, Langholm, Crawsknowe, Dalbeth, and Shiel. It is, therefore, highly probable that Langholm Castle was one of the places then erected. Complaint was made that the building of such strongholds was against the agreement between Lord Maxwell and the Earl of Cum-

berland, and certain measures, already described in these pages, were taken by Lord Dacre for destroying them,—measures which miscarried mainly owing to the tactical skill of Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who, in the correspondence on the subject is named as “John Armistrang, otherwise called John the Larde.” Their erection was also condemned by the King’s decree of 6 July, 1528, which said: “Gif ony man intendis to big ony biggingis upon the bordouris of this realme neir unto Ingland or ony strenth or fortalice, the King and his counceal willis to desist and ceis thairfra.” It was also decreed that any such places which had been already built were to be destroyed. Some confusion has, not unnaturally, been caused by the Castle of Langholm being referred to under other titles. In addition to Castle it is named the Place of Langholm, Langholm Tower, the Fortalice of Langholm, the House of Langholm, and sometimes as the House and Place of Langholm.* Allowing for the lack of definiteness which characterised the wording in documents of that period, it would appear that all these designations attached to one and the same building—the Castle, the ruins of which still stand on the Castle Holm. If we accept the conjecture that Langholm Castle was originally built by either Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, or one of his family, when the former received the charter from Robert, Lord Maxwell, in 1525, then in 1529 the Castle would pass absolutely into Maxwell’s hands, by Armstrong’s unconditional resignation of the lands of Langholm.

Langholm Castle is first brought into prominent notice in 1544. In that year, Lord Wharton, in furtherance of the design of King Henry VIII. of England to reduce

* Cp. “the house, tower, and fortalice of Wauchope,” p. 225.

Scotland to vassalage, made his notorious raid into Dumfriesshire, burning, wasting and slaying, with fierce revenge, in the dales of the Nith, the Annan and the Esk. Towards the end of that year Langholm Castle came into his possession. Various writers have said that he obtained possession of it through the treachery of those Armstrongs—that is the Armstrongs of Gilnockie—who had given bonds of man-rent to Lord Maxwell, the owner of the Castle. So far as we are aware the only, or at least the most definite, statement on the point occurs in a letter dated 1546, from the Scottish Estates to the French King and his Ambassador in London. In this letter they state that “Ane tour callit Langhope had been thiftuouslie taken by a Scottis tratour” and they pray the French King to “caus the King of ingland to leiss the said hous free to our Soverane Lady.” It will be observed that the name of the “Scottis tratour” is not given. In a letter from Lord Wharton dated 27 October 1544 we get some further information. He says: “certain of the *Armstrangs of Lyddesdaill** wan and spoyled the tower of Langhope, brought away all the goods in the same and 4 prisoners.” On this statement it has been taken for granted that the Armstrongs handed over the Castle to the English. In this there is nothing improbable. Like most of the other Border clans the Armstrongs were at this date “at the horn,” outlawed by the Scottish Government and were under English assurance. They were raiding and harrying their own countrymen as enthusiastically as even Wharton could desire. In the early autumn of 1544 they committed five raids in Scotland whilst the Beattisons and Thomsons had but three to their debit. But the Armstrongs can

* The italics are ours.

scarcely be blamed for this transference of their allegiance. They were undoubtedly actuated at this time more by motives of expediency than by patriotism. But so were the nobles and barons. Opportunism was not then and is not now confined to the "broken-men": it is adopted in the field of high politics. We are not concerned to defend the Armstrongs but it seems necessary to state clearly the facts concerning the cession of Langholm Castle, and it does not seem to us that the guilt of the Armstrongs, or their "treachery" as it has been called, has been established. Admittedly the presumption may be against them, but presumption is not proof. And there are other factors in the case.

It will be remembered that after the Battle of Solway Moss in 1542, John, Lord Maxwell, had been a prisoner in London. But in 1543 he had been permitted by the English King to return to the Borders, on the clear understanding that he was to assist that monarch to achieve his designs in Scotland. Bound in this way by the conditions of his parole, Maxwell could not honourably do anything against Henry VIII. but by a delicate piece of casuistry he conveyed to the Regent Arran a hint to the effect that though he himself was thus precluded from defending Scotland, his sons and all his means were at the Regent's service. Maxwell was then re-appointed Warden of the Marches, whereupon the English King immediately cancelled his parole and summoned him to London.

We get additional light on Maxwell's relationships with the English Government in the spring of 1544, from letters written to the Earl of Hertford by the English Lords of Council, and also from letters to Wharton and Bowes written by Hertford. From this cross-corres-

pondence we learn that the English Lords were anxious to obtain possession of the Castles of "Lowmaban, Trief, Caerlanroke and Langhole." To accomplish this end, they advise Hertford, that "money and reward or other large offers" were not to be spared, "to travaile with Lord Maxwell for the delyverie of the same." We also read of "offres which Robert Maxwell maketh tooching the keyping and delyvery, if nede be, to the Kings majestie's use, of Loughmaban and thre other Places."

Remembering that the Scottish Government, in its letter to the French King, refers to a "tratour"; that it does not mention the Armstrongs; and putting a reasonable interpretation on these letters to and from Hertford, in so far as they concern the Maxwells themselves, we are certainly of the opinion that the charge against the Armstrongs, —especially, in so far as it affects the Armstrongs of Gilnockie, one of whom, Christie, Johnie's son, was a few years later appointed Keeper of the Castle, — has not been proved. They may have been the instruments of the cession—the evidence certainly does not indicate them as principals.

Associated with the garrison which Lord Wharton had placed in Langholm Castle, the following incident is of interest. When some of the clans were considering the question of giving assurances to Wharton, the laird of Johnstone made counter proposals, urging them to refuse Wharton's offers, and promising that redress should be given them for all the hurt they had sustained by the depredations of Wharton's soldiery. Johnstone added that "the governour with the holle power of the realme wold be at the Langholme before Law Sundaye," and there was therefore "no cause to maik suet unto" Wharton. "Therefore," continues the latter in his graphic narrative—

“Arguments aroos between them and hym [Johnstone] and dyvers of them, lyk the natur of their contremen, inclyned to hym and others contynewed ther suet, and remembrynge the untruethe of the lard Johnston, who in the begenynge of the warres maid suet and overture to serve the Kinges majeste, our lait most noble sovereyn lord, and untrewlye refused the same, and sythen ane enemye agaynst this realme, I caused upon Shyr Thursdaye, in the morning, knowing hym to be at home, to trap hym if I colde, fortye lyght horsmen of Langholme to burn a town called Wamfraye, halfe a mille from his house of Loughwod, and appoynted the Capitaing of Langholm, with the rest of the garryson to lye in ambushe for the relefe of those; and thinking that the lard Johnston would come to the furst to vyew them, and so he dyd, and pursued them sharplye to ther ambushe, and he being an overpartye to them boothe, as I thought he wold, and to gyve hym a mor boldnes to pursue those tryed men thynkyng them to have no mor reliefe, which he dyd; and the garyson beinge princypall men, defended them verey straitlye, he took dyvers of the garyson and persued the capitaing and others thynkyng to have all. . . . They brought away dyverse parcellis of goodes, nolte and scheipe; the prisoners were takyne xiiij mylles within Scotland, from Langholme. Archebald Armestrange, yonge lard of Mangerton of Lydysdaill, is the taker of the larde Johnston. . . . The Kynges Majeste now haith the Maxwelles and Johnstons his highnes prisoners, who haith borne a gret reulle of the west partes of Scotland.”* &c.

The petition for the restoration of Langholm Castle, to Queen Mary, did not meet with a favourable response from the English King. The Scottish Government thereupon determined to try to take it by force of arms. An army was assembled at Peebles on the 20th July, 1547, and marching to Langholm, it besieged the Castle for three or four days. The garrison, consisting then of 16 men with their captain, destroyed the lower portion of the tower, and from the highest floor stubbornly defended the place, until the besiegers, bringing artillery into action, fired seven shots, on which the garrison capitulated and Langholm Castle was once again in Scottish hands.

Very elaborate preparations for this expedition seem to have been made by the Government. From the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer “showing the ex-

* *State Papers*, Vol. I., No. 10.

penses of the Raid to Eskdale and the siege of Langholm Tower, July, 1547," we get many interesting glimpses into their nature and extent. The following "items" are typical:—

- "Item, primo Junij 1547, to Laresoun gunner, send to the laird of Buccleucht, till be avisit with the best gait for careing of monition towart Langholme, and to be his expenss. . . . xxxiijs."
- "The expenss debursit upoun our Soverane ladyes monition movit towart Langhope in the moneth of July, 1547."
- "Item, ix Junij, to ane boy direct with writtings to the lairdes Cesfurde, Farnyhirst, and Balcleuch vijs.
- "Item, to Nysbet, direct to the baronnes of the northe, for keping of the said raid iiij*li* viijs.
- "Item, the samyn tyme [July 1st] be my lorde governouris speciall commande to furneis his graces expenss towart Langholme, deliverit to Neill Laing his graces wrytar ij^cxx*li*.
- "Item, at his graces passing to Langholme, boucht vj quarteris of reid taffate of the corde to be ane baner; price xxxs.
- "Item, for a x score thre gallounes and thre quarteris of aill, furnist to Jhonne Harte, and send to Langhope witht my lorde governour; price xxvij*li* iijs.
- "Item, to ane man that wes gadman* to the moyane† furth of Langhope to Edinburcht, becaus thai that aucht the hors culd nocht gyde thame, xvjs.
- "Item, to the laird of Balcleuches serjande, for his laubourres in ingathering of the oxin, xs.
- "Item, to lytill Cwynnghame, ane charge to the Lairds of Newdry-Marschell, Innerleith, Lastalrig, Craigmyllar, Edmastoun, Dalhoussye, Rosling, Brounstoun, Newbottill, lorde Borthuik, commanding thame to have thair oxin in Lauder the ix day of Julij, to pas witht the artalyere towart Langholme xijs.
- "Item, to Donaldsone, letteris direct to Annandale and Nyddisdaill, chargeing thame to cum with thair oxin and helpe to carye the artalyere, witht closit billis to the maister of Maxwell, lairdes of Dumlangrig, Lag, Closburne, Kirkmychaell, the surname of the Jhonestounes, and lorde Sanquhar, iiij*li* vis.
- "Item, ane boy send furth of Edinburch witht the quenes standart, and caryit the saymn to Stabill Gordoun. viijs.
- "Item, ane other boy send furth of Edinburch with wryttinges fra Maister James Forstar fra my lorde governour, his grace being in Langholme, vs."

Concerning Langholm Castle after the siege, several writers say it was "demolished," but the precise condition in which it was left does not appear. In 1562 we find Christie Armstrong of Barngleis, son of Johnie of Gilnockie, appointed keeper "of the hous and place of

* Goadman.

† Artillery of medium size.

Langholm" for John, Lord Maxwell, at a salary of forty pounds a year in time of peace. Other matters, such as the outlay for the upkeep of the house, and Christie's payments during time of war, were to be referred to the arbitration of two Maxwells and two Armstrongs. These various duties Christie deputed, as we have seen, to his sons Robert and Archie. They seem also to have been constables of the peace, under Lord Maxwell, as they were allowed a force of 24 men to police the Borders.

It may be surmised that this appointment of Christie Armstrong was part of a scheme of re-organisation and repair of Langholm Castle which probably, since the siege of 1547, had stood in a dismantled condition. An interesting light is thrown upon this question by a military report, drawn up about 1563-6 regarding a possible occupation of the Borders by an English army. This report, which is quoted in considerable detail by Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong, gives a list of all the defences of the Borders, with coloured drawings of some of the principal castles and towers. In this list, curiously enough, Langholm Castle is not mentioned, but the following note is made :—

"THERE ADJOYNETH to Annerdale, ESDALE, WAWCHOPE DALE, EWISDALE, and the Debatable Landes of Englonde and Scotlande, inhabited by the Bateis, whereof Awlie Batie principall, Thomsons, Lytilles, Nobilles, some Grahames in the Debatabill, and alsoo Armstronges, of whiche Sande Armestronge and his seaven sonnes now Yngles, and haitht pencion of Englonde, and Johnes Cristie Armstrong of the Staikhewght,* ewill Engles . . . albeitht the late King James hanged Jone Armstrong, his father. Thei wilbring besyde Sandy Armestronge, whoo ys Engles, as said ys, to a fraye furtht of there cuntrees . . . j^c horsemen."

The inference from this note is that at that date Langholm Castle was a quantity with which the invaders

* Several Armstrongs were indicted at Berwick in 1587, for raiding in Cumberland. One named is "Christy of Auchenrivoock," that is of course Stakeheugh. Others are Geordie and Jock of the Calfield, Eckie and his son Ritchie of the Stubholm, and Jock of the Hollows.

needed not to reckon. This is further shown by a remark made by the writer when discussing the number of men required for the project. He adverts to Lord Wharton's raid [1544], and says that in similar circumstances fewer men would be needed than the estimate he gives, and adds: "Thei ar noo moo in nombre nor thei wor then and we als stroung, saving the want of Liddisdale, Ewisdale, Waughopedale, and the Scottes Debatable, whiche a good wardane may recover at his pleasour."

The stewardship of Langholm Castle held by Robert and Archie Armstrong appears to have ceased after Maxwell's raid to Stirling in 1585. In the list of those who, on that occasion, assisted Maxwell, are mentioned, "archie and ro^t armestrangis, sonis to christie in langholme." These are the only names given in the Act of Amnesty as from Langholm.

We have already alluded to the appointment of the laird of Johnstone as Warden in 1578, and the subsequent dispute between him and Maxwell about the key of Langholm Castle. It will be remembered that Lord Maxwell's government as Warden had been so lax, that even his kinsman, Lord Herries, recommended that Maxwell should have "ane honest man his depute and capitane in the Langholme," and further that there might be placed at his service "twelf habil horsemen." It was possibly in conformity with this suggestion that Herbert Maxwell of Cavense was appointed captain, thus superseding the Armstrongs.* An interesting development ensued. In *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials* there is recorded

* Writing to Burghley in 1581 Scrope, as we have seen, mentions "Creste Armstrong, goodman of Langholm Castell," so evidently the Armstrongs remained there notwithstanding the appointment of Herbert Maxwell,

a trial in the year 1605 of certain Armstrongs for fire-raising at Langholm Castle in 1581.* In the record, the charge is given first as "Burning of the House of Langholm," and next as "Burning of the Castell of Langholme." In the indictment, the Armstrongs named are also accused of "taking prisoner Herbert Maxwell the captain." In connection with this trial an interesting point arises. Johnne Armstrong, described as "of Langholme," was separately tried for this offence, though on the same day as the others, the charge against him being that of fire-raising at Murtholme, and "lykewayis for airt and pairt of the treasonabill Raising of ffyre at the Castell of Langholme and burning of ane grit pairt of the barnes, byres, stables, and uther office-housis of the said Place of Langholme," and for "thiftious steilling threttie nolt with sax or sevin horse and naigis furth of the Place of Langholme," all belonging to Herbert Maxwell. To answer these charges Johnne did not appear, and he was sentenced to be put to the horn and his goods escheated. This trial was an extraordinary affair. It took place 24 years after the alleged acts. Two of those indicted were shewn to have been respectively four and eight years of age at the time of the burning; three others were declared innocent of the "crymes libellit," and two others were re-tried! An interesting question here arises: what is implied by the term "the goodmant of Langholm Castell"? Jamieson defines the term as

* See p. 279

† "Goodman—a Proprietor of land." Such is the definition given by Jamieson, who adds: "The learned Sir George Mackenzie has a remark on this head which merits observation. 'This remembers me,' he says, 'of a custom in Scotland which is but gone lately in dissuetude and that is that such as did hold their lands from a Prince were called *lairds*, but such as held their lands from a subject, though they were large and their superior very noble, were only called *good-men* from the old French word *bonne homme*, which was the title of a Master of a Family.'"

“a proprietor of land,” and it is clear that it indicates at least a holder of lands above the status of a vassal or tenant.

There has long lived a tradition in the district, that in addition to the Castle of Langholm there was a tower or house of considerable size during the sixteenth century. From the vaulted cellars of that portion of the Buccleuch Hotel which abuts on the High Street of Langholm, it has been conjectured that these formed part of a strong house or tower. We have not been able to discover any direct mention of such a tower in the records, and the building in question, in all probability, partook no more of the nature of a “tower” than did the Murt-holm or the Stubholm of the early sixteenth century. The identity of this Johnne Armstrong of Langholm is a matter of pure speculation. Amongst those indicted for the burning was “Johnne Armstrong in the Hoillous.” This was the son of Christie of Barngleis, and the brother of Robert and Archie, to whom Christie deputed his duties as keeper of Langholm Castle on behalf of Lord Maxwell the Warden.

During the period 1578-1590, when Lord Maxwell's fortunes “swelled like the Solway, but ebbed like its tide,” Langholm Castle was the object of more than one military expedition. When Lord Maxwell was restored to favour and made Earl of Morton, on the execution of the Regent Morton in 1581, Angus was so jealous of his privileged and powerful position that he made an inroad into Eskdale, burned and ravaged Maxwell's lands and also captured the Castle. By an order of the Secret Council dated 17 Sep., 1583, Johnstone and Christie Armstrong were ordered to deliver the place and fortalice of Langholm to John, Earl of Morton, within 48 hours, on

pain of rebellion. Maxwell, however, appears to have re-taken the Castle, for in June, 1585, we find Scrope writing to Wolsingham as follows:—“ . . . I am advertysed that the Lord Maxwell upon Tuesday last, himself being present, took the House of Langholme which was in the keeping of one of the Armstrongs called John's Christie, but of the Lord Maxwell's own inherytance, and had placed therein gunners and men of his own.” But the star of Lord Maxwell set once more in 1586. By the attainder against the family of Morton being cancelled, the title of Earl of Morton which Maxwell had obtained, reverted to the Earl's son, and Maxwell found himself under suspicion for his leanings towards Romanism. It will be remembered that he was “permitted” to leave the country, but, venturing on the advice of some friends to return, he again incurred the displeasure of King James, who, though peaceable even to timidity, was so outraged by Maxwell's insolence and by reports of his having promised assistance to the King of Spain in the equipment of his great Armada, that he was forced to take action against him. As Angus had done five years before, so now did King James. He marched into Eskdale, destroyed Maxwell's property and burned his strongholds, including Langholm Castle. In 1597 a Commission of the Wardenship of the West March was granted to Andrew, Lord Ochiltree, in which the Castles of Annan, Lochmaben, Langholm and Thrieve are referred to as His Majesty's “oun houses.” From this and other references it may be inferred that, though Langholm Castle was Maxwell property, yet when occasion demanded, it was considered as at the command of the Government,—“sicylyke ordouris the hous of Langholme at all tymes to be patent to the wardane quhen he sall onywayis repair to the samyn.”

That these various frays were the occasions of bloodshed may safely be assumed. We remember seeing a cutting made in one of the mounds near the Castle, where a large quantity of human bones was dug up, doubtless the evidence of some fierce fight on that oft-contested field.

Buccleuch probably stayed all night at Langholm Castle, which was afterwards to come into the possession of his descendants, on his way to the rescue of Kinmont Willie, and when he left next morning "Rob" Armstrong accompanied him.

As we shall see later, when William, Lord Cranstoun, received the "free barony" of Langholm in 1610, the Castle was designated its principal fortress.

No exact date can be given of the final abandonment of the Castle as a garrisoned fort, or a place of residence. The year 1725 has been named by some writers, but evidence to the contrary exists. In 1726, as already noted, James Pasley of Craig was married at the Castle to Miss Magdalen Elliot, of Midlem Mill, whose father had come from Branxholme to reside there about the year 1724, as Chamberlain to the Duke of Buccleuch. In this capacity he succeeded a Mr. Melville who had occupied the Castle for many years. It was as Mr. Melville's guest that Graham of Claverhouse stayed there on the night following the shooting of Andrew Hislop at Craighaugh. In the records of the Kirk Session Mr. Melville is mentioned in 1721, so probably he continued to reside there until 1724.

From the Registers of Stapelgortoun, printed as an Appendix to this volume, it will be seen that near the end of the sixteenth century there must have been a considerable number of persons living in the Castle, and in what Lord Maxwell called "the laich housis besyde the same."

But whatever power or glory clung around it in the brave days of old, lives there no longer. Not as a fortress does it now exist, but as an historic relic set in a frame of hill and wood, embowered in beauty—a reminder of the Langholm that once was but is no more.*

HOLLOWS TOWER.†

There was a third kind of strong house scattered throughout the Borders, built and inhabited by chiefs of clans and by landed men. In Liddesdale alone, there were about 50 such houses and towers. Round these towers the mean huts and other dwellings of the vassals and retainers were grouped, the whole forming the “touns,” so often mentioned in the records of the period,—so rudely constructed that if they were burned one day they could be quite easily rebuilt the next. These peel-towers owed their existence to the unrest on the Borders during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they were the cause of much concern to the Governments of the two countries. The Armstrongs built a number of them about the year 1525, and later in the century on the English Border, the Grahams did the same. In a report on the state of the district dated 1578, Lord Herries mentions that “the Grahames hes biggit to thameselffis aucht or nyne greit stane housis inprynnabill for the warden of Scotland, his power.” Herries states that the

* Mr. E. Bogg, in his book *The Border Country* (p. 311) refers to the ruins as “the shrivelled remains of a castle” and tells how, on asking an elderly woman its name, she answered “Ah dinna ken it as ony neam at o’, it’s been caa’d t’oad castle i’ver sin a’ was a wee lassie.” It may not be out of place to remark that, if this is a correct rendering of the speech of the elderly woman, it will cause no surprise to Langholm people that she did not know the name of the Castle! The same writer refers to the Ewes as the *Erries* and says that the source of the Teviot is in Eskdalemuir!!

† This is popularly called “Gilnockie Tower,” owing, of course, to its connection with Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie.

money to build these places was "gottin in Scotland sensyne" the Battle of Solway Moss in 1542. As to their location, they are described as being "foranent your Majesties* Kingdom."

A considerable number of these places, even those of chieftains and lairds, were very mean dwellings, for it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the average dwelling house on the Scottish Border could be said to afford any degree of comfort, indeed, scarcely even adequate shelter. Many of the so-called "towers," named on the map of 1590,† accompanying this chapter, were probably not peel-towers at all, but merely houses distinguished from their neighbours by being built of stone, or by their being the abode of the chief of a section of a clan or of a laird. Occasionally, the houses were built entirely of wood, a custom reflected still by the occurrence of the name "Woodhouse," both in Annandale and Eskdale. Those wooden or "little stone houses" were the rendezvous of the raiders and "broken-men" of the Borders, and they thus obtained a certain distinction. It was on this account that the Wardens agreed, about the year 1525, to prohibit the erection of such places, and when the heads of the Armstrong clan erected theirs, complaint was made by the Earl of Northumberland that such action was a violation of the truce. However, in the year 1535, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act requiring every landed man having one hundred pound land of new extent, to build a "barmkyn" for the protection of his vassals. He might also build within the "barmkyn" a tower for himself, if he so desired. Men of smaller means were to build smaller places, and all

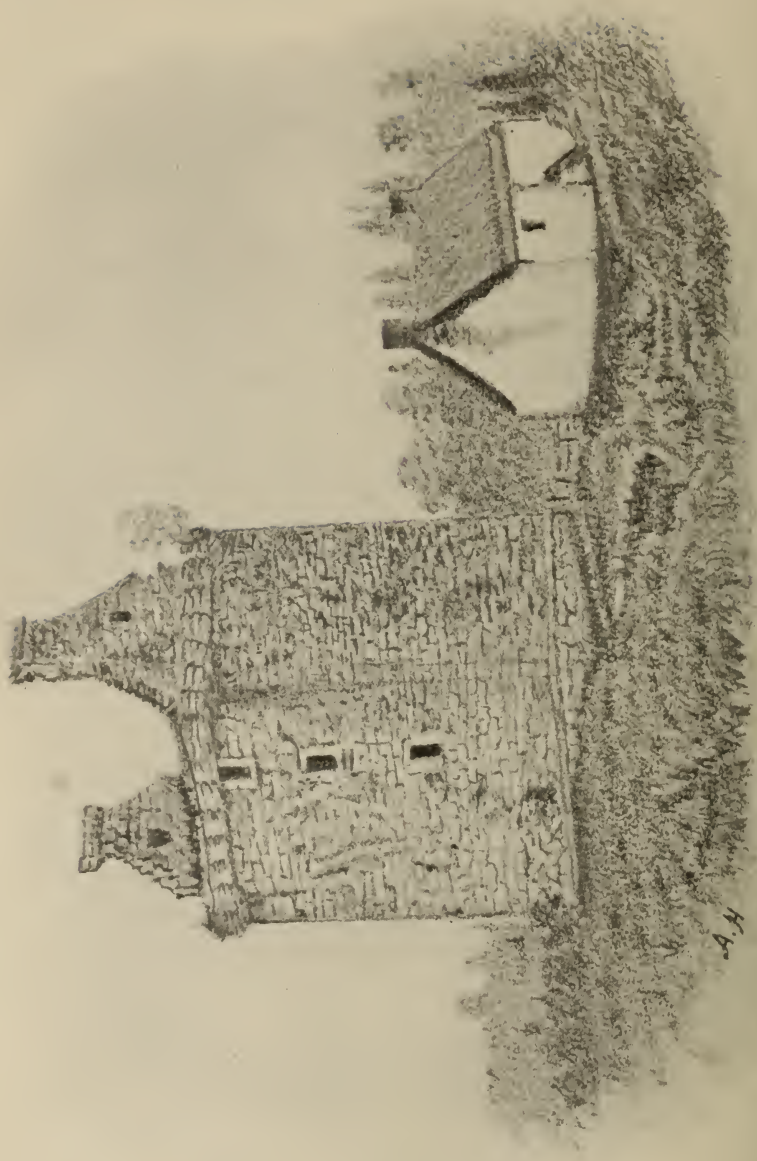
* James VI.

† This map seems to have been made to illustrate the report of a Survey of the Scottish Borders,—one of several undertaken by the English Government.

the buildings erected under the Act were to be completed in two years. In 1552 there were five such towers marked on the English portion of the Debateable Land, and on the portion between the Esk and the Lyne there were eight towers belonging to the Grahams.

Of all the peel-towers and houses, built either under this Act or earlier, the only one now remaining in a state of preservation sufficient to show its original construction, is the Hollows Tower, a drawing of which is given overleaf.

The Tower, which is built of red sandstone and oblong in form, measures 60 feet in length by 46 feet at the ends and in general features corresponds with similar erections on both sides of the Border. The walls are about nine feet in thickness and about 70 feet in height. The entrance was secured by two doors, the outer of oak studded with large nails, the inner of grated iron. When, after the union of the Crowns, determined efforts were made to stamp out the disorders of the "broken-men," the Scottish Parliament ordered all these "iron yettis" to be removed and converted into irons for the plough—which strikes one as a somewhat mechanical and artificial way of fulfilling the prophecies. The walls were of such strength that when the Tower was set on fire, either by the enemy or in self-defence, little damage was done to the main structure. A noticeable feature of the Hollows Tower, which to this day attracts the eye of the spectator, was the beacon-turret. The Laws of the Marches required the owner of every castle or tower to give a warning signal of any night-fray by means of "fire in the topps of the castle or towre." Failure to give this signal incurred a penalty of three shillings and four-pence. The decorated cornice work, which can be seen in the illustration, adds something of architectural



HOLLOW'S (OR GILNOCKIE) TOWER.

beauty to a Tower whose main purpose was massive strength.

Its situation is a level platform on the banks of the Esk, but, viewed from the east, it suggests just such a position of strength as those grim old chieftains of the Border usually selected, and merits the description of the balladist :

“Where on Esk side thou standest stout.”

The Esk, indeed, is its strongest outer fortification. On the west side an artificial fosse can still be traced.

Of the date of the building of the Tower it is not possible to speak with certainty. But a reliable approximation is given in the date of the indictment, viz., 1528, brought by Lord Dacre against Riche Grahame of Esk, accusing him of giving warning to the Armstrongs that Dacre intended to enter the Debateable Land with 2000 men, to destroy “divers houses and edifices there built contrary to the form and tenor of the truces, by John Armstrong, otherwise called John the larde.” It would appear from this, therefore, that the Hollows Tower was erected prior to 1528. And it does not seem likely that the date was earlier than 1524, for in that year Dacre writes to Wolsey that “litill or nothing is lefte upon the frontours of Scotland without it be parte of old howses, whereof the thak and covreinges ar taken away, bireason whereof they cannot be brint.”

That the Hollows Tower was the objective of Lord Dacre cannot be doubted, for it will be remembered that on the night of the raid, when Dacre burned the “Hole-house,” Johnie Armstrong went down and burned Netherby, and in the subsequent complaints the two Wardens played off the one against the other.

Not a few people of considerable authority as students

of the history and antiquities of Eskdale* hold the opinion that the Tower still standing at the Hollows was not the one in which Johnie Armstrong himself lived, and that his Tower stood at the eastern end of Gilnockie Bridge. The present Hollows Tower, they say, was not built for many years after his death. This opinion is based on a remark supposed to have been made by Lord Herries in a report, dated 1578, to the effect that certain of these houses or peel-towers had been "recently erected," and this being so, they could hardly be attributable to the Act of 1535, which, it is said, was a sort of panic Act, passed to repair a misjudgment on the part of the Government. But in the text of Lord Herries' report given in the *Privy Council Records*, these words do not occur. Besides, the Act of 1535 demanded nothing beyond the building of a barmkyn—the erection of the tower itself was left to the option of the "landit men." The barmkyns were to be "of stane and lyme contenand three score futis of the square, ane eln thick and vj elnys heicht," and were to be "biggit and completit within twa yeres." Moreover, as we have just shewn, the towers referred to by Herries were stated to be "foranent" Scotland, so that the whole related argument as to Hollows and the other Armstrong towers falls to the ground. But, even assuming that such words did occur in the report, and that Lord Herries was absolutely accurate in his use of the word "recently," the very fact that he does not explicitly name the Hollows Tower as one of the recent erections, would provide a reasonable presumption against the argument just mentioned. Again, if Hollows Tower was not built until many years after Johnie Arm-

* Amongst these we may name the late Mr. T. J. Carlyle of Templehill, and the late Mr. Geo. R. Rome; also Mr. Matthew Welsh, and Mr. Clement Armstrong.

strong's death, where was the "Hole-house" which Dacre argues was on "a parcell of the Debatable ground," and which was admitted to belong to "John Armstrang of Stubilgorton?" So far as we are acquainted with the records of the sixteenth century, there is no reference therein to more than one such house or tower on the Debateable Land owned by Johnie Armstrong.

The second and stronger argument urged in favour of the alternative site at Gilnockie Bridge is, that certain old people, who were recently living in Canonby, spoke confidently of hearing persons, who were in full manhood and womanhood at that date, tell of stones being dug or quarried from the old Tower for the building of the Gilnockie Bridge, just as the stones from the old Priory were used in the construction of Canonby Bridge. In Canonby there is still a large body of opinion, based on the above traditions, in favour of the Bridge site. Against this opinion there is that of the Rev. Dr. John Russell, parish minister of Canonby, who wrote his narrative for Sinclair's *Statistical Account* in 1793, the year after Gilnockie Bridge was built, and who nevertheless makes no allusion to any such fact; yet he must have been fully aware of this quarrying, had it ever taken place. Curiously enough, he too discusses this question of the sites, and says: "The spot of ground to which the east end of the [Gilnockie] Bridge is joined, is indeed called to this day 'Gill-knocky,' but it does not exhibit the smallest vestige of mason work, and, therefore, could not have been the site of the chieftain's Castle, which, from the name, has been commonly supposed." Dr. Russell then describes its invulnerable position:—"a promontory giving a curve to the river Esk which washes its three unequal sides, and being steep and rocky is scarce-

ly accessible but on the land side, which has been fenced by a deep fosse, over which very probably a drawbridge had been thrown.”* Apart from Dr. Russell’s individual opinion, had there been such a use made of the stone as tradition affirms, he would have been cognisant of it, and it is unthinkable that he should have omitted all mention of it. It is also significant that the Rev. James Donaldson, writer of the parish notes for the *New Statistical Account* of 1841, gives no hint to any such tradition. Indeed, he does not even name the Gilnockie Bridge site, though he, too, ought to have been familiar with the report. We may also quote Sir Walter Scott’s unquestioning acceptance of the Hollows Tower being Johnie Armstrong’s residence.† “His place of residence (now a roofless tower), was at the Hollows, a few miles from Langholm, where its ruins still serve to adorn a scene which, in natural beauty, has few equals in Scotland.” On the other hand, the association of ‘Gilnockie’ with Armstrong’s name, and with his residence, is certainly a point in favour of the Bridge site. Pennant‡ makes a brief reference to the latter but makes no mention of its being claimed as the site of Armstrong’s tower. After describing the scenery on the Esk as this place, which, he says is “great and enchanting,” he refers to two precipices: “One called Carsidel: the other Gilnockie’s Garden: the last named is said to have been the retreat of a celebrated outlaw; but originally had been a small British fortress, guarded on one side by the steps of the precipice, on the other by a deep entrenchment.”

The history of the Tower consists mostly in a series of

* This accurate description suggests such a fort as we describe in Chapter V., rather than the site of a Border peel-tower.

† See Introduction to “Johnie Armstrong” in *Border Minstrelsy*.

‡ *Tour*, Vol. I., p. 87.

raids—attacks, captures, and re-captures,—which have already been set forth in the foregoing pages. The Armstrongs seem to have occupied it, and, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Stakeheuch with it, until the early part of the seventeenth century.

One further point about the Hollows Tower may be noted. The accompanying drawing is to illustrate an inscribed stone which forms the door-sill of the vault. The origin of these markings is now, of course, impossible of discovery. Whether they were carved by Johnie Armstrong himself on one of his idle days, or whether, touched by an archæological fancy, and discovering the stone somewhere in the neighbourhood, he had sought in this way to preserve it,—it is impossible to conjecture. But one is struck with the resemblance it bears to some of the ancient inscribed stones so learnedly explained by Professor Simpson, and to those discovered at Rosapenna, in the north of Ireland, in September, 1911.

STAKEHEUCH.

As already mentioned, this Tower stood on the Irvine Burn and was the stronghold of the clan of Irving. The name of Auchenrivoek seems also to have been applied to it. Its position was one excellently fortified by nature. The deep gill of the burn was on its northern side, and on the east, there was a steep declivity towards the Esk, which the Tower, set picturesquely on the top of the knowe, overlooked. These Border peels were frequently set in couples, and often so that the line of fire from the one was crossed, roughly, at right angles, by the fire from the other. Thus Stakeheuch and Hollows seem to have been complementary, and communications



INSCRIBED STONE IN GILNOCKIE TOWER.

by signals could be easily picked up, especially when the beacon blazed from the crow-stepped turret of Hollows. But Stakeheuch is undoubtedly of earlier date than Hollows, for in a letter of Dacre, dated 29th October, 1513, i.e., just after Flodden, he describes how his brother, Sir Christopher, made a raid into Scotland, and "on Thursday he burned the Stakehugh, the manor-place of Irewyn and the hamlets down Irewyn Burn."

It would appear from a reference already quoted that in 1562 Stakeheuch was in the possession or occupation of "Johnnes Christie Armstrong," that is, Christie of Barngleis, son of John of Gilnockie. This statement, we are inclined to think, is due to some mistake on the part of the English investigator, who, perhaps, confused Stakeheuch with the Hollows Tower, which, it is noticeable, he omits to mention, just as he omits Langholm Castle.* However this may be, it is perfectly clear that at that date the Irvings had not evacuated Stakeheuch, for, as we have seen, "Richie Irving in Staikheugh and Ekkie Irving his brother" are included in the respite by James VI. to the laird of Johnstone, after the slaying of Lord Maxwell.

From the drawing, it will be seen that only a very small fragment now remains of this ancient Border stronghold. The illustration, however, gives a very inadequate idea of the original size of the Tower. But from pieces of wall standing here and there about the knowe, we may conjecture that at one time it was a place of considerable strength, certainly not inferior to the Hollows itself. Here, as at Langholm Castle, there is a ventilation hole near the ground on the west wall, but it is not clearly seen in the illustration.

* See page 339.



STAKEHEUCH.

OTHER ESKDALE TOWERS.

Throughout Eskdale and the neighbouring dales, towers of varying dimensions and degrees of importance were to be found. These are indicated on the map accompanying this chapter, and a glance at it will show numbers of such places in the Border dales. It will not be forgotten that the great majority of them were simply houses, probably of stone, larger than the ordinary houses, and constructed, more or less, with the view of their having at any moment to be defended from a sudden attack. Naturally, the Debateable Land contained a large proportion of them. Wherever the Armstrongs exercised an influence, towers sprang up, and their occupation of so many on the Debateable Land gave them a very tangible advantage in their own raids, and

in the reprisals against them. Amongst other places where such towers were erected, mention may be made of:—WOODHOUSELEES. This place-name implies that here stood one of the *wood houses* of the Border,—built of wood so that the damage inflicted upon them during the Border raids might be the sooner repaired. It was here that Buccleuch halted on his famous expedition to release Kinmont Willie—“and so they reached the Woodhouselee.”

Kinmont's Tower of SARK was, of course, a famous place, known also as the Tower of MORTON. It was this place that “the bold Buccleuch” made his base,—in which he arranged his final plans the night before his rescue of Kinmont.

There was a tower at YE RYDINGS, and another at YE MOTE.

Reference to the map will show one marked belonging to FFRANCIE OF CANOBIE, and another, a little to the south of it, belonging to DAIVY OF CANOBIE. As to who ffrancie and Daivy were, the writers regret that they have to plead ignorance.

To the west stood the Tower of BARNGLEIS, built probably by Christie Armstrong, son of Gilnockie, who, as we have seen, was keeper of Langholm Castle.

There were Towers at ARCHERBECK, THORNIWHATTS, and MUMBYHIRST. We believe that fragments of the last may still be seen in the present farm buildings.

BROOMHOLM would probably be built by the Armstrongs, who, we read, occupied it in 1569, and some writers give even an earlier date. It stood until about 1740 when it was taken down by the owner, who soon repented of his action.*

* *Statistical Account*, 1793.

The Tower of YE LANGHAME, marked on the map, is obviously Langholm Castle, and it is of interest to note that no other building of this nature is shewn. The Castle being the place indicated on the map, then the "Rob o' ye Langhame," who helped in the rescue of Kinmont Willie, would be Robert Armstrong, son of Christie of Barngleis, keeper of Langholm Castle. So that apparently as late as 1596, the Armstrongs were still acting as deputies for Lord Maxwell.

STABLEGORDEN, mentioned on the map, may be the remains of Barntalloch Castle, or, possibly, a house belonging to Johnie Armstrong, to whom the lands of Stapelgortoun, along with those of Langholm and other places, were given in 1525.

A noteworthy omission by the geographer is the absence of any indication of the Towers of Wauchope. This is singular, because CALFIELD is reputed to have been a place of more than the usual strength. Where the Tower stood it is difficult to say precisely. Some antiquaries incline to the belief that, what we (on page 78) have named an ancient British fort, was really the site of Archie o' the Calfield's Tower. In this connection we may mention that this year Mr. Matthew Welsh, an antiquary of repute in Eskdale, found amongst the stones of this place the bowl of an old clay pipe, which some authorities declare to be Jacobean.

There appears, also, to have been a Tower at BIG-HAMES, and another is mentioned by the Statist of 1793 as being at NEIS-HILL, though possibly this and Calfield may be one and the same place.

Proceeding up the valley of the Esk we find Towers marked at CRAIG and CARLESGILL.*

* The latter may be the Carnisgill mentioned on p. 299 as the residence of Nicholl Batie.

Amongst the possessions of the Beattisons we have the following Towers : CORSE, called CROSS on the map. This name is usually associated with "dyke-rygg," hence the modern name "Croosdykes"; DANDY BAITIE'S; NICHOL OF YE SHEELD'S mentioned on page 299, who was probably a son of John of the Score; and ANDREWE BATTYE'S on the White Esk, probably the SCORE.

Towers are also indicated at BOMBIE, WATSTERKER, and BURNEFOOTE now called Bankburnfoot, shewn on the map as at the junction of the Black and White Esks, which is much too far up.

There is also a Tower marked at YE CROOKES, traces of which, we understand, were clearly discernible until quite a recent date.

The Rev. James Green, the Statist of Westerkirk parish in 1841, mentions that there were then visible the remains of an old Castle at GLENDINNING and another at WESTERHALL.

Coming now to the Ewes valley, we find that here, also, there was an abundance of Towers. Probably, the most important was that of ARKLETON, on the site of which the present mansion house stands. Moulded stones from this old Tower have been built into the walls of the house.

In the neighbourhood of the present kirk of Ewes, stood the Tower of ECHY or EKKE GINGLES, and on the east bank of the river, near to Glendiven, that of THO. OF YE ZINGLES. Reference has already been made to the fact that the "Chingles" are mentioned amongst those who rode with Buccleuch to the rescue of Kinmont Willie.*

* See p. 253. The proprietors of the "Chingles" were Armstrongs. In 1553 the Bishop of Carlisle made complaint that a number of Armstrongs and their allies had made a raid into Cumberland. Among those he mentions is "Will's Jock of the Gingles."

The accompanying illustration is of the house in Ewes, at one time known as the Waterhead, and now as Fiddleton Bank End. Almost on the site of this snug little



FIDDLETON BANK END.

farm, tenanted for the last 100 years by McVitties, stood the strong Tower of Glenvoren, marked on the map as that of HOBBIIE O' GLENVORE. A few years ago, whilst digging in the stack-yard a little to the west of his house, Mr. Walter McVittie, an antiquary well versed in all the ancient lore of Ewesdale, came upon a piece of very substantial masonry which he believes to have been part of Hobbie's Tower. This Hobbie was of the clan of Elliot, among whom "Hobbie" was a common Christian name. Musgrave, writing to Burghley in 1583, refers to "Hobbe Elliot called Scot's Hobbe . . . Gowan Elliot called the Clarke; Hobbe Elliot his brother."* On

* Dr. Borland's *Border Raids and Reivers*, p. 171.

the same side of Ewes as Glenvoren, there was a Tower belonging to RUNION OF YE BUSS, who also was an Armstrong. In the charter of 1535 to Ninian Armstrong this place is called "Park." At BURNFOOT (of Ewes) there was a Tower marked as belonging to one "ARCHIE OF WHITHAUGHE," and it was also probably an Armstrong stronghold. Up amongst the hills on the west of Ewes Water the remains have been unearthed of an ancient building. The site is near the junction of Wolfhope and Meikledale Burns, and the building may have been that of Runion, or possibly, one of the dwelling places of Simon Little, first laird of Meikledale.

Other peel-towers doubtless existed at one time in Eskdale, but those here enumerated are the most noteworthy. Scarcely one of them but was the scene of some stirring, and often deadly, encounter between raiders or clans at feud, but now the grass grows green over their foundations, and the men who built them and lived eventful days within their walls, have passed into the shadows; few of their names are even engraven upon the rude stones of the Eskdale kirkyards.

CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLES AND RAIDS.

FEW districts in the country have been the scene of more tumult and fighting than the Scottish Border. From the earliest times until the end of the sixteenth century, if not later, the land had scarcely rest or peace. The early inhabitants of the Borders opposed the Romans step by step; in the centuries which followed the abandonment of the Roman ambition to subdue Scotland, the lowlands were the scene of internecine strife—the battlefield of many a fierce conflict. The Saxon invasion changed the parties, but continued the strife; the Danish pirates followed, and swarmed over Annandale and Eskdale, not without bloodshed and dire combat. Scarcely had the Cumbrian kingdom been merged into that of Scotland, when the wars of independence began,—those struggles between the two countries, on the part of England for supremacy, and on the part of Scotland for national existence, which virtually lasted until the Union of the Crowns. Being adjacent to England, it was inevitable that Eskdale should become the scene of much of the guerilla fighting, into which the wars of independence finally settled. For the frays and feuds and forays, which were characteristic of the Borders in the sixteenth century, did not arise, as many people seem to assume, through an unequal distribution of original sin or natural depravity, but were the inevitable and logical outcome of the political relationships existing in the preceding centuries between the two countries.

In summarily reviewing the story of the great battles

which occurred prior to the end of the fifteenth century, it is necessary only to say that the men of Eskdale were in them. When the forces mustered for the Armageddon of ARTHURET, the Christian Cumbrians from Eskdale, not only bore their part under Rhydderch Hael, but the valley itself heard the shouting and the tumult, and saw the garments rolled in blood. When David I., ambitious to recover the lost territories of the northern English counties, invaded England and suffered so grievous a defeat in the BATTLE OF THE STANDARD—which finally settled the map of Great Britain—Eskdale would send its quota to aid its King. “Men from the lowlands of Scotland were there, armed with cuirasses and long spears; archers from the southland ‘dales,’ or valleys of the rivers that run into Tweed or Solway; troopers from the Border mountains who rode small, but strong and active, horses . . .” A special contingent of Cumbrians with men from Teviotdale formed one of the wings of the Scots army, and it is not difficult to picture the men from Teviotdale recruiting their ranks from Ewesdale and Eskdale as they went to join the King.

At BANNOCKBURN, too, Eskdale was represented, but alas! its men fought against the Bruce and Scotland. At that date Wauchope and Stapelgortoun and Langholm were in the possession of the Lindsays, who fought for Edward in that epoch-making battle; and Ewes was under the domination of Robert de Clifford, Edward's vassal lord, or of the Lovels who, though possessors of large tracts of territory on the Borders, yet devotedly adhered to the English cause.

But before the Battle of OTTERBURN in 1388, the divided allegiance of the early barons had given place to a definite national sentiment, and, as we have seen, the Eskdale

barons fought bravely for the Douglas, and took their followers with them to the memorable fight. So they did in 1513, on that woeful day of FLODDEN. On this dire and stricken field, one of the grayest names in Scottish history, Eskdale men fought and died by the side of their defeated Sovereign, and in many a home in Eskdale, Wauchopedale, and Ewesdale, there was "dool and wae" when the men returned not, and instead there came that terrible news, and that inexpressible dismay which settled like a pall upon the Border dales—

"Dool and wae for the order, sent our lads to the Border!
 The English for ance, by guile wan the day:
 The flowers of the forest, that fought aye the foremost,
 The prime of our land, are cauld in the clay.
 We'll hear nae mair liltin' at the ewe-milking;
 Women and bairns are heartless and wae:
 Sighin' and moanin' in ilka green loanin'—
 The flowers of the forest are a' wede awae."

Buccleuch was one of the few Border lords who returned from the field. The Maxwells were there; the Armstrongs fought by their side; the Irvings fell, and also the Johnstones and the Lindsays—

"Scotia felt thine ire, O Odin,
 On the bloody field of Flodden;
 There our fathers fell with honour
 Round their king and country's banner."*

And again, at SOLWAY MOSS, in 1542, when the military prowess of Scotland was tied hand and foot by internal jealousies, and the heart of its King was broken by a defeat which had hardly an atoning incident, Eskdale men did their part.

The Battle of Solway Moss was a part of the perplexing game which Scotland and England played during the sixteenth century, each intriguing, openly or secretly, against the other, with the result that the whole Border-

* From *Teribus*, the famous Common Riding song of Hawick.

land became the theatre of lawlessness and disorder. It has long been believed by superficial readers, and by that mysterious personage "the man in the street"—who does not read at all—that the Raids of the sixteenth century were wicked and unprovoked incursions by Scottish robbers into the peaceful cattle sheds of their English neighbours. The word "mosstrooper" is tacitly understood to be synonymous with "Scottish Borderer." Needless to say, such an idea is quite unhistorical. The Border Raids arose, not from a feeble grasp of the Commandments by the men of the Scottish dales, not from sheer wantonness or ill-temper, nor yet from a preference for English beef or mutton. Nor had the Raids their origin in a dislike of their English neighbours, though dislike there most assuredly was, and it was mutual. They arose, rather, from the frequent wars between the two countries and the consequent impoverishment of the Borders, which were, of necessity, more susceptible to these unsatisfactory relationships than other parts of the country. They err greatly who assume that the Raids were always committed by the Scots. Some of the most cruel forays were carried out by English leaders—men like Dacre, Hertford, and Wharton. Probably no raid by the Armstrongs, Elliots, Scotts, or Beattisons equalled in callous cruelty Hertford's progress through Roxburghshire, or Wharton's through Dumfriesshire. Raiding was a game of beggar-my-neighbour, in which the winners were not always Scotsmen.

The continual wars between the two countries produced a state of economic stagnation, which made it impossible for trade to develop on the Borders. In the dales there was no industry save that of agriculture, which

was rude and elementary in the extreme. Even so, it was useless to spend time or labour upon its operations. There was no certainty of ever reaping the crop which might be sown. As a result, the entire Borderland was in a condition of the most hopeless poverty—"the poorest country in Europe," it was declared to be. Housed in miserable hovels, little above the condition of booths, with no systematic occupation, with a soil so stubborn or marshy that even the simplest agriculture seemed a hopeless task, the Borderer, nevertheless, was faced with the necessity of living. And all these forces co-operating, produced the conditions which made mosstrooping almost a lawful trade. Concerning the morality of mosstrooping or freebooting, a lot of pious nonsense has been written. The mosstrooper did not consider for one moment that his raiding was theft. It is said that he never counted his beads more zealously than when setting out on a raiding expedition. Johnie Armstrong prided himself on his honesty. Raiding was not vulgar stealing; it was an act of war. The Border clans went into a foray, often in broad daylight, with banners flying, and sometimes with music. An act, which in times of peace is piracy, is regarded as lawful in times of war. And for the most part Border raiding was war. Added to all these facts were the conditions of tenure and vassalage clinging round a rigid system of feudalism. The tenants were at the mercy of the barons and landed men, who, whilst openly frowning at raiding, secretly encouraged it for their own personal ends. Even the Kings of the two countries were not oblivious to what was going on, and if they did not actually promote the disorders they were content to reap some benefit from them. Indeed, the English Wardens frequently reported

to their sovereign that the Scottish King was fully aware of what was being done, and many of the incursions of Wharton and others were made with the approval of the English sovereign.

So it came to pass, that, to deal with this exceptional state of affairs, an exceptional code of laws was slowly compiled. The Borders became "a state within a state," subject to the common law, it is true, but a state whose inter-relationships were regulated by customs and statutes which did not obtain elsewhere. These laws were enacted by the national Parliament, or might be the recommendations of special commissioners; or minutes of agreement between the Wardens; or even customs observed by the dalesmen. Gradually, they formed a compact, though intricate, system of jurisprudence which perhaps could only be fittingly compared with the many enactments of the Mosaic law, having the rabbinical comments and decisions superadded. These many laws and usages were codified by Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle in 1705 under the title of *Leges Marchiarum*, which soon became the recognised authority on all Border laws and customs.*

The enactments covered a very large field of action. They related to stealing, trials and the course of procedure thereat, harbouring and tracing fugitives, conditions relating to days of truce, Warden's meetings, fines, murders, fire-raising,[†] perjury, receiving stolen goods, lawful and unlawful prisoners,[‡] hunting, sowing, reaping,

* Others, notably Lord Wharton, Sir James Balfour, and Mr. Richard Bell of Carlisle, also did valuable work in the same field.

† Persons accused of murder and fire-raising were tried by the Sheriffs, as these were Crown pleas.

‡ The people of Eskdale and Ewesdale, it is said, had a practice of taking their own countrymen prisoners, and then ransoming them or letting them to surety. This was legislated against by an Act of 1567.

and felling timber in the opposite realm, wounding, the valuing of stolen cattle,* feuds, and the more serious "deadly" feuds. As may be imagined such matters provided scope for very serious disagreement, and not a few of the raids and disorders arose through an interpretation of the law which the other side would not accept. A considerable amount of legal machinery was necessary for the effective administration of so complex a code, and the whole Borderland became a compound of an armed camp and an assize court. To assist the Warden's officers to follow law breakers, bloodhounds were kept at certain specified places. On the English side of the Border there was established a line of communications with setters, watchers, and sleuth-hounds, ready by day and night to track freebooters, whilst fords and hill-passes were watched and guarded.+ Signals were given by bonfires on selected hills. In Eskdale, we have a reminiscence of this custom in the names Warbla and Watch Knowe, on both of which, no doubt, the signal fires have burned during many an exciting night. In Liddesdale, Tinnis Hill was the beacon hill.

The cases arising out of these Border Laws were tried at the Wardens' Courts. These Courts were generally held on the Scottish side, and the day of the Court was a day of truce. The Borders were divided into three sections, called the East, Middle, and West Marches, and a Warden, at £100 a year, was set over each. The West March included Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Wauchope-

* For instance, the lawful value for an ox was 13s. 4d., a cow 10s., and a sheep 2s.

† Pennant says the law relating to what he calls "slough doggs" did not come into force until the reign of James I. of England. He gives a list of places where the dogs had to be kept. There were nine dogs in all—one of which had to be kept "at the foot of Sark," and another "at the Moot."—*Tour*, Vol. III., p. 308.

dale, though Ewesdale was occasionally included in the Middle March, owing, no doubt, to its nearness to Roxburghshire.

Examples have already been given of clan-raids and forays, and the following events, partaking of the nature of raiding, are cited to illustrate the condition of the Borders during the seventeenth century.

As early as 1504 the condition of affairs on the Borders was engaging the attention of James IV., who determined to investigate them in his own august person, and if possible to restore order. In this wise originated his famous Raid of Eskdale. The people of Eskdale were then outlawed and "at the horn." James made elaborate preparations for the visit, even writing to the English King towards "keping of the bordowris agane the Raid of Eskdale." The King's pavilions were repaired for the occasion, and he got a new scarlet cloak, the cost of which is duly set forth in the Lord Treasurer's accounts:—

"Item, the vj day of August, for iiij elne scarlet, to be ane cloak to the King agane the Raid of Eskdale, ilk elne iij *li.*; summa xij *li.*"

"Item, for iij $\frac{1}{2}$ elne wellus to bordour the samyn, ilk elne xls.; summa vij *li.*"

"Item, for sewing silk to the samyn, xvjd."

"Item, for v quartaris taffeti to the collair of the samyn, vijs."

From these "items" it would appear that the garment cost a grateful country the moderate sum of £19 8s. 4d. Scots., but the one-and-fourpence for sewing silk was perhaps for "ane jacat." In his zeal against the Eskdale "thevis" James was not unmindful of other interests. We read of his having with him a silver chalice, ecclesiastical vestments, altar cloths, and splints, bucklers, cross-bows, and arrows. The pavilions were sent off from Edinburgh in two carts, which performed the journey in 33 days. This item was an expensive one, costing £19 4s. od. There

was "payit to thaim for ilk cart of tua cartis vjs. on the day . . . summa xix*li*. iiijs." Being fond of music, the King brought "organis" with him into Eskdale, probably the first which had as yet been in the valley, and also, probably, the last for many generations following. As well as the "organis" there came Italian minstrels and "tua Inglis wemen that sang in the Kingis pailyoun," and pipers,—local men they seem to have been, who were paid at Dumfries—"and whilst numbers of the unfortunate marauders were seized and brought in irons to the encampment, executions and entertainments appear to have succeeded each other with extraordinary rapidity."* Perhaps of equal importance for the King's pleasure and comfort, was "a maister cuke," who received the sum of eighteen shillings and fourpence "for ane litill barrell with grene gynzear † quhilk he tuke with the King in Eskdale." A retinue of considerable size must have followed the King, for in it were not only musicians and cooks, but courtiers, judges, ministers of law, huntsmen and falconers, and morris-dancers. The Lord Treasurer's accounts throw some very interesting lights on this Raid. Here are a few selected items:—

ijj *li* xs. were paid to the "menstrales to fe thaim hors to Eskdale."

James Hog was paid fourteen shillings for carrying the King's armour to Eskdale.

A donation of fifty-six shillings was given to Sir Richard Camply's minstrels.

"Tua Inglis wemen" came to the royal pavilion and sang to the Court. To them the King gave 28s.

To the Priory of Canonby, the King gave 14s.—his customary donation to conventual houses.

* Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 275.

† That is, green ginger, of which James appears to have been particularly fond.

Of course, there was serious business to be done amidst all the gaiety and hunting. The King does not appear to have gone further into Eskdale than Canonby; as we find that, within two days of holding his Court there, he was at Lochmaben. Possibly, he found that the transportation of so much baggage farther into the valley, where, as yet, the roads were very indifferent, was not an easy matter even for the King of Scotland.

Whilst in Canonby the King dwelt in his own pavilions, but he seems to have transacted some judicial business at the Priory, hanging, as we have seen, some of the "thieves," but the most important part of the work was afterwards done at Dumfries. Some of the principal Eskdale lairds were fined for non-appearance, and more thieves were hanged. Of course, at these justice "ayres" held by the King, it was only the more important men,—barons, lairds, and chiefs of clans,—who were arraigned. The common free-booter was tried in the barons' or Wardens' Courts, or by the Sheriff. To James V. the Borders presented an attraction greater even than that of the restoration of law and order. The forests of Eskdalemuir and Ettrick provided him with sport, to which the pursuit and execution of thieves and raiders formed only an interlude. In 1534 James came to the Borders to hunt, after having made proclamation that "na man hunt in Megotland Askdalemure or Tweedmure unto the King is coming." In this connection the following decree against poaching in these royal forests was issued:—"forsamekill, as the deir within the lands of Megotland and Eskdalemure and utheris boundis ewest the Bordouris of this realme quhair our Soveraine Lordis progenitouris hath wount to have thair cheif pastyme of hunting, are not only dalie

slayne be gunnis with Scottishmen but als be the hunting of Englishmen," it was proclaimed that this porating must be put a stop to.

The Battle of Flodden brought in its train many misfortunes to the Borders. One of its immediate results was to encourage the English King and his captains to invade Scotland. Dacre, aided by the Armstrongs, who had been outlawed by the Scottish Government, made his notorious incursion into the Border dales. This occurred one month after Flodden, when he and his troops, three thousand cavalry and three hundred infantry, marched through the Border villages, burning every house and putting to the sword all the men they could seize. Having desolated the country, with many cruelties upon a people whose spirit had already been broken by the disaster of Flodden, Dacre exultingly reported his successes to the Council. He said he had laid waste "the watter of Ewse being viij myles in length in the said marches, whereupon was vii ploughs . . . lyes all and every one of them waist now, noo corn saun upon the said ground." He went on to say that "upon the West marches I have burnt and destroyed the townships of Annand . . . and the water of Esk from Stabulgorton down to Canonby, being vi myles in lenth, whereas there was in all tymes passed four hundreth ploughes and above which are now clearly waisted and noo man duelling in any of them in this daye, save oonly in the towrys of Annand, Steepel and Walghopp." This invasion was undertaken by the order of the English King, who should have been perfectly satisfied with Dacre's execution of his orders. Included in this summary description of places laid waste were Broomholme, Walghopp, Baggraye, Murtholme, Langham, and the Water of Esk from Stabulgortoun

down to Canonby. In the same raid Dacre reports sending "diverse of my tennents of Gillislande to the nombre of lx personnes in Eskdalemoor upon the middill marches, and there they brynt vii howses, tooke and brought away xxxvi head of cattle and much insight." On the following day his brother, Sir Christopher Dacre, "roode all night into Scotland and on Thurisday in the morninge they began upon the said middle merches and brynt Stakeheugh with the hamletts belonging to them down Irewyn bwrne, being the chambrelain of Scotland ounelands and undre his reule, continewally birnyng, from the Breke of day to oone of the klok after noon, and there wan tooke and brought away cccc hede of cattell, ccc shepe, certaine horses and very much insight, and slew two men, hurte and wounded diverse other personnes and horses and then entered Ingland ground again at vij of the klok that night."*

These dangers from invasions by the English had the effect of drawing together the various Border clans, who, for their mutual protection, placed themselves under Lord Maxwell, many of the lairds even, giving him bonds of man-rent. In Liddesdale the same effect was produced, the lairds there giving bonds to Ker of Ferniehirst. During the year following Dacre's raid, the unrest on the Borders grew more pronounced, and from Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Wauchope, as well as from the other dales along the Borders, cattle-lifting and fire-raising were rampant. No security existed either for life or property. In 1524 apprehensions were again aroused that the English contemplated a dash over the Marches and the headsmen of the clans were commanded by the Government to repair to the Borders to be in readiness against the advance of

* Sir H. Maxwell's *History of Dumfries and Galloway*, pp. 958-9.

the English, which, however, did not take place. The Scottish Council now determined to clear Liddesdale of all "theiffis and traitouris." Ewesdale was classed with Liddesdale in this aim, and evidently at this date it was notorious for the lawlessness of its inhabitants. We note this, because, at a date nearer the end of that century, the people of Ewesdale were reported to the authorities as "a civil people and never ride into England." Probably, this was only a temporary lapse into goodness, for the men of Ewes,—the Armstrongs and Elliots and Littles,—generally did their fair share in the raids and forays. Nor were these always directed against their "auld enemies" across the Border. In 1524 seventeen of the headsmen of the Middle March undertook to support Angus, the new Warden, in "the furth-putting of all Liddisdale, Ewesdale, Eskdale men thair wifis and barnis" from Teviotdale and Ettrick. Attempts were made by the Scottish and English Governments to come to some agreement regarding these Border tumults. Commissioners met in 1528 at Lochmaben Stone on the farm of Old Graitney and arranged terms of peace between the two countries, each side agreeing to use all means to stop the raiding. As a result of this conference the Wardens sent out intimation to the men of Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale, and Annandale, that all Englishmen unlawfully taken prisoners must be set at liberty. A most unwise concession however, was also made at this conference, viz., that the English King should be at liberty to invade Liddesdale to obtain redress "at his grace's pleasure" for the hurt done to his own subjects by the freebooters of that dale.* This, as Sir Walter Scott shows, had the effect of loosening the

* Introduction *Border Minstrelsy*.

allegiance of the Borderers to the Scottish Crown, whom it also placed at the mercy of the English King and his agents. Instead of putting out, it added fuel to the flames which were now enwrapping the long-harassed Borderland. These arrangements and enactments were part of the political preliminaries to the "raid" which James V. organised in 1529 for the capture and slaying of the Armstrongs and others, which the "Diurnal of Occurrences" reports as follows:—

"Upon the xxvi day of Juliy, the Kingis grace maid ane raid upoun the theves and tuik of thame to the nombre of xxii personis of the greitest of thame nameit Armestrangis, Ellottis, Littillis, Irwenis, with utheris."

During all these events Eskdale, as will be readily understood, was in a condition of disorder approaching chaos. Despite the suspicion that he secretly encouraged the raiding by the clans under his jurisdiction as Warden, Maxwell was granted new powers in 1529, and bound himself to keep the broken-men in order. The Acts of the Council relating to his Wardenry recount:—

"As anent the inhabitantis of Ewisdale and Eskdail, quhilik makis dalie refis, heresschippis, slaughteris and inconvenientis, alswele apone the leigis of this realme as apone the legis of Inglande, the Lordis understandis that the saide Lord Maxwell, be reasonne of his office of Wardenrie may call the inhabitantis of the said countre or ony of thaim for thair treasonable deidis and proceed againis thaim as it war in Parliament and convict thaim of treasonne, quhilkis thair command him to do and the saidis personis so beand convict of treasonne the said Lord Maxwell to have thair eschetis both of thair landis and gudis and for his gude service, and signatorris to be maid to him tharapon."

Remembering these tempting inducements for the maintaining of order, and the sequel to the murder of Johnie Armstrong, when within a short time thereof Maxwell received a grant of all his lands and personal belongings—doubtless in compliance with this order of Council,—one can easily understand how there arose a suspicion that he had connived at the King's treachery.

One of the most disastrous raids of the sixteenth century was that made by Lord Hertford in 1544 whilst the Border Scots were still smarting under the defeat of Solway Moss. In retaliation for the Scots people opposing his project to marry the Prince of Wales to the infant Princess of Scotland, Henry VIII. sent Hertford to reduce the Border counties to ashes, and he carried out his commission with brutal zeal and industry. To Hertford and not to the Scottish Reformers, as so many erroneously believe, belongs the discredit of destroying the sacred shrines of the Borders. Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Jedburgh Abbeys were reduced almost to ruins. The victorious Hertford penetrated to Edinburgh, burning and ravaging as he went. For these operations he was made Duke of Somerset. In the following year Latour and Evers were sent to conclude the dire work Hertford had so far carried on, and they again attacked the Border abbeys, destroying the Douglas tombs in fair Melrose. There can be no doubt that it was the bitter memories left by these cruel raids, and the inheritance of hate thus brought into being, which afterwards produced much of the passion and tumult amongst the Borderers. Frequent reference has already been made to the incursions of Lord Wharton in 1547, when with 5000 troops he over-ran the Border dales. It was, perhaps, the most complete of all the English incursions. It left the greater part of Dumfriesshire a smouldering waste, a wilderness of despoiled towns and homesteads. The dwelling-places of the clans were destroyed, on a scale never before equalled; their crops and property, both "insight" and cattle, were burnt or carried off by the raiders; those who resisted Wharton's advance were put to death, literally massacred, and after a devastating

whirl through the dales he starved the clans into submission and then received them under English "assurance."

During these Border raids many deeds of conspicuous bravery were performed. Several are celebrated in the Border ballads. Heroic events were not chronicled so much in written history as in the folk-songs, embodying the traditions and poetry of the people. Sir Walter Scott was convinced of the historical truthfulness of most of the Border ballads. He quotes* Barbour's *Bruce* in support of this handing down by recital of the deeds of renown. Barbour thought it "unnecessary to rehearse the account of a victory gained in Eskdale over the English, because

—Whasa liks, thai may her
Young wemen, when thai will play
Sing it among thaim ilk day,"—

a pleasing glimpse into the life of Eskdale in a far away time. Such ballads as *Kinmont Willie*; *Archie o' Ca'field*; *Jock o' the Syde*; the *Lads o' Wamphray*; *Christie's Will*;[†] and *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*,[‡] recount deeds of personal prowess which one can easily imagine would set the lasses of the dales a-singing. The story of these stirring exploits is set forth in this ballad-poetry in a way which no modern writer can emulate, and we shall not spoil the charm by any prosaic rehearsal.

One of the circumstances which helped to make Eskdale and Liddesdale the scene of so many gallant and exciting exploits was the existence of the famous Tarras

* Introduction *Border Minstrelsy*.

† Sir Walter Scott says in his introduction to his ballad that *Christie's Will* was a descendant of Johnie Armstrong and resided at Gilnockie in the reign of Charles I.

‡ In a note appended to this ballad Sir Walter, doubtless basing the statement on information given him by Mr. Beattie, laird of Meikledale, says that at the time of writing a family of Telfers, claiming descent from Jamie, resided near Langholm.

Moss, stretching between the two dales in miles of desolate moss-hags and morasses. To this safe retreat the moss-trooper betook himself when pressed by the emissaries of the law. The nearness of Tarras rendered it less necessary for the "broken-men" to build peel-towers or other strongholds. They were safer there than in stone-houses, for the dangers associated with any attempt on the part of strangers to penetrate its morasses were a surer protection than "iron yettis" or masonry. Through the midst of this sea of moss and peat-mire ran the angry Tarras, of which it was said :—

"Was ne'er ane drowned in Tarras
Nor yet in doot,
For ere the head be doon
The harns* are oot."

"This same Tarras Moss," says Lord Ernest Hamilton† "is the wildest spot in all the country side. Tarras runs into Esk at Irvine—a red, rocky, turbulent stream, draining the peat-bogs of Roan and Hartsgarth Fell, and ever the first to come down in time of rain. If a man follows up the stream from Esk, he passes first through a densely wooded linn, which gradually widens into a broad, open moor, the upper part of which is Tarras Moss proper. Then, some four miles up, the country narrows into a rocky glen shut in by low, steep hills, and so for another four miles, when he comes suddenly upon a great basin three miles long by a mile across, all thick with birken scrub below, and on all sides shut in by mighty hills.

* The brains. The lines refer, of course, to the rocky bed of the stream. An old sporting rhyme celebrates the Tarras Water thus :—

"Bilhope braes for bucks and raes,
And Carrit-haugh for swine,
And Tarras for the guid bull-trout
If he be ta'en in time."

† *Outlaws of the Marches*, p. 233.

Here among the forests and treacherous bogs, of which they alone knew the windings, the Armstrongs boasted that they could live as softly as at home, and snap their fingers for a year or more at all the royal troops of Scotland."

We need give but one illustration of the splendid use to which the moss-troopers put this great weapon which Nature had so thoughtfully placed at their hands. Hearing that the Armstrongs contemplated an incursion into England in 1598, Sir Robert Cary resolved to penetrate into their own country, and await a favourable opportunity of taking the chief outlaws. He accordingly marched to Carebhill in Liddesdale with 200 horse, and there built himself a camp, in which he remained from the middle of June to the end of August. But the Armstrongs, hearing of his approach, had betaken themselves to their mountain-fastness in Tarras. "Believing themselves to be perfectly secure, they sent me word," says Cary in his *Memoirs*, "that I was like the first puff of a haggis—hottest at the first—and bade me stay there as long as the weather gave me leave; they would stay in Tarras wood till I was weary of lying in the waste, and when I had my time, and they no whit the worse, they would play their part which should keep me waking the next winter." Whilst this waiting game was being patiently played out, the Armstrongs, a tradition relates, sent a party into England where they harried Sir Robert Cary's folds. On their return to Tarras, they sent him one of his own cows, and a message to the effect that fearing he would be short of provisions, they were sending him some English beef! Sir Robert, however, kept quietly to his plan. He sent 150 horsemen round by a long detour to the Ewesdale side of Tarras and blocked

up this and other passes. He then attacked the Armstrongs from the English side and compelled them to flee. Five of the chief outlaws were taken, and "such a quantity of sheep and cattle as were sufficient to satisfy most part of the country they were stolen from." This was, perhaps, the only attempt, which proved successful, to remove the outlaws from Tarras Moss.

There is one feature in the efforts to suppress the moss-troopers which must not be overlooked. The political efforts having failed, and the whole machinery of law and order having broken down, it seems to have occurred to some one that another agency might be invoked—that of the Church. Other means having failed the stage managers would resort to the *deus ex machina* to solve the intricate problem of Border lawlessness. As we have shown, the raiding was frequently connived at by Wardens on both sides, and even by the Kings of the two countries, and it would appear that even the Church was not perfectly clear of suspicion. Priests were known to have entered into the game with zest and some success. Surtees* says that "the priest and curate of Bewcastle are both included in the list of Border thieves in 1552." But the assistance now sought was that, not of the itinerant or secular priest, the "Book-o'-Bosoms" of village fairs, but the hierarchy of the Church in the person of the Lord Archbishop of Glasgow. The instrument by which he sought to overawe the turbulent Borderers was that of the major excommunication, which he hurled forth in his Monition of Cursing,† one of the most extraordinary documents on record. It can be mentioned only

* *History of Durham*, Vol. I., p. 166.

† This archiepiscopal decree is printed in full in Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale, &c.*

briefly here, but no history of the Borders during the sixteenth century would be complete without giving some outline of it. "GUDE FOLKS, heir at my Lord Archibishop of Glasgwis letters under his round sele," he begins, and at once comes to the point at issue. It has been reported to him that "our souverane lordis trew leigis, men, wiffis and barnys" have been "part murdrist, part slayne, brynt, heryit, spulzeit and rest . . . be commoun tratouris, revaris, theiffis, duelland in the south part of this realme, sic as Tevidale, Eskdale, Liddisdale, Ewisdale, Nedisdale, and Annerdaill. . . . And thairfar my said Lord Archibishop of Glasgw hes thoct expedient to strike thame with the terribill swerd of halykirk, quhilk thai may nocht lang endur and resist." The Monition then recites the archbishop's authorities: The Holy Trinity, the Virgin, archangels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, the Pope, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, prelates, and ministers, and DENOUNCES, PROCLAIMIS, and DECLARIS, all the works of the freebooters,—an appalling list he gives, certainly,—to be accursed. The archbishop then descends to particulars: "I CURSE thair heid and all the haris of thair heid, I CURSE thair face, thair ene, thair mouth, thair neise, thair tounge, their teith, their crag, thair schulderis," and every other part and member of their bodies, "fra the top of thair heid to the soile of thair feit, befoir and behind, within and without. I CURSE thaim gangand, I CURSE thaim rydand, I CURSE thaim standand"—sitting, eating, drinking, walking, sleeping, rising, and lying. "I CURSE thaim at hame, I CURSE thaim fra hame. . . . I CURSE thair wiffis thair barnis and thair servandis." The curse then falls upon their barns, their corn, and everything else a dalesman

could possibly be possessed of, — ploughs, harrows, all were swept within this terrible curse. Not content with the authorities already named, the archbishop somewhat irrelevantly drags in Adam; the “Yettis of Paradise”; Cain and Abel; Noah, and the ark; Sodom and Gomorrah; Babylon and Egypt; and expresses the fervent hope that “the watter of Tweid and utheris watteris quhair thai ride mot droun thaim as the Reid Sey drownit King Pharao.” Then Dathan and Abiram are brought in, so are Moses, Aaron, David and Absolom. In the last connection the archbishop lights up his canvas with quite an artistic idea. He hopes that “the maledictioun that lichtit suddanely upon fair Absolon, rydand contrair his fader, King David, servand of God, throw the wod, quhen the branchis of ane tre fred him of his horse and hangit him by the hair, mot licht upon thaim [the mosstroopers] rydand agane trewe Scottis men and hang thaim siclike that all the world may see.” The angry prelate then quotes Nebuchadnezzar, Judas, Pilate, Herod and the Jews, Jerusalem, Simon Magus, and Nero, and works up his Monition to a long conclusion wherein he DISSEVERs and PAIRTIS the Borderers from the Kirk, INTERDITES them from divine service, FORBIDS “all cristin man or woman till have ony company with thaim.” CONDEMNS “thaim perpetualie to the deip pit of hell to remain with Lucifer and all his fallowis, and thair bodeis to the gallowis of the burgh-moor, first to be hangit, syne revin and ruggit with doggis, swine, and utheris wyld beists,” until they “ryse frae this terribill cursing and mak satisfaction and pennance.”

Dr. Borland* aptly compares “this terrible curse” with

* *Border Raids and Reivers*, p. 267.

that equally memorable one uttered by the Cardinal Lord Archbishop of Rheims, of which "nobody seemed one penny the worse" except "that little jackdaw." Certainly, the archbishop's fulmination produced on the Borderers absolutely no effect that can now be detected. The raiders rode, and enjoyed the riding as keenly as before.

Although the visits paid to Eskdale by the insurgents of 1715 and 1745 were not exactly "Border raids," yet it may not be inappropriate to include them in this chapter. The incidents of '45 marked the end of the fighting days on the Borders, and when the country settled down after that excitement, the end of the old era had come.

It was on 13th October, 1715, that, in sympathy with Mar's rebellion, Lord Kenmuir, at the Market Cross, Lochmaben, proclaimed James Stuart as King. This was the beginning of the Rebellion on the Borders. Next day Kenmuir was at Ecclefechan, where Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell joined him. On Saturday, 15th October, the rebels were at Langholm. At each town the insurgent army proclaimed King James, and at each they received recruits to their cause. Kenmuir hoped to take Dumfries, believing that if he could do so the Borders would be won. But Annandale rose in defence of the Crown, and he had to abandon the project. Under date 4th November, 1715, Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall, writing to the Marquis of Annandale, says: "The Horse marched that night to Ecklefechen, and Kenmoor left with the Foot, who mutinied, and about 300 or 400 broke off. I suppose you have them before this. . . . From Ecklefechen they marched to Langtoun and Branton. . . . My son John was

chosen without my knowledge captain of the volunteers. They are gone to the Borders to catch stragglers, and to bring up from the Langholme a cannon and one other piece of ordinance from the Langholme, which the rebels left. . . . ” The rebel army intended to march into England to join the forces of the Earl of Derwentwater. Great reluctance to enter England was, however, displayed by the Highlanders, who had to be bribed with extra pay before they would cross the Esk. Even then, many of the Highlanders deserted, and not a few found permanent homes in the Dumfriesshire dales; Canonby, it is said, receiving many settlers. The decisive fight took place at Preston, where the Royalist troops heavily defeated the insurgents and took many prisoners, amongst whom was the Earl of Nithsdale, the head of the great family of Maxwell. He was condemned to death for his treason. The story of how his Countess, being rebuffed in her pleading with the King on her husband's behalf, so romantically and bravely effected his escape from the Tower, is a charming one, but is outside the scope of our narrative. Earl Nithsdale escaped to the Continent. His estates were confiscated, and on his death in 1744, were purchased by a syndicate who sold them again to members of the Maxwell family.

In the Rebellion of '45 Langholm took no sympathetic share, but it again witnessed the march of the rebel troops on their way into England. One division of the army came by way of Hawick and Mossbail and passed through Langholm, where they met with no sympathy, the townspeople, devoid of Jacobite sentiments, regarding the movement only as a lawless raid. The rebels, as might be expected, levied contributions of victuals

from the townfolk. The attitude of the Langholm people, it is said, was largely due to the moderating and sagacious influence of Mr. Archbald Little, brother of the Bailie Little to whom reference has been made in these pages. Prince Charlie himself did not pass through Langholm. With another division of his army he went down Liddesdale and seems to have stayed a night at Riddings.* An interesting tradition has been handed down of a visit paid by the Chevalier's troopers to William Hounam, a farmer in Langholm.† Hounam occupied the farm house on the old Drove Road, on the site of which the house known as Mount Hooly is built. He had a large family of sons who, having no sympathy with the Stuart cause, and hearing of the approach of the rebel troops, betook themselves with their horses and cattle to the wilds of Tarras for safety, but left the guid-wife at home. On the arrival of the insurgents in Langholm, an officer, with a company of soldiers, was despatched to Willie Hounam's farm to enlist the men and commandeer the horses. Not finding the men, the officer demanded of the old lady that she should inform him of their whereabouts. This she resolutely declined to do. The officer then threatened to cut down the beam supporting the roof of her humble abode, but still she declined. He was as good as his word, and drawing his sword he slashed at the beam, which being of good stout oak withstood the attack. It was afterwards built

* The mother of Mr. Robert Smellie was wont to relate that she was acquainted with a woman who waited on the Chevalier on this occasion. As she was going out to church on the Sunday morning, he remarked to her that no doubt she would pray that he might be unsuccessful in his attempt on the Throne. To which she replied that it was not whom he willed, nor whom she willed, but whom the Lord willed, that would be King—a reply which, under the circumstances, was most diplomatic.

† We have the story from Mr. John Hounam of Gilnockie School, a great-great-grandson of the above William Hounam.

as a lintel into one of the windows of the present house, which, it is interesting to note, is still in the possession of the Hounam family.

It is extremely doubtful whether Charles Edward himself was ever in Langholm, but we know that he crossed the Esk on that retreat from Derby which was to end in Culloden. It will be remembered that the Baroness Nairne's famous song, *A Hundred Pipers*, celebrates the crossing of the flooded Esk by the army of the Chevalier. She represents them as swimming "o'er to fell English ground," and the Englishmen as being "dumfounded." But, as a matter of fact, it was on the *return* journey that this stirring incident occurred. "The Scottish army left Carlisle, and retreated into Scotland by crossing the Esk at Langtoun. . . . The Esk, which is usually shallow, had been swelled by an incessant rain of four days to a depth of four feet. Our cavalry formed in the river to break the force of the current about twenty-five paces above the part of the ford where the infantry were to pass; the Highlanders formed themselves into ranks of ten or twelve abreast, with their arms locked in such a manner as to support one another against the rapidity of the river's current. Cavalry were likewise stationed in the river below the ford to pick up and save those who might be carried away by the violence of the current. . . . By this means our army passed the Esk in an hour's time without losing a single man. Fires were kindled to dry our people as soon as they quitted the water, and the bagpipes having commenced playing, the Highlanders began to dance, expressing the utmost joy on seeing their country again." *

* From the *Memoirs of the Rebellion* by the Chevalier Johnstone,

“The Esk was swollen sae red and sae deep,
 But shoulder to shoulder the brave lads keep,
 Twa thousand swam o'er (from) fell English ground
 And danced themselves dry to the pibroch's sound.”

The defeat of the rebels at Culloden produced a feeling of relief in the minds of all loyal subjects. In Langholm Kirk the loyalist victory was duly announced and a Day of Thanksgiving observed.

Subjoined are some notes relating to the rebellion which are of local interest.*

* From a copy of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, of date November 18, 1745, in our possession, we take the following notes relating to the Rebellion:—The Proclamation by the King “For a General Fast” is given first place. The Fast was ordered in connection with the “Just and necessary Wars in which we are engaged with the Crown of Spain and the French King, and the unnatural Rebellion begun in one part of this our Kingdom.”

“Whitehall, Nov. 12. By an Express this Morning from the North, there is an Account that, upon the 9th, in the afternoon, about fifty or sixty of the Rebels, well mounted and thought to be Officers, appear'd on a Hill called Stanwix Bank, close by Carlisle; that the Castle of Carlisle fired upon them, and that, after some time, they retreated: That there were Accounts of different Bodies appearing in different Places, near Carlisle. That their main Army was at Eccles-feichan, 16 Miles from thence: That they could not get their Artillery and Baggage for Want of Horses, but that they were collecting all they could get every where, and that it was talk'd amongst them that they were to push on Southwards. The whole Militia of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were in Garrison, at Carlisle.”

“We hear from Carlisle, by Letters of the 2d, that the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, upon Occasion of the unnatural Rebellion, distinguished themselves in a particular Manner, by cheerfully continuing the Militia of both Counties longer than the Time required by Law to Garrison Carlisle, by which not only that important Frontier Town but all the Southern Part of Scotland as far as Dumfries, has hitherto been preserved and that Part of England defended from strolling Parties and heavy Contributions.”

“On Monday last the Highland Army past Carlisle; during their March the Cannon played furiously from the Castle, but without any considerable Damage: As the Rear marched the Garrison made a Sally and seized the D. of Perth's Baggage.—On Tuesday the whole assembled at Brampton, ten Miles beyond Carlisle, but on the Newcastle Road, where after a Council it was resolved to attack that City and recover the Baggage.—On Wednesday 3000 Horse and Foot were detached for that Service, and on Thursday when the Express came off they were approaching towards it. What the Consequence will be is impatiently expected.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DEBATEABLE LAND.

THE ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, extended from the Clyde in the north, to the river Derwent in the south. But the tract lying between the Solway and the Derwent, with Carlisle as its chief town, was wrested from Malcolm, King of Scotland, by William the Conqueror, and when David I. came to the throne, the boundaries of the kingdoms were settled, virtually as they are to-day.

But this did not prevent the Kings of both countries from casting envious eyes upon the lands adjacent to the Borders, and whilst the Edwards were seeking to subjugate Scotland, they repeatedly made claims to land, which the Scottish King and nation did not admit. In 1298, Edward I. seems to have claimed Eskdale as belonging to England, and appointed Simon Lindsay chief keeper of the district. But this claim was soon withdrawn. Probably, from motives of care for the safety of the Priory, the monks of Canonby, during the incursions both by Scots and English, obtained for themselves a writ of protection from the English King, whilst at the same time they possessed charters from the King of Scotland. It was doubtless this fact that led Richard III. to claim supremacy over the district, and that gave to it the name "debateable," and thus caused it to become the home of the raiders and "broken-men" of both countries.

In 1403, after the Battle of Homildon Hill, Henry IV. gave the lands of Eskdale to the renowned Henry Percy,

who, however, only saw his promised land from a far distance, and did not venture to take effective possession of it. Henry's gift was, therefore, a paper compliment only.

In 1528 the people of Canonby, evidently from motives of precaution, had been paying a certain tribute to England. Dacre, writing to Wolsey, mentions that when he had set a day for the people of Canonby "to bring in their protection," they replied "denyeing that they lived under any protection of this realme but claimed to be of Scotlaunde," and saying that the tribute they paid was an acknowledgment of their access to Carlisle market, and they quoted in support of their contention the "Indentur of Canabe." In 1532, the English King requested Lord Dacre to combine with Maxwell in measures for completely destroying the inhabitants. The English Government, however, continued at intervals to press its claims as to Canonby. In 1543, when it was first proposed to divide the Debateable Land, the Scottish Ambassadors were instructed to agree to the division, "providing always that Canoybe fall hale to Scotland." When, at length, the division of the Debateable Land was determined upon, the Privy Council forbade the Scottish representatives to treat Canonby as debateable. The conference between the representatives of the two kingdoms in 1552 resulted in peace between the realms, and hopes were also entertained that the division of the Debateable Land would put a stop to the Border raiding. This hope, however, was not realized.

The Debateable Land included the baronies of Bryntallone, Kirkandrews, and Morton, and all of these seem at one time to have been recognised as within the king-

dom of Scotland, though it was afterwards claimed on behalf of England that this district was left undivided when the frontier was settled in the reign of Robert I. Early in the fifteenth century the district was held to be debateable, and was so named in 1449, though we believe that on no occasion was this admitted by Scotland. As we have seen, Lord Maxwell, in 1528, claimed Hollows Tower as within the Lordship of Eskdale, though Lord Dacre denied this, and included it in the Debateable Land, the boundaries of which were as follow :—From the Solway Firth to near the head of Tarras Water. On the east, the boundary was the river Esk as far as the Mote of Liddel, and then along Liddel as far as Greena Tower. On the west, the boundaries were the Water of Sark and the Pingle Burn. The line then ran eastward by the Irvine Burn, until the latter joined the Esk at Irvine House. The river Tarras formed the northern boundary. The district was over ten miles in length and six at its greatest breadth. On its eastern side, stood the Towers of Hollows and Stakeheuch ; on its southern, it was bounded by the famous Solway Moss and the Tower of Plump ; on the north was Tarras Moss, and in the centre were the Towers of Barngleis and Sark.

By the division of 1552 Canonby was given to Scotland, whose ancient claim to it was thus upheld, and Kirkandrews to England. The line of division was the stone and earthen wall known as Scotch Dyke, part of which may still be seen in the plantation opposite Scotch Dyke Station, on the North British Railway from Carlisle to Edinburgh. The Dyke ran from this point on the river Esk over the hill to the Water of Sark, a distance of about five miles.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TOWN OF LANGHOLM.

FOLLOWING Chalmers's *Caledonia*, virtually all the writers of local history have stated that Langholm was erected into a Burgh of Barony by Maxwell in 1610. Such a statement is wrong in each particular. Langholm was not erected into a Burgh of Barony until 19th September, 1621; and the grant of 1610 was not made by Maxwell, who, of course, possessed no power or right to make such a grant, nor was it made to him. We have shown on page 234 that in 1610 Maxwell was an exile in France because of his murder of the laird of Johnstone in 1609. He was executed in 1613 and his brother, who afterwards became Earl of Nithsdale, was not restored to the estates until 1618.

CRANSTOUN'S CHARTER OF 1610.

It was whilst Maxwell was outlawed that King James VI., by a charter* dated at Royston, 15th January, 1610, granted to Lord William Cranstoun the free barony of Langholm. The "narratio" recites that the grant was made because of the services rendered by Cranstoun in pacifying the inhabitants of the Borders. It will be recalled that in the early years of the seventeenth century, strenuous efforts were being put forth to reduce the Borders to a condition of tranquility. In the carrying out of the work Cranstoun had taken a prominent share. "Sir William Cranstoun was the most prominent

* For text and translation of the Latin charter see Appendix II.

actor in the summary executions of lawless Borderers from 1605 to 1607. Sometimes he observed a form of assize; as frequently there was no trial at all but summary executions—‘a quick despatch of a grete many notable theves and villanes.’ How many perished in this way we can but conjecture. But we have a record of thirty-two ‘execute be watter and gallows’ at Hawick, Peebles, Jedburgh, and Dumfries at the end of 1605, and fifteen more at Dumfries, Annan, and Jedburgh in 1606.”*

The Cranstouns seem to have been a Border family of some note. The name appears in the bond signed in 1569 by the barons and “landit men” promising support to James VI. and his Regent, against Queen Mary and Bothwell. Lord William is doubtless the Captain Cranstoun who in 1586 was sent into Annandale from Edinburgh to support Johnstone, who was then Warden of the West March, in his efforts to arrest Maxwell. Perhaps it was the service he then rendered which commended him to King James. Lord William’s name also appears in a list of the Justices of the Peace for Dumfriesshire in 1610. It may have come into the list owing to the position in the county which this grant of Langholm would give him. In the Border ballads the name of Cranstoun frequently occurs and is therein often associated with the Gledstanes of Cocklaw.† In the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Scott, curiously enough, conjoins with Cranstoun the elf or goblin whose prototype was “Gilpin Horner,” the sprite of Todshawhill in Eskdalemuir.

* Note by the late Professor Veitch in Dr. Russell’s *Reminiscences of Yarrow*, pp. 267-8.

† The ancestors of the late W. E. Gladstone.

Briefly, by the charter of 1610, Lord William Cranstoun was granted "the lands of Langholm, with its fortress, manor, mills and fisheries, the lands of Broomholm, Arkinholm," and others specified, "which the King has incorporated into the free barony of Langholm, appointing the fortress of Langholm to be its principal messuage." The rent covenanted for is "one silver penny in name of blench-ferme." The lands granted to Cranstoun were in the baronies of Stapelgortoun and Westerker, but no grant was made to him in Wauchopedale, nor in Ewesdale excepting Arkin, Balgray, and Whitshields. Most of the Ewesdale lands formerly possessed by Lord Maxwell—Flaskholm, Howgill, Glendiven, Burngranes, Park or Bush, and Wolfhope,—and also Murtholm, Gallosyde, Watergrains, Bigholms, and Glencorf in Wauchopedale had, on Maxwell's forfeiture, been given to Sir Gideon Murray, treasurer-depute.

It must not be concluded that this charter conferred any dignity upon the town of Langholm. As a matter of fact Langholm as a "town" did not exist. The term "free barony" related not so much to the subject-matter of the grant, as to the tenure upon which the lands were to be held by Cranstoun. In the language of feudal conveyancing a barony was an estate created or confirmed by the Crown direct, erecting the lands embraced by the grant IN LIBERAM BARONIAM.* This

* "IN LIBERAM BARONIAM. Into a Free Barony. In former times many persons holding certain feudal rights from the Crown were called Barons, but in the strict legal sense the title was only due to him whose lands had been erected or confirmed by the King IN LIBERAM BARONIAM. The advantages conferred by the right of barony were considerable. Such a right conferred on the baron both civil and criminal jurisdiction within his barony; and under the clause of union contained in his charter he was enabled to take infefment in the whole lands and rights of the barony in what was at that time an easy and inexpensive mode."—*Latin Maxims and Phrases*, by John, afterwards Lord Trayner.

tenure carried with it important privileges, but none of these necessarily pertained to the barony; they were rather the legal rights of the baron himself.

Presumably, Lord William Cranstoun remained superior of the lands of Langholm until 1621, for in the charter of this date to the Earl of Nithsdale, Cranstoun and his son John, his heir-apparent, are stated to have resigned them, and the same remark is applied to Sir Gideon Murray* in respect of the lands in Ewesdale and Wauchope.

NITHSDALE CHARTER OF 1621.

The Conveyance by the Earl of Nithsdale, dated 1628, has been held by some writers to be the legal instrument by which Langholm was erected into a Burgh of Barony, and considerable confusion of mind has resulted in the efforts to collate it and the charter of 1610. In a most interesting review of the history of the town, on the occasion of the last meeting of the Police Commissioners, on the 15th May, 1893, Mr. Robert McGeorge, acting-chief magistrate, very properly pointed out that this could not be, seeing that such a charter was a gift of the Crown alone, and, therefore, could not be conferred by a subject. In 1618, and at subsequent dates, the Maxwell lands, which had been declared forfeit in 1609, were restored to Robert, Lord Maxwell. In 1620, he was advanced a step in the peerage by being created Earl of Nithsdale. On the resignation of the lands of Langholm by the Cranstouns, and of Ewesdale and Wauchopedale by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, the King conferred them anew on

* This Sir Gideon was the father of "Muckle-mouth Meg," whose personal qualities form the theme of one of Robert Browning's poems.

the Earl of Nithsdale, by a charter dated 19th September, 1621, and by the same charter* he erected Langholm into a BURGH OF BARONY. It is therefore definitely from this document that Langholm dates its existence as a Burgh. By the charter, Lord Nithsdale was, *inter alia*, granted the right of having a public hall, of erecting a market cross and of holding annually two free fairs with a right to the tolls. He could also choose bailiffs and burgesses.

The first burgesses were his kinsmen, to whom, in 1628, he conveyed the Ten-Merk Lands. He appointed as his bailie, John Maxwell of Broomholm. A very curious law-case arose in this connection, whereby Maxwell was sued for the alleged illegal drowning, for the offence of sheep-stealing, of one Rossie Baittie and her son, William Irving. This woman was the widow of "Ekkie Irving in Auchinraven."† The charge against them was that, in 1621, they stole one ewe from Robert Lytill in Caltoun‡; seven sheep from Meg Irving, in Cars§, in September, 1622; four sheep from Chris. Armstrong, in Stubholme, in September, 1622; and four sheep from John Cavert, Woodhouselees, in November, 1622. At the trial the "gentlemen of assize" were Lord Maxwell of Eskdaill, James Maxwell of Kirkconnel, Robert, Earl of Nithsdale, and others; and the chancellor of assize was Walter Scott of Burnfoot. The Court found both the mother and son guilty, and ordained that they "be taken to the Water of Ewis, at that part called the Grieve, and their they and either of them to be drownet in ye said watter to the death." When the suit

* For text and translation of the Latin charter, see Appendix III.

† Auchenrivoek or Stakeheuch.

‡ Otherwise Caultoun, near Old Irving.

§ The Kerr.

against John Maxwell came on in the High Court of Edinburgh it appeared that in the original trial the clerk had omitted to libel the thieves as having been taken *reid fang*,* and Maxwell's trial turned upon this informality, a purely technical offence for which he was not responsible. After submission of the case to the Crown, John Maxwell compeared to defend the matter, but no relatives of Rossie Baittie or her son appeared at the trial.

A letter from King Charles I. to Sir Thomas Hope, Baronet, the lord-advocate of Scotland, was included among the papers as follows :—

“WE are informed that in the actioun perservit be you, for an interest against John Maxwell, bailie-depute to the Erle of Nithsdaill, it does appeir by the rolment of the Court that the executioun was done by ane fair and legall procedour of indytment and convictioun by ane assyze; but neveryeless that by the negligence or corruptioun of the clerk, it is nocht thairin exprest they war takin wt the fang; and yairfore that in the rigour of the law the defender may possible run in the danger of wilfull murthour—WE thairfore, taking unto or princely consideratioun both the prescripturin of many yeirs and the defenderis offer to prove that the defuncts were takin reid hand, as lykwayis that in equitie so small ane oversight or informality aught nocht to be ballancet with the lyf of ane subject equallie executing the lawis and cled with sufficient authoritie yair anent, have thoght fitt to will and reqaryre you to desist frome any farder prosecution yair-of till or farder pleasure be knawin and with all to intimat this our sense yairof to or Justice-Generall or deputtis, that na forder proces till or said pleasure be forder knawin, be granted yairin, in which nocht doubting of yor care and diligence wee bid yor farewell—

Gevin at or Court at Whytehall, this 10 of Junii, 1641.”

The record then proceeds: “And according yairto and for obedience yrof desyrit this dyet to be deserted. The Justice according to his Majesties letter above written and his heines royall will and plesure yairin expressit, desertis the saidis criminall . . . and persute mentionit yrintill—whereupon the said John Maxwell craved that he and his cautioner Johne Maxwell of Kowhill that he might not be called upon again as to the matter.”

* Red-handed.

This action gives us an intimate glimpse into the state of the law at that period. Punishment by drowning was a recognised mode in Scotland. The phrase "with pit and gallows," embodied in many charters, conveyed this power to the baron or his agents. The "pit" was dug in the river bed, where the offenders, even in the lesser crimes of sheep-stealing, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Apparently, the "pit" for Langholm was in the Ewes. Where the "part yrof called the Grieve" was, we do not know. Probably it was near the confluence of Esk and Ewes. There exists a tradition that the place in Langholm where witches were burned was near Langholm Castle and no doubt the two places of punishment were near to each other.

NITHSDALE'S CONTRACT OF 1628.

It was not until 1628, however, that the Earl of Nithsdale took steps to carry out the provisions of his charter of 1621. This he did, as already explained, by a feu-contract* conveying to ten members of the Maxwell family what afterwards became, and are still, known as the Ten-Merk Lands of Langholm. The consideration was that each of the Maxwells named in the contract, viz. :—

James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, Master of Maxwell ;
James Maxwell of Tinwald ;
Archibald Maxwell of Cowhill ;
George Maxwell of Carnsalurth ;
Robert Maxwell of Dinwoodie ;
John Maxwell of Midleby ;
Herbert Maxwell of Templand ;

* See Appendix IV.

Robert Maxwell, brother of the said James Maxwell
of Tinwald ;
John Maxwell of Holms ;
John Maxwell of Broomholm, brother of the said
Archibald Maxwell of Cowhill—

should build “ ilka ane of them ane sufficient stone house
on the fore street of the said town of Langholm,* builded
with stone and lyme of two houses height at least.”

With the erection of these houses the town of Lang-
holm may be said to have come into existence.

But the superiority of the Earl of Nithsdale was of
short duration. Owing to his espousal of the cause of
Charles I. his estates were declared forfeit by Parliament
in 1643-4.

BUCCLEUCH CHARTER OF 1643.

The Barony of Langholm then passed to the Earl of
Buccleuch by a charter† dated 7th April, 1643. By this
grant the House of Buccleuch became the lords-superior
of virtually the whole of Eskdale. They had obtained
the lands in the barony or tennandrie of Dumfedling in
1613 ; in 1619 they had augmented these by purchasing

* The Statist of 1793 says only four of the houses were built. The
late Mr. Geo. R. Rome states in his MS. that two of these houses were
reputed to be still in existence in 1883. If Mr. Rome is right the houses
he means may be those on the west side of High Street, adjacent to the
Douglas Hotel. It is also said that one of the houses was that once oc-
cupied by the late Archibald Glendinning, at the foot of the Kirkwynd.

† The charter is of much the same tenor as that to the Earl of Niths-
dale, but includes other territories. By it, the King “ concessit et de
novo dedit Francisco Comiti Buccleugh domino Scott of Quhitchester,
et Eskdaill, in terris et Baronia de Langholm, terras . . . terras de
Dewscuir, Quhytscheles, Ovir et Nather Mylneholmes, Stapilgortoun,
Enzieholmes, Dalbeth, Scheill, cum molendino, Litill Megdaill, Meikil
Megdaill, Trochoip cum pendiculo vocato Mairtfauld, terras de Braid-
heed, Boykin,” &c.

These last named lands, it will be observed, were amongst those given
to Maxwell in 1532. The charter shews that the Scotts of Buccleuch
obtained them by this grant and not by purchase, as tradition asserts.

the Lordship of Eskdalemuir, and in the same year, from Sir John Ker of Jedburgh, they purchased all the lands, including Wauchopedale, belonging to the old Cell of Canonby. Certain lairdships in Eskdalemuir were still outside their holdings, but, as already noted, most of these were purchased in 1702, or afterwards, by Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth.

The power placed in the hands of the House of Buccleuch by these charters and purchases was enormous. Tenure by barony was "the highest and most privileged tenure of land" known to the Scottish feudal system, and carried with it a number of rights and advantages, the principal being the right of jurisdiction, which Lord Neaves* declared to be the proper, characteristic, and original meaning of a barony. This jurisdiction, which was expressly conferred by the charter, usually comprehended all crimes except the four pleas of the Crown—murder, robbery, fire-raising, and rape—but even these were sometimes included. Jurisdiction in capital crimes, however, required infestment *cum fossa et furca*,—with powers of pit and gallows. As we have seen,† this right was inherent in the superiority of the Melrose lands in Eskdalemuir, and as the "drowning" incident just referred to shows, it seems also to have been inherent in the Barony of Langholm. In civil matters, the baron was the judge in all disputes as to debts, rents, or maills among his tenants or vassals, who were required to give attendance at his Court. These great powers were generally exercised through a baron-bailie, to whom they gave a position of almost autocratic authority within the barony.

* Green's *Encyclopædia of Scots Law*.

† See pp. 200-201.

ACT OF 1747.

This enormous power, however, was abolished or considerably modified by the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747, which limited it to the smaller crimes, and to actions for debt or damages not exceeding forty shillings sterling. But there was reserved to the baron the recovery of all rents, maills, and duties, and all multures payable to his mills. A reservation which intimately affected Langholm was that made in favour of existing jurisdictions of fairs and markets and other rights. Amongst the privileges usually conferred with the grant of a barony was the right of the fishings, but it has been legally held that this right did not necessarily include salmon-fishing—an interpretation which may have had some effect upon subsequent legislation concerning fishing rights—nor did it include the right of fishing by means of fixed nets.

On the passing of the Act of 1747 the heritable baileries of Eskdalemuir, possessed at first by the Glendinnings, and afterwards by the Scotts of Buccleuch,* were abolished, and the Duke of Buccleuch received the sum of £1,400 as compensation for the loss of his baronial rights. The general effect of the Act was formally to put an end to the greater part of the judicial and executive power of the barons and lords of regality, which through harsh and arbitrary exercise, had caused great irritation and resentment.

A charter erecting a Burgh of Barony usually reserved to the Baron the right to appoint magistrates, whereas, in the case of a Royal Burgh, the right was given direct to the Burgh. Owing to this provision the Duke of Buccleuch, as lord-superior of the Barony of Langholm,

* See page 243.

retained the power, until the coming into operation of the Burgh Police Act of 1892. In the report of the Commissioners appointed in 1833, to enquire into the state of municipal corporations in Scotland, Langholm is stated to belong to the class of Burgh, "where the dependence upon the superior subsists unqualified and where the magistrates are appointed by him."

BARON-BAILLIES.

It was the practice of the Duke of Buccleuch, who, for this purpose, obtained a Commission of Chamberlainry and Bailliary in 1767, to appoint his chamberlain as baron-bailie and chief magistrate, and the chamberlain in turn appointed a deputy-baron-bailie and acting-chief magistrate.* The first baron-bailie appointed under this Commission of whom we have any record, was William Ogilvie of Hartwoodmyres, chamberlain for the counties of Dumfries, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles. By a Deed of Deputation,† he appointed in 1768 Matthew Little, merchant in Langholm, his deputy baron-bailie and acting-chief magistrate. In 1793 the office was held by William Armstrong, writer in Langholm. How long he continued to hold the office we do not know, but in 1845, when the residents adopted the cleaning, lighting, and water clauses of the Act of 1833, Alexander Stevenson, writer, had the appointment, which he held until 1862, when it fell to Hugh Dobie, who held it until 1873. On his death, in that year, he was succeeded by his son-in-

* There had, of course, been barons-bailie earlier than this date, but probably their powers were more circumscribed than those now conferred. Some holders of this earlier office were Mr. Melville, who either died or relinquished the office in 1724; Mr. Elliot of Midlem Mill; Mr. Boston, son of the Rev. Thomas Boston of Ettrick, author of *The Fourfold State*; and a Mr. Craigie.

† The original Deed is in the possession of the writers.

law, Mr. Robert McGeorge, who retained the office until May, 1893, when the Burgh Police Act of 1892 came into force.

ACT OF 1833.

The meeting of the occupiers to consider the adoption of the Act of 1833 was held on 26th September, 1845, and was convened by intimation affixed to the doors of the Town-house and the parish church, and by "tuck of drum" by Peter Graham, the town drummer. In addition to the adoption of certain clauses of the Act, the meeting determined the limits of the Burgh, "within a distance not exceeding 1,000 yards from the bounds," to be as follow: on the east of Langholm by a place called the March-gill;* on the north by Whitshields Cleuch; on the south by Stubholm Hill; and on the west by Meikleholm Hill.

POLICE COMMISSIONERS.

The number of Police Commissioners was fixed at 15, besides the acting-chief magistrate, and the maximum rate of assessment for the ensuing three years at 4d. in the £. The Poor's Fund of Langholm had been obtained since the year 1775 by a voluntary assessment, but in 1845 an Act was passed "for the amendment and better administration of the Laws relating to the relief of the poor in Scotland." Parochial Boards were then constituted, and the first meeting of the Langholm Board was held within the Town-house on 16th September, 1845. There were present: A. Harley Maxwell, chamberlain to the

* Now called "Jenny Noble's Gill"—a comparatively modern designation.

Duke of Buccleuch, preses, the Rev. William Berry Shaw, minister of Langholm parish church, and Messrs. George Maxwell of Broomholm, Alexander Stevenson, writer, George J. Todd, parish schoolmaster, Matthew Jamieson, sawyer, and John Fenwick, stationer, elders. Mr. Todd was appointed Clerk, and Inspector of the Poor.

The Board consisted of all owners and occupiers of property of an assessable value of £20 and upwards, some members of the Kirk Session, and four members chosen by the ratepayers. These annually appointed a sub-committee of four to manage the affairs of the Board, whose principal duty was the administration of parochial relief. The Parochial Board was superseded by the Parish Council on 15th May, 1895. It consists of eight members for the Burgh and five for the Landward part of the parish. The first Council was composed of the following:—The Revs. James Buchanan and J. Wallace Mann, and Messrs. Arthur Bell, James Cunningham, John Hotson, John Hyslop, Charles Paisley, and Thomas Telfer, representing the Burgh; and Messrs. James Burnet, Thomas Gaskell, Frederick W. Medhurst, James Scott, and Morden Carthew-Yorstoun of East Tinwald, chamberlain to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, representing the Landward portion of the parish. The first chairman of the Parish Council was Mr. John Hyslop, who for nearly 12 years had occupied the same position on the Parochial Board, of which he became an elected member in 1872, and who continued to occupy the post until his death, which occurred whilst this volume, of which he was joint-author, was in the press. The first clerk was Mr. Henry Erskine, on whose death, in 1896, Mr. James Morrison succeeded to the position, which he still occupies.

When the arrangements for constituting the Burgh boundaries were submitted for the approval of the Sheriff, a difficulty arose owing to the local authorities being unaware of the charter to the Earl of Nithsdale of 1621. According to the Act of 1833, the boundaries of the Burgh had to be fixed, not exceeding 1,000 yards from those defined by the Royal charter. But as there did not appear to be any charter, the local authorities could not conform to the requirements of the Act. It evidently did not occur, either to them or the Sheriff, to consult the *Great Seal Register*. However, the difficulty seems ultimately to have been overcome.

COMMISSIONERS' CLERKS.

The following are the names of those who, from 1845 to 1893, filled the office of Clerk to the Police Commissioners: Mr. Robert Wallace, bank agent, 1845-8; Mr. George Henderson, from 1848 until 1859, when he died; Mr. Hugh Dobie, writer, from 1859 until 1862, when he was appointed acting-chief magistrate; Mr. William Grieve, 1862 until 1864, when he resigned; Mr. Robert Scott, postmaster, who was then appointed and continued to discharge the duties of the office until the new Act came into force in 1893. Mr. Scott thus held the position for over 28 years.

WATER-WORKS.

At first the Act of 1833 was only adopted in respect of the cleaning and lighting. The water supply of the town was in the hands of the subscribers to Langholm Water Works, who in 1856 handed over the control to the Commissioners of Police. In the same year it was re-

solved to place an inscription on the lintel of the cistern at Mount Hooley, and the following, prepared by Dr. Brown of Milntown, was adopted :—

“ Langholm Water-Works were commenced in the year 1853 and finished during the following year. The funds for their formation were raised by the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants of Langholm and the adjoining districts, aided by a munificent donation from the Duke of Buccleuch, by liberal contributions from natives and friends of Eskdale in the United Kingdom and abroad, and by a most successful Bazaar which took place in July, 1854.”

The supply of water which then provided for the wants of a population of over 3,000, soon proved inadequate, and has been on several occasions augmented, and at the present time the Town Council have decided upon a further scheme for a large increase, which will ere long be available.

BURGH POLICE ACT.

The Burgh Police Act of 1892 came into force in Langholm on 15th May, 1893. The first Provost elected under the new Act was Mr. J. J. Thomson, merchant. He held the office until November, 1908, when he was succeeded by the present Provost, Mr. Thomas R. Easton.

The Town Clerk first appointed was the late Mr. Andrew Johnstone, who held office until his death in 1906, when Mr. Samuel McKune, the present Town Clerk, was appointed to succeed him.

The first Town Council elected under the Act consisted, with the Provost, of 9 members, viz. :—Bailies : John Goodfellow, painter ; and James Rutherford, engineer ; Councillors : John Baird Balfour, merchant ; John Hotson, builder ; Robert B. Milligan, joiner ; John Dalgleish, tweed merchant ; Matthew Knox, joiner ; and Adam Watt, hotel keeper.

On the incorporation of the Burgh an official seal* was



LANGHOLM BURGH COAT OF ARMS.

* The Town Arms are : Azure, a saltire argent ; between—in chief, a thistle slipped proper, imperially crowned or ; on the dexter, a spade in pale, blade upwards, wreathed with heather proper ; on the sinister, a wooden platter surmounted of a barley-meal bannock, surmounted in turn of a salt-herring paleways, and marked with the letter B on each side of the herring ; and in base a toison (i.e., golden fleece) or.

The main shield is simply the national flag of Scotland and is so scored upon the Seal. The three topmost devices represent the following articles which are carried in the Common Riding Procession :—(i.) A large Scots thistle with a floral crown on its top ; (ii.) a barley-meal bannock with a salt herring fastened with a large nail to a wooden dish, with the letter B on the bannock on each side of the herring ; (iii.) a spade decked with heather, which is used for cutting and turning over the sods along the boundaries of the Commonty. The fourth device on the Seal is the golden fleece, which represents the trade of the town—woollen manufacture.

It will be noticed that on the Shield the nail is not represented—"the twalpenny nail" mentioned in some versions of the Proclamation of the Fair.

A very good sketch of the Coat of Arms appears in *The Arms of the Baronial and Police Burghs of Scotland*, by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T.

prepared, of which, by the courtesy of Provost Easton, and the Town Clerk, Mr. S. McKune, we are permitted to give the foregoing illustration.

A SOCIAL IMPRESSION.

There is not much information to be gleaned showing what the social life of Langholm was in the early years of its existence as a burgh. In the Reprint of the MS. collection of the Earl of Lonsdale, issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1898, an account is preserved of a journey by three English tourists through Scotland in the year 1629. On their way to Edinburgh they passed through Langholm, then, of course, only a hamlet. They do not present a very entrancing picture of the place, but allowance must be made for their different standpoint, and for the fact that the Borders had scarcely yet recovered from the ravages of the raiders, and from the long-continued poverty of the people. We learn from their notes that the ground along the Esk was good, but the ground on the heights was waste. "Langholm" they say "is my Lord Maxfield's [Maxwell], but my Lord Buckpleugh hath it and all his land there mortgaged and is thought will have it.* My Lord Maxfield hath gotten it to be a market within this five years, and hath given them of Langholm and Erkenholm land to them with condition to build good guest houses within a year. We lodged at John a Foordes at my Lord Maxfield's gate [Langholm Castle] where the fire is in the midst of the house."

* Evidently the visitors had picked up this as a piece of village gossip, probably hinted only by John a Foordes over his peat fire. What truth there is in the statement it is now impossible to say.

The fare provided by John for his English guests was liberal, consisting of mutton, fowls, girdle cakes, wheat bread, ale, and spirits. The narrative proceeds:—"We lay in a poor thatched house, the walls of it being one course of stones, another of sods of earth. It had a door of wicker rods, and the spider webs hung over our heads as thick as might be, in our bed. . . . All the churches we see are poor thatched and in some of them the doors sodded up and no windows in." Passing by Ewesdale they note between "Langholm and Ewes church, the place where Lord Buckpleugh did wapp the outlaws into the dubb." No clear indication is given of the exact location of this place so epigrammatically described.

The charter of April, 1643, was granted to Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch. He died in 1651, and was succeeded by his daughter Mary, then only three years of age. She succeeded by virtue of the Patent granted to her grandfather Walter, the first Earl. Her romantic marriage to the Earl of Tarras has been already mentioned. Some anxiety arose concerning its legality. The minister of Wemyss married them by license, without banns. Three Sundays are required by law for the proclamation of banns, but by custom the three can be reduced to one. Lord Campbell suggested that this triple proclamation on one Sunday might have been improved by publication on the *smiddy* door!* In the Countess Mary's case, however, steps were at once taken to have the legality of the marriage established beyond all question.

* *Border Memories*, p. 63.

ANNE, DUCHESS OF BUCCLEUCH.

Countess Mary died in 1661 and was succeeded by her sister, Countess Anne, and from her succession the development of Langholm went steadily forward. In 1663, at the age of twelve, the Countess married the Duke of Monmouth, who was himself only fourteen. Monmouth, it will be remembered, was the illegitimate son of Charles II. and Lucy Walters, the beautiful Welsh girl. On their marriage, King Charles II. required the Duke and Countess Anne to surrender all their titles, honours, and estates. He then made a re-grant of them, and created Monmouth, who had assumed the name of Scott, first Duke of Buccleuch, with the additional titles of Earl Dalkeith and Lord Scott. To the Duchess, the King made a grant separate from that given to her husband.* Little reference need be made here to Monmouth's rebellion and subsequent beheading in 1685. At one time his hopes of securing the throne were high, but his plans all proved abortive. On his knees he pleaded with James II. for mercy, but the King's hold upon the loyalty and affection of his subjects was too slender to permit of so popular a noble as Monmouth again exciting them to rebellion. So he paid the penalty of his ambition. Lord Tarras was also implicated with Monmouth, and thereby lost his title and estates.

Monmouth himself does not appear ever to have visited the Borders, where, however, he was extremely popular. But, as Duke of Buccleuch, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, as husband of the Countess Anne, he exerted himself to further the material and social progress of his vassals. So far as the Town of Langholm

* Sir William Fraser's *Scotts of Buccleuch*.

is concerned, the Duke and Duchess obtained the sanction of Parliament in 1672 for the holding of two fairs, additional to those already granted, to be held on 5th April and 15th July respectively. And in 1701 the Duchess and her son James, Earl of Dalkeith, received Parliamentary sanction for two more fairs to be held in May and September of each year. These fairs will form the subject of a separate chapter, and it is sufficient to note here that they, especially the Wool and Lamb Fair, held "on the 15th day o' Jul'y auld style," did more perhaps than any other means to benefit and increase the trade of Langholm and the surrounding district.

RE-ARRANGEMENT OF COUNTIES.

The Duke and Duchess, probably for the more convenient handling of their vast estates, petitioned Parliament for the transfer of the Eskdale parishes from the administrative county of Dumfries to that of Roxburgh. As we have previously observed, Eskdale had once before been included in Roxburghshire. It is so described in some charters of the fourteenth century. It was probably so included when Robert the Bruce re-arranged the territorial divisions, but, in the following centuries it is described in the charters as within the county of Dumfries. But now, in 1672, Parliament passed an "Act in favors of James and Anna, Duke and Dutches of Buccleugh and Monmouth for uniting the fyve paroches* in Eskdale to the Sheriffdome of Roxburgh," and also after the execution of Monmouth, Parliament, under date 1686, passed a "Ratification in favors of Anna Dutches of Buccleugh disjoyning the five paroches of Eskdaill from the shyre

* Namely, Stapelgortoun, Ewes, Westerkirk, Wauchope, and Canonby.

of Dumfreis and annexing the same to the shyre of Roxburgh."

One of the notable services rendered by Monmouth was the re-stocking of his Border estates after the great storm of March, 1674, known as "The Thirteen Drifty Days."* After it had at length abated there were left in Eskdalemuir, which was capable of sustaining 20,000 sheep, only forty young wedders on one farm, and five old ewes on another. The storm entirely devastated the Border country, and so for the relief of the consequent distress Monmouth obtained license† to import from Ireland 4,800 nolt of a year old, and 200 horses, and these helped materially to re-stock the farms of his tenants.

The Duchess of Buccleuch bore the loss of her husband with great fortitude, though her youngest daughter, a child of ten, felt her father's death so acutely that she pined and died a few weeks after her father. The Duchess was a woman of pronounced individuality and force of character. After the execution of her husband, the King, being assured that she had neither art nor part in the Rebellion, made a gift to her of all the real and personal estate left by her husband, which, of course, had been forfeited. The Duchess seems then to have resolved upon a more intimate association with her Eskdale tenantry, and she also set herself to increase her properties in the district. We have seen how, in 1702 and afterwards, she purchased

* See Part V.

† Such importations of cattle were not allowable by law. The Sheriff-depute of Roxburghshire was cautioner that Monmouth should not, on this license, exceed the stipulated number. This, however, he did, and Mr. W. Scott, of Minto, had to pay a fine of £200.—*Border Memories*, p. 68.

estates in Eskdalemuir which had not been included in the Melrose Abbey lands acquired by her ancestors in the early years of the seventeenth century. She married Lord Cornwallis, but after ten years of married life was again left a widow. She died in 1732 at the advanced age of 80. On the people of her Border estates the Duchess left a lasting impression. Her name to this day is mentioned by them with great respect and admiration; and her splendid management of her estates was not confined to the Borders.

Undoubtedly, the next important epoch in the development of Langholm and Eskdale was the passing, by the united Parliament, of the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747, which has been so frequently mentioned in these pages. In addition to abolishing the heritable jurisdictions of the barons, this enactment also readjusted the boundaries of certain of the Scottish shires. In this rearrangement the five parishes* of Eskdale, to wit, Langholm, Ewes, Westerkirk, Eskdalemuir, and Canonby, were restored to the shire and county of Dumfries.

On the death of Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, her grandson Francis succeeded to the title and estates.

“GOOD DUKE HENRY.”

In 1751 he was succeeded by his grandson Henry, son of Francis, Earl Dalkeith, by his marriage with Lady Caroline Campbell, eldest daughter of John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich. Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, was the farmer-duke. His interest in, and knowledge of, agriculture were deep and extensive. Under his direction the estates in Eskdale

* Since the transference in 1672 the parishes had been re-arranged.

and Liddesdale were enormously improved. Born in 1746, he was only six years of age at the date of his succession, by which great hopes were excited. His mother had married Charles Townsend, who greatly interested himself in the boy's education, but kept him away from his Scottish estates lest he should become too fond of Scotland. After finishing his education the Duke travelled with Adam Smith, the famous philosopher and political economist, for whom he came to have a great admiration and regard. At the age of 21 he married Lady Elizabeth Montagu, and soon afterwards the Duke and Duchess visited their vast estates in Scotland. This visit was made the occasion of a great popular welcome. Dr. Carlyle, of Inveresk, traversed the route from Hawick to Langholm at the time when Eskdale and Liddesdale were all excitement over the ducal visit. He wrote some verses for the *Scott's Magazine*, which, though couched in the laudatory language then inseparable from such themes, convey a vivid sense of the local rejoicings :

“A Scott! a noble Scott! again appears,
 The wished-for blessing of thy hoary years.*
 Hark how the impetuous Esk in thunder roars,
 Hark how the foaming Liddel beats his shores.
 A Scott! a Scott! triumphantly they cry,
 A Scott! a Scott! a thousand hills reply.”

Duke Henry succeeded just at the time of a great revival of agriculture in Scotland. The old methods, or lack of method, the old carelessness and slovenliness, were quickly giving place to more intelligent ways and to greater industry. The money received by the barons in consideration of the abolition of their heritable juris-

* Old Father Tweed is supposed to have heard the sound of rejoicing and on asking the reason he is thus answered by his sons Yarrow, Et-trick, Esk, and Liddel.—Quoted from *Border Memories*, pp. 70-71.

dictions was being largely spent on the development of their estates, and on every hand country life was obtaining a new attraction from the growing prosperity and more humane conditions being brought into existence.

In bringing about this better condition of things "Good Duke Henry," as he afterwards came to be affectionately called,* took a principal part. He was a sympathetic



HENRY, THIRD DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

* By the courtesy of His Grace, the present Duke of Buccleuch, we are permitted to publish the above portrait of Duke Henry. It is taken from an old print which was widely circulated on the Borders during his lifetime.

and helpful friend to the poor, who had easy access to him, and always took a leading part in every movement likely to benefit his tenants.

In all his purposes and plans for the benefit of Langholm and Eskdale generally, he was ably seconded by his servant Bailie Little, whose appointment we have already noticed. Perhaps to no other two men was Langholm more indebted during the latter half of the eighteenth century, than to the Duke and his baron-bailie.*

NEW-LANGHOLM.

One of the most noteworthy and beneficent of their actions was the breaking up of the farm of Meikleholm and the laying out thereon of the New-Town of Langholm. Prior to this date, the term "Langholm" applied only to the part on the eastern side of the Esk. The river-banks were unconnected by any bridge, the only means of communication being "the boat-ford."† The site of New-Langholm was then a large farm called the Meikleholm, with which was generally associated the farm of "Waas" or "Walls," which was really part of the glebe land. In 1679 these united farms were "sett" to Robert Allan, minister of Stapelgortoun and son of the minister of Wauchope. The last tenant of Meikleholm was James Beattie, farmer, of Bailie Hill, Airstwood, and Downahill, a descendant of the Beattisons of Eskdale

* When Pennant made his famous Tour in Scotland in 1776, it was from Bailie Little and John Maxwell, Esquire, of Broomholm, that he received his information respecting Langholm.

† In some of the deeds of the Kilknowe property one of the boundaries given is "the lane leading to the boat-ford."

and a relative of Bailie Little. James Beattie* did not live at Meikleholm but continued to reside in Eskdale.

The leases for the new houses, of which there were about 140 built, were for a term of 99 years. The work of building them began in the year 1778 and went on for a period of about 20 years. The feu-rent, or quit-rent, for house and garden was two shillings and eight-pence per annum, that is, at the rate of about twenty-one shillings an acre, and the houses were of either one or two storeys in height. Each house of one storey had a field allotted to it of two acres in extent, whilst those of two storeys had fields of four acres, on leases of about 14 years, at rents ranging from three to fourteen shillings an acre. Each cottage carried also a right of grazing for a cow at eighteen shillings a year, on one of the three hills, Warbla, or Stubholm Hill as it was often called, Castle Hill, and Meikleholm Hill. The fields referred to were on the slopes of those hills, and a great boon they proved to the cottars of New-Langholm. In addition to these concessions the Duke allowed the tenants to cast peats on Warbla Moss; and the Peat Road, illustrated on page 7, which was cut for the tenants' convenience, in this way received its name. The laying out of the New-Town was virtually completed in 1800, but naturally, through the expansion of trade and the increase in population, other building schemes were subsequently entered into. The last of these leases fell in some years ago, and scarcely one of the original cottages is left. As the leases

* John Beattie, brother of James, was a generous subscriber to the fund for building Langholm Bridge. He was a man of piety and considerable learning—humane and generous. His library, consisting mostly of philosophical, astronomical, and scientific works, was a notable one for that period. Lord Hailes, one of the Lords of Session, styled him "The Philosopher"—a man whom his illiterate neighbours were utterly unable to understand.

of the cottages matured, others were granted, and in place of the cottages the present two storey houses of freestone, quarried from the Common Moss for the most part, were erected, and with their erection, the old cottages which had so long been a distinctive feature of Langholm life of the early nineteenth century, disappeared.

In the diary of a tour in Scotland in the year 1803 undertaken by Wordsworth and his sister, the latter gives a pleasing glimpse of Langholm as it then was.

“Arrived at Langholm at about five o'clock. The town, as we approached, from a hill, looked very pretty, the houses being roofed with blue slates, and standing close to the river Esk, here a large river, that scattered its waters wide over a stony channel. The inn neat and comfortable—exceedingly clean : I could hardly believe we were still in Scotland.”*

From an old MS. account of Langholm† we learn that in 1726 there were in the parish of Stapelgortoun only two gentlemen's houses, one of which belonged to the Earl of Dalkeith, and mention is made of a fine “bow,” in which the Duke's chamberlain dwelt, in the middle of Langholm, built of stones taken from the Castle walls. Sir William Fraser in his *Scotts of Buccleuch* also makes reference to this “bow.” He may possibly have based his remarks on this MS. history. Of course there were

* Whilst appreciating this compliment to their town, Langholm people would have preferred that it had not been paid at the expense of their country!

† Quoted by the late Mr. Geo. R. Rome in a Paper read 12th January, 1883, before the London Eskdale Society.

The MS. mentions incidentally that in the year 1631 the Langholm district was visited by an influx of sturdy Irish beggars, who extorted alms where not given freely—but the method of extortion is not revealed.

In 1644 there was a visitation of plague, and in 1651 a great dearth occurred, when barley was sold at £20 Scots per boll, and all kinds of grain had to be imported from England.

many houses around the Castle, and the stones may have been taken from them. It is stated to be "about a mile from the church on the north side of the Esk." We may take it that these notes have been written by a stranger and are somewhat confused. In 1726, as we have remarked, the chamberlain dwelt *in* the castle, which is the only place answering to such a description. Where the Earl of Dalkeith's house stood, is not known—indeed its existence apart from the Castle may very well be doubted.

We read further, that in 1723-4 the churchyard had been walled round with a stone and lime dyke, and set round with young timber.* There had also been built a Town-house, a prison, and a Cross. The Town-house and prison were built in 1812 on the site of the old Tol-booth, and are still standing, serving the purpose only of a Town Hall.

THE CROSS.

The Cross, of which a drawing is here given, was removed about the year 1840 to make room for the statue of Sir Pulteney Malcolm, which has since, in 1876, been removed to the grounds of the Library. In olden days the Cross was the focus of all important events—proclamations, royal and otherwise, were there made, and

* The same improvement was afterwards effected at Wauchope kirk-yard, where the "young timber" may still be seen. The wall was built by voluntary subscription, and from the original list in our possession we note the following contributions:—Duke of Buccleuch £3; Arthur Rea, Langholm, £1; Simon Hyslop, merchant, Langholm, £1; James Stothard, Blough, £1; Walter Nicoll, Perterburn, £1; Simon Hyslop, Kerr, £1; William Warwick, Torkune, 12s.; Adam Armstrong, Cronks-bankhead, 10s.; William Scott, Irvine, 10s.; James Murray, Kirtletown, 10s.; Peter Keen, Hagg, 10s. 6d.; John Hyslop, Crofthead, 10s. 6d.; Coll. Murray, Langholm, gave as a present £1 1s.; George Warwick, Auchenrivoek, 10s. 6d.; David Laing, Westerhall, 10s.; John Hyslop, Potholm, 5s.; William Rea, 2s. 6d.; William Park, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Julia Murray, 2s. 6d.

at it all important meetings were held. It stood in the Market-place, but up to well within the nineteenth century what is now called the Market-place was then called The Cross.



LANGHOLM MERCAT CROSS.

About the year 1867, some improvements were being made to the street and the shaft of the Cross was discovered. It had, evidently, been carefully buried for preservation, doubtless on the spot where it had originally stood, in front of which there was also a cruciform design in the pavement, for Langholm High Street was then cobble-paved. It is a plain shaft of Whita sandstone set into a roughly-hewn plinth of the same stone. It would

appear from the socket holes, which can be seen in the illustration, that some other stone had been clamped to it. The shaft of the Cross was surmounted by a red granite stone of oval shape, into which had been roughly cut the "cross," as shown in the inset "A." After the removal of the Cross its existence seems to have been entirely forgotten, until its discovery in 1867. The top-stone was afterwards found in the Black-syke, which once ran near by, but was long ago covered in. The old Cross, thus recovered, was given to Mr. Hugh Dobie, then acting-chief magistrate, who had it erected within his grounds at Greenbank, where it still stands.*

A BACKWARD GLANCE.

The MS. proceeds to record that the town was then furnished with all kinds of tradesmen ; a weekly market and six yearly fairs, from which accrued a considerable revenue in customs. In addition to the Town-house and prison there was an excise office—and, of course, an exciseman, who was then even more indispensable than the policeman. In 1726 a woolcombing business had been established which causes the writer to lament : "What a pity it is, it wants a wool manufactory, being a great wool country !" He also threw out the suggestion that, to this end, a few farmers should send their sons, as apprentices, to Huddersfield and other Yorkshire towns, there to learn the manufacture of woollen goods, presumably with the idea that they should afterwards commence business in Langholm. Could the writer of the MS. have foreseen the development which since then has taken place in the

* We are indebted to Mr. Robert McGeorge for permission to have the Cross photographed and reproduced here.

woollen trade of Langholm, his prophetic hopes would have been fully satisfied. Such a woollen factory was, however, in existence in the town at a later date, and it is curious to note that it was an object of some concern to the Kirk-Session, whose oversight of the religion and morals of the town did not exhaust their activities. On 28th February, 1750, there is the following minute in the Session records :—

“The Session appoint the Treasurer with the other members of Session, to intimate to such women able to spin to get any money in charity, that they employ their labour and spin for the WOOLLEN FACTORY in town preferably to any other that shall employ them with certification.”

It was during the lifetime of the Good Duke Henry that Langholm Lodge was built. “This handsome mansion,” says the Statist of 1793, “much admired by travellers for its elegant simplicity and fine situation, stands in the middle of a delightful valley about half a mile north from Langholm.” He thus began that intimacy which for 120 years has existed between the ducal family and Langholm, and which was never more evidenced than by their Graces, the present Duke and Duchess and their family, whose liking for Eskdale has ever been unmistakable. Langholm Lodge was burned to the ground ere yet it was occupied. It was rebuilt in 1790 of white freestone of remarkable durability from Whita Hill. Since then the family of Buccleuch have resided there for a certain period each year.

It is interesting to note that at this time Langholm ranked, in regard to population, as the second town in the county, a position from which it has since fallen, owing



LANGHOLM LODGE.

to the lamentable emigration from the town. Houses in Langholm were then rented at from fifteen shillings to £12 a year.

In New-Langholm, about the year 1789, there was established a cotton manufactory. The cotton yarn made was known as "No. 30," and found a market in Carlisle and Glasgow. The factory was in the Meikleholm Mill, and gave employment to nearly 100 people. But in 1793, difficulties arose through the great financial panic when, from unsound methods of finance and troubles abroad, so many banking houses were forced to suspend payment. Public credit was entirely undermined, and Langholm suffered equally with other places all over the country. However, in 1794, work was resumed in the cotton industry at Meikleholm Mill by one James Carruthers. The machinery contained 3,552 mule spindles, and, in 1841, there were stated to be over 90 persons engaged in the mill. In later years the cotton weaving was abandoned, and the mill was converted into a flour mill, the power being obtained from a dam leading from Wauchope, which is still utilized for Messrs. Reid and Taylor's large woollen mills. The industry was resumed, however, about the year 1812, at the mill near the Ewes Bridge, known afterwards as the High Mill, where 50 to 60 workers were employed. Their hours of labour were from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m., with an hour off for dinner.

Up to about the same year a paper mill, situated where the present distillery stands, near the Skipper's Bridge, was in operation employing 20 workpeople, with an output of 80 reams weekly. It was about the same date that the manufacture of "checks" and thread developed in Langholm. In 1792 some 20,000 yards of "checks" and other coarse linens were sold. The manufacture of

stockings also sprang up, and for many years remained one of the staple trades of the town. The Statist mentions also that a considerable trade was done in other branches of merchandise. In this connection reference may here be made to an Act passed in 1808 to amend certain Acts of the Scottish Parliament relating to trade between the Royal Burghs and the Burghs of Regality and Barony. The object of the Act was to impose upon places other than Royal Burghs, certain of the duties which, by Scottish legislation, had been exacted solely from them, and for which in return they had been granted certain privileges of trading amongst themselves and with foreign parts. The privileges had been gradually appropriated by Burghs of Regality and Barony, and the Act was to re-adjust the burdens. Any quota of the duties which a Burgh of Barony might thereby contribute could be recovered from persons trading, but not actually residing, within the Burgh. Langholm was scheduled in the Act as a Burgh of Barony which did not contribute in any way whatever to the relief of Royal Burghs, and by the Act it was made liable to a tax of 10 per cent. on its tax-roll.

The Statist of 1793 gives us a very interesting glimpse into the occupations of the Langholm people. In the town, he notes, there were two surgeons, two writers, 14 shopkeepers, six manufacturers in "checks," thread, or stockings, one tanner, one skinner, one clockmaker, one saddler, two dyers, five bakers, two butchers, three bleachers, and two barbers. There were also 30 masons, 20 joiners, eight blacksmiths, 43 weavers, 11 shoemakers, three cloggers, four gardeners, and 15 tailors. There were also 15 innkeepers and publicans, "exclusive of some who keep private tipping-houses and dram-shops."

From these figures it will be seen that the Langholm of 1792 was not very much inferior as a trading centre to the Langholm of 1911.

It is also recorded that masons' and joiners' wages were from 1/6 and 2/- a day; day labourers, 10d. a day in winter, and 1/2 or 1/4 in summer; women, 8d. to 10d. a day; male servants, resident in the family, were paid from six to eight pounds a year, and female servants three to five pounds.

Beef then sold at about fourpence a pound; mutton about threepence; fowls were 8d. to 10d.; geese, eighteenpence or two shillings; butter was sixpence to 7½d. per English pound; eggs were 3d. to 4d. a dozen; and meal, two shillings a stone.

A detailed account is also given by the Statist of a Friendly Society, with 150 members, which then existed in Langholm, and he optimistically looked to such Societies to abolish poor's rates. But the dawn of that day has not even yet touched the brow of Whita.

Only one further development in the corporate life of Langholm need now be recorded. In 1872, the Education Act for Scotland became law, and, in pursuance of its requirements, a School Board was first elected on 8th April, 1873. This Board consisted of the following:— Dr. Æneas Macaulay, surgeon; Rev. J. W. Macturk, A. B., parish minister; James Burnet, architect; George Maxwell, of Broomholm; Walter Scott, skinner; Robert Smellie, merchant; John Connell, distiller. Mr. Maxwell, of Broomholm, was appointed to be chairman, and Mr. Hugh Dobie, clerk and treasurer. Owing to the death of Mr. Dobie, Mr. Maxwell took over the duties of clerk also, and acted in that capacity, without salary, until 1886, when he resigned his posts and seat on the Board.

The new Board took over the control of all the schools in Langholm. The old Parish School was enlarged for the reception of the scholars of the Free Church School and others, and Mr. John Howie, of Airdrie Academy, was appointed head master over the united institution. During Mr. Howie's occupancy of the position the School developed greatly, both in the number of scholars and scholastic distinction, and a few years ago its name was changed to "Langholm Academy," with Mr. Howie as its first Rector. On his death in 1908 the Rectorship was given to Mr. R. Hamilton, M.A., B.Sc., who still occupies the post.

CHAPTER XX.

THE BRIDGES OF ESK.

DURING the latter half of the eighteenth century a great advance was made in the social and industrial condition of the south of Scotland. The money which the barons had received as compensation for the abolition of their heritable jurisdiction, in 1747, became available for the improvement of their estates, and to the credit of the barons it must be admitted that the money was spent to the advantage of the country. Another factor making for the better development of the great landed estates was the freer sale of land, which was induced partly by the confiscations following the Rebellion of '45, when large portions of land were placed on the market, and partly by the eagerness of pensioned servants of the East India Company to acquire estates on which they could settle after their return to this country.

Money, too, came into freer circulation by about the middle of the eighteenth century. Up to this period very little coin had been in use in the south of Scotland, landlords received only about one fourth of their rents in actual cash, the rest in kind. This entailed an enormous waste, for the grain often stood rotting in the granaries waiting for a market. But now banks were rapidly springing into being and landlords were being paid in cash. Farmers, too, by the Act of 1747, were released from the tyranny of thirlage,—a compulsion which placed them at the mercy of the miller, and greatly hampered the natural evolution of agriculture,—and were also relieved from their obligation to give so much free labour to their land-

lords, and from his levy upon their produce. For the last a quicker and readier market was being found, and the great Fairs, such as Langholm Summer Fair, served as excellent markets for sheep and wool.

Added to these agencies was the beneficent operation of the Turnpike Acts leading up to that of 1831. By these Acts farmers and proprietors were assessed in equal proportions for the maintenance of efficient public roads, which in this way were made more serviceable as a means of communication between the farms and the markets than the old cart-tracks which had formerly been made to answer the purpose. Excepting perhaps the road to Westerkirk and Eskdalemuir, virtually all the roads in Eskdale had been constructed by statute labour according to the Act of 1669, that is, each resident was required by law to contribute his share of labour, or its equivalent in money, to the making of the highway. The Act of 1751 and various other supplementary Acts, not only provided for a legal assessment upon proprietors and occupiers, but also enabled those responsible for the upkeep of the roads, viz., parish authorities or Road Trustees, to convert certain of the main roads into turnpikes, and to levy tolls on the traffic, the revenue helping to maintain the roads. The turnpikes in Langholm district were the roads from Langholm to Carlisle, Langholm to Hawick, and Langholm to Annan. The tolls on the turnpike roads continued in force until the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878 came into operation, when they were abolished. Many of the old toll-bars still exist on the above named roads, viz., at Scotch Dyke, Langholm town-foot, Langholm town-head, and Fiddleton, on the Carlisle and Edinburgh turnpike, all of them comparatively modern houses; and Wauchope and Falford on the Langholm

and Annan road. These are the old eighteenth century cottages.

The result of all these factors was a great revival in agriculture. Newer methods were welcomed; land was drained and brought under cultivation; hedges were planted; houses were greatly improved; and both in furnishings and food as well as in clothes there was soon seen a striking improvement throughout the entire lowlands. The land had rest after the centuries of Border strife, and lairds, farmers, and cottars could attend to the less exciting, but more praiseworthy avocations of the country-side, in assurance and peace of mind.

One of the immediate consequences of the revival of agriculture was, as we have indicated, the improvement in the ways of communication. The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the construction of many of the main roads, and the building of bridges, without which social and economic intercourse could not thrive.

In Eskdale, as elsewhere, this improvement was due to the enlightened policy of the great lairds. Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, set himself with commendable enthusiasm to improve his estates in Eskdale. Sir William Pulteney,* the laird of Westerhall, planned the coach road of the Ewes valley, and in 1763 obtained an Act of Parliament for carrying out the work;† and others followed their good example. The Eskdale parishes were now connected by the building of those Bridges over the Esk, which were not only to be an ornament to the landscape, but a potent force in the development of the dale.

* Sir William Pulteney was a brother of Sir James Johnstone, and succeeded to the baronetcy. He married the heiress of William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, and took her name.

† *Statistical Account*, 1793.



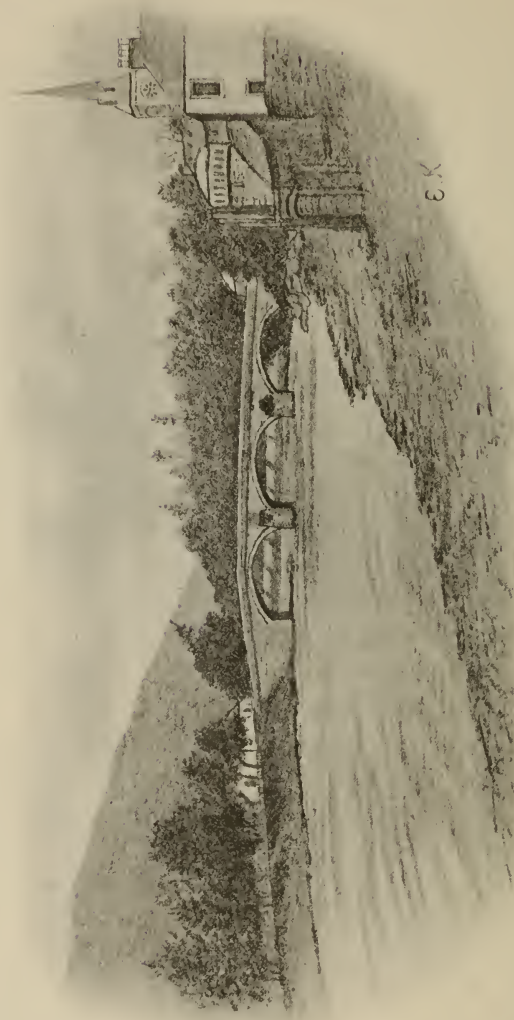
SKIPPER'S BRIDGE.

Probably the oldest of the Esk Bridges is that at Skipper's, a mile below Langholm, where it forms so picturesque an object in a scene of magnificent natural beauty,—a scene which must surely have excited the admiration of Wordsworth when he passed through Langholm on his famous tour in Scotland. If he saw the Esk in flood, boiling and tossing over the pointed rocks, which form the termination of the Silurian system in Eskdale, one can well understand how his poetic appreciation of the beautiful in nature would be aroused. The Bridge, founded strongly on an outcrop of rock, con-

sists of two separate erections. The earlier—the southward—section was built about 1693-1700. It was a narrow bridge, similar to many others in the lowlands, and the suggestion may be hazarded that it owed its origin to Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth. Its erection was necessary to link up the main route from Carlisle to Edinburgh. In 1807 it was widened by the addition of that part nearer Langholm. The two sections are easily distinguishable. The Bridge is designed in two semi-circular arches with a third and smaller one at the western approach, and it is interesting to note that the flat, square stones built into the west end of the Bridge were obtained from the old Roman way between Skipper's and Murtholm.

Concerning the origin of the name "Skipper's," there is a tradition that before the Bridge was built a ferry-boat plied across the river at that part, and the ferryman was popularly called "the skipper." When his occupation was rendered unnecessary by the erection of the Bridge, his designation was given to it, and it serves to keep his memory green.

The Bridge which spans the Esk at Langholm was built in 1775. On one of the piers the date 1794 is carved, but this has evidently been done when some alterations or repairs were being carried out. The cost was met by public subscription, liberally supported by the farmers of Westerkirk and Eskdalemuir, who were quick to see the great business advantage it would give them. The Duke of Buccleuch and the laird of Westerkirk both interested themselves conspicuously in the movement. The Bridge is a massive stone structure of three arches. It was built by Robert, or, as he was called, Robin Hotson, the first of a family who have continued



LANGHOLM BRIDGE.

to the sixth generation to be builders in Langholm. A noteworthy circumstance connected with the building of the Bridge is that Thomas Telford, the famous engineer,

who afterwards designed the great tubular bridge over the Menai Straits, the Caledonian Canal, and other notable undertakings, worked at it as a young journeyman, and received there his first instruction in bridge-building, and it is also worthy of remark that his first lessons in road-making, in which his fame was afterwards to equal, if not surpass that of Macadam himself, would be learned about this time when the Eskdalemuir and other highways were under construction. To what excellent use Telford put his opportunities is attested by many of the great highways of this country, notably that from Carlisle to Glasgow.

When finished, the Bridge was of a somewhat narrow gauge with stone parapets. In 1880 it was widened by the Eighth Division of the Statute Labour Roads of Dumfriesshire at a cost of £1,188 4s. 9½d.

Gilnockie Bridge was built about the year 1799.* It consists of a large arch and a smaller dry one.

At this part of the river the scenery is of the finest description,—precipices, fifty or sixty feet in height, crowned with overhanging trees, rising sheer from the water's edge. The total length of the Bridge is 244 feet and the height 46 feet. It was on the summit of the eastern bank where, it is claimed, stood Gilnockie Tower, the stones of which, as already explained, were said to have been used in building the Bridge. The high road is diverted here from the west to the east side of the river, at the instance, and also at the expense, of the then Duke of Buccleuch, who desired a readier access to his coal mines at Byreburn. On this road, where the Burn falls

* The keystone of this bridge was placed in position by the grandfather of Mr. Thomas Beattie, chemist, Langholm.



GILNOCKIE BRIDGE.

into the Esk, a bridge was erected some 60 years ago, over the seat of an older and much lower bridge. Another road from Langholm led by way of Tarras, and it was kept in repair from an assessment on the heritors in lieu of statute labour. This road, by way of Claygate, led from the north to the mines of Canonby, then worked by one Lomax, an Englishman.



CANONBY BRIDGE.

The last Bridge across the Esk in Scotland is at Canonby. A circumstance which doubtless first suggested the building of a bridge at this place was the tragic occurrence which happened one Sunday in November, 1696, when a number of people returning from church were drowned by the upsetting of a boat. Dr. Russell indicates that several other accidents of a like nature occurred. "Many individuals having lost their lives after this event, the idea of building a bridge that had been long suggested was at length happily realised."*

* *Statistical Account*, 1793.

This would be about 1745. The Bridge then erected was without parapets and of a primitive description.

To those acquainted with the configuration of the ground, it will be obvious that the ferry over the Esk could not possibly have been where the present Bridge is. Probably, it was farther down the river, near to what is now known as the "Deid Neuk," which may, indeed, have received its name from the sad occurrence, for one may be assured that the event would create a profound sensation in the district.

The present structure was built between 1780 and 1790, some years earlier than Gilnockie Bridge. Many of the stones used were, it is said, brought from the old Priory of Hall-green. Originally the parapets were of stone, and it was widened to its present dimensions in 1899 by the District Committee of the Dumfriesshire County Council, at a cost of over £800.

The other Bridges over the Esk are in its upper reaches, and do not call for lengthy comment. The one nearest the source of the river is a short distance below Glendearg and Upper Cassock. The next is near to Clerkhill, and is a Bridge of two arches built in 1878 to replace an older structure. The cost, £1,061, was provided by the Road Trustees. At Enzieholm there is a Bridge of a high single span. At Bentpath is a narrow two-span Bridge of old construction, the oldest in Upper Eskdale, but no date is inscribed upon it nor anything to indicate by whom it was built.

Of more recent Bridges mention may be made of those at Burnfoot and Potholm.

Ewes Bridge, a little above where that river flows into the Esk, is the old coach-road Bridge on the highway from Carlisle to Edinburgh. It was built some time

before 1775, probably in 1763. The Bridge at the High Mill, on the new coach road, was built in 1822, when the road by Walker's Hole and across the Turnerholm was made.

The only Bridge across the Wauchope requiring notice is that known as the Auld Stane Brig, at the site of Wauchope Castle. It was built in the spring of 1794 when the new road from Langholm to Annan was made by the statute labour trustees. The old coach road to Annan, which went by way of Old Irvine, was constructed in 1760,—the expense of the stretch of eight miles from Irvine to Springkell being borne by Sir William Pulteney of Westerhall.

The small Bridge over the Becks Burn at Wauchope Kirkyard was made in 1815. Previously the traffic crossed by a ford.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE KIRKS OF ESKDALE.

THE territory of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, had from an early date been the scene of much activity on the part of the Christian Church. In a previous chapter we have pointed out that, by its geographical position, Eskdale must quickly have come under the influence of the missionaries who were sent forth by the religious houses of the early centuries, and we have mentioned

ST. BRIDE'S CHAPEL

as, undoubtedly, the earliest Christian settlement in Eskdale.

BYKEN.

Near the end of the fourteenth century a church, dedicated, like the Priory of Canonby, to St. Martin, was founded at Byken in Westerkirk by Adam de Glendon- yng, who set apart certain of his lands in the barony of Hawick for its support. Where the chapel was situated is not known, nor have we any clear record of its incumbents. Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong enumerates* the following:—

BARTHOLOMEW GLENDONING	-	-	-	-	<i>ante</i>	1459
Grandson of the founder. He was deprived of the charge by the Bishop of Glasgow, for non-residence, in 1459.						
CLEMENT CURROR	-	-	-	-	<i>ante</i>	1501
SIR JOHN LAMB	-	-	-	-	-	1501
SIR WALTER KERSANE	-	-	-	-	-	1509

* *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 99.

WATCARRICK.

The chapel of Watcarrick, the location of which is determined by the position of the old kirkyard, served the district of Upper Eskdale until the Reformation. In 1703 the parish of Eskdalemuir was formed, the new church being built upon the site of the present building. Vestiges of the ancient chapel at Watcarrick could be seen until near the close of the eighteenth century, but these have since entirely disappeared. There is a reference to the chapel in 1592, when the "teind schaves" were returned as £6 13s. 4d.

UNTHANK.

Here was situated the Over-kirk of Ewes, dedicated to St. Mark. The lonely churchyard marks the site of the ancient chapel, and is all that is left to tell the passer-by that once upon a time a kirk stood there.

Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, states that the Over-kirk of Ewes was at Ewes-doors,* and that Unthank was one of two chapels attached to it, the other being at Moss-paul. This is accepted by the Statist of 1841, and by subsequent writers, but it seems unquestionable that Unthank was the Over-kirk itself, rather than a mere chapel-of-ease, and it is so marked on Bleau's map of 1662. So far as we are aware no definite evidence has ever been discovered pointing to Ewes-doors as its location. There is no trace of any remains at that place which would support such a contention.

John Lindsay of Wauchope had the right of patronage of Unthank, but on his forfeiture in 1505 through the

* Chalmers derives this place-name from Celtic *uisge* and British *druis*, or *duras*, a pass.

slaying of the Glendinnings, it fell to Lord Home. On the decease of the latter it reverted to the Crown, by whom it was bestowed on Lord Maxwell in 1516. One of the incumbents, Robert, was a witness to a charter in the reign of Alexander III.

The Over-kirk of Ewes was deserted at the Reformation, after which the Nether-kirk alone supplied spiritual ordinances.

Sir Walter Scott has a note that it was to Unthank that the secular priests known as "Book-a-Bosoms" came to confirm the "hand-fasting," which had been only a mutual contract, unaccompanied by any religious ceremonial. But Unthank would be only one of many such churches, for hand-fasting, or hand-fisting as it was also called, was not exclusively confined to Eskdale.

MOSSPAUL.*

The name Moss-paul, or Moss Paul as some writers have it, suggests the existence of an ecclesiastical foundation and, as just stated, Chalmers places here a chapel of the Over-kirk of Ewes. Concerning it we have little information. Writing in 1835 for the *Statistical Account* published in 1841, the Rev. Robert Shaw mentions that the ruins of the church of Moss-paul could then be identified, but all trace of them has been long removed.

* The readiest interpretation of the place-name is that it means "the moss of St. Paul." But it seems inevitable that it should be considered in some possible relationship to MOSSPEEBLE, farther down the Ewes valley, the meaning of which is not so readily suggested, unless, indeed, "pebble" be a corruption of "Peter," in which case both names may relate to some settlements of the early Cumbrian Church.

CANONBY.

The most important church in Eskdale was that of Canonby. The Priory was founded for Canons Regular of the Augustinian Order by Turgot de Rossedal, during the reign of David I. (1124 to 1153), to be held as a cell attached to the monastery of Jedburgh, which had received various grants of land from the Rossedals and others. The Priory Church seems to have been known during the twelfth century as the Church of Liddel.

In 1179 Pope Alexander III. confirmed to Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, the biographer of St. Kentigern, or St. Mungo, the churches of Eskdale, Ewesdale, and Liddesdale. The monks of Jedburgh appear to have disputed the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Glasgow, and the questions in dispute between them were submitted to arbitration; for the religious houses were ever careful not to go to law with each other. The award placed the church of St. Martin of Liddel under the episcopal authority of the Bishop of Glasgow; and there were attached, as dependencies of the Priory, the churches of Castletown, Sibbaldbie, and Wauchope. In 1540 Dean George* Graym granted a lease for five years of the glebe lands of Wauchope to Lord Maxwell. Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong mentions that this document is still extant, and that it is probably the only one remaining which was executed by a Prior of Canonby. Canonby was in the deanery of Annandale, though Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong suggests that there was also a deanery of Eskdale.† During the Wars of Succession the Prior of

* The signature is "George Graym," but in the body of the document his Christian name is given as "John."

† It may have been this fact which originated the name "Dean-banks," the beautiful stretch of woodland between Skipper's Bridge and the Irvine Burn.

Canonby, as well as the incumbents of the churches of Westerkirk and Ewes, swore fealty to Edward I., but as we have already pointed out, neither the monks nor the people of Canonby seem ever to have renounced their claim to be regarded as Scottish subjects.

The Priory, naturally, was the place of most consequence in the whole district, judicial and other business being there transacted. When James IV. made his Raid of Eskdale it might have been expected that he would accept the hospitality of the Canons, but, apparently, what they were able to offer was not commensurate with his dignity, and so he brought with him at considerable expense and no small inconvenience, his own royal pavilions.

According to a letter from the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Bishop of Durham and Sir R. Sadler, of date 30th November, 1544, it would appear that the Priory and the church were destroyed by Lord Wharton in his notorious raid after the battle of Solway Moss. The Priory lands had long been the object of desire on the part of the English King, but without wavering for an instant, the Scottish Government adhered to their declaration that they would not even discuss whether the lands were debateable. They indicated that they were even prepared to go to war to uphold their claim, which in the end was fully recognised by the division of 1552.

By the General Annexation Act of 1587 the Priory and church lands became the property of the Crown. In 1606 they passed by charter to Lord Home, who in 1610 received also a grant of the churches, parsonages, and teinds, and in consideration of these grants Lord Home undertook to pay the stipend of the minister and provide the Communion elements. From Lord Home

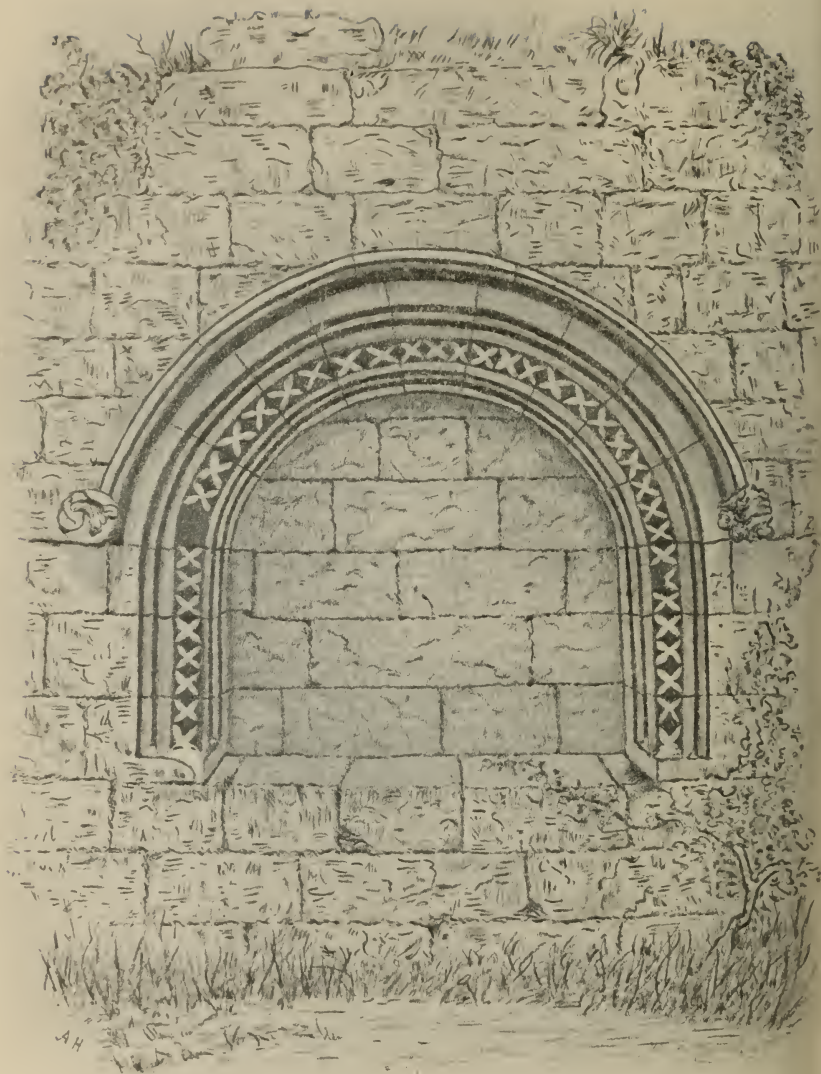
they passed to Sir John Ker, and from him to Walter, first Earl of Buccleuch; but in 1621 the preceding grants to Lord Home of "the teynd schevis and utheris teyndis, parsonage and vicarage, of the Kirkis of Wauchope and Cannabie belonging to the cell or pryorie of Cannabie" were ratified to his successor. In 1653 all the teinds were the property of the Countess of Buccleuch, and they have since remained in the possession of the ducal House.

We have already mentioned the generally accepted tradition* that the stones for the erection of Canonby Bridge were obtained from the ruined buildings of the Priory. A right of way still exists from the present church to Hallgreen, the site of the ancient Priory.

Very few pieces of the building are now extant, but, fortunately, there has been preserved from the hands of the vandals the sedilia, which is represented on the next page. It was transferred during the ministry of the Rev. James Donaldson and erected in the present churchyard, and a tablet to his memory inserted in it.

It is a very beautiful piece of Norman work, perhaps the only specimen of that style extant in Eskdale, and the Rev. Mr. Donaldson performed an estimable service in securing the safety of this artistic and sacred relic. A grotesque piece of sculpture, supposed to be a piece of the chrismatory, was dug up in the churchyard, and was, until some thirty years ago, preserved by the ministers of Canonby.

* We quote this tradition with some reserve. The Priory, which probably was never of great extent, was demolished in 1542-4, after the Battle of Solway Moss. In the charter of 1606 to Lord Home, we have "*necnon fundum ubi clausura, domus et horrea de Cannabie olim situata erant, tunc demolita.*" The use here of the pluperfect tense suggests that at the date of the charter very little of the original building remained above ground. On the other hand the existence of the sedilia points to the possibility of there having been a considerable mass of material left.



SEDILIA IN CANONBY KIRKYARD.

It was not until the year 1609 that a regular supply of ministers became available for Canonby. The definite settlement—in that year, so far as Canonby was concerned, and a year or two later, in the other principal churches of Eskdale—was no doubt due to a commission sent down by the General Assembly in 1608. The members were empowered to visit the kirks in these southern dales, and, where necessary, settle ministers and perform other presbyterial functions, such as building and uniting churches, and, in certain eventualities, to deprive ministers of their offices.

The following is a list of the ministers of Canonby since 1609:—

JOHN DOUGLAS, A.M. - - - - - 1609

Translated from Longformacus. Presented to Wauchope and Canonby 1st Sept., 1609, by James VI. On 20th following, the Presbytery of Jedburgh proposed "to remember his planting" to the Synod, "to the great slander of the Kirk." In 1615, he had also Morton, to which he was presented by Charles I., on 2nd April, 1635. In 1639, he was served heir to his brother James, and died in January, 1653.

JOHN BELL, A.M. - - - - - 1644

DAVID LAYNGE, A.M. - - - - - 1649

One of the four ministers in the bounds of the Presbytery of Middleby who "conformed" to the Act of 1662. He seems to have lost, or otherwise disposed of, the Session book, for in 1694 there is a minute that "enquiries should be made at Mr. John Laing son to Mr. David Laing sometime minister at Cannabee for the Session Book and Kirk Utensils." The enquiry elicited "no notice."

DAVID HEDDERWICK, A.M. - - - - - 168-

Deprived, 1689. Removed to Edinburgh in 1701, and had a Meeting House in Gray's Close. He rendered himself liable, in 1714, to the pains of the Act of Parliament of 5th July, 1695, by reading prayers in the church of Old Machar, setting up organs, &c. Died, 1723.

GEORGE MURRAY, A.M. - - - - - 1689

JAMES ARMSTRONG - - - - - 1694

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG - - - - - 1719

Son of above. He was termed a new light or "legal" preacher, and gave much offence by his sermon at the opening of Synod, in

1730. Preaching before His Grace, the Commissioner—Hugh, Earl of Loudoun—and the General Assembly, 16th May, 1736, upon Doing Good, “he read his papers in the grossest, most indistinct, and undecent manner. The writing was so large that the letters were seen at a good distance, when he turned the page. At every six or seven lines he mistook the line and read a wrong one, and called himself back.” He was also one of a club who did not favour Confessions of Faith. Translated to Castleton in 1733.

His son John Armstrong M.D. was of considerable repute as a physician but was more distinguished as a writer. His best known work was *The Art of Preserving Health*.*

ROBERT PETRIE, A.M. - - - - - 1734

On the back of the sedilia just referred to, there is the following inscription:—“Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Robert Petrie, A.M., who was 30 Years Minister of this parish.

The tears of all his Parishioners, which were shed over his Tomb in great abundance, were the strongest testimonial of his worth and their affection for [the] loss they had sustained in his Death, which happened the — July, 1764, in the 61st Year of his age.

He lived beloved, esteemed, and respected, and he died lamented by all who were friends to Religion, Virtue, and polite Learning.” One of Mr. Petrie’s sons was Dr. Robert Petrie, an eminent physician in Lincoln, and another, William, distinguished himself in India.

ANDREW WALKER - - - - - 1765

Translated from Ettrick. Presented by Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch.

JOHN DOWE - - - - - 1773

JOHN RUSSELL, D.D. - - - - - 1784

Translated from Eskdalemuir. His daughter, Margaret Helen, married John Elliot, of Cooms.

JAMES DONALDSON - - - - - 1815

Died 20th August, 1854, in the 75th year of his age and 40th of his ministry.

GEORGE COLVILLE - - - - - 1854

JAMES BARCLAY, A.M. - - - - - 1875

Translated to Montreal, Canada.

WILLIAM SNODGRASS, D.D. - - - - - 1878

ROBERT HOGG KERR, M.A. - - - - - 1896

Assistant at Shettleston Parish Church. Inducted to Canonry 1896.

The present church, which was built in 1822 at a cost of

* Hutchinson’s *History of Cumberland*, Vol. II., p. 554. Other authorities, however, give Dr. Armstrong as the son of the Rev. Robert Armstrong who preceded William Armstrong, as minister of Castleton.

£3,000, has accommodation for nearly 1,000 worshippers. The church records date from 1694, and consist of five volumes, but in the session book there is, unfortunately, a break from 1715 to 1734. On the commencement of the volume in 1694 the Session consisted of: the Rev. James Armstrong, minister; and Messrs. William Johnston in Barngleis, John Armstrong in Holehouse, James Irvin in Linsdubs, William Brown in Rowanburn, Adam Almas in Albaridge,* William Armstrong in Crookholm, William Armstrong of Grestail, John Waugh in Turcoon, Thomas Twedal in Sark, William Armstrong in Glenzier, and Thomas Armstrong in Milnsteads; elders. It will be observed that of these eleven elders no fewer than five are Armstrongs, and that three of these are named William. The list reads almost like the fire-raising indictment of 1605, but the spiritual connection in which they are now named proves the moral advance which, within a century, had been made in the Debateable Land.

The first entry in the records relates to Mr. James Armstrong who, "having been declared transportable by ane Act of the Synod of Mers and Teviotdale," had been admitted minister in Canonby. Some of the entries are characteristic of the ecclesiastical spirit of that day:—

"Cannabee Kirk Ap. 24, 1698.—The Session being informed that Morise Dikie was at work in Franc Calverts ground upon the last fast day, orders ym both to be summon'd to ye next diet."

"Cannabee Kirk May 29, 1698.—Fran. Calvert being lawfully summoned and called, compeared: and sufficiently purged himself of the charge laid against him. Qrupon he was dismissed with ane admonition to prohibit and hinder the like in tyme coming. John Morise being lawfully summoned and being interrogate upon the lyb. laid against him confessed the same. Qrupon the Sess. dismissed him with a rebuke, in regard he is no parishener here."

"Can. Kirk Mar. 8, 1699.—The Act of ye Assemblie Janr 26, 1699 and ye Act of ye Counsell enjoining a nationale fast qch is

* Now the Albierig—"the white ridge."

to be kept upon Thursday first. As also ye Act of Parliat. for a collection for repairing the bridge of Ancrum were read and the sd. collection to be upon Sabbath first and 2nd."

"Can. Kirk March 12, 1699.—This day ye collection for ye bridge of Ancrum is six shill: starline: and grof two shill: and four bodles are kept for ye poor and four shill: to be kept for ye bridge of Ancrum till it be so demanded."

In October, 1699, the Session rebuked some people who had gone "towards Newcastle on ye Sabbath day for buying of Beans" in the previous August, and later we have the following minute:—

"Can. Kirk Oct 14, 1699.—The Session ordered that ye miur. be put in mind to advertise ye people yt albeit ye persons guilty of travelling on ye Lords Day were passed with a private rebuke before ye Session: yet if any be found guilty of yt or ye like hereafter they shall be rebuked before ye congregation."

Later we have these entries:—

"Can: K. Aug 28, 1709.—The Sess. being informed that the Egyptians haunt this place at this time, it is appointed that every elder in his bounds take notice whether they be resett in the paroch or not."

"Can: K. Oct 20, 1709.—Holehouse reports that the Egyptians were resett in the house of James Brown of Hagg."

Following the last minutes the Session deal with Acts of Synod against "resetting the Egyptians" who, it is said, then wandered in considerable numbers together through the county to the great scandal of religion. In the following year action is taken against a parishioner who confessed to having attended Quaker meetings, and in the following week, the Session reprove a man who confessed to their questioning anent his penny wedding. They, moreover, kept a strict superintendence over incomers, and there is a record of their rejecting as insufficient the credentials of a domestic servant, and directing her to go to Tundergarth and get satisfactory testimonials.

The following are typical minutes:—

"Can: K. July 19, 1713.—The Sess. being informed that William Jackson in Bowholm was carrying a chest and a trunk Sabbath last order him to be sund."

"Can : K. July 26, 1713—Holehouse and John Elliot are appointed to speak to James and Charles Russell anent their children 'playing upon the Sabbath day.'"

In 1741 reference is made to the bridge question :—

"Can : Kirk Aug. 9, 1741.—It being judged convenient at this time that ye Sacrament should be administered without the church, it was done accordingly but the Session unanimously resolve that as soon as a bridge is built over Esk it shall be administered only within the church and in the winter season."

In 1744, according to a minute of Presbytery, a collection was made in Canonby Kirk on behalf of Archibald Thomson of Westerkirk, "who had suffered a great loss by fire." From these and many similar entries it will be seen that the members of Session must have been men of much industry and considerable leisure.

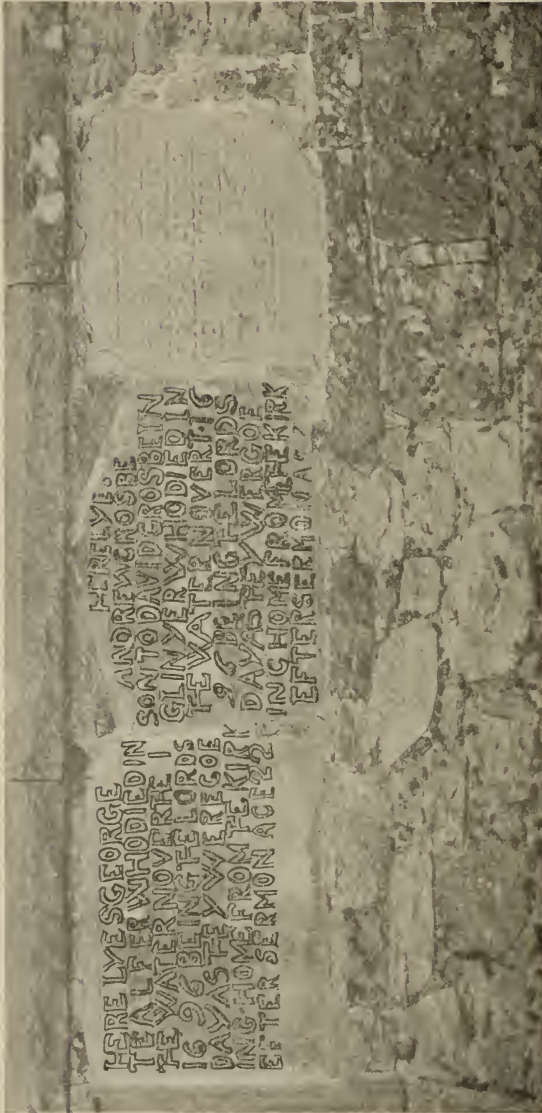
Referring further to the boating disaster mentioned in the preceding chapter, there are in the kirkyard of Canonby three tombstones, two of them, of which a print is given overleaf, on the right of the entrance-gate, and the third situated a little to the south-west of the mausoleum. In all three stones the lettering is in relief, and in common with many 17th century memorials in all parts of the country, the letters are frequently united.

The inscriptions on the stones at the entrance-gate can be easily deciphered in the illustration. On the third stone there is the following :—

"Here Lyes Frances Armstrang son of William Armstrang in Glinyer who died in the water on the Lords day Nov. 1, 1696 as he went from the Kirk after sermon. Aged 20."

Unfortunately the records of Canonby Church at this date are missing, but in those of the parish of Kirk-andrews-on-Esk there are some details given of the occurrence. The following is the text of a note written by the rector of the parish :—

"Upon Nov. 1, 1696 yer happened a very sad accident 28 people were drowned at Canabie Boat as yey were passing yt water from Church. Six persons come to years of discretion went from yer own Church to Canaby. Every sone of yem was



STONES IN CANONBY KIRKYARD.

drowned. These six lived in my parish. There happened in yeir company two boys of 9 and 11 years old. They were in ye midst of ye pool over head and ears in water wth ye rest of ye peple yt were drowned. And yet by a distinguishing privilege yese two only got out of ye water safe. Surely god almighty thereby showed his displeasure to these persons who being of age passed by yer own parish Church to Canaby but showed his mercy to ye boys, who knew not wt yey did but went for company sake. In suffering persons of age that were of my parish to be drowned and in preserving ye two lads safe even in as great danger in all human probability as ye rest. This is so distinguishing a evidence yt every one ought to take notice of it and take heed how yey run from yeir own parish Church. But ye thing is certain as witness my hand

(Signed) EDW. WILTSHIRE, Rector."

It further appears from the parish Registers that two at least of the sufferers were interred at Kirkandrews, viz., Wm. Atchison and Adam Little, both of Millrighs, who were buried on the day following the accident.

There is a tradition that the boat was over-loaded, a source of danger greatly increased by the Esk having come down in flood during the time of service. It is said that 28 out of the 35 passengers were drowned. The fact that only three of the unfortunate people are buried in Canonby kirkyard and two at Kirkandrews, rather supports the suggestion that the remainder were carried to the sea by the swift current of the flooded river.

The third stone shewn in the illustration has no connection with the accident. It is probably the oldest stone now in Canonby kirkyard, the date shown being 1593.

There are two Communion Tokens of Canonby extant :—

1. Octagonal, borders, and undated.

Obverse: CANONBY/KIRK, round the edge.

Reverse: 1 COR / XI., 23.

For illustration of this issue, see No. 1 on Plate at end of Chapter XXIII.

2. Canonbie, 1816. Round. Incuse around edge.

STAPELGORTOUN.

The Kirk of Stapelgortoun was under the jurisdiction of the Abbey of Kelso, to which it was granted by William de Kunyburg, in 1127.

In 1342, Sir William Douglas received the advocation of the church. In the rent-roll of the Abbey of Kelso the value of the carucate of land at Douglen, held by the monks, was five merks, and the value of the rectory was £13 6s. 8d.

In 1493, John of Glendonwyn was ordered by the Lords of the Council to pay to the Abbey of Kelso the sum of £8 yearly for the previous seven years, "for the hale teyndis, froits, proffits, and dewities of the kirk of Stabilgortoun."* But, as he did not attend to answer the summons, the Council ordered his goods to be distrained.

In 1550, Robert, Lord Maxwell, succeeded his father in the advocation of the churches in the lordship of Eskdale, and, as we have seen, he granted to Christie Armstrong the teinds of the parish in consideration of the annual sum of £8 (Scòts) paid by him. Mr. Armstrong mentions that in 1574 the valuation of the teinds is given as:—Stapelgortoun £8, and Douglen £5. By the General Annexation Act of 1587, the church and lands of Stapelgortoun became the property of the Crown.

In 1637, the kirk and teinds appear to have belonged to the Earl of Roxburgh, and on his resignation of them they reverted to the Crown, but seem again to have come into the possession of the Earl of Roxburgh. On the abolition of Episcopacy, in 1689, the patronage fell again to the Crown.

* Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 101.



STAPELGORTOUN KIRKYARD.

During the Reformation period the incumbency of the Border churches was somewhat irregular, and we find that, in the years 1576, 1578, 1579, 1580, and 1585, there was no fixed minister in Stapelgortoun, and that in 1586 the minister was non-resident. Up to about 1612 the spiritual needs of the parish were ministered to by occasional preachers, but in that year the first Presbyterian minister was appointed.

The following are some of the ministers of this ancient parish :—

ARCHIBALD GIBSONE, A.M. - - - - - 1612

In 1615, this incumbent received from the Abbey of Kelso a stipend of 200 merks, and he enjoyed, in addition, the vicarage, manse, and glebe. In 1626, the Earl of Nithsdale, who had been granted the lands of Stapelgortoun, in 1621, along with the barony of Langholm, is noted as paying the minister 320 marks. Gibsone was formerly of Dunscore, and was presented to Stapelgortoun by James VI. He died in 1657, aged 78.

ROBERT LAW, A.M. - - - - - 1657

Descended from the family of Laws Bridge, in Ayrshire. Attained his degree at Glasgow, 1646, and became assistant to foregoing. Deprived by Act of Parliament 11th June, and Act of Privy Council 1st October, 1662. Law was one of the 350 Presbyterian ministers ejected at the Restoration, and at the same time there went out the Rev. James Pringle, A.M., of Westerkirk, and the Rev. John Lithgow, of Ewes. All three seem to have been restored to their parishes when the persecutions ended. Law returned to the parish in 1687, and remained minister of Stapelgortoun until his death in 1702. As the parish was conjoined with Langholm in 1703, he was the last minister of the ancient parish of Stapelgortoun. He was buried in the churchyard, as was also his wife, who died in 1694.

Local antiquaries had observed the existence of his tombstone, but it was left to Mr. Clement Armstrong and his brother-in-law, Mr. Carlyle, of Minholm, to have it rescued from obscurity and neglect. Through the Kirk-Session of Langholm they succeeded in restoring the stone, and had it erected against the west wall of the mortuary chapel of the Maxwells. The inscription is as follows:—"This Monument is erected in Memory of the Revd. Mr. Robert Law, descended from the Ancient Family of Laws Bridge, in the County of Air, minister of this Parish. He was Pious, Learned, Wise, Judicious, Moderate, and a Cheerful Sufferer for Religion, and his Memory is Dear to all who knew him. He died April 8, 1702, in the 72 year of his Age, and was Interred in Staple Gordon Church as was also Mary his wife who Died Jan. 9, 1694. She was Devout, Zealous, Meek, and of great Charity, and spent her time in doing good. Many daughters have done

Virtuously, but thou excellest them all. This is put up by the Order of their Son, Robt. Law, Doctr. of Physick, Deceased, and Performed by his Daughter, Dame ELIZ. HALIBURTON, Relict of Sr. John HALIBURTON, Knight."

For further references see below, and also Chapter XXII.

MATTHEW REID, A.M. - - - - - 1663

Probably son of the Rev. Matthew Reid, minister of Kirkinner. Degree at University of Edinburgh, 14th July, 1659. Whilst attending Divinity Class had a legacy of je merks from Mr. James Reid, minister of St. Cuthbert's. Licensed, 1664. Translated to Hoddam, 1669. The epitaph on his tombstone at Hoddam is as follows :—

" His name, he from St. Matthew took,
His skill in physic from St. Luke ;
A reed of John the Baptist's kind
Not blown about by every wind."

" Ever a true Nathaniel,
He preached, lived, and dyed well."

ROBERT ALLAN, A.M.* - - - - - 1670†

Son of Rev. Thomas Allan, minister of Wauchope. Graduated at Edinburgh, 1665. Deprived by the Act of Parliament, 1690. Went to England, and died in 1720, aged 75 years.

ROBERT LAW, A.M. - - - - - 1688

After suffering imprisonment in Glasgow, in 1674, and being outlawed (and, according to some accounts, going to Ireland), he returned to Eskdale in 1687. He kept a Meeting House at Burnfoot, and entered Kirk of Stapelgortoun in 1688. After deprivation of above Robert Allan, in 1690, Law was formally restored to the parish. Member of Assembly in May, 1690, and 1692.

The foundations of the pre-Reformation Church are easily distinguishable in the churchyard, which is still in use at the close of nearly 800 years. In 1703 the parish was divided, part being assigned to Westerkirk and the remainder, together with Wauchope, and half of the parish of Morton, being united in the new parish of Langholm. In the churchyard are many tombstones of great local interest. Stapelgortoun was the burial place of Bailie Little, so often mentioned in these pages. The stone, on which the earliest date is 1692, records the death of Sir James Little, knight; Mat-

* See Appendix, VI.

† Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong says 1673.—*History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 102.

thew Little, captain, and Thomas Little, major, both in the service of the Hon. East India Company, all sons of Matthew Little and Helen Pasley. Bailie Little's mother, Grisell Wylie, died in 1703, and was the first to be buried in the new churchyard at the head of the Kirkwynd of Langholm. Stapelgortoun is the burial place of the Maxwells of Broomholm, and stones have been placed in the mausoleum in memory of many of the family who died in India, and other places abroad.

WAUCHOPE.

The church of Wauchope, as already indicated, was attached to the cell of Canonby, with whose history it was almost inseparably connected, and like it, was under the jurisdiction of the Abbey of Jedburgh, though not assessed to its support. We have seen that Robert, Lord Maxwell, was possessed of the churches and chaplainries of Wauchope in 1530, and in 1539 he received from the Prior of Canonby a lease for five years of the vicarage and glebe-lands. It was doubtless owing to its association with Canonby, as well as to the fact that the Irvine Burn was the boundary between the parishes, that the parish of Wauchope embraced such farms as Irvine and Cauldtown.

In 1606 the Priory lands of Canonby and the teinds of Wauchope were granted to Lord Home, who seems to have experienced considerable difficulty in collecting the teinds, both in Wauchope and Ewesdale. In 1610 nine Armstrongs, seven Irvings, seven Littles, seven Grahams, and thirteen persons of other surnames in Wauchope were ordered to be denounced as rebels and put to the horn for not restoring and delivering again, each of them his



WAUCHOPE KIRKYARD.

own part, respectively, of the following teinds:—"Lambis teind, stirkis teind, butter teind, cheis teind, hay and utheris fruitis." These persons had been summoned before the Lords of Council but failed to appear, and this denunciation was the outcome.

In 1621 Wauchope passed to the Earl of Nithsdale by the charter erecting Langholm into a Burgh of Barony. The stipend was then fixed at 500 merks. Ultimately, about 1653, both lands and patronage passed to the House of Buccleuch, who, by virtue of this, acquired part of the right of patronage of the newly formed parish of Langholm. In 1703 one-half of the parish of Morton was annexed to Wauchope, and both were added to the portion of Stapelgortoun to form the new parish of Langholm. Like the other kirks of Eskdale, Wauchope had no stated minister from 1576 to 1585. In 1587, by the General Annexation Act, its patronage was vested in the Crown. In 1609, when it was reached by the wave of interest set in motion by the Reformed Church, Wauchope obtained a resident minister. The following are the incumbents from that date:—

JOHN DOUGLAS, A.M. - - - - - 1609

Translated from Longformacus. Presented to Wauchope and Canonby by James VI. In 1615 he also had Morton.

JAMES MOWBRAY (or Moubrey), A.M. - - - - - 1635

Formerly of Carmunock. Presented by Charles I. Died about 1642, aged 49.

THOMAS ALLAN (or Allane), A.M. - - - - - 1644

Had his degree at St. Andrews in 1635. Ordained 1644. Died 1684,* aged 69 years. On the passing of the notorious Act of 1662, Mr. Allan conformed to the decree of the Privy Council, and obtained nomination by a Bishop, and was re-ordained. He was thus enabled to retain his church and manse, whilst his fellow-presbyters in Staplegortoun, Ewes, and Westerkirk "went out into the wilderness." During his incumbency Mr. Allan was the victim of a

* The Session Records give the date 1689.

serious outrage by some Armstrongs of the Kimmont branch. They broke into his house, and after beating both him and his wife "verie pitifullie," they stole two horses. Hearing that the minister charged them with the outrage, and standing in wholesome awe of Buccleuch, in whose jurisdiction they were, they persuaded a fellow from the English side, as notorious a thief and outlaw as they themselves, to take the blame. This he did, and told the minister that he would never see a hair of his horses' tails unless he gave him five pounds—a sum Mr. Allan was obliged to pay to recover his own horses.

Mr. Allan had a daughter and two sons, one of them being the minister at Stapelgortoun. The other became an apothecary in Edinburgh.

SIMON WYLD* - - - - - 1685

Translated from Hilton. Ordained in 1685. Remained in Wauchope about three years and then went to Ireland, his native country. Died abroad before 1715.

JOHN LAURIE, A.M. - - - - - 1691

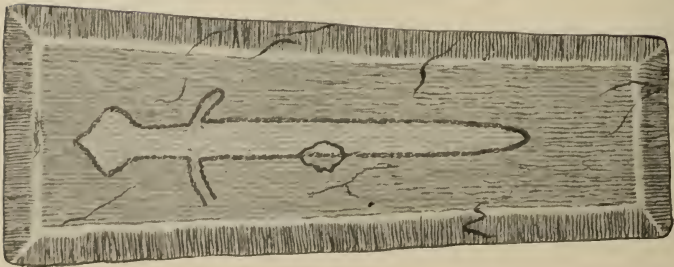
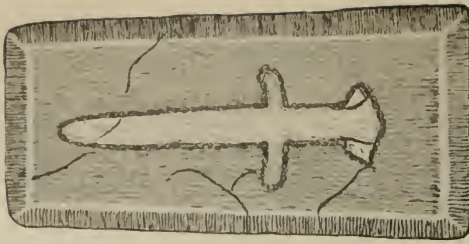
Attained his degree at the University of Edinburgh in 1671. Ordained 10th September, 1691. Was a member of Assembly in 1692. Translated to Eskdalemuir in July, 1703.

The church of Wauchope stood within the present kirkyard, where a remnant of the foundations is still visible. Until within recent years a considerable number of moulded and carved stones were scattered about. Many of them have been used as tomb-stones and others have been built into the walls. The most noteworthy of these relics are shown on next page.

The ancient cross is fixed into the ground a few yards south-west of the foundation walls. We submitted the impression of it to the Bishop of Bristol (Dr. G. F. Browne), probably the greatest authority in England on early Christian symbolism, and he very courteously replied:—

"DEAR MR. HYSLOP,—I am glad to have your letter and the very interesting engraving from the three stones. They do not, I think, call for any special remark, but if you like to say something speculative about the cross, something of this kind might do: It seems probable that crosses of this type are meant to represent the cross upon the Orb. The super-position of the ordin-

* In the Sessions Records he is named "Simon Wool."



CROSS AND SWORDS IN WAUCHOPE KIRKYARD.

ary cross upon the St. Andrew's Cross within a circle probably arose in this way,—the earliest symbols of the kind that we have in this Island are in Galloway. They represent the Chi Rho* enclosed in a circle; the curve of the Rho, like the top of a capital P opened out, soon disappeared and left a St. Andrew's Cross with a vertical bar through the middle, all enclosed in a circle. To insert the horizontal bar and thus make two crosses was a very natural step in advance.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) G. F. BRISTOL.

In answer to other enquiries the Bishop said:—

“The first sepulchral crosses stood upright; the first dated example we have now remaining is at Bewcastle in Cumberland; it was set up in the first year of King Egfrith, that is A. D. 670, and when set up it was about 17 feet high. A great many portions of sepulchral crosses beautifully sculptured are in existence in the north of England and the Midlands, usually of no great height. The costliness of such ornaments must have been considerable, and I suppose that it would naturally become a practice to have the cross cut on the surface of the horizontal body stone, instead of placing a standing cross at the head of the stone.”

The incised swords are built into the kirkyard wall on the Wauchope Road, one on each side of the gateway. We are informed by Dr. T. Coke Squance, F.R.S., ED., of Sunderland, whose knowledge and collection of armour and weapons is well known throughout the north of England, that the swords are of English design of the thirteenth century. It will be recalled that in the late

* The Chi Rho is an ancient religious symbol, a monogram of (1) the Greek χ = ch, and (2) the Greek R. These make the first three letters of *Christos*, which has been shortened into *Christ*. The symbol is graphically represented thus $\chi\rho$. The monogram is frequently seen on Roman coins of the fourth century. When Constantine attacked Lucinius about the year 323, he carried the labarum with this symbol upon it at the head of his army as the deliverer of the Church. Upon a coin of Decentius, here illustrated, in addition to the Chi Rho, the Λ and Ω are also shewn between the arms of the Chi.



thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries, Wauchope was in the possession of the Lindsays, an English family who actively sympathised with Edward in the Wars of Independence. Dr. Squance agrees with our suggestion that these incised swords were probably placed in memory of some of the chiefs of the Lindsays who fell fighting against Scotland at Bannockburn.

Not a few mediæval tombstones still exist in the churchyard, most of them bearing the conventional symbols of mortality, whilst one or two are carved with grotesque figures.

What is perhaps the oldest lettered stone in Wauchope stands near the middle of the northern wall. The inscription is as follows :—

“Here lyes Andrew McVeti n. Murthm who died 16 day of Agest 1713, his age 66.”

On the same stone :—

“Here lies John McVeti his son who died 25 April 1714 his age 29”*

There is no lovelier spot in Eskdale than the old kirkyard of Wauchope—no place around which the memories and affections of Langholm people cling more tenaciously. The soft eternal sound of the river, still, after many milleniums, cutting its way deeper into the hard rock, the song of the birds in the spring and summer days; the flowers and greenery of the opposite glade; the encircling hills, green in the spring, deep purple in the summer, russet brown in autumn;—all these combine

* It has long been current in Eskdale that the family of McVittie settled in Eskdale as stragglers from the Pretender's army in 1715. This is obviously incorrect, as will be seen both from this inscription, and from the Stapelgortoun Registers printed in Appendix VI. In 1669 there were McVitties in Langholm, Wauchope, and Stubholme. In that year “John McVittie in Stubholme” was one of the witnesses to the marriage of John Hislop of the parish of Wauchope, and Bessie Lyttle, in Hole, in the parish of Stapelgortoun.

to make the frame which encloses the mortal ashes of our sacred dead, sleeping amidst the beauties of Wauchope. The place impresses every visitor,—he speaks of it and goes his way. But the unbreathed love of it, the memory of it, stills the voices of Langholm folks with a strange, subtle spell. Wordsworth felt its charm and has recorded his impression in the tender sonnet entitled *A Place of Burial in the South of Scotland*:—

“ Part fenced by man, part by a ragged steep
That curbs a foaming brook, a Grave-yard lies ;
The Hare's best crouching-place for fearless sleep,
Which moon-lit Elves, far seen by credulous eyes
Enter in dance. Of church or Sabbath ties
No vestige now remains ; yet hither creep
Bereft Ones and in lowly anguish weep
Their prayers out to the wind and naked skies.
Proud tomb is none, but rudely-sculptured knights
By humble choice of plain old times are seen
Level with earth, among the hillocks green,
Union not sad, when sunny daybreak smites,
The spangled turf and neighbouring thickets ring
With *Jubilate* from the choirs of Spring !”

LANGHOLM.

The parish of Langholm dates from the year 1703, when the Eskdale parishes were re-arranged. The ancient parish of Stapelgortoun was divided, one part being conjoined with Westerkirk and the other with Wauchope, to form the new parish of Langholm, which town had now become, both as regards trade and population, the capital of Eskdale.

The following are the names of the ministers of Langholm :—

DAVID GRAHAM - - - - - 1706

Licensed by the Presbytery of Jedburgh in 1700. Called 12th Dec., 1705, and ordained 24th March, 1706. Translated to Kirkmahoe 11th April, 1716.

ALEXANDER MEIKLE, A.M. - - - - - 1717

Graduated at Edinburgh University 29th April, 1701. Licensed by five ministers, at London, 27th July, 1704, and was for some time

assistant to Dr. Isaac Watts, the well-known divine and hymnologist. Resided for a while in Kirkcaldy, and had a testimonial from its Presbytery. On an almost unanimous petition, the Presbytery proceeded with a call 15th Nov., 1716, and Mr. Meikle was also presented by George I., and ordained 9th May, 1717. On account of bodily infirmity, he demitted in Dec., 1746, and reserved £40 yearly for his support. He died 17th July, 1757, aged about 76 years, and in the 41st of his ministry. Mr. Meikle had married 1st Nov., 1726, Julia, daughter of Thomas Henderson, of Ploughlands, in the parish of Dalmeny, and had four sons. William Julius, third son, born 28th Sept., 1735, was famed for his poetic genius.* Mrs. Meikle mortified the sum of £3 sterling "for the beginning of a free school in that part of the parish of Langholm called Wauchope allenarly for teaching English."

JOHN DICKIE - - - - - 1748

Translated from Dunscore. Called 17th September, 1747; admitted 21st January, 1748. In 1751, declined a call to Ayton. Demitted 12th October, 1790; died 9th Feby., 1800, aged 91 years, and in the 63rd of his ministry. Stated to have been a man of "considerable vigour of mind, very sanctimonious in his manners, yet with a desire of being thought free and liberal in his sentiments." Another account speaks of him as "a very godly man . . . held in the very highest estimation." On retiring from Langholm, he went to reside in Edinburgh. He was deeply versed in the history of the Covenanting period, and possessed many relics of the martyrs.

THOMAS MARTIN, A.M. - - - - - 1791

Translated from Castleton. Presented by George III., and admitted 11th August, 1791. Died at Edinburgh, whither he had gone to attend the General Assembly, 29th May, 1812, in the 59th year of his age and 22nd of his ministry.

An evangelical but weak preacher. It is reported that in the Assembly during a discussion anent the inclusion of passages of Scripture in the Psalmody, he waggishly observed that they must not omit the members of the musical Presbytery—Mr. Sing-ers of Fa-la; Mr. Sang-ster of Hum-bie; Mr. Piper of Pen-cait-lah; and Dr. Lo-ri-mer of Had-din-ton. It is not recorded how the Assembly received the suggestion.†

Mr. Martin wrote the history of the parish for Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, in 1793. Shortly after his admission the present manse was built, and he had the so-called Roman bridge over Wauchope at the Auld Caul taken down, a deed which aroused considerable resentment.

* See Part V. of this volume. Doubt has been expressed as to the correct spelling of this name, some using the form "Mickle." Miss Nichol, Church Street, West Hartlepool, a daughter of the late William Nichol, bank agent, Langholm, had in her possession a receipt given by the minister of Langholm to Simon Little, portioner of Langholm, for teinds in the year 1745. It is signed "Alexr. Meikle."—*Esksdale and Liddesdale Advertiser*, January 25th, 1899.

† In Dr. Russell's *Reminiscences of Yarrow* (p. 60), the same incident is related of Dr. McKnight, one of the Clerks of Assembly.

WILLIAM BERRY SHAW - - - - - 1812

Translated from Robertson. Presented by Charles William, fourth Duke of Buccleuch—one of his first presentations after succeeding to the title—and admitted 6th Nov., 1812. Died 17th June, 1856, in his 81st year and the 55th of his ministry. Published five single sermons, Hawick, 1810, and Carlisle, 1835, 8vo.; also, *Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical*, Edinburgh, 1859, 8vo.; Sermon xiv. in Gillan's *Scots Pulpit*. Mr. Shaw wrote the *Statistical Account* of 1841. He was a personal friend of Dr. Chalmers, the great Disruptionist leader.

JAMES WILSON MACTURK, B.A. - - - - - 1854

On the recommendation of Venerable Principal Macfarlane, of Glasgow, appointed, on presentation by the Queen, assistant and successor to foregoing. Succeeded 1856. Died 26th Dec., 1878.

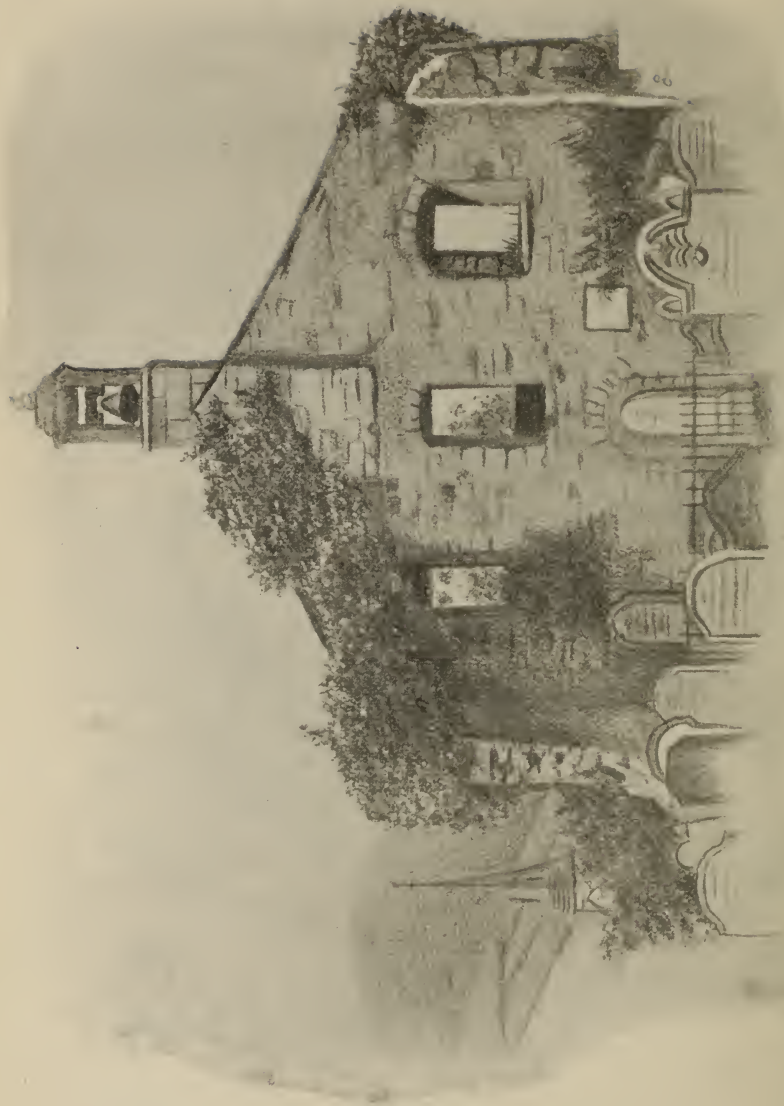
JAMES BUCHANAN - - - - - 1879

Educated, Glasgow University. Licensed by Presbytery of Glasgow 12th June, 1872. Assistant to Rev. Dr. Paul, St. Cuthbert's, and afterwards to Rev. Dr. Nicholson, St. Stephen's, Edinburgh. Ordained to parish of Rathven, Banffshire, 11th February, 1875. Inducted to Langholm, 5th June, 1879, and has since continued in pastoral charge.

In 1703, a chapel was built at Half-Morton, and was supplied every fourth Sunday by the minister of Langholm, until 1825. The Session of Langholm had to pay 10s. on the annual occasion of each Sacrament, to Half-Morton in lieu of poor's rate. The chapel having fallen into disrepair, and the circumstances having been before several Assemblies, disjunction was resolved upon, and Half-Morton was erected into a separate parish by the Court of Teinds, 6th March, 1839. The Rev. W. B. Shaw had been relieved of the oversight of Half-Morton in 1825.

The Eskdale parishes were, from the Reformation, in the bounds of the Presbytery of Middleby, but, in 1743, they were disjoined by the General Assembly, and, with Castleton from the Presbytery of Jedburgh, formed into the Presbytery of Langholm.

Since the formation of the parish of Langholm there have been four parish churches. The first was built



LANGHOLM KIRKYARD.

in 1703, the second in 1747, the third in 1779, and the fourth, the present handsome structure in the Early Gothic style, on the Eldingholm, in 1845. The remaining portion of the third church is shown in the illustration. The bell, which still hangs in the belfry, but, owing to the insecure condition of the gable, is never rung, measures 18 inches in depth by two feet across the mouth, and is inscribed "Armstrong, &c., Founderers. Edin. 1795."

Some doubt exists as to the sites of the earlier Manse. In the letter already quoted Miss Nichol states that during the ministry of Mr. Meikle the Manse stood on the site of the present National Bank of Scotland in the High Street of Langholm, and that here William Julius Meikle was born. As his birth was in 1734 this is possible, but from the records of the Kirk Session we know that in 1721 the Rev. Alex. Meikle's Manse was in Wauchope. The traditional site of this Manse, where, it is also alleged, the poet was born, was on the mound made by the ruins of Wauchope Castle, where the ground plan of the house is easily traceable. At the end of the Stapelgortoun Registers, printed as Appendix VI. of this volume, some curious entries are made, evidently by the Rev. Robert Allan, the episcopal minister of the parish, who was the son of the minister of Wauchope. The entries relate to certain domestic matters, but they afford information of value to us in this enquiry. When deprived of Stapelgortoun in 1690, Mr. Allan evidently went to reside in his father's old Manse of Wauchope, as we see from this entry:—

"Then on Münd March 13, 1694, my third daughter was born the foresd day about 9 hours in the forenoon in the mansion house at Wauchope Walls and was baptised in the meeting house yr. on thurs the 17 of the foresd month by Mr. John Halyburton, minister of Graitney and was named Margaret"

The "mansion house at Wauchope Walls" could not be the Castle, for it was then in ruins, and can refer only to the Manse, in which, as we have seen, Mr. Meikle was living in 1721. It is, of course, possible that in the interval between 1721 and 1734 he may have removed, but as the present Manse was also built in Wauchope in 1793, we incline to the opinion that Miss Nichol was in error.

The parish Registers date as follows:—Baptisms, from 1706; Marriages, from 1719; and Deaths, from 1704.

There are extant at least two specimens of the Communion Tokens of Langholm Kirk, each measuring 15 sixteenths of an inch.

That numbered 2 on the Plate at the end of Chapter XXIII, is a round token. *Obverse*: LANGHOLM, around edge of upper segment. **K**, in centre. With borders. *Reverse*: 1 Cor. / xi., 23.

That numbered 3 on the Plate is octagonal, with borders. *Obverse*: LANGHOLM, in semi-circle over KIRK. *Reverse*: plain.

There is another Token not mentioned by Mr. A. J. S. Brook, F.S.A. (Scot.), in his great work on the Communion Tokens of the Established Church of Scotland, nor by the Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, Dumfries, in his valuable book on the Tokens of Dumfriesshire, but which, nevertheless, we think is one of the earliest issue of Langholm Tokens.

The *Obverse* is here is plain. We have

L.K
1709

 shewn. The *Reverse* submitted this to Mr. Whitelaw, who agrees with us that the Token is probably one of Langholm Kirk, though the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, minister of the parish, does not

share our view. And Mr. Whitelaw agrees with us, that the entries given below create a possibility if not a probability that this is a Token of Langholm,—the first issued after its erection into a separate parish.

Its issue, it is true, is not mentioned in the Session Records. In 1712 there is a minute about borrowing from Canonby, Ewes, and Westerkirk the “utensils” (as they are quaintly styled) for the administration of the Sacrament, but no mention is made of Tokens. In 1716, however, there is given an inventory, or what in English parish churches is called a “terrier,” of these “utensils,” and one of the items is “a bag with 400 or 500 communion tokens.” So that, presumably, in 1712, and, assuredly, in 1716, Langholm Kirk, originating in 1703, had its own Tokens. When were they cast? The evidences point to a date *near* 1709.

In 1749 there is a minute recording the casting of 8/900 new Tokens.

The Session Records contain some very interesting items, and deal with a range of subjects for which Kirk Sessions of the present day assume no responsibility. The following extracts* are typical:—

“July 20, 1695.—Intimation was made from the pulpit, of a general collection throughout the kingdom for redeeming some of our countrymen taken captive by the Turks.”

“July 27, 1697.—Four men had gone to Carlisle for victuals, and on their return found the Esk not passable at Canonby. They lay down by the river side and crossed early on Sunday morning. The Session held they should have left their burdens at the water side, come home on Saturday night, and returned for them on Monday morning. They were rebuked for their infringement of the Sabbath.”

“May 31st, 1706.—The Session fixed the fees for the Proclamation of marriage at 5 groats, whereof a shilling was to go to the precentor and eightpence to the church officer. The fee for baptism was fixed at 9d.—6d. to the precentor and 3d. to the church officer.”

* These are taken from reprints which appeared in the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser*. It is to be regretted that the minutes were not there quoted in their original text. Much of their picturesqueness is lost through the paraphrasing.

"August 4, 1706.—Church officer's salary fixed at 10s. a year and a pair of shoes."

"Oct. 27, 1706.—J. R. having lately come home from England married, was ordered to produce a testimonial of his marriage."

"July 3, 1709.—J. J. and J. B. rebuked for holding a penny wedding."

"May 13, 1716.—M. G. acknowledged that she had been guilty of scolding and flyting and was rebuked."

"May 12, 1717.—No Session this day because of the confusion caused by a troop of dragoons coming into the town during the time of forenoon sermon."

"Aug. 18, 1717.—The Sabbath being badly observed the Session renewed the patrol of the streets on that day by two of their number."

"Sep. 8, 1717.—The elders reported that they saw no abuse of the Sabbath, but that they found two men sitting together at the fireside of another during divine service. They were instructed to speak to them privately and warn them of the consequences if it was repeated."

"June 3, 1720.—The Session borrowed table linen for the Communion Tables from Ewes; as a supply, for which a collection had been made in the parish, was not obtainable at the Fair."

"April 9, 1721.—No sermon, the minister being "barred" by the waters. This occurred for 2 Sundays and application was made to Mr. Melville to have the bridge over Wauchope put right."

"July 16, 1721.—The minister having represented that strangers having counterfeit testimonials carry away much of the poor's money, proposed that it should be enacted that no strangers after this get above twopence, and when more than one in company a penny only, to help to carry them on the road . . ."

"May 6, 1722.—The minister was appointed to apply to Mr. Melville for a warrant to the constables to put a vagrant boy who resides commonly in this town, out of the parish."

"Sep. 23, 1722.—The minister reported that he had received a letter from the Earl of Dalkeith wherein his Lordship promised to grant a warrant for £12 sterling towards the building of a dyke about the churchyard of Langholm. The Session considering that more money is required to build the dyke . . . thought fit to ask a collection throughout the parish, and the question being moved what time was most fit for such a collection, the elders thought it most probable that money would be in the people's hands about the Winter Fair, and appoint the minister to make intimation of a collection . . ."

"Nov. 2, 1722.—The officer reports S. S. came after divine service was begun, and that he hindered him to sit on the stool (of repentance), in which he was approved and appointed to intimate to S. S. that each day he appears in sackcloth, he is to stand at the church door from the 2nd bell until worship is begun."*

"June 9, 1723.—The Session allow J. J. now very weak, a mutchkin of sack."

* On Sunday mornings in Langholm the Kirk bell is still rung in this order:—

9	o'clock, called the 1st bell.
10'30	,, called the 2nd bell, or the "warning bell."
11'30	,, called the 3rd bell. The services begin
11'45.	

"Oct. 13, 1723.—There being a complaint that several people walk by the water side after divine service is over, advertisement will be made from the pulpit that they will be taken notice of according to the Act of Assembly if they continue in that practice."

"April 25, 1725.—The minister reported that the mason work of the kirkyard dykes was finished about November last, together with the gates and styles, and that he had spoken to Middle-Milne* for young timber to plant the churchyard with, which he granted."

"March 6, 1726.—The Session allow J. L. and J. B., two of the poor scholars, a quarter to learn to sing the common tunes at threepence per month. The minister reported that he had tried who of the poor scholars had ears and none of them were capable but these two."

"Dec. 29, 1729.—Advertisement is to be made next Sabbath that no bad money† be given into the collection for the poor."

"Nov. 4, 1731.—The treasurer reported that he had sold of Woods halfpennies 7 shillings and 8 pence and got for them 2/3½d, and of sanded halfpennies 27/3½d. and got 4/- for them at 5d. a pound."

"Nov. 8, 1730.—The minister reports that he had received a handsome compliment of books sent by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland, for the use of poor scholars at the Society's school at Half-Morton, consisting of "syllabing" Catechisms, Single Catechisms,‡ Proverbs, Psalm Books, New Testaments and Bibles, with several of Guthrie's Saving Interests, Confession of Faith, some copies of Vincent on the Catechism, some arithmetic books, music and copperplate copy books with two quires of clean paper—for which the minister had returned thanks."

"April 2, 1732.—A contumacious woman had been appointed to sit in the place of repentance next Lord's Day, with the sack-gown on, but as there was no sackcloth ready, the deacons were appointed to provide sackcloth on the Fair day, and employ a tailor to make a gown without fail."§

"Jan. 20, 1740.—The Session, considering the rigorous season and straits of the poor at present, agreed to make frequent distribution to them and one is to be made on Tuesday next and every Tuesday while the storm lasts and they have money to distribute."¶

"Nov. 12, 1749.—W. N. and J. D. having this day been sponsors for their children in baptism, and having been guilty of indecent and scandalous carriage before the congregation, in striving about pre-eminence as to their place of standing when presenting their children, were sharply rebuked and appointed to make satisfaction before the congregation."

* Probably Mr. Elliot of Midlem-Mill, the Duke's chamberlain, who had recently come to reside in Langholm Castle.

† The Session Records contain frequent references to "bad money." Occasionally the accumulation was sold,—e.g., "sold 15 April last 24 sh. 5½d. bad money for 8d. the pound, and received therefor 5s. 9d. sterling."

‡ The Shorter Catechism, without proofs, was popularly called "The Singles Quaistings."

§ A later minute reports the cost of this tailor-made gown as 2/11, thread and washing included.

¶ In 1767 a similar minute is recorded to the effect that through "The present excessive storm of snow" there was no meal in the town and the Duke's chamberlain was to be approached on the matter.

“Jay. 4, 1789.—The Session, taking into consideration the present inclemency of the weather, made it proper that some of the poor should be provided by the Session in fuel, resolved therefore that £1 1s. sterling should be laid out by the kirk treasurer for peat accordingly to be given to the poor by a list put into the hands of Robert Hotson,* at 1 cart full of peats each.”

There are frequent minutes anent the taking of collections for building bridges in different parts of the country, at Ancrum, Berwick, Bridge of Dee ; for a new harbour at Banff ; for a new meeting house in Carlisle, and so on. Naturally, many cases of moral discipline are reported and frequent reference is made to “rebukes,” from the Session ; privately ; by the ministers before the whole congregation ; and, occasionally, by the Presbytery.

EWES.

The Nether-Kirk of Ewes was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. It stood near the site of the present church, and served for the spiritual needs of lower Ewesdale. The hamlet clustered round the church and was named Kirkton or Kirk-town,—a name which survives in Kirkton Burn.

Nether-Ewes is first mentioned in 1296, when Robert, the parson, swore fealty to the English King Edward, and had his privileges restored by him, so far as he was in a position so to do.

The Douglasses came into the possession of the advowson of St. Cuthbert's about 1342 on the forfeiture of the Lovels. In 1506, on the resignation by the Master of Angus of his lands in Ewesdale, the Crown granted the donation of all these churches to Alexander, Lord Home, to whom also were granted the church lands of Wauc-hopedale on the forfeiture of the Lindsays. In 1516, on the forfeiture of Lord Home, all these donations were

* The builder of Langholm Bridge.

bestowed upon Robert, Lord Maxwell, who was then rising to a paramount position in Eskdale. In 1621 the Earl of Nithsdale received the teinds of Ewes, and in 1623 he received from Sir John Ker of Jedburgh the patronage of Nether-Ewes. In 1643 the Earl's son, William Maxwell of Kirkhous, succeeded his father in the church lands of Ewes, and as late as 1696 they were in possession of the family, but afterwards came into the hands of the Earls of Buccleuch.

In common with the rest of the Eskdale kirks both Over and Nether-Ewes were without a settled minister from 1576 to 1585, and in 1586 the minister was non-resident.

The following are the names of the ministers who have held the living since the early part of the seventeenth century :—*

WILLIAM GRAHAM, A.M. - - - - - 1617

——— CHISHOLM - - - - - ——

JOHN LITHGOW - - - - - 1646

Deprived in 1664 by the "drunken Act" of the Privy Council. Retired to Reidpath on the Tweed and preached at conventicles throughout Merse and Teviotdale. Condemned by Privy Council to imprisonment on the Bass Rock, and fined 5,000 merks.

JOHN HOME, A.M. - - - - - 16—

JOHN MELVILL, A.M. - - - - - 168—

JOHN LITHGOW - - - - - 1689

After his imprisonment and persecution, he was restored to Ewes at the Revolution. Member of Assembly in 1694, when he demitted his charge and retired to Reidpath.—See also Chapter XXII.

ROBERT DARLING, A.M. - - - - - 1694

Said to have been the only Episcopal minister who served the parish of Ewes, but of this there is considerable doubt, since, between the expulsion of John Lithgow in 1664 and the Revolution in 1688, two ministers are named as holding the living, and in 1694 when Darling was presented, the Presbyterian form had been restored. He is interred in Ewes kirkyard.

* From Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 106.

ROBERT MALCOLM, A.M. - - - - - 1717

Of Lochore, Fife. Presented by Earl of Dalkeith, who also gave him the sheep-farm of Burnfoot* at a nominal rent to help the stipend at Ewes, which was then very small. Mr. Malcolm's son, George, referred to in previous pages as of Douglen, managed the farm. George Malcolm married Margaret, daughter of James Pasley of Craig, and four of their sons, whose distinguished careers will be noticed in a later chapter, received the honour of knighthood and became known as the "Four Knights of Eskdale." Mr. Malcolm founded the Poor-houses of Ewes in 1761, for the support of four families.

RICHARD SCOTT - - - - - 1761

JOHN CLUNIE - - - - - 1790

JOHN LAWRIE - - - - - 1791

ROBERT SHAW - - - - - 1816

Brother of the Rev. W. B. Shaw, of Langholm. Writer of the article for the *Statistical Account* of 1841. The two brothers were ministers of the adjoining parishes for a continuous period of 36 years. In Eskdale they exerted a powerful influence which is still remembered by old parishioners.

THOMAS SMITH - - - - - 1852

DAVID PRESTON, B.D. - - - - - 1901

Graduated M.A. at the University of Glasgow 1896; B.D. in 1899. Licensed by Presbytery of Hamilton, April 1899. Assistant in Greyfriars, Dumfries, 1899-1901. Assistant in Alloa, 1901. Ordained and inducted to Ewes, 18 July 1901.

The present church was erected in 1867 and in 1831 replaced the pre-Reformation building, which had been extensively repaired. It is said† that at one time the church was thatched, and that young people who brought themselves under the discipline of the Session, were, as a penance, sent to the hills to pull heather for the repair of the roof. When the old building was dismantled the bell was hung on one of the trees in the kirkyard, where it remains to this day. The kirkyard contains many interesting memorial stones, on which are found the clan names of the Ewes valley and of the neighbouring dis-

* The former name of Burnfoot was Cannel Shiels.

† Lecture to the Eskdale and Liddesdale Archæological Society, by Mr. James Graham of Wishaw, September, 1911.

tricts : Littles, Elliots, Armstrongs, Scotts, Jacksons, Rutherfords, Borthwicks, and Aitchisons. On the family stone of the Malcolms, appear the names of three of the Knights of Eskdale, though the mortal remains of Sir John lie buried in Westminster Abbey, amongst those who have made a great name in "our rough island's story." The Armstrongs, lairds of Sorby, are also commemorated on stones which bear the arms of the clan. The inscription on one stone is :—

"Here lie John Armstrong of Sorbie, who died 17 March, 1685, aged 53, Margaret Murray, his spouse, who died May 17th, 1716, aged 76, and John Armstrong their son, who died November 1698 aged 14 years. Whither thou be old or young, think upon the time to come."

The Session Records date from 1646, and the Baptismal Register from the same date, whilst the Register of Deaths dates only from 1717. From 1680 to 1694 the records are not continuous. Like those of other Eskdale parishes they contain much interesting and curious information regarding the early discipline of the church.

The only Token of Ewes now extant is that numbered 4 on the Plate at the end of Chapter XXIII. It is a round Token with borders 15 sixteenths of an inch in size.

Obverse : EWES / KIRK /

Reverse : 1 Cor. / xi., 23.

WESTERKIRK.*

Westerkirk parish is one of the oldest and was one of the most extensive in Eskdale, comprising at one time both the present parish and that of Eskdalemuir, and also a chapel at Byken.

* In the ancient documents it is designated Westerker. For note on the name, see p. 196.

The church was under the Abbey of Melrose to which the lands and teinds of Upper Eskdale had been granted by Robert Avenel. In 1296 Robert de Merleye swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick. Sir William Soulis had received from John of Graham the advocation of Westerkirk, and in 1321, on the death of Soulis, Robert I. granted it to the monks of Melrose to be held in "free forest," the grant being confirmed as occasion required.

Disputes not infrequently occurred between the conventual houses and the incumbents of their churches and chapels, regarding the allocation of the teinds, and we read that such a dispute arose about the year 1360 between the rector of Westerkirk and the monks, as to the appropriation of the teinds of the seculars who lived on the Abbey's lands of Watcarrick. By the award of the Bishop of Glasgow an equitable division was made.*

The church lands or mains[†] were afterwards held by the Douglasses. In 1484 David Scott of Branxholm received a grant of the bailiary of the lands of Eskdale, which, as we have shown, marked the introduction of the Scotts of Buccleuch into Eskdale. This grant, which was made hereditary in 1524, was renewed to his successors, who also obtained extended powers in the administration of the Abbey lands.

In 1550 Lord Maxwell held the advocation of the kirks of Eskdale.

From 1576 to 1585 Westerkirk was without a minister, and in 1586 the minister was non-resident. The lands were appropriated to the Crown by the Annexation Act of 1587. In 1609 William, Earl of Morton, received a grant of the church, vicarage, and the teinds of the parish,

* Armstrong's *History of Liddesdale*, &c., p. 96.

† "Mains" were the fields attached to a mansion house, in the occupation of the owner.

out of which he had to pay the minister a stipend of 500 merks and provide him with a manse and glebe.* In 1653 the teinds were the property of Countess Mary of Buccleuch, whose successors retained the patronage.

The following is the list of ministers:—

ROBERT DE MERLEYE	-	-	-	-	-	<i>cir.</i>	1296
ADAM BLITHMAN	-	-	-	-	-	<i>cir.</i>	1360
WILLIAM SCOT	-	-	-	-	-	<i>cir.</i>	1447
JAMES JOHNSTOUNE	-	-	-	-	-		1611
JOHN FORKE	-	-	-	-	-		1623
GEORGE JOHNSTOUNE	-	-	-	-	-		1625
JOHN HAMMILTOUNE, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		1634
JAMES PRINGLE, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		16—
ARCHIBALD INGLIS, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		166—
WALTER DALGLEISH, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		1668
JAMES PRINGLE, A.M.	.	-	-	-	-		1679
JOHN BROWNE, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		1683
JOHN MEIN, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		1693
DAVID BALMAIN, A.M.	-	-	-	-	-		1722
JOHN SCOTLAND	-	-	-	-	-		1768

Translated from Eskdalemuir, of which he had been minister for five years. In 1779 presented to Linlithgow.

WILLIAM LITTLE	-	-	-	-	-		1779
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Married Isabella Borthwick in 1807. Died 1820 in 42nd year of his ministry.

JAMES GREEN	-	-	-	-	-		1820
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Writer of the *Statistical Account* for 1841.

WILLIAM BURNSIDE DUNBAR	-	-	-	-	-		1842
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ALEXANDER YOUNG, B.A.	-	-	-	-	-		1855
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JOHN GILLIES, M.A.	-	-	-	-	-		1910
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Native of Gateside, Ayrshire. Educated there and at Beith, where he was *Dux* of School in 1895. Graduated Glasgow Uni-

* "Mr. James Jhonestoune, minister, his stipend ve merks money of Scotland, to be payit yerelie be William, Erle of Mortoune, his airs and successors, furth of the reddiest fruttis and rentis and tendis of the said parochin, and be utheris intrometteris with the samyn fruttis, rentis, and teyndis of the said kirk and parochin."—*Acta. Parl. Scot.* (1615).

versity in 1899, receiving prizes in Senior Greek and Philosophy, and Honours in Latin and English Literature. Theological training at Glasgow Divinity Hall, prizes in Divinity, Hebrew and Church History. Licensed by Presbytery of Irvine 1902. Assistant to Rev. A. W. Ferguson, B.D. (a native of Langholm), in Maxwell Parish Church, Glasgow. Ordained and inducted to *quoad sacra* charge of Whiting Bay, Isle of Arran, April 1908. Translated to Westerkirk 1910.

The parochial Registers of Baptisms and Marriages date from 1693, but the Register of Deaths dates from 1804 only. Since these years all three registers have been regularly kept.

The present church was built in 1880, and stands probably on the site of the ancient churches of the parish. The previous church, of which an illustration is here given, was built in 1788 and was seated for 700 worshippers.

The bell of the church dates from 1641, and bears the following inscription:—

“ Jacobus Monteith me fecit,
Edinburgh, Anno Domini 1641.”*

It had to be repaired in 1901 owing to a crack in the rim, and it was then found to weigh nine stones nine pounds. From the belfry of the present kirk, after a service of 271 years, it still summons the people to worship. It is one of the most interesting relics of the seventeenth century remaining in Eskdale, if not in Scotland itself. “The bell that rang for the Presbyterian service one year, the next might ring for the detested prelatival ritual, the Presbyterian minister would have fled to the hills and moss-hags, giving place to the curate with his parish roll. . . . The tones of this old bell would no doubt be heard at Westerhall by Sir James Johnstone, Douglas of Morton and Claverhouse, after they returned from the

* “James Monteith made me. Edinburgh, A.D. 1641.”



WESTERKIRK.

killing of Andrew Hislop up at Craighaugh, and no doubt its ringing would often have served as a guide to wandering men who had left their hearths and homes and become wanderers for conscience sake."* The Manse was built in 1783, and in 1821 extensive repairs and enlargements were carried out. The glebe consists of about 20 acres.

There is only one Token of Westerkirk extant, though without doubt there must have been several issues. The specimen marked No. 5 on the Plate at the end of Chapter XXIII. is undated, and is of a type frequently found in the parish churches in the south of Scotland—round, and measuring 15 sixteenths of an inch.

Obverse: WESTERKIRK around the edge. **K** in centre.

Reverse: 1 Cor. / xi., 23.

ESKDALEMUIR.

The district which now forms the ecclesiastical parish of Eskdalemuir was, prior to 1703, part of the ancient parish of Westerkirk. Upper Eskdale was supplied with spiritual ordinances by the sub-chapel of Watcarrick. Even after the re-arrangement of the Eskdale parishes in 1703, this old chapel was used for public worship until 1722, when a new church was built higher up the valley. The present building, seated for about 400 worshippers, was erected in 1826. The earlier history of the parish of Eskdalemuir is, of course, merged in that of Westerkirk.

* Mr. Clement Armstrong in *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser*, 1901.

The following is a list of the ministers since the formation of the parish :—

JOHN LAURIE, A.M. - - - - - 1703

Translated from Wauchope, of which he had been minister from 1691. He is buried in Eskdalemuir kirkyard, and on his tombstone is the epitaph :—

“Here lyes John Laurie, neither rich nor poor,
Last of Wauchope, first of Eskdalemoor.”

JAMES MCGARROCH, A.M. - - - - - 1724

JOHN SCOTLAND - - - - - 1763

Translated to Westerkirk, thence to Linlithgow.

ROBERT FOOTE - - - - - 1768

JOHN RUSSELL - - - - - 1774

By a delay of two or three days, Mr. Russell missed the nomination to the charge of Yarrow, which was given to Dr. Robert Russell, whose name and ministry became so intimately associated with that beautiful district. Translated to Canonby.

JOHN LAWRIE - - - - - 1785

WILLIAM BROWN - - - - - 1792

Afterwards D.D. Writer of the *Statistical Accounts* of 1793 and 1841. Discoverer of the Roman Camp at Raeburnfoot in 1810 (see p. 106). Compiled much valuable data of an historical and archaeological description concerning Eskdale. Through the courtesy of the late Mrs. Dobie, his valuable MS. diaries have been frequently consulted in the preparation of this volume. A faithful minister of the Gospel; of broad human sympathies and of great learning, Dr. Brown's memory is still gratefully cherished in Eskdale.

ADAM CUNNINGHAM - - - - - 1836

JOHN STRATHEARN, A.M. - - - - - 1843

J. C. DICK - - - - - 1877

J. R. MACDONALD, M.A. - - - - - 1908

Graduated at Edinburgh University. Licensed by Presbytery of Edinburgh. Served for some years in mission work at Saughtree, in the parish of Castleton. Ordained assistant to foregoing in 1902, elected assistant and successor in 1904, succeeded to full charge in 1908. Chairman of School Board and Parish Council.

The Parish Registers have been regularly kept since the formation of the parish in 1703.

The present manse was built in 1783 but has several times been repaired and enlarged. The glebe consists

of 24 acres, including the manse, gardens, and offices. In his notes on the parish for the *Statistical Account* of 1841, Dr. Brown mentions that the parish contributions, which had, until 1823, been sent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, were then discontinued, because of the dissatisfaction of the contributors with the Society's unfavourable attitude to the inclusion of the Apocrypha with the canonical books, and the contributions were afterwards sent to the Edinburgh Bible Society.

The Token of Eskdalemuir Kirk is of the same general type as those of Ewes and Westerkirk—round, measuring 15 sixteenths, with borders, and undated.

Obverse: ESKDALEMUIR around the edge, **K** in centre.

Reverse: 1 Cor. / xi., 23.

The Token is marked No. 6 on the Plate at the end of Chapter XXIII.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COVENANTERS OF ESKDALE.

THE period between the Restoration, in 1662, and the Revolution, in 1688, was a time which will ever be regarded in Scotland as its night of darkest gloom—the time when “the minister’s home was the mountain and wood.” The efforts of Charles II. to destroy the Presbyterian form of church government in Scotland and introduce Episcopacy, met with unbending resistance from the people, especially from those of the lowland counties. The policy of the King found fitting expression in the decree of the Council of Glasgow—“the drunken Council”—in 1662, known as the Collation Act, which required every Presbyterian minister who had been ordained since 1649, as a condition of retaining his incumbency, to obtain nomination thereto, and to submit to re-ordination by a bishop. These terms struck at a vital conception of Presbyterian church government, and implied the invalidity of its Orders. The decree was, therefore, regarded as a challenge, which no honourable man could ignore. Rather than accept the conditions it imposed, between three and four hundred ministers, or a third of the entire ministry, left their churches, manses, and their congregations, one dreary November day in 1662—the first of several secessions and disruptions which Scotland has been called upon to make for conscience and liberty.

It is legitimate matter of pride to Eskdale people to know that several of their ministers were true to their ordination vows, and true to their own Christian man-

hood. The kirks of Eskdale were then, and until 1743, included in the Presbytery of Middleby, which comprised 11 churches. Of these, one was vacant, and of the other ten ministers no fewer than six remained staunch to their convictions, and, rather than be false thereto, they gave up, what must have been very dear to them, apart altogether from mere worldly considerations. The remaining four who conformed were—Allan, of Wauchope; Laynge, of Canonby; Graham, of Kirkpatrick-Fleming; and Craig, of Hoddam.

The following three ministers of Eskdale, viz., Law, of Stapelgortoun; Lithgow, of Ewes; and Pringle, of Westerkirk, went out at the call of conscience, and suffered through long years of persecution.

ROBERT LAW.

We have already outlined the career of this estimable and saintly minister, but of his persecutions and labours something remains to be told. Little difficulty would have been experienced by him—so popular with his people, so able and devoted—in obtaining episcopal nomination, but, rather than apply for it, he yielded up his charge at Stapelgortoun. He was 32 years of age, and had a wife and family dependent upon him, but these considerations, though weighty, were not first with Law, and, seeing the path of duty, he chose it without wavering, but not without pain. His epitaph recounts that he was “a chearful sufferer for religion”; and surely mention should also be made of his heroic wife, Mary, or Marion Meiklejohn, who was “devout, zealous, meek, and of great charity, and spent her time doing good.” Doubtless, her piety and

zeal aided her husband to endure the hardships which lay before him. The Session records of Langholm say that Mr. Law went to Ireland after leaving Stapelgortoun, but this lacks confirmation. In 1674, or 12 years after his expulsion, Robert Law was in prison in Glasgow for the offence of preaching at conventicles, so we may fairly assume that, constraint being on his soul to preach the Gospel, he had faithfully obeyed the Divine call rather than the edict of "the drunken Council." In July, 1674, he was brought before the civil court on a charge of preaching in private houses, and he had to enter security for 5,000 merks. A Privy Council decree was issued as follows:—"The Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council do hereby authorise the Lord Chancellor to give orders to parties of that troop of horse under his command to pass to such places where field conventicles are to be kept, and to apprehend the persons who shall preach or pray at these field conventicles; as also to apprehend Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Gabriel Semple, Mr. Archibald Riddell," and, among others mentioned, is Robert Law. It continues: "To any who shall apprehend Mr. John Welsh and Mr. Gabriel Semple, they shall have for each of them £100 sterling, and for each one of the rest 1,000 merks, and it is hereby declared that those who shall secure the said persons and their assistants are hereby indemnified of any slaughter that shall happen to be committed in the apprehending of them"—a decree which might fitly be called "murder made easy!"

The events of the next fourteen years are clouded in obscurity, but after the Revolution the clouds lift,—the sun is shining again at Stapelgortoun, and Robert Law is restored to his kirk and congregation. For 14 years, he ministered in peace, until, in 1702, he died

at an age two years beyond the allotted span, despite his many sufferings.

JOHN LITHGOW.

The minister of Ewes at the date of the decree was John Lithgow, who had been ordained to the pastoral charge in 1646. As this was three years anterior to the date given in the decree, Lithgow was not required to undergo re-ordination to retain his living. But he persistently refused to own the King's supremacy in matters spiritual, holding firmly that fundamental doctrine of the Presbyterian faith that "Christ is the Alone King and Head of the Church." His refusal to conform, brought Lithgow under the suspicion of the emissaries of the Government, and in 1664, two years after the expulsion of Robert Law, a messenger from the Civil Courts appeared one day at the kirk of Ewes, met the minister as he came from the pulpit, and, before two witnesses, made intimation to him that he was suspended from the exercise of ministerial functions, at the same time putting into his hands a copy of the Act of Suspension. Mr. Lithgow,* like Mr. Law, did not hesitate, when faced by the great Alternative, but quietly left his home in the beautiful vale of Ewes, and retired to a property he owned at Reidpath on the Tweed, where he met, and was on intimate terms with, Henry Erskine, the father of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, the founders of the Secession Church.

Erskine and Lithgow co-operated in field-preaching, and other religious work, and not infrequently both were

* The late Rev. Duncan Stewart, M.A., of Hawick, suggests in his estimable work on the Covenanters, to which we are indebted for many of these facts, that Mr. Lithgow's name may have been "Lithgow."

in great danger ; for the holding of conventicles or field preachings was the culmination of evil in the eyes of the prelatical authorities, most of whom cared not one straw for the Evangel, whether proclaimed in a field or in a cathedral. Both of these men were eventually apprehended and taken to Edinburgh for trial—companions in tribulation. There they were accused of holding conventicles in the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, and in other parts. On being charged, they refused to take the oath, and so “the Lords held them confessed,” and fined “ilk ane of them in the sum of five thousand merks, and ordains them to be carried prisoners to the Bass”—that dread prison, in which the boom of the ocean and the cry of the sea-fowl only render more intolerable still, the horror of the grim dungeon. This was in 1682. Neither of them, however, actually went to the Rock, as, on petition, both were permitted the alternative of removing “themselves furth of the Kingdom.” But the sands of those evil days were fast running down in the glass, and in a few years “the glorious Revolution” came, which enabled the hunted ministers to return to their parishes in peace.

In 1688, Lithgow was restored to the kirk of Ewes, where he continued his ministry until 1694, when he finally retired to his estate at Reidpath.

JAMES PRINGLE.

This divine was minister of Westerkirk when the decree of expulsion was promulgated. He refused to conform, and, like his contemporaries of Stapelgortoun and Ewes, left his manse and emoluments, rather than deny the spiritual headship of Christ. In 1679, he returned to his parish under an “indulgence” offered

by the Government,—a form of testing, against which Richard Cameron passionately warned the Covenanters. But Pringle had to endure a second time of trial, when he was required to sign a document abjuring the Solemn League and Covenant. This he refused to do, and a second time left his manse to wander, not knowing whither he went. It is said that he owned Burnfoot,* and to have resided there after his expulsion.

Amongst the people of the hill districts the principles of the League and Covenant were held tenaciously. The Rev. Duncan Stewart quotes a minute of Council which records that “delinquents in the parishes of Westerkirk, Staple Gortoun, and others, were cited to appear,” and mentions “Allison Buckie, spouse to Thomas Vair, a printed fugitive, and Elspeth Paterson, spouse to M'Alla,” as being committed “prisoners till further orders.” These were ladies from Langholm who were cast into prison whilst their families were at the same time dispossessed and ordered to remove from the district. In the Privy Council list of those who were sought after in 1684 by the Government for their fidelity to the Covenant were William Armstrong, Tomshielburn; Robert Elliot, in Crookholm; and Johnston of Barn-gleis.

ANDREW HISLOP.†

Undoubtedly, the most interesting of all the Covenant-

* Probably not the modern Burnfoot, but that shown on Bleau's map of 1662, as nearly opposite Dalbeth.

† His name is frequently but wrongly spelt “Hyslop.” The latter spelling of the name did not become current in Eskdale and Nithsdale until far on in the eighteenth century.

In his volume on the *Poems* of James Hyslop, the Cameronian poet, the Rev. P. Mearns, of Coldstream, has the following remark (p. 36):—“In the signature to the letter, the poet spells his name ‘Hislop,’ though he afterwards adopted ‘Hyslop,’ which was the spelling common among his relatives of the same name.” This was in 1816, but in the seventeenth century the change in the spelling had not yet been adopted.

ers of Eskdale is Andrew Hislop, "the shepherd lad," who suffered martyrdom at Craighaugh on 12th May, 1685, towards the end of the period known in Scotland as the "Killing Time." Various guesses have been made concerning the identity of the Martyr, but we think there can be little doubt that he was one of a Langholm family. Our information is derived from Mrs. Glendinning, who died in Langholm in 1903 at the age of 84. Her great-grandfather was born in 1686, the year after Andrew Hislop's death, and her grandfather 43 years after, and Mrs. Glendinning was herself 20 years of age when her father died. It was from him she received the information, which had been transmitted orally in his family, that Andrew was the son of a farmer in Wauchope, and that a cousin was a farmer in Tarrasfoot.* So far as we can ascertain, there was, at that date, only one farmer of the name in Wauchope, and his son John is given in the Duke of Buccleuch's rent-roll of 1679 as tenant in Neishill. We have a record of the marriage in 1669 of "John Hislop in the parish of Wauchope to Bessie Little in Hole† in the parish of Stapelgortoun," the witnesses being Andrew Little of Rigg, and John McVittie in Stubholm. The latter, 10 years afterwards, became cautioner for the Testament of Bessie Hislop.‡ On their marriage, John Hislop and his wife went to live at the Hole, where one, at least, of their daughters was born. But by 1679 they were at Neishill, which John Hislop farmed in partnership with

* It is from this family at Tarrasfoot that the Hyslops of the Kerr, and the various branches in Langholm are descended. There were Hislops in Potholm in 1680.

† The Hole was a farm on the side of Warbla, near the western entrance of Gaskell's Walk.

‡ The will is in favour of Margaret and Bessie Hislop, and the estate, consisting of horses, cattle, sheep and plenishing, was valued at £386 13s. 4d.

Andrew Little, whom we take to have been his brother-in-law.

In 1673 there is a record of the marriage of Robert Hislop to Janet Hewetson, both of Wauchope parish. This Robert Hislop appears to have been a younger brother of the above John. He went to Broomholm, and in 1681 he had a son baptised Andrew, probably after Andrew Hislop the Martyr, who would be his uncle,—a younger brother of his father. From these facts we conclude that the father of John Hislop of Hole and Robert Hislop of Broomholm was John Hislop, senior, of Neishill, who seems to have died between 1669 and 1679, and was succeeded in that farm by his son John. Andrew Hislop, the Martyr, appears meanwhile to have done one of two things, both of which are recorded concerning him. One is that he went to the parish of Hutton and Corrie and commenced farming on his own account; and the other, which we consider the more likely, that he went to work on a farm in Eskdalemuir, and on the death of his father, his widowed mother and her younger children went to him there, and were living under his guardianship when the shooting took place. If, as the tradition in Eskdale asserts, Andrew Hislop was aged 19 at the date of his death,—which agrees with the suggestions we have advanced,—then it is unlikely that at so early an age he would be farming on his own responsibility. Of the different histories of the shooting of Andrew Hislop, the most consistent is that woven together by the Rev. Dr. Brown, minister of Eskdalemuir from 1792 to 1836, the writer of the *Statistical Account* of the parish for 1793, and a man well accustomed to sifting fact from legend. According to Dr. Brown, Claverhouse, who had been appointed by the Govern-

ment to the command of a troop of horse, pitched his camp at Johnstone, in the parish of Eskdalemuir, with the object of hunting down the Covenanters, or "rebels" as they were called in the official documents. For some time Claverhouse went about with a small party of troopers, meeting with little success. A Covenanter, however, happened to die at the house of Andrew Hislop's mother, and was buried at night-time in one of the adjoining fields. His grave was discovered, and the news was quickly carried to Claverhouse at Johnstone. With him was Sir James Johnstone of Westhall, himself once an adherent of the Covenant, but who, for a reward which came to him as a knighthood, had renounced the faith of his fathers and turned persecutor. Like that of all renegades his zeal was very bitter—more so even than that of Claverhouse. On hearing of the discovery of the grave, Sir James Johnstone went with a party and barbarously dug up the body. Finding that it had come from the house of the widow Hislop, he first pillaged, then pulled down her dwelling, and drove herself and her children, of whom Andrew was the eldest unmarried, into the fields. Naturally, Andrew, who was not then present, at once came under the suspicion of the persecutors, and was thereafter carefully sought for, but he evaded their vigilance. However, Claverhouse happened to be in Hutton parish, which adjoins that of Eskdalemuir, on his remorseless search for the hated Covenanters, and on 10th May, 1684,* accidentally came upon four of them resting by the Winshields Burn at a place called Dumlinns. When the troopers appeared, each man ran for his horse, but Andrew

* Only ten days after John Brown of Priesthill was so shamefully murdered by Claverhouse.

Hislop's was young and hard to catch, and before he could reach it, Claverhouse and his men had seized him. They brought him over the hills into Eskdale to Sir James Johnstone, who, being apprised of their coming beforehand, went and met the party at Craighaugh. With characteristic cruelty and indifference to justice, Sir James Johnstone would have had him instantly shot, saying that "they would shoot the rebel on the rebel's land."* Claverhouse was averse from this indecent haste and urged delay, until, being pressed by Sir James he yielded, saying "the blood of this man, Westerhall, be upon you. I am free of it." Whereupon they brought Andrew Hislop to the place where he is now interred, the low, sloping hillside, on the west of Craighaugh farmhouse. He was allowed some time for prayer, and for this purpose went into a kiln hard by, but Sir James Johnstone, growing restive at the delay, asked Claverhouse to "go and hear if he had done." Returning, Claverhouse remarked that "he had left off praying and begun preaching." Dr. Brown then relates how Sir James ordered a Highland captain to shoot Hislop, but instead of obeying this command from a civilian, albeit one of the lairds upon whom the cunning Government had imposed the duty of clearing each his own lands of the Covenanters, he drew his men away, and (so it is said) declared that he would himself fight Claverhouse first. The latter, thereupon, ordered three of his own men to shoot Hislop, who was ordered to draw his bonnet over his face, before they fired. This he disdained to do, declaring that he had done nothing to be ashamed of, and could look them all in the face. Then holding up

* The reference is to Scott of Johnstone, to whom both Johnstone and Craighaugh belonged. He was a staunch Covenanter. See p. 248.

his Bible he charged them to answer at the great day for what they had done, and what they were about to do, when they should be judged by that Book. Dr. Brown does not expressly mention it, but tradition affirms that on the soldiers hesitating to fire, Westerhall himself impatiently drew his pistol and fired, and in a swift moment Andrew Hislop lay dead on the green hill-side—

“When the righteous had fallen and the ‘combat’ was ended,
A chariot of fire through the dark cloud descended,
Its drivers were angels on horses of whiteness,
And its burning wheels turned upon axles of brightness.

A seraph unfolded the doors, bright and shining,
All dazzling like gold of the seventh refining,
And he who came forth out of great tribulation,
Has mounted the chariot and steeds of Salvation.

On the arch of the rainbow the chariot is gliding,
In the paths of the thunder, the horseman is riding—
Glide on, bright spirit, the prize is before ye,
A crown never fading—a kingdom of glory.”*

In a further note on the murder of Andrew Hislop, Dr. Brown says he learned from a Mrs. Moffat that on the morning he was shot, Andrew left the Howpasley heights, where he had been hiding for some time. Mrs. Moffat’s grandfather, William Borthwick, who was then tenant of Howpasley, urged him strongly to stay where he was. Hislop answered that he could not as he must go to the Boreland on business. It is also said that Borthwick tried to dissuade him from taking his gun, and that it was his firing it at the troopers who were pursuing him, which caused him to be more harshly dealt with.

* From *The Cameronian’s Dream*, by James Hyslop. This poem was first published in the *Scots Magazine* and attracted the attention of Lord Jeffrey, who sought out and befriended the shepherd-author.

The late Professor Veitch concludes his poem on *Andrew Hislop, the Martyr*, thus :—

“ So they left you, Martyr brave,
 Left you on the reddened sod ;
 But no raven touched your face ;
 On it lay the peace of God !
 On the moor the widow mother
 Bows to lot of dule and pine ;
 And Westerhall and Claverhouse
 Have merrily rode back to dine ! ” *

But Mrs. Moffat told Dr. Brown that after the murder, instead of going to Westerhall, as Prof. Veitch here suggests, Claverhouse went down to Langholm Castle, where he spent the night as the guest of Mr. Melville, the Duke's chamberlain. Whilst there, his restless demeanour was noticed by his hostess—he seemed unable to find rest and kept walking about the room, until Mrs. Melville enquired whether he was ill. He did not immediately reply, but shortly afterwards turned to her and with great emotion said he had been the butcher of the Government long enough : he would be so no longer. And this was the last execution in which John Graham had a part.

If these details are authentic, and it is scarcely necessary to say that we have absolute reliance upon Dr. Brown's discrimination and judgment, this scene at Langholm Castle presents Claverhouse in a somewhat new light.

Andrew Hislop was buried by the dalesmen, on the spot where he fell. His cold-blooded murder created a profound sensation in Eskdale, and an equally profound hatred of Sir James Johnstone, as the instigator, if not the actual perpetrator of the crime. The “ hill-folk ” raised upon the spot a simple memorial to the Martyr, a print of which is here given.

* *Good Words*, 1880.



THE MARTYR'S GRAVE.

Upon it they carved the following quaint but eloquent inscription :—

Here lyes Andrew Hislop
Martyr shot dead upon
This place by Sir James
Johnston of Westerhall,
And John Graham of C
laverhouse for adheri-
ng to the word of God
Christ's kingly govern-
ment in his House and
ye covenanted work of
Reformation agst tyran-
ny, perjury and prelacy

May 12 1685 Rev 12.11.* Halt p
assenger, one word with
thee or two why I ly
here would(e)st† thou truly
know by wicked hands,
hands cruel and unjust
without all law my life
fr(o)m† me they

* Rev. 12, 11.—“And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.”

† The letters in parentheses have been omitted and then inserted later *over* the words.

thrust and being dead
 they left me on this s
 pot, and for burial this
 same place I got. tr-
 uth's freinds in Es
 kdale now triumph
 then let, viz. the faith-
 ful for my seal they
 1702 got*

Various efforts have been made by the descendants of Sir James Johnstone, to have this memorial of his perfidy and cruelty removed, but each attempt has been speedily frustrated by the indignation of the people of Eskdale.

Mention must also be made of Margaret Scott of Rennelburn, one of the bravest maidens of the Covenant in Eskdale, who, rather than renounce her faith, suffered persecution, and was prepared to suffer loss both of worldly possessions and of life itself.

Another association of Eskdale with the days of the Covenant and the "Killing Time" was through Alexander Peden,† the prophet of the Covenant. This strange preacher, gifted, it is to this day believed not only in Eskdale but throughout Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire, with the vision of the seer, exercised an enormous influence upon the hill-folk during the days of persecution. His prophetic words of doom pronounced against the

* This is the text of the inscription as it now appears on the stone. But the lettering has been renewed more than once, and, doubtless, some slips have been made. The words, "then let," in the third line from the end, do not rhyme, and are given by the late Rev. J. H. Thomson in his book, *The Martyr Graves of Scotland*, as "their lot." Instead of "viz.," which now appears on the stone, Mr. Thomson gives "to wit." The late Mr. Richard Bell, of Castle O'er, in *My Strange Pets*, gives the correct wording, though possibly Mr. Thomson rightly guesses what the original text was. In the last line but one the word given as "they" is very indistinct on the stone, but Mr. Bell reads it "thus." Mr. Thomson reads it "that."

† A pamphlet which at one time had a large circulation in the South of Scotland was entitled *The Prophecies of Alexander Peden*.

perpetrators of the murder of Andrew Hislop, are still quoted in Eskdale, and not a few people are convinced that all his doom-prophecies, which rang through the valley, as rang through Judea those of Amos, the herdsman of Tekoa, shall yet be accomplished, and they point to more than one already fulfilled in the history of Westerhall. "Peden the prophet" would appear to have been intimately associated with Eskdale, and it is due to this that we have the name Peden's View given to the conical hill which seems set like a sentinel on the road into Upper Eskdale. Tradition says that it was here the prophet lay watching the troopers of Westerhall scouring the opposite hills for him. At the base of the hill is the well—"Peden's Well,"—where he quenched his thirst, where, without doubt, he would baptize the children of the Covenanters, and where many of his services would be held. One can picture these mountain services, where the worshippers would be thrilled, both by the weird utterances of these grizzled fiery-eyed preachers who counted not their lives dear unto them, and by the manifestations of natural phenomena which they ever interpreted as a revelation of God's will or judgment. Children of the mists and the moors they were, to whom strange visions came, who heard strange voices trembling amongst the sombre hills. In thinking of such services up among the hills of Eskdale with Peden, or perhaps Renwick, as the preacher, one can fitly apply the wonderful and ruggedly-eloquent passage of Gilfillan :—

"The great sky was transfigured into a temple; every heart said 'How dreadful is this place!' and as the evening drew on, and still the services unweariedly continued, the stars rising over the mountain tops seemed looking down in love on the scene. . . . And even when a dark shadow of clouds gathered over the landscape,

and when, like a grim spectre, the storm appeared above their heads, and the

‘ Lightning, like a wild, bright beast
Leaped from his thunder lair,’—

the softness of the scene was only lost in its sublimity, and every heart in the assembly felt that the God who was speaking was on their side, that that thunder echoed the deep protest of their consciences, and that that lightning was writing in its own burning hieroglyphics the wrongs of their country and faith.”*

There is a tradition, based on what foundation of fact we cannot say, that on one occasion whilst Peden was preaching to a congregation gathered in the hollow of Peden’s View, the troopers of Westerhall were suddenly seen. The prophet prayed that God would throw His mantle over them according to the promise “ In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His pavilion,” when lo, as he prayed, the mists rolled down upon the hill, as they fall at this day, and they were securely hid from the enemy.† This and other stories are, probably, legendary, yet they indicate the influence of Alexander Peden in Eskdale, and illustrate, also, how intensely real to those stern old Covenanters were the sights and sounds they esteemed to be supernatural.

In his MS. diary Dr. Brown mentions that Alexander Shields wrote the greater part of his well known book, *The Hind let Loose*, in the Yetbyre‡ plantation, where he was hiding from his pursuers. He, too, suffered imprisonment on the Bass Rock, but died in the West Indies.

In Wilson’s *Tales of the Borders*, and the many other volumes dealing with this period, incidents are related of the Covenanters of Eskdale, but they are for the most part romance and not history, and possess no features claiming our attention here.

* *The Martyrs, Heroes, and Bards of the Scottish Covenant*, pp. 55-56.

† In the *Life* of Peden this incident is mentioned as occurring in Galloway.

‡ Now Castle O’er,

CHAPTER XXIII.

NON-PAROCHIAL KIRKS.

THE oldest of the non-parochial churches of Eskdale is that known since the Union of 1900 as

THE NORTH UNITED FREE,

but more commonly called the Town-head kirk. Its origin dates to the period of religious revival following the Secession of 1733, when four ministers—the Revs. Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, Alexander Moncrieff, and James Fisher, were thrust out of the Establishment because of their outspoken condemnation of the Assembly's attitude towards Patronage and lax doctrine. They resented, as a betrayal, the action of the Moderate majority of the Assembly in accepting the various Parliamentary Acts relating to Patronage, and quite as strongly the condemnation of the book called *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*. This book, discovered by Boston of Ettrick, author of *The Fourfold State*, had become the popular standard of the evangelical party, but an object of intense dislike to the Moderates. The controversy thus raised was brought to a head by a sermon delivered at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling by the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, who had been joined in his protest by his brother Ralph. In his discourse he denounced the time-serving of the kirk, its "peddling in politics,"* and pointed out that many of

* *Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence*, by Hector Macpherson, p. 150.

the heritors were Jacobites, opposed to the Protestant succession, and brought into the parishes, ministers "who snuffed the light of Christ out of the church with harangues and flourishes of morality." For this sermon Ebenezer Erskine and the ministers who thought with him were turned out of the Church and formed the Secession Church. In 1743, just one hundred years before the Disruption, supported now by fifteen others, they had formed themselves into the Associate Presbytery and had issued at Stirling, a Declaration of adherence to the National and Solemn League and Covenants and to the Subordinate Standards of the Church. This stand for spiritual freedom and purity of doctrine was contemporaneous with the great revivals in England under Wesley and Whitfield, and ere long these simultaneous religious movements had profoundly impressed the people of the two countries.

It was in the flowing tide of this revival that a few men and women in New-Langholm, then only in process of building, united for spiritual conference and encouragement. We take the following record from the Session book of the North United Free congregation* :—

"In New-Langholm on the month of August one thousand seven hundred and eighty years in a meeting of a Christian fellowship society, the conversation turned on the dreadfull defections of the Church of Scotland and the constant course of Backsliding which is still carried on by her Judicatures ; in opposition to the principles of our Reformation and the pious practice of our reformer ancestors, for which they professed great grief of Heart.

Therefore, from a conviction of duty the members of

* We are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. George Orr, the present minister of the congregation, for a perusal of the original minute book of the Session, from which this and other extracts are taken.

the Meeting unanimously resolved to join with those who had lifted up a Testimony against the unscriptural Doctrines and practices either supported or conived at by the courts of the Established church. After mature deliberation concerning the different classes of dissenters from the Church of Scotland they resolved to make application to the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh."

In answer to this petition, pulpit supplies were granted in 1781 and 1782, amongst the ministers assisting to encourage the new cause being the Rev. John Johnstone of Ecclefechan,* and the Rev. Alex. Waugh, of St. Boswells, afterwards widely known as Dr. Waugh of London, who rendered signal aid to missionary effort by drawing up the Constitution of the London Missionary Society. For some time the services were conducted in the open air; for the most part, singularly enough, in a field at the north end of Eskdail Street, just behind the present North U. F. Manse. In 1782 it was decided to erect a place of worship, a very heavy undertaking for a religious society so small numerically and so poor financially. But the leaders were men and women of firm faith and a strong purpose, and by the end of 1784 the walls were finished. Now, however, it was found that the resources of the society were also finished, and no way seemed open whereby the money to complete the building could be found. Four of the members agreed to advance a sum to put on the roof, but could only guarantee about £37.+ This was insufficient, the work

* Mr. Johnstone was the minister and teacher of Thomas Carlyle, who pays him a lofty tribute, calling him "the priestliest man he had ever known."—*Vide* Carlyle's autobiographical writings.

† It may safely be surmised that two of these four were Bailie Little and his brother Archbald. From letters in our possession, we note that their interest in this congregation took a very practical form. The early minutes of Session are signed by John Little, who appears to have held the position of Session clerk.

ceased, and all hope of an immediate completion of their purpose was abandoned. Indeed, so hopeless was the prospect that the promoters had it in contemplation to advertise the shell of the building for sale. To quote again :—

“The persons chiefly concerned in this work now begun to dispare of accomplishing their designs and begun to speak of the shell of their intended Temple being advertised for sale, since Providence seemed to forbid their persevering in the work but as some of them was not willing, this motion was not carried any further but it was resolved that they would still continue for the space of five or six weeks hoping perhaps The Lord might yet appear for them and command them to go forward.”

Then a strange thing happened. The Pillar of Cloud by day and of Fire by night suddenly moved onward !

One day, the 6th October, 1786, there came into Langholm on foot, a traveller whose destination was further north but who stayed overnight in the town. On leaving the town next morning, he observed the unfinished building, and, pondering over it, had reached the top of the Chapel Path on his way to Hawick, when he resolved to return and make enquiry concerning the unfinished kirk. He was told the story of the brave struggle those doughty Seceders were making for their faith. He at once sought out the chief men of the congregation, and we can easily imagine the wonder and interest with which they would hasten from their looms to hear what the stranger had to say. He explained to them that he had money which he purposed devoting to philanthropic causes, and offered to give part of it to enable them to complete the erection of their little sanc-

tuary. "When the men heard this Generous proposal of their unknown friend and benefactor they were greatly astonished and believed not for Joy. he soon convinced them, however, that he was in earnest ; he assisted them in forming an Estimate of the necessary Expenses and Generously gave them in present a sum sufficient for finishing the Meeting house."

The gladness with which they received this offer of help, was soon dimmed when, in answer to their enquiries, the stranger declined to give his name,—he wished the gift, he said, to remain entirely anonymous. Then, they firmly replied, they must decline his generous offer. Unless they could account to him for the proper disbursement of the money they would not touch it. The stranger saw the reasonableness of the stipulation and agreed to give to these five men his name, on their solemnly promising that they would never divulge it. They willingly gave their word ; the kirk was completed amidst great rejoicing ; an account was rendered to the benefactor, and these five men carried with them to their graves the secret of his name. Conjectures have been made as to the identity of this mysterious stranger, who is described as having the appearance of a farmer, quiet and homely in his bearing, and living frugally whilst in the town. It has been confidently asserted that he was John Howard, the great prison reformer, but the evidence in support of this is not in any way conclusive ; indeed, it does not appear from his *Journal* that he was anywhere in the neighbourhood at that date. The secret, therefore, remains a secret still.

"This Extraordinary interposition of Divine Providence is here Recorded to the Honour of God and the encouragement of his people for whom he doth great

things whereof they are glad.

By this extraordinary Display of God's goodness the managers and members of the congregation were encouraged to present a petition to the Reverend Associate Presbytery of Kelso for further supply of sermon which they received accordingly."



SECESSION MEETING HOUSE, 1822.

The completion of the building, which was seated for 310 people, enabled the congregation to proceed to the "calling" of a minister and the constituting of a Session. This was done in 1787, but it was 1789 before a minister was "called." In 1886 the congregation celebrated its centenary, during the pastorate of the Rev. William Ballantyne, who was only the third minister in a hundred years—a feature in its history which can be

equalled by very few congregations. At this meeting congratulatory addresses were delivered by the Rev. Principal Cairns, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh; the Rev. James Brown, D.D., Paisley; and the Rev. John Dobie, D.D., Glasgow, whose father had been second minister of the congregation; and various local ministers. The original church was replaced in 1822 by a more commodious structure seated for 500 worshippers. A print of it is given opposite.

This in turn gave place to the present graceful edifice seated for 600 people, which was erected in 1867, at a cost of about £1,670. It will thus be seen that a new church has been built for each of the three past ministers. In 1820 there was effected a union between the two wings of the Associate church—the Burgher (to which section this congregation adhered) and the Anti-Burgher, and the name was accordingly changed to that of the United Secession Congregation. In 1847 a further union took place between the latter body and the Relief church, which coalesced into the United Presbyterian or U. P. church, the two congregations in Langholm being distinguished as North U. P. and South U. P. On the union with the Free Church of Scotland in 1900, the united denomination adopted the title of United Free Church. There were, therefore, in Langholm three congregations of this larger communion, and by agreement they were designated North U. F. and South U. F. and Chalmers churches.

The following have been ministers of this congregation:—

JOHN JARDINE - - - - - 1789

A native of Jedburgh. A zealous and faithful pastor, highly esteemed in the town. "To the aged and pious, he had a sweet-

ness and acceptableness of speech which few could equal." He began a Sunday school with three scholars in the Manse kitchen—the first in the south of Scotland—and lived to see it number 300, with a large staff of teachers. He lived in the corner house of Mary Street and Francis Street, New-Langholm, and his biographer relates how, as he felt his end drawing near, he took a tender farewell of the Esk flowing past his dwelling, of the old kirk with its romantic history, of his books, of all the rooms in his house wherein a happy and honoured life had been spent, and, last of all, of his Bible, saying "Farewell, blessed Bible, that has been so often my comfort and delight." He died in 1820 in his 71st year and the 31st of his ministry.

JOHN DOBIE - - - - - 1821

From Loreburn Street congregation, Dumfries. Ordained 30th Aug., 1821. Died prematurely old with his manifold labours, 6th Feb., 1845, in the 45th year of his age and 24th of his ministry. A man greatly beloved, pious, zealous, eloquent and witty, of active mind, ready perception, and clear judgment. During his ministry the congregation greatly increased. The new church, erected in 1822, was regularly filled. Frequently, his hearers could find only standing room, even in the vestibule, and overflowed into the roadway. Refused many calls to other spheres of labour. His sons afterwards occupied positions of influence and importance. One was the Rev. Dr. Dobie, of Shamrock Street Church, Glasgow, a second, Dr. William Dobie, Keighley, and a third was Mr. Hugh Dobie, writer, Langholm, for some years its acting-chief magistrate. The Rev. J. Dobie owned and occupied Greenbank as a Manse. After his death, his widow and daughters lived for many years at Stubholm.

WILLIAM BALLANTYNE - - - - - 1846

A native of Lauder. Ordained 31st Dec., 1846, after 34 probationers had been heard as candidates. Of considerable repute as a scholar, especially in Hebrew, of delicate literary taste and much natural eloquence. Declined more than once to allow his name to go forward to nomination for the office of Moderator of the U. P. Synod. Reserved in temperament, constant in friendship, greatly honoured in Eskdale. Died 13th Nov., 1892, after a faithful and fruitful ministry of nearly 46 years.

GEORGE ORR - - - - - 1892

A native of Glasgow and an alumnus of its University where he distinguished himself in Philosophy and English Literature. Received his theological training at United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Licensed by Presbytery of Glasgow in 1891. Elected immediately thereafter, assistant to the Rev. Thomas McEwan, Hope Park Church, Edinburgh. In August, 1892, unanimously chosen assistant to Mr. Ballantyne, on whose death he was unanimously elected to pastorate. Ordained by Presbytery of Annandale 24th Jan., 1893. One of the founders and present secretary of the Eskdale and Liddesdale Archæological Society. Founder of the Townhead Literary Society, Langholm, for the promotion of the study of literature, science, and art.

The first Manse was, as stated, at the corner of Mary Street and Francis Street. During the ministry of Mr. Dobie, the Manse was at Greenbank. The third was in Buccleuch Square, the house at present occupied by Mr. Andrew Johnstone, and the present one was built in 1876.

This congregation has had at least three issues of Tokens during the 126 years of its existence.

1. The first was issued in 1789, on the ordination and induction of the Rev. John Jardine. A specimen of this Token was for many years a treasured possession of the family of the present writers, and was given to the Session by the late John Hyslop. The Rev. H. A. White-law, in his work on *Communion Tokens of Dumfriesshire*, says it "is possibly unique." It is shown, numbered 7 on the Plate, at the end of this Chapter; is round in shape, with borders, and measures one inch.

Obverse: A C L / . J. . J. / 1789.

Reverse: Plain.

2. An oval Token, in sixteenths 16 by 12, with light borders, not represented on the Plate.

Obverse: ASS / CON / LANGHOLM.

Reverse: REV. J. D. [for Rev. John Dobie].

3. An oval Token, measuring in sixteenths 16 by 12, with light borders, numbered 8 on Plate.

Obverse: UNITED / around top segment, ASS
CON / in the field, LANGHOLM
around the lower segment.

Reverse: REV J. D. / 1821 / ORD. 30th AUG.

SOUTH UNITED FREE.

So it is named now, but originally it was the Relief Kirk, and after 1847 the South U. P., but has been more generally called the Town-foot kirk. Its early history gives evidence of a continual struggle, with many disappointments, but, withal, a highly honourable record. The Relief Church originated in 1752, or nineteen years later than the Secession, in a second protest against forcing a minister upon an unwilling congregation. This protest was in connection with the famous Inverkeithing case, and for refusing to assent to the forced settlement,—that is, for resisting Patronage,—the Rev. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock was deposed by the General Assembly. Instead, however, of joining the Secession denomination, Mr. Gillespie instituted a separate body, the Relief Church, which has borne its testimony in the struggle for religious freedom in Scotland.

The Town-foot congregation had its source in Canonby. On 21st August, 1797, a petition was presented to the Relief Presbytery of Dumfries “from the people of Canonby for the supply of sermon,” the immediate occasion apparently being dissatisfaction with a probationer who had been appointed as assistant to the parish minister, the Rev. John Russell. In reply to the petition the Rev. Decision Laing of Wamphray, visited the congregation in October, 1797. For some years partial supply of sermon was granted, during which the congregation was styled as “of Canonby.” Their place of meeting was at Priorhill, on the rising ground between Canonby Bridge and the railway station. In 1800 these partial “supplies” were still being sent by the Presbytery, and the meetings were held, sometimes in Canonby and sometimes in Langholm, until in August,

1801, a joint petition for sermon was presented from "the forming congregation of Canonby and Langholm." After this date the name Canonby drops out and the congregation is recognised as of Langholm. The Relief people in Canonby, however, continued their devotion to the cause, and for many years not a few of them travelled regularly to the services at Langholm, and some afterwards held office in the congregation.

In Langholm the services were first held on a piece of ground at the foot of the Laird's Entry, close by the side of the Esk. In 1805 the Presbytery seemed to think that undue delay was being shown in erecting a church, but the circumstances were not yet favourable to this step. But a plot of land had been secured from Mr. Walter Young, at the Town-foot, and though the title-deeds are dated 1812, there is evidence, in a stone dated 1807 built into the wall of the present structure, that the erection of a church had at least been begun in that year. The names in the deed were as follow:—

John Elliot, clogger, New-Langholm; Ninian Wilson, New-Langholm; James Young, New-Langholm; Walter Paisley, weaver, New-Langholm; Walter Young, Langholm; Andrew Elliot, Broomieknowe; Archibald Thomson, Langholm; John Williamson, Langholm; Hugh Hotson, Enthorn; Robert Johnstone, Thorniewhats; William Brockbank, Byreburnfoot; Francis Bell, Andrewsknowe; and John Stothart, New-Langholm. In 1849, through the generosity of Dr. Archibald Graham of Holmfoot, whose mother was a member of the congregation, the feu-duty was commuted and the site rendered freehold.

The original church served the needs of the congregation until 1883, when the present church was built and was

opened free of debt on 28th August, 1884. The closing services in the old building were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Dobie, of Shamrock Street Church, Glasgow, who had, in the same church, preached his first sermon as a young probationer. The preacher, at the opening of the new building, was the Rev. Principal Hutton. The stained glass windows on either side of the pulpit are the gift of the late Rev. W. Watson, minister of the congregation, and his brother, Mr. Thomas Watson, Lanark. That above the pulpit is the gift of the late Bailie Cranston of Edinburgh.

The first Manse was built in 1852, and the present one in 1890.

In 1811, the congregation issued a call to a Mr. John Barr who, after giving the people every encouragement to proceed therewith, declined it. His refusal was made the subject of complaint before the Glasgow Presbytery, who in effect censured him for his action. He became the minister of Kelvingrove Church, Glasgow, and was the author of several works.

The following is a list of the ministers :—

THOMAS GRIERSON - - - - - 1812

Licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Ordained 16th Dec., 1812. Deposed 1814.

PATRICK HUTCHISON PEACOCK - - - - - 1820

The congregation now passed through a period of great embarrassment and trial, and its condition was on several occasions discussed by the Presbytery. However, in November 1819, they sent one of their probationers to supply the pulpit, with the result that he so inspired the people that they gave him a "call," and he was ordained on 30th March, 1820. His pastorate ended in May, 1821. He thereafter qualified himself for the medical profession. He died at Paisley in 1831 from a fever contracted in the discharge of his professional duties, "much and justly lamented by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance."

JAMES CROSS - - - - - 1835

Between the resignation of the previous minister and the ordination of Mr. Cross a long and trying vacancy intervened. In

the meanwhile the spiritual interests of the congregation were attended to by the REV. WILLIAM MUIR, until he renounced connection with the Relief denomination in 1824. From 1830 the Rev. John Watson, of Waterbeck, devoted much care to the spiritual oversight of the congregation.

Mr. Cross came from Dalkeith (West). Ordained 2nd June, 1835. Translated to Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1843. Afterwards, on rejoining the Presbyterian Church in England, to Crewe, where he died in the 39th year of his age. "He died in the faith of that blessed Gospel he so faithfully and zealously preached to others." A member of Mr. Cross's Bible Class was Mr. Robert Smellie, one of the most revered men in Langholm where he still resides at the advanced age of 93

WILLIAM WATSON - - - - - 1844

From Lanark. Ordained 20th March, 1844. During his long ministry the present handsome church was opened free of debt. Took an active part in Presbyterial and public work. Founder of the Langholm Penny Bank. Active in temperance work, of keen sympathies with the unfortunate and bereaved. "A real son of consolation to many in Langholm and far beyond. To mourners in many parts he sent words of true comfort." Found dead in bed 13th March, 1890, aged 73, within a week of closing the 46th year of his ministry in the congregation.

JOHN WALLACE MANN - - - - - 1890

From Nairn. Educated Edinburgh University. Acted as assistant to foregoing, and at the date of his death was under "call" as colleague and successor. Ordained 20th March, 1890. Took an active share of public work on the Parish Council and School Board. Translated to Shettleston, Eastbank Church, in succession to the Rev. James Hyslop, youngest son of the senior author of this volume.

THOMAS S. CAIRNCROSS, M.A., B.D. - - - - - 1901

From Lesmahagow. Graduated Glasgow University and proceeded to his B.D. degree. A poet and author. Of his poetical works, mention may be made of his *Margin of Rest* and *The Return of the Master*, the latter showing the subtle influence of the Borderland. In 1910 he published *From the Steps of the Pulpit*, a series of semi-humorous sketches of Scottish life. Has published other works. In 1907 accepted a "call" to Kilpatrick, in the Presbytery of Dumbarton.

JAMES B. MACDONALD, M.A., B.D. - - - - - 1908

Native of Invernesshire. Educated at Inverness Royal Academy and was *Dux* of School. Graduated at St. Andrews University, taking both Arts and Divinity degrees with the highest distinction. First scholar of his year in Philosophy. Theological course at New College, Edinburgh, and Heidelberg University, Germany. Licensed by Presbytery of Inverness in 1892. In same year, called to Contin, Rosshire; and Dornock, Sutherlandshire, and accepted the latter. Inducted to Langholm South, on July 17th, 1908. Has written on philosophical subjects and contemplates publication of a treatise. Lectured on *Pilgrim's Progress*; *Men of the Covenant*; *The Great Hymns of the Church*, &c.

On the Plate at the end of this Chapter, there are shown reproductions of two Tokens of this congregation. The earlier, that numbered 9, is a square Token, measuring eleven sixteenths of an inch, with light borders:—

Obverse: R / C·L. These letters may stand for “Relief Church (or Congregation), Langholm,” or, as the Rev. H. A. Whitelaw suggests, “Relief Canonby (and) Langholm.” If for the latter, then the Token would be cast about 1801.

Reverse: Plain.

The second Token, numbered 10 on the Plate, is oblong, measuring 17 sixteenths by twelve, with cut corners, and was issued during the ministry of the Rev. William Watson.

Obverse: LANGHOLM / RELIEF CHURCH / REV. WM. WATSON / 1844. The date is between ornaments.

Reverse: THIS DO IN / REMEMBRANCE / OF ME / I Cor. 11. 24.

CHALMERS CHURCH.

This church was known, until the Union of 1900, as Langholm Free Church. Its origin dates to the historic Disruption of 1843. It will be remembered that for ten years previous to this date the Established Kirk of Scotland had been in a condition of great unrest owing to the abuse of lay Patronage—the forcing upon hostile congregations of ministers appointed by the Patrons. The period is known in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland as the “Ten Years’ Conflict.” The Kirk presented to Parliament a Claim of Right, insisting that its historic spiritual freedom from that

interference of the Civil Courts which had produced the unrest then existing, should be recognised by Parliament. This Petition and Claim were the voice of the Kirk of Scotland, not of a minority of it, and had the Government generally, and Sir James Graham particularly, been wise, or had the latter possessed any intimate knowledge of the religious life of Scotland, the Disruption might have been avoided; but when the Claim of Right was declined as "unreasonable" the die was cast. On the Assembly meeting in May, 1843, the Kirk was rent in twain. More than four hundred ministers slowly left their places, following Dr. Welsh and Dr. Chalmers, whilst those who remained sat awe-struck and amazed. "A vast multitude of people stood congregated in George Street, crowding in upon the church doors. When the deed was done within, the intimation of it passed like lightning through the mass without, and when the forms of their most venerated clergymen were seen emerging from the church a loud and irrepressible cheer burst forth from their lips, and echoed through the now half-empty Assembly Hall. In the city Lord Jeffrey was sitting reading in his quiet room, when one burst in upon him saying, 'Well, what do you think of it? More than 400 of them are actually out.' The book was flung aside, and, springing to his feet, Lord Jeffrey exclaimed, 'I'm proud of my country; there is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done.'"^{*}

The Disruption was an accomplished fact: the four hundred ministers had relinquished livings and manses for the sake of a principle—the absolute Kingship of Christ as Head of the Church, and, once more, Scotland

^{*} *Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence*, pp. 221-2.

had shown her utter disregard of worldly considerations when her faith was threatened.

During these stirring events not one of the Eskdale ministers sided with the Evangelical party in the Kirk, and, accordingly, all of them retained their livings. This impaired somewhat the prestige of the Disruption in the Langholm district, but a considerable number of the people, who had watched with sympathetic enthusiasm the course of events, cast in their lot with the Disruption leaders, and determined that an effort should be made to form a congregation.

Mr. Robert Smellie, then an energetic young man of



MR. ROBERT SMELLIE.

24, now Langholm's veteran churchman and oldest inhabitant, was called upon to head the movement. He was cordially supported by such men as R. M. Rome, John Young, William Plattoff, Matthew Young, and Anthony Yeoman, and by many others, both men and women, whose memory is still fragrant in the congregation. Supply of sermon was obtained, and the churches

at the Town-head and Town-foot, whose members had "come out" during the Secession and Relief movements, were, as circumstances allowed, placed at the disposal of the new society. Interest in it was shown, too, by the great Disruption leaders. Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Candlish, and Dr. Guthrie all came frequently to preach, and Dr. Chalmers himself manifested sympathy and encouragement.

The statue in honour of Sir Pulteney Malcolm, which for 34 years adorned the Market Place of Langholm, had recently been completed, and the sculptor's workshop in George Street was vacant. It was purchased for a few pounds and turned into a temporary meeting-place. It thus became the first Free Kirk of Langholm, and was known as "The Wud Kirk." The services were so successful that at length the congregation turned their hopes towards an ordained minister.

The Rev. William Brown Clark, of Half-Morton, brother-in-law of Henry Scott Riddell, the poet, had come out in '43, and thought he might be able to act as minister of the Free Churches of Langholm, Canonby, and Half-Morton, but, of course, this was found to be quite impracticable. In a short time, however, the congregation had the satisfaction of calling a young licentiate of the Church, Mr. Alexander Johnstone Ross. The ordination was held in a field near to the Established church on Whita side, and the first communion was celebrated in the field at Greenbank, where in summer time the Secession congregation was wont to communicate.

Not only did the Free Church leaders aim at having a church in every parish, but they adopted the national educational policy of John Knox, and resolved to found

a school as well. Following this wise course, the Langholm congregation engaged as teacher, one Alex. Giles, who held his classes in what is now the Buccleuch Hotel. Mr. Giles afterwards entered the ministry, and was ordained to a charge at Ashkirk. A site, whereon to erect both a church and school, was obtained from Mr. George Maxwell, of Broomholm, and the present buildings in Charles Street (Old) were erected. The foundation-stone was laid on the 18th May, 1845, and the church was opened for public worship in April, 1846. Since that date it has had on two occasions to be enlarged.

A gift of a garden was made by one of the lady members, and in it, at the Town-head, a handsome Manse was built. For many years the congregation, in addition to its ordinary religious work, carried on a successful day school, erected in 1850,—two of the headmasters being Mr. W. Easton, who died in 1861, and Mr. J. W. Stephen, who succeeded him. In 1874, the school was handed over free to the newly-instituted School Board, who incorporated it with the old parish school in the Gala-side.* The deacons thereupon repurchased their own school buildings from the Board, and converted them into the Chalmers Hall, to serve for Sunday School and congregational work.

On the union of the Free and U. P. churches in 1900 a re-arrangement of names became imperative, and on the happy suggestion of Mr. Smellie, it was resolved to name the church the "Chalmers Church," in memory of the great churchman, whose portrait appropriately hangs on the walls of the vestry.

* Mr. Stephen went to Fisherrow School, Musselburgh, where he followed his profession for many years. Lately, he has retired from active duty and is living in Edinburgh.

The ministers have been as follow :—

ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE ROSS - - - - 1844

Ordained 10th May, 1844. Joined the Church of England a few years later and received the degree of D.D.

CHARLES WATSON - - - - 1848

Afterwards D.D. of Edinburgh University. Ordained in Laugholm 23rd March, 1848. Translated to Largs in 1864. Died there in 1908. Published *First Epistle of St. John* in 1891.

JOHN DAVIDSON - - - - 1864

Formerly of Lochend and New Abbey. Inducted December 1864. Married Harriet Miller, daughter of Hugh Miller, geologist, and author of *The Old Red Sandstone*. She was an authoress of some reputation, and published *Isobel Jardine's History; Christian Osborne's Friends*, and other stories. Translated to Chalmers Church, Adelaide, South Australia, in 1870, and became Professor of Church History and English Literature in Adelaide University. Died in 1881.

JAMES EWING SOMERVILLE, M.A., B.D. - - 1870

Ordained 7th July, 1870. Son of Dr. A. N. Somerville, the well known Free Church minister of Glasgow. Graduated Glasgow University. Translated to East Church, Broughty Ferry, in 1875, thence to the Scots Church, Mentone, France, where he still labours under the United Free Church of Scotland.

DAVID SIEVERIGHT SMITH, M.A. - - - - 1876

A native of Aberdeen. Graduated at Aberdeen University. Ordained 20th April, 1876. Went to America in 1878. Became a Professor in one of the colleges of the Western States and died there.

JAMES PANTON - - - - 1879

Native of Perthshire. Ordained 13th January, 1879. After 21 years of faithful ministry died 9th June, 1900, aged 50 years. Buried in Wauchope churchyard.

JOHN ALEXANDER DUKE, M.A., B.D. - - - 1900

Graduated Glasgow University. Assistant to Dr. Ross Taylor, Kelvinside, Glasgow. Ordained in Chalmers Church, December 1900. Translated to Morningside, Edinburgh, 1904.

DAVID WILLIAM INGLIS, M.A. - - - - 1905

Graduated University of Edinburgh, 1897. Theological training New College, Edinburgh. Licensed by Presbytery of Edinburgh, 1902. Assistant to Dr. Somerville, Roseburn, Edinburgh; to Dr. Ross Taylor, Kelvinside, Glasgow; and to Dr. Duff, St. George's, Glasgow. Ordained to Chalmers Church, 10th March, 1905, and continues in pastoral charge.

Two issues of Communion Tokens seem to have been made by the congregation. Both are stock patterns in

common use amongst the Free Churches of Scotland in the years following the Disruption.

First issue : an oval token with borders, 19 sixteenths by 13.

Obverse : Free Church / OF SCOTLAND, around the edge. Date, 1843, in centre. Two plain dots separate upper and under legends around the edge.

Reverse : LET A MAN / EXAMINE HIMSELF / 1. Cor., xi., 28. There is no period after "HIMSELF"

Second issue : same shape and size as first :

Obverse : Free Church / OF SCOTLAND, around the edge. Date, 1843, in centre. Radiated dots, smaller letters and larger numerals than in first issue.

Reverse : same as in first issue but has a period after "HIMSELF."

CANONBY UNITED FREE.

Like that of Langholm, the Free Kirk of Canonby originated at the Disruption. But its history was even more exciting and impressive than that of Langholm. In the years immediately following the Disruption, the story of the Canonby congregation became familiar throughout Scotland on account of the hardships it suffered during the winter of 1843-4. Owing to their inability to obtain a site for a church the people were obliged for nearly a year to worship on the public highway. The illustration on next page shows Mr. Robert Smellie, Langholm, standing on the spot where the services were held. The site is on the south side of

the public road at the Hollows end of Gilnockie Bridge. In addition to his manifold labours in Langholm, Mr. Smellie found time to go down and assist and encourage the Canonby people in the brave stand they were making.



DISRUPTION SCENE AT GILNOCKIE BRIDGE.

Not only were they refused a site, but they were prevented even from erecting a tent in any part of the parish. Their Christian manhood stood the strain, and no difficulty or opposition could quench their love of spiritual freedom. Such steadfastness had its reward, for after six years endurance a site was granted in 1849. The church was opened on the first Sabbath of 1851, nearly eight years after the Disruption. During these years of trial the congregation received from all quarters a large amount of public sympathy.

The first place of worship was a tent pitched in the corner of a peat moss, where even tinkers were conceded the right of encampment, which, however, was denied to this Christian congregation, against whom an interdict was obtained. In their predicament they betook themselves to the roadside, and from September 1843, until July of 1844 they worshipped there. When the first communion was celebrated they were permitted to meet in a field. Dr. Gordon, of the Free High Church, Edinburgh, dispensed the sacred ordinance, assisted by neighbouring ministers and some elders from Edinburgh, amongst whom was Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell. Afterwards, the congregation received permission to erect a tent in a gravel pit, where they continued to worship for more than six years. This place was about 100 yards from where Mr. Smellie is standing in the illustration. It was under an oak tree in a corner of a field on the Annan road just below Brockwoodlees farmhouse. Public feeling throughout the country on this question of the refusal of sites became so strong that Parliament had to interfere. A Committee of Enquiry was appointed, before whom witnesses gave evidence on behalf of the Canonby congregation. After the Committee had reported, the Duke of Buccleuch yielded; a site was granted, and the new church was opened in 1851.*

* Most of the above information has been kindly furnished by the Rev. John Jamieson, minister of the Canonby United Free congregation, who obtained his facts from the following documents:—

1. *Sermon* preached in the Tent at Canonby by the Rev. George Innes, M.A., with a short *Memoir* of the author, published 1849.
2. Dr. Guthrie's *Autobiography* and *Memoir* by his son, the present Lord Guthrie.
3. *The Annals of the Disruption; The Witness* newspaper, edited by Hugh Miller.
4. Evidence given before the Parliamentary Enquiry on Refusal of Sites.

The following is a list of the ministers :—

GEORGE INNES, M.A. - - - - - 1844

Ordained minister of Seafield Church, Portnockie, Banffshire, on 10th May, 1843, eight days before the Disruption. Came out on the 18th. Invited to take charge of Free Church cause in Seafield and Cullen but had to decline for reasons of health. Called to Canonby. Inducted in the Tent September 1844. Died Nov. 1847 in his 29th year, from consumption induced by "exposure to hardships." "Though the people were able to endure such hardships, they were too zealous for the young pastor. It was not long till symptoms of consumption appeared. The disease rapidly ran its course and he sank into an early grave."

ALEXANDER WATSON MILNE - - - - - 1848

Also ordained in the Tent in August 1848. Died in July 1885 in his 65th year, and the 37th of his ministry. A tablet was placed in the vestibule of the church stating that he was the chief means of getting the church and manse erected. The Pulpit Bible bears a silver plate having an inscription that it was presented to him by the ladies of Grand Street Presbyterian Church, New York, in 1853.

JOHN SMITH WILSON, M.A. - - - - - 1885

Graduate of Edinburgh University. Theological training at New College, Edinburgh. Assistant to foregoing. Ordained in succession in October 1885. Resigned owing to ill-health in 1892. Removed to Trinidad, West Indies, where he occupies an important position under the United Free Church of Scotland.

JOHN JAMIESON, M.A. - - - - - 1892

Graduate of Glasgow University. Theological training in Free Church College there, and at New College, Edinburgh. Assistant to the Rev. Walter Wood, Elie, Fifeshire. Ordained at Firth, Orkney, in 1880. Inducted to Canonby in 1892 and continues in pastoral charge.

There has been only one issue of Tokens by the Free Kirk congregation of Canonby. On the Plate, it is numbered 12, an oval Token, with borders measuring 18 by 14 sixteenths of an inch.

Obverse : CANONBIE / FREE CHURCH / 1845

Reverse : LET A MAN / EXAMINE / HIMSELF / 1 COR.,
xi., 28.

ESKDALEMUIR UNITED FREE.

This congregation was formed in 1836. Some dissatisfaction having arisen in the Established Kirk of

Eskdalemuir, a small section of the members broke off, and uniting with a band of Cameronians formed themselves into a separate congregation. The Cameronians received their name from their adherence to the doctrines of Richard Cameron, one of the bravest, most eloquent,* and most unyielding of the Covenanters—"the Lion of the Covenant"—who, like so many others, paid for his religious principles with his life. In the recesses of Eskdalemuir his followers represented the old Covenanting spirit of the seventeenth century. So earnest were the people in the days of the field-preaching that, it is said, on one occasion at Dumfelsing, there were no fewer than 1,400 people present, most of them, no doubt, from long distances.

In 1836 the two parties united, and built a little kirk at Davington, the lease of which was granted by the grandfather of Mr. Thomas Beattie, the present laird. Following the custom of that day the lease designated it "a Meeting House." It was not until 1847 that a regular ministry was obtained.

Up to the year 1876 the congregation was incorporated with the Reformed Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland, in which year most of the congregations of that denomination united with the Free Kirk, but a small remnant, (as is always the case in Scotland), about a dozen congregations, refused to agree to the union, and they still maintain a separate existence, but are in full communion with the Reformed Presbyterian Churches of America, where there are a hundred congregations, and of Ireland, where the number is about forty.

* Gilfillan speaks of the tidings that were "by Cameron thundered or by Renwick poured in gentle stream."

The church at Davington is seated for nearly 140 worshippers.

The following is the list of ministers since 1847 :—

JAMES MORRISON - - - - - 1847

Ordained June 1847 to the united charge of Eskdalemuir and Buccleuch, Ettrick. In the latter church he preached every third Sunday. Died 1878 in the 31st year of his ministry over this congregation.

JOHN T. FALSIDE - - - - - 1879

Ordained to Eskdalemuir. Died 1903.

J. C. NICHOL, M.A. - - - - - 1903

The Manse was built in 1849, during the ministry of the Rev. James Morrison.

One Token has been issued by this congregation. It is numbered 11 on the Plate, and is a plain metal Token, square, with cut corners, but no borders, and measures 11 sixteenths of an inch.

Obverse: R P incuse, for Reformed Presbyterian.

Reverse: plain.

LANGHOLM CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

This congregation belonged to the Evangelical Union of Scotland until its junction with the Congregational Union in 1896. It originated in a period of religious revival in December 1862. A small number of men, impressed with theological views more liberal than those prevailing at that time, met to consider the best means of giving expression to their religious convictions, and the formation of this congregation was the result. Its founders were Walter Scott, Holmfoot, John Warwick, Robert Black, William Borthwick, Robert Lunn, James McVittie, Thomas Ellis, D. Conchie, Walter Reid, William Warwick, John Wells, James Bell, Andrew Little, William Telford, Robert Hiddlestone, and Archi-

bald Kerr. The tenets of the founders were those so strongly and bravely maintained by the Rev. James Morison, D.D., who, because of the Atonement controversy, was formally deposed by the Synod of the United Secession Church in 1841. In the early days of the movement, his adherents were known as "Morisonians"—at first, like the name of Salvation Army, regarded as a term of reproach, but afterwards as a diploma of honour in all moral and religious causes.

The new congregation met with considerable apathy, if not actual opposition, in the town, and they had much difficulty in obtaining a site for their church. For a time they met for worship in "the bark-house" of Mr. Walter Scott, tanner, who took an active share in all the work of the church from its commencement, and was, until his death, its most generous supporter. The "bark-house" was situated on the south side of Buccleuch Square, next to the present police station, into which it was absorbed some years ago. The formal opening took place on 27th July, 1863, the officiating minister being the Rev. William Deans. Efforts were afterwards made to obtain a site in the New-Town, but failure met them at every turn, until, after some six years of disappointment, the present site at the head of the Kirkwynd was secured. The building of this church was made possible only by the munificent gifts of Mr. Walter Scott, who very appropriately was invited to lay the corner-stone. It was opened for worship on 27th November, 1870, by the Rev. Dr. Morison, the founder of the denomination.

In the same year a very interesting meeting, one which has an historical setting, was held to bid God-speed to 22 members and adherents of the congregation who were emigrating to Australia. They instituted the first

Lodge of Good Templars in that Colony, naming it "The Outward Bound."

In the vestibule of the church a marble slab bears witness to the regard in which Mr. and Mrs. Walter Scott, Holmfoot, were held. For close on 40 years they were members and liberal supporters of the congregation—"Faithful, Benevolent, Beloved."

The Manse, which is situated at the Town-head, adjoining Clinthead, was acquired in 1892.

The following is a list of the ministers since the inception of the congregation:—

JAMES CRON - - - - - 1864
 Ordained June, 1864. Retired owing to ill-health April, 1865.
 Died at Durisdeer on 18th July, 1865.

JAMES CAMPBELL - - - - - 1866
 Ordained 12th October. Emigrated to America 1874. It was during his ministry that the church was built.

ROBERT BORLAND - - - - - 1874
 Ordained October 16th. Left Nov. 4th, 1877. Joined the Established Church of Scotland. Now minister of Yarrow. Received degree of D.D. Author of *Border Raids and Reivers*, frequently quoted in this volume.

W. RICHMOND SCOTT - - - - - 1878
 Ordained in October. In June, 1887, translated to Nelson Street E.U. Church, Greenock. In 1900 joined the Established Church of Scotland. Now minister of Auchengray in the Presbytery of Lanark.

ANDREW RITCHIE, M.A. - - - - - 1888
 Graduated Edinburgh University. Ordained October. Left in March, 1894, and went to Nelson Street E.U. Church, Greenock, as his predecessor had done. Called to St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1903, to take charge of the Anglo-American Church there. Returned and was elected to Canmore Street, Dunfermline, in 1906. Now minister of Dundas Street Congregational Church, Glasgow, in succession to Rev. George Gladstone, of which Dr. Morison, founder of the Evangelical Union denomination, was first minister.

GEORGE MCKENDRICK - - - - - 1894
 Resigned in 1900, to take up work on Lake Tanganyika, Central Africa, under the London Missionary Society, where he died of fever after a few months. The congregation and friends erected a stone to his memory in Staplegortoun Churchyard.

ROBERT MACQUEEN - - - - - 1900

Educated at Troon Academy and Edinburgh University. Theological training in Evangelical Union Hall, Glasgow. Ordained to Morison Memorial Church, Clydebank, 1893. Inducted to Langholm, June, 1900, and continues in pastoral charge.

EPISCOPAL CHAPEL.

Though the chapel is a private one, belonging to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, it will not be out of place for us to make some reference to it.

It is picturesquely situated within the policies of Langholm Lodge, not far from the ruins of the old Castle, where so many stirring events occurred in the days of old.

The chapel was built by the late Duke, and opened for public worship "according to the Order, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Episcopal Church in Scotland," in 1883, the first service being held on 9th September—the birthday of the present Duke of Buccleuch, who was then Lord Dalkeith.

There are in the chapel a handsome brass cross and candlesticks, presented by his Oxford friends, in memory of the late Earl of Dalkeith, who met his tragic death whilst deer-stalking in the Highlands on 17th Sept., 1886, whilst his father and mother were at Langholm Lodge.

The chaplaincy has been held by the following :—

P. S. LOCKTON, M.A. - - - - - 1886

Now Rector of Holy Trinity, Melrose.

W. W. WHITE, M.A. - - - - - 1893

Now Rector of Brockdish, Norfolk.

J. A. SEATON - - - - - 1903

Associate of King's College, London University. Ordained by Bishop Bardsley of Carlisle to the curacy of Ireth-cum-Askam, Lancs., in 1900; curacy of St. Paul's, Carlisle, in 1902.



ESKDALE COMMUNION TOKENS

(Reproduced from: "The Communion Tokens of Dumfriesshire" by the kind permission of the Rev. H. A. Whitehead, Dumfries).

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LANGHOLM FAIRS.

FAIRS were a necessary adjunct to the trade and commerce of the Middle Ages. In many districts they were the only means whereby the produce of the land and the loom could be sold or bartered. Railways and other rapid means of communication not being in existence, and the population of the country being more widely distributed—less centred in large towns—some means was absolutely necessary to bring the buyer and the seller together, and it was provided by the Fairs, which were much more than mere opportunities of enjoyment. They were certainly taken advantage of for enjoyment and social reunion, but their primary object was to foster trade and commerce, as will be shown presently. Generally speaking, the Fairs were the rights of the feudal baron. They existed for the convenience of his vassals, but for his own benefit he could levy tolls upon the sellers and merchants who took advantage of the Fair. His rights were usually expressed in the charter granting him the lands, but, where not expressed, they were, we believe, implied, and when the heritable jurisdictions of the barons were modified by the Act of 1747, special reservations, as related in a former chapter, were made in respect of Fairs and markets, and the right of the baron to levy tolls on these occasions was retained by him.

Prior to the Nithsdale charter of 1621, we have no definite record of Fairs being held in Eskdale, though tradition tells of one held at Staplegortoun, and another at the junction of the White and Black Esks. To the

latter, it is said, the itinerant priests came from Melrose to confirm the hand-fasting, and it is accepted as history that the Fair was held on Hand-fasting Haugh. There is nothing unlikely in these traditions, indeed the name Stapelgortoun seems to imply some such mart as a large Fair would provide.

But it was by the charter granted by the King to the Earl of Nithsdale in 1621 that the Fairs in Langholm received statutory sanction. As the charter of 1610 to William, Lord Cranstoun, was only of "a free barony," no necessity existed of giving power to hold Fairs, but in 1621 the Earl of Nithsdale contemplated the extension of the town of Langholm, and Fairs would then become an economic necessity. The charter conferred the right "of having . . . a weekly market on Thursdays* with two free fairs yearly" on 29th June and 24th October. These served the requirements of the town and district until 1672, when the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, being desirous of extending trade and commerce throughout their estates petitioned Parliament for further powers. Their petition "To the Right Honourable My Lord Commissioner his Grace and High Court off Parliament" asked for two additional Fairs "besyd the fair dayes already Granted to Langholm."

The following is the text of the Act :—

"Act in favors of James & Anna Duke and Dutches of Buccleugh and Monmouth for fairs at Dalkeith, Langholm, and Cassiltoun.†

Apud Edinburgh August 23, 1672.

Anent a Supplication presented to the Kings Maiestie and Estates of Parliat be James and Anna Duke and Dutches of Buccleuch and

* The market day was afterwards changed to Wednesday, but we have no information as to the date or cause.

† *Acta Parl. Scot.*

Monmouth Mentioning that the toune of Dalkeith lying in the shirrefdome of Edinburgh and the toune of Langholme lying in the Lordship & Regallitie of Eskdaill and shirrefdome of Dumfreis And lykwise the toune of Cassiltoun lying in the lordship and regallitie of Liddisdaill & shirrefdome of Roxburgh pertaining to the Petitioners ly in such places of the Countrey as that it would be advantageous not onlie to these townes bot also to the nixt adjacent places of the rēxive* Countreys where they ly That there should be ane convenient number of fairs appointed therin Humblie therefor Desireing that some fairs may be added to the saids townes of Dalkeith and Langholme and uther fair and ane weiklie mercat appointed to be kept at Cassiltoun As the supplication at length Beirs Which being taken into consideration The Kings Maiestie with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliat Doe heirby Give and Grant to the said James and Anna Duke and Dutches of Buccleugh and Monmouth and their successors two yeirlie frie faires to be kept and holden at the said toune of Dalkeith (besides the other fairs formerlie holdin there) the one upon the last tuisday of Aprile and the other upon the second tewsdai of Jully yeirlie As also two fairs yeirlie to be holden and kept at the sd. toune of Langholme (besides the other fair kept therat) the one upon the fyft day of Aprile and the other upon the fyftein of Jully yeirlie As lykwayes thrie frie yeirlie fairs to be kept at the said toune of Cassiltoun One upon the eightein day of Junij the second upon the fourth day of September and the Thrid upon the tenth day of October yeirlie in all tyme comeing Togidder with ane weiklie mercat to be holdin at the said toune of Cassiltoune upon fryday And incaice any of the saids faires shall happin to fall upon ane sunday That the samyn be holdin the day imēdiatlē following for buying and Selling of horse nolt sheip meil malt and all sort of merchandice and other Cōmodities necessar and usefull for the Cuntrie With Power to the said Duke and Dutches and their forsaides or such as they shall appoint to collect and uptake the tolls customes and dewties belonging to the saids yeirlie faires aud weiklie mercat And to enjoy all other freedomes liberties priviledges and imūnities ficlyke and als frielie as any other hes done or may doe in the lyke caices."

It would appear that as the town increased in size, and the surrounding district grew more productive and prosperous, even four Fairs were not adequate, or their dates were not sufficiently suitable to the special needs of a pastoral community, for in 1701 Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, and her son James, Earl of Dalkeith, presented to Parliament another petition for liberty to hold two additional Fairs.

We append the text of this second Act.†

* Respective.

† *Acta Parl. Scot.*

“Act in favours of Ann Dutches of Buccleugh and James Earl of Dalkeith her Son for two yearly fairs at the Toun of Langholm.

A. D. 1701.

OUR SOVERAIGN LORD and Estates of Parliament Considering that fairs and mercats in convenient places tend to the good and advantage of the Inhabitants thereof and of all his Majesties other Leidges dwelling near thereto and likeways to increase trade and commerce in the nation and that it is very fit for these ends to Authorize two yearly fairs upon the dayes following at the Toun of Langholme belonging to Ann Dutches of Buccleugh and James Earl of Dalkeith her son and lying within the parochine of Staple Gordon of old within the shire of Dumfreis and now by annexation within the shire of Roxburgh Do therefore by these presents Appoint two fairs to be kept and holden yearly at the said toun of Langholme One upon the last Twesday of May and the other upon the first Twesday of September in all time coming for every kind of merchandize And have Given and Granted and hereby Give and Grant to the said Ann Dutchess of Buccleugh and James Earl of Dalkeith and their heirs and successors for ever the right and priviledge of keeping and holding the said fairs yearly the hail tolls customes profites and casualties thereof and competent to pertain thereto and all other advantadges used and wont With full power to them to exact uplift dispose upon and enjoy the samen and to cause proclaim and ride the said fairs and make such orders thereanent as they think fit and to do all other things concerning the same which any haveing the priviledge of keeping fairs within the Kingdom lawfully do or may do.”

Thus, in 1701, there were in addition to the weekly market, no fewer than six statutory Fairs held in Langholm. They were apportioned over the year in this way :—

5 April.— By the Act of 1672. This came to be known as the “April Fair.”

Last Twesday in May.—By the Act of 1701. This was the “May Fair,” and after the re-arrangement of the calendar it fell in June.

29 June.— By the Nithsdale charter of 1621.

15 July.— By the Act of 1672. After the re-arrangement of the calendar it fell on July 26, on which date it is still held. This is known as the Summer or Lamb Fair, at one time perhaps the largest of all the Fairs in the south of Scotland.

First Twesday in September.—By the act of 1701. Known as the “Ewe Fair.”

24 October.—By the Nithsdale Charter of 1621. Known as the “Winter Fair.”

Both the charter and the Acts of Parliament gave the right to the holder of the barony to impose tolls and customs on each of these occasions, and this right was exercised as long as the Fairs were held, and still exists, we believe, although the Fairs themselves exist only in name.

The following is a summary of the Tolls as fixed by the Sheriff in 1795, and still nominally in existence :—

Table of Customs, Langholm; payable to the Duke of Buccleuch. Taken from an Extract Decreet of the Sheriff of Dumfriesshire, dated 14th July 1795.

For each Horse. Twopence Sterling
 For each Cow, or Nolt Beast Sixteen pennies Scots
 For each Rough Sheep. Four pennies Scots
 For each Lamb Two pennies Scots
 For each stand or Stall whatever be exposed thereat whither on fair-days, or Hiring-days. One penny sterling, and for each Lintseed stall or stand at the April fair. Twopence Sterling.
 For each Load of Meal Threepence Sterling
 For Flour, or Meal of Wheat, the same as other Meal
 For each Load of Malt Threepence Sterling
 For each Load of Salt Twopence Sterling
 For each Load of Potatoes Two pence Sterling
 For Herrings each Barrel Twopence Sterling
 For Butter a penny Scots each pound Scotch weight
 For Cheese when brought to the Public Market the same Duty as for Butter. But found it not proved that any Duty or custom is payable for cheese sold or retailed in private Houses or Shops

Regulations were made respecting stands and applied both to the Fairs and Hiring Days :—

The ordinary size of a stand to be 12 feet long by 6 feet wide, toll one penny sterling Above 12 feet and not exceeding 15 feet, twopence. Above 15 and not exceeding 20 feet, threepence. All above the last size, one shilling.

These rates applied to every kind of stand.

The letting of sites and collection of tolls were part of the duties of the baron-bailie, who deputed them to the baron officer.

The Fair, held annually on “the 15th day o’ Jul’y auld style,” was not only the most important, but was also the most interesting. It was principally for sheep, lambs, and wool, but, naturally, was not confined to these. In course of time it became associated with the Common-Riding, though, as a matter of fact, there was no necessary connection between them. Proclamation of the Fair had to be formally made, before the officers of the baron could legitimately levy the customs and tolls to which his charter entitled him. This would most

likely be done in the Market Place, probably from the steps of the Cross, which, it will be remembered, the baron, by the charter of 1621, had the right to set up. The Cross would, doubtless, be placed at a considerable height, and surrounded by graded steps which would serve admirably for the purposes of Proclamation, as well as for the rendezvous of the idle men of the town. In this custom we have the germ of that prevailing on the Common-Riding Day, when the Fair is still proclaimed "at the Cross." It might also be "cried" on the Kiln-green, where the Fair was held.

The text of this Proclamation has been corrupted, and, as will be seen on comparing that quoted below with the modern text given in Chapter XXVI., it has been completely altered in many important points.

"He e—O Yes! that's ee time; O Yes! that's twa times; O Yes! and that's theird and last time:

All manner of pearson and pearsons whatsoe'er let 'um draw near and I shall let them kenn, that their is a Fair to be held at the muckle Town of Langholm for the space of aught days; wherein if any Hustrin, Custrin, Land Louper, Dub Skouper or Gang the gate Swinger shall bread any Urdam, Durdam, Rabblement, Brabblement or Squabblement, he shall have his Lugs tacked to the muckle Trone with a nail of twal-a-Penny, untill he down of his Hobshanks and up with his muckle Doaps, and pray to Hea'n neen times 'God bless the King' and thrice the muckle Loard of Relton, paying a Groat to me Jemmy Ferguson, Baily of the aforesaid mannor—so you heard my Proclamation and I'll awa hame to my Danner."*

* "He e." This is given in the text, but its meaning is now unintelligible.

"O Yes," is doubtless a corruption of the French *oyez*, "listen."

"Hustrin,"—cp. "an auld *huister* o' a quean,"—a dirty housewife.

"Custrin,"—probably "quistron," a beggar.

"Land-Louper,"—one who flees the country for debt.

"Dub-Skouper,"—probably a variant of the old border term "dub-skelper or dub-skimper,"—a bog-trotter—"one who goes through thick and thin."

"Gang (or gae by) the gate Swinger,"—one who sets out on a journey—i.e. (probably) a tramp or beggar, cp., the old Scots term, "a gan-aboot-body."

"Rablement,"—a mob.

"Brabblement,"—sometimes given as "bragglement," probably from the French *babibler*, to tattle or gossip.

"Squabblement"—probably a disturbance of the peace.

The text of the Proclamation here given appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in March, 1731, and was there referred to as "lately published." The wording seems to indicate that the Proclamation did not relate to the Summer Fair, which dates from 1672, but to the earlier Fairs held by virtue of the powers conferred by the Nithsdale Charter of 1621.

This view is supported by the internal evidence offered by the text itself:—

1. The omission of a date in the text. In the Proclamation of the Fair of 15th July the date is given (though this may be due to the alteration of the calendar), and so is the fact of its being held on the *Duke* of Buccleuch's Merk-Land, the Dukedom dating to the year 1672.

2. The mention of "the muckle Laird o' Ralton." This personage has been sometimes described as an illegitimate son of Charles II., but this appears to be nothing more than a guess. It seems certain to the writers that he was William Elliot of Roan, in Liddesdale (which had the alternative designation of "Ralton" or "Relton"), third son of William Elliot of Larriston. William Elliot of Roan or Ralton is, by the family papers, "supposed to have been factor for Buccleuch." His son, Robert Elliot of Unthank, was also factor and probably succeeded his father, but on his getting into debt to Buccleuch, the latter seized his estates. He seems to have been succeeded by his cousin Gavin Elliot,

"Urdam, Durdam" are not given by Jamieson, and may be only rhetorical flourishes.

"His Lugs tacked to the muckle Trone with a nail of twal-a-Penny,"—cp., "on Decr. 2, 1689, the magistrates of Edinburgh were ordered to put William Mitchell upon the Tron and cause the hangman nail his lug thereto . . . and for words of reflection uttered by him against the present Government."—(*Privy Council Records.*)

whose father Gilbert—"Gibbie o' the gowden garters"—went with Buccleuch to the rescue of Kinmont Willie in 1596. Gavin Elliot acquired Midlem Mill, and his descendant, Robert Elliot of Midlem Mill, was also factor for the Duke, and, as we have seen, removed from Branxholme to Langholm Castle about the year 1725.

If, as we think, "the muckle Laird o' Ralton" was William Elliot, then the date of the above text must certainly be *earlier* than the institution of the Summer Fair, for William Elliot would at that date—1672—have been nearly 100 years of age.

The Laird o' Ralton appointed as his bailie, the above-named Jamie Ferguson, who "lived within the Common-right of Langholm, near to Middle Moss."—(*Poems, etc., on Eskdale*, published by Thomas Rome, Langholm, *cir.* 1880.)

CHAPTER XXV.

THE COMMON MOSS AND KILNGREEN.

THE Feu-contract of 1628 conveyed the Merk-lands of Arkinholm and Langholm to ten members of the Maxwell family. Reference to Appendix IV. will show that these tenants-in-common were to have certain privileges. They could, for instance, “win and lead stones of any part of the common quarries of the said lands of Arkinholm.” This right passed to their heirs and assignees and was conceded, likewise, to burgesses of the town of Langholm. Originally confined to them, by long custom it has become the right and lot of all residents in Langholm, whether they reside on the Ten Merk-lands or in New-Langholm, which is not included therein.

Naturally, between 1628, the date of the contract, and 1759, when the Commony was apportioned amongst the holders, there had been not a few changes of ownership. Several of the Maxwells had sold, or otherwise disposed of, their Merk-lands to John Maxwell of Broomholm, whose mansion house was nearest thereto, or to other heritors. So that in 1756 the new Ten Merk-lands were held as follows:—

John Maxwell of Broomholm's holding had increased from one to	-	-	-	-	-	5
He had also purchased the rights and enjoyment of the Common, attaching to the Merk-land held previously by Simon Little, Knittyholm						1
Making the Maxwell holding	-	-	-	-	-	6

John Little, Langholm	-	-	-	-	-	3
Duke of Buccleuch	-	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/>
Total	-	-	-	-	-	10
						<hr/> <hr/>

The Earl of Nithsdale had, however, in 1628, reserved to his own use "the woods and fishings." These rights, therefore, existed apart from the occupation or enjoyment of the Merk-lands, and seem to have been conveyed separately, for though the Duke of Buccleuch held only one of the Merk-lands he had acquired the right to cut and appropriate the timber upon the entire Commonty,—a right which the Award of 1759 did not, and could not, affect.

The approximate area comprised in the Ten Merk-lands was not that of the town of Langholm alone, but included virtually the whole of Whita Hill and the lands lying along the left bank of the Esk. It therefore consisted of town-land, arable land, woodland, hill pasture, the Common-moss, and the Kilngreen. It was not unnatural then, that with the different interests involved, disputes should occur between the owners, both concerning the extent or location of their particular Merk-lands, and also concerning the extent and use of those rights and privileges which were held and enjoyed by them in common. To settle such disputes an Act had been passed, during the reign of William and Mary, by which all common lands, except those belonging to the Crown or the royal burghs, could be divided at the instance of anyone having an interest therein, by a process before the Court of Session, which could then determine the various interests and according to them, divide such common lands. The Act also provided that

where these common lands included mosses which could not conveniently be divided, they should remain common, and that free passage to them should be preserved.

Maxwell of Broomholm, who, as we have shown, held five of the Ten Merk-lands and the Commonly rights of a sixth, appears to have attempted to obtain a mutual arrangement and apportionment, but the other owners refused consent. He thereupon, in 1757, brought an action in the Court of Session against the Duke of Buccleuch, then a minor, and his tutors and curators; John Little, merchant in Langholm; Simon Little in Knittyholm; and Archibald Little, feuar in Langholm, to have the Common divided according to the Act.

On his claim to sue being confirmed, Maxwell craved the appointment of a Commission, who should perambulate the bounds and take proof of extent, limits, and marches of the Common, collect evidence and report, fix and determine as to such marches and lands, and then have the Common divided between those having interest, according to the valued rents of the lands. This Commission was granted on 5th August, 1757, and consisted of John Boston, chamberlain to the Duke of Buccleuch, Bryce Blair of Potterflats, Provost of Annan, with John Elliot, clerk of the Baronies of Eskdale and Canonby, as their clerk. It met at Langholm on 9th November, 1757, and took evidence on oath.

In Appendix V. we give an Abstract of the Award and Division, with the boundaries defined, together with a Plan of the Commonly, and also an Abstract of the evidence relating both to the Common Moss and the Kilngreen, and it is, therefore, only necessary here to summarize the findings. The Commission found that the ground lying within the boundaries quoted in the

Appendix with the exception of the Moss which was not to be divided,* belonged to the pursuer and defenders, and that the right of the Duke of Buccleuch to the growing timber still held good. They appointed as valuator to value the different divisions, William Corrie Carlyle of Bridekirk, John Armstrong in Sorby, Walter Borthwick in Enzieholm, and William Yeoman in Thorniewhats, who made the following Award :—

	a.	r.	p.
To John Maxwell of Broomholm -	574	0	12
To John Little, Langholm - - -	118	0	32
To the Duke of Buccleuch - - -	58	3	26
	<hr/>		
Total - - -	751	0	30
	<hr/> <hr/>		

The Kilngreen was not included in this Award, and the Commissioners asked for a renewal of their appointment to complete the work relating to it. Owing, however, to the illness and subsequent death of Mr. Boston, the Commission had to be re-constituted, when the following were appointed :—John Craigie, chamberlain to the Duke of Buccleuch, Robert Irvine, Writer to the Signet, and Bryce Blair of Potterflats, with John Elliot as their clerk.

The new Commission sat at Langholm on 25th October, 1758, and took evidence as to the limits, extent, possession and enjoyment of the Kilngreen, which John Maxwell of Broomholm claimed to be part of the Common, and therefore subject to division. The witnesses called gave evidence as to the use of the Kilngreen by the people of Langholm, and stated that the river Ewes formerly ran in a course much nearer to Langholm Castle, and

* According to the Act of William and Mary.

that consequently the Kilngreen had been reduced in size. They declared, further, that within the longest memory the people of Langholm had pastured their cattle upon it, and that the Langholm Fairs had been held there, and that at these Fairs the Duke of Buccleuch had levied customs and tolls.

When the action came before the Court on 24th February, 1759, the following relating documents were put in, viz., (*a*) to the Feu-contract of 1628, showing the equal rights to the Common of Langholm of the holders of the Ten Merk-lands, and their tenants, (*b*) the Report of the Commission, (*c*) a plan of the Common, as divided by them, made by James Tait, land surveyor,* and (*d*) the valuation of the Ten Merk-lands by the Commissioners of Supply for the County of Dumfries. Maxwell also produced documentary proof of his right to the share of the Common attaching to the Merk-land held by Simon Little in Knittyholm.

The Court: I.—Accepted the boundaries of the Common set forth by the Commissioners, and they became their finding.

II.—Found that the said land had been immemorially possessed as Common property by the proprietors of the Ten Merk-lands and their tenants.

III.—Found that, with the exception of the Moss thereon, the Common should be divided among the parties in the action, in the proportion of

Six-tenths to John Maxwell.

Three-tenths to John Little.

One-tenth to the Duke of Buccleuch.

* For copy of this Plan see Appendix V.

IV.—Found that the Moss should not be divided, but should be reserved as common to all who had previously had interest in the Common in its intact form; and the boundaries (given in Appendix V.) were set forth.

V.—Found that the market roads to Langholm throughout the Common must be reserved, and a road twenty feet in breadth was also reserved to the Common Moss.

VI.—Adjudged that the reservation of the timber growing on the Common should be continued to the Duke of Buccleuch.

VII.—Found that the rights and claims of the parties to that part of the Common called the Kilngreen were reserved as they existed before the application for the division.

VIII.—Found that Mr. Maxwell was entitled to the custody of the Decree of the Court, but was under obligation to produce the same to the other owners when necessary.

The demarcation of the areas of the Ten Merk-lands belonging to each of the heritors is of less importance to the town of Langholm than the Awards concerning the Common Moss and the Kilngreen. What the burgesses obtained by this legal decision may now be summarized. They had it declared by a Court of law :—

I.—That the Common Moss belonged inalienably to Langholm.

II.—That the tenants of the Ten Merk-lands and the burgesses of the town of Langholm possessed the right to lead stones and win fuel from the Common Moss; and they had also free access to it secured.

III.—That the Kilngreen, with rights of pasturage, had belonged immemorially to the town of Langholm.

IV.—That the limits and boundaries of these various Common lands should hereafter be as the Commission had awarded.

It is of importance to understand these Awards clearly, for they explain much that is distinctive in the history of the town of Langholm, and furnish the explanation of the events and ceremonies described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE COMMON-RIDING.

RIDING the marches is, in many Border towns, a time-honoured annual custom, and is popularly known as The Common-Riding. In Langholm, the ceremony is attended by all the "pomp and circumstance" of an annual festival, and the Common-Riding Day has become the chief date in the calendar of Eskdale. Until quite recently it was one of the stipulations in agreements of hiring that the servant was to have holidays at Canonby Sacrament and Langholm Common-Riding.

It will be readily understood from the preceding chapter how the custom of Riding the Common came into existence. The Award of 1759 recognized that the burgesses of Langholm had certain legal rights in the Common, and pre-eminently in the Common Moss and the Kilngreen, which, with their pasture rights, were a valuable possession to the community. It became, therefore, a public duty on the part of the burgesses to see that these rights were maintained in their entirety, for themselves and their posterity. The boundaries of the Common lands were set forth in the Award and were delimited by natural objects such as trees or ditches, but where these were not found, beacons or cairns were erected and pits dug—all of which served to indicate the marches between the different owners. To maintain these intact now became the duty of the inhabitants, who, accordingly, engaged a man to go out to the Common Moss and the Kilngreen once a year "to see gif a' the marches they be

clear," report encroachments, clean out the pits, repair the beacons, and generally protect the interests of the people. This was done regularly for a long period. About the year 1765 it was done by one Archibald Beattie, known as "Bauldy Beattie," the town-drummer or crier. No doubt it would be by virtue of his holding this public office that the duty of protecting the Marches was assigned to him. For more than 50 years he walked the Marches, pointing out their limits and boundaries to all who cared to accompany him; and he also "cried" the Langholm Fair at the Cross. Up to the year 1814 Bauldy Beattie went over the Marches on foot. In 1815 one Archie Thomson, landlord of an inn, which then occupied the site of the present Commercial Hotel, seems to have perambulated the boundaries alone. In 1816 Thomson went over them on horseback, and soon he was accompanied by others—John Irving, baker of Langholm Mill, and Frank Beattie of the Crown Inn, being amongst the principal.* These men were the "fathers" of the Common-Riding, and it was they who in 1816 began the horse-racing which has since been one of the features of the programme during the Common-Riding afternoon. Amongst those riding the marches, there sprang up, not unnaturally, a spirit of competition as to the mettle of their mounts, and the races which resulted were at first confined to the animals which had gone round the boundaries. This is still a condition in certain of the races at the present day.

* Some assert that Bauldy Beattie, the Town Drummer, also went on horseback in 1816, but as he would then be over 80 years of age, it seems doubtful that the statement is accurate. A certain amount of legend has gathered round this man. In the small volume of poems on Eskdale, referred to on page 535, published by the late Thos. Rome, it is stated that Bauldy cried the Fair at the Castle Craigs for over eighty years!

At first the races and sports were held on the Kiln-green, but in 1834 they were transferred to the Castle Holm, which was then, and for many years later, called the Muckle Kiln-green, part of it, indeed, being included in the lands given to the town by the Award of 1759. Horse-racing formed only a small part of the Common-Riding programme. The old Border games were entered into then with much greater zest and emulation than now—wrestling, for which there were entries from all over the Border country, notably from Cumberland, which sent famous wrestlers such as Wright, Steedman, and the Blairs, and many others,—high-jumping, climbing the greasy-pole, chasing the well-soaped pig, and other old-fashioned country sports, which in our day of professional athletics show a regrettable decline.

With the introduction of horsemen, came the selection of the leader or Cornet, who was also Master of the Ceremonies in all the many recreations engaged in. His following was at first a small one, numbering probably not more than six or seven, but during the succeeding years, as the enthusiasm over the great event became keener, the number of horsemen largely increased, and at the present time it is no unusual spectacle to see 70 horsemen spurring their steeds up the steep Kirkwynd, as they make for the Common Moss,—and a brave appearance they present, with the town flag flying in the breeze, a sight which, almost more than any other, stirs the pulses of Langholm men.

At first the selection of the Cornet was made entirely from the residents of the Old-town of Langholm. This was natural, seeing that in a strictly legal sense the Common, and all the privileges and rights conferred by the Award, belonged to them alone.

In 1843 a departure was made from this practice by the choice of a Cornet from the New-town when Robert Anderson, blacksmith, was chosen, and to him belongs the distinction of being the first "Meikleholmer"—to use the name given to the people of New-Langholm—to fill the honourable position. Since 1890, in response to a public demand, the election of the Cornet and a committee of management has been decided in public meeting of the inhabitants. Of this committee, Mr. Robert McGeorge of Greenbank has acted as treasurer, and Mr. James Morrison, inspector of poor, as secretary.

In recognition of the corporate sanction, now set upon what was originally and for many years done entirely on personal initiative, the Provost, each Common-Riding morning, formally hands to the Cornet the town's flag, and receives it again from him at the close of the day.

The following is a list of the Cornets since 1817, for the compilation of which the townspeople of Langholm are indebted to Mr. Walter Wilson, proprietor of the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser*:—

1817—W. Pasley
 1818—John Elliot
 1819—John Elliot
 1820—William Beattie
 1821—James Murray
 1822—Robert Brown, Milntown
 1823—Robert Brown, Milntown
 1824—John Glendinning
 1825—James Irving
 1826—John Thomson
 1827—William Foster
 1828—Thomas Veitch
 1829—John Sibson
 1830—Walter Chalmers
 1831—William Telford
 1832—Walter Scoon
 1833—James Dalglish
 1834—James Hope
 1835—William Warwick
 1836—John Kershaw
 1837—James Clark

1838—Richard Wood
 1839—William Hyslop
 1840—Matthew Murray
 1841—Walter Hotson
 1842—David Irving
 1843—Robert Anderson
 1844—Robert Lunn
 1845—William Millar
 1846—Thomas Little
 1847—Robert Scoon
 1848—Aitchison Grieve
 1849—Walter Clark
 1850—John W. J. Paterson, Ter-
 1851—James Veitch [rona
 1852—John Young
 1853—Thomas Dalglish
 1854—William Anderson
 1855—James Scott
 1856—Joseph Park
 1857—John Hotson
 1858—John Reid

1859—Andrew Smith
 1860—James Lauder
 1861—William Keir
 1862—Thomas Sanders
 1863—Walter Scoon
 1864—Matthew Irving
 1865—Andrew Johnstone
 1866—William Beattie
 1867—John Beattie
 1868—Thomas Anderson
 1869—Lawrence Ewart
 1870—William M'Vittie
 1871—James Tait
 1872—Andrew Beattie
 1873—Alexander M'Vittie
 1874—William Douglas
 1875—James Latimer
 1876—James Turnbull
 1877—George Little
 1878—James Reid
 1879—John Anderson
 1880—James Reid
 1881—Christopher Weatherstone
 1882—Robert M'Vittie
 1883—Robert Thomson
 1884—John Fletcher
 1885—John T. Burnet, Ewesbank

1886—James Smith
 1887—John Irving
 1888—John Murray
 1889—James Irving, Whitshiels
 1890—James Fletcher
 1891—William Trotter
 1892—William B. Scott
 1893—Archibald Irving
 1894—Harry A. Scott
 1895—Robert Stewart
 1896—Robert W. Reid
 1897—David Irving
 1898—John W. Church
 1899—Thomas Ellis
 1900—John Payne
 1901—George Scoon
 1902—John Goodfellow, Junr.
 1903—John Ewart
 1904—Robert D. Hyslop
 1905—Simon L. Irving
 1906—William Douglas
 1907—John Wallace
 1908—James Young
 1909—James J. Paterson, Terrona
 1910—Arthur Irving
 1911—William Thomson

It is of interest to note the occupations of some of the Cornets:—Brewer, meal dealer, cooper, candle-maker, horse-dealer, miller, scourer, woollorter, spinner, finisher, skinner, millwright, and weaver. The trades here represented were at one time of considerable importance in Langholm. Frequently, the occupation is mason, joiner, warehouseman, baker, painter, slater, and butcher.

The Cornets of the two previous years act as right-hand and left-hand man respectively to the new Cornet. On the next page we reproduce a photograph of former Cornets who were present at the Common-Riding celebration in July, 1896. Their names and years of office are as follows, reading from left to right:—



GROUP OF CORNETS.

Back Row :

John Fletcher, 1884. Robert Stewart, 1895.
 Robert Wm. Reid, 1896. Harry A. Scott, 1894.
 Robert Thomson, 1883.

Second Row :

William Trotter, 1891. Christopher Weatherstone, 1881.
 William B. Scott, 1892. James Turnbull, 1876.
 William Douglas, 1874. Andrew Beattie, 1872.
 William M'Vittie, 1870. John Beattie, 1867.

Third Row :

John Hotson, 1857. John W. J. Paterson, 1850.
 Robert Lunn, 1844. Matthew Murray, 1840.
 Joseph Park, 1856. Matthew Irving, 1864,
 Andrew Johnstone, 1865.

Front Row :

James Fletcher, 1890. John T. Burnet, 1885.
 John Irving, 1887. James Smith, 1886.
 Archibald Irving, 1893. James Reid, 1878.

In the procession of which the Cornet is leader, there are carried, in addition to the Flag, the following emblems, most of them having some special significance, either in relation to the preservation of the marches, or to the Summer Fair, on the day following which the Common-Riding has invariably been observed :—

I.—A BARLEY-BANNOCK and a SALTED HERRING fastened by a large nail to a wooden dish.

The Bannock symbolizes certain of the privileges of the baron, and therefore appertains to the Fair rather than to the Common-Riding itself. A bannock of barley, oats, or pease-meal, but usually of barley, was a perquisite of the servant of the baronial mill, due from

the tenants and vassals under the obligation of thirlage. It was one of the *sequels*, which were not merely voluntary gratuities, but were due in virtue of the ascription of a tenant to a particular mill. All of these rights and privileges were continued to the Duke of Buccleuch, even after the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747, and the Summer Fair, when so many of the Duke's tenants were in the town, would be a convenient opportunity for paying over this acknowledged perquisite. The servant to whom it was due would be the executive officer of the baron-bailie, who collected the baron's multures as well as the customs and tolls at the Fair. The Proclamation of the Fair, which, as we have shown, preceded the collection of the tolls, would also be made by this officer, to whom is probably due the introduction of the reference at the end of the Proclamation to the fact that he was to have "a barley bannock and a saut herring" for his dinner, for of course no such engaging and personal detail would appear in the original text. The abundance of barley-meal bannocks at the Fair, and the mention of one in the later versions of the Proclamation, would readily suggest the symbol when the two events came to be so closely associated about the year 1817.

The presence of the Herring is more difficult of explanation. It may have had its origin in the simple necessity of the baron-bailie's officer requiring some relish, or as our Scots forefathers would have expressed it, some *kitchen*, to the decidedly dry fare of the barley-bannock. Or it may be that, just as the bannock is indicative of the baron's rights in the "mills," so the herring indicates his rights in the "fisheries" as conferred by the Burgh charter of 1621. Even though expressly men-

tioned in a charter, the rights of a baron in respect of the fisheries were often matters of dispute, and a title was as frequently obtained by the exercise of the rights for the prescriptive period as it was given by the charter itself. It may therefore have been in support of his claim to the whole of the fishery rights that the baron-bailie of the Duke first brought the Herring into conjunction with the barley-meal bannock, at the Fair. But, admittedly, the origin of its presence is only a matter of speculation.

The Bannock has been carried in the procession by the following :—

Thomas Hutton.

John Beattie, who officiated for over 50 years.

James Carlyle.

Thomas Irving.

Geo. Armstrong.

Peter Thomson.

II.—THE SPADE.—This is used for cutting the sod at different points of the Common, and for clearing out the pits which originally marked the boundaries of the Common Moss. On the return from the hill, it is usually bedecked with heather “lately pulled frae Whita side.” For over 50 years the Spade was carried by William Armstrong, better known as Willie Dick. It was one of the incidents of the Common-Riding day to see Willie, disdainful of the plank bridge, dash through the Water of Ewes. There was about it something of the old moss-trooping recklessness and unconcern which his forefathers often displayed. As one of the events of the day it ranked in interest next to the Cornets’ chase.

The bearers of the Spade, of whom there is any record, have been :—



WILLIAM ARMSTRONG.

William Armstrong.

William Jackson.

John Jackson.

The latter succeeded his father in 1906.

As a mark of the ancient boundaries of the Commony of Langholm, over which the inhabitants have rights, there are sods "cast" at the following points :—

- 1.—Near the boundary fence at the entry of the Common Moss.
- 2.—Below the road leading to the Castle Craigs.
- 3.—Close to the Castle Craigs.

- 4.—Between the Castle Craigs and the monument on Whita top.
- 5.—At Bet's Thorn, which formerly grew in Walter Ballantyne's garden, between the office-houses of the Buccleuch Hotel and the lodge of Ashley Bank. Since 1884 the ground on which this Thorn grew has been enclosed, and it now forms part of the Ashley Bank grounds. Very grave doubt may be expressed concerning the legality of such enclosing of any portion of the Common lands of Langholm which were fixed by the Award of 1859. It will be within the memory of not a few still living in Langholm, that at one time the Common-Riding Procession perambulated *round* Bet's Thorn, implying that it was within the town's Common lands.*
- 6.—On the Little Kilngreen, near Ewesfoot.
- 7.—On the Castle Holm, near Ewes Bridge.
- 8.—On the Castle Holm, near Ewesfoot.

We have set forth these landmarks in detail because of their great importance to Langholm. It is a matter of history that attempts at encroachments upon the Common lands have been made from time to time, and we have known more than one effort being made to prevent the free quarrying and leading of stone from the Common Moss. The necessity, therefore, for recording and preserving the ancient beacons and landmarks must be obvious to every inhabitant of Langholm.

III.—THE THISTLE.—This is a picturesque accompaniment of the Common-Riding, whose origin and purpose

* Who Bet was is not definitely known. The name may be derived from old Bet Lawson, who used to declare that she had seen the annual Procession go round the Thorn *hundreds of times!*

are alike obscure. Being the national emblem it may have been adopted as a warning in symbol of the punishment awaiting those who "wounded" the town.

In the Procession it has been carried by the following:—

Samuel McMillan.

Robert Jardine.

John Thompson.

Andrew Irving.

William Thompson.

For many years, probably since its introduction until now, the Thistle has been grown in the garden at the Town-foot, at one time owned by William Irving:—

"Wha's yon at work wi' tasty han',
 What means yon Thistle dressed sae fine?
 It's Willie Ir'in, honest man!
 This day ye'll see yon Thistle shine."*

Since William Irving's death the Thistle has, excepting we believe one year, been grown by Thomas Bell.

IV.—The fourth emblem, in addition to the Flag, carried at the Common-Riding, is the Floral Crown. This is probably a comparatively recent addition, and can have no historic significance.

It has been carried by the following:—

John Thompson.

J. Jardine.

James Telford.

George Armstrong.

John Thompson.

William Thomson.

The most interesting feature of the Common-Riding is undoubtedly the Crying of the Fair. The Fair and the Riding of the Common have no necessary or histori-

* *The Common-Riding*, by Francis Bell.

cal connection, beyond the fact that the latter was celebrated on the day following the Summer Fair. From what we have already said, it will be easily seen how the two events were brought together. According to the text of the Proclamation already quoted, the Fair was to be held "for the space o' aucht days," the words "and upwards" being added later. Naturally the season was made the occasion of a general holiday. When, therefore, Bauldy Beattie, who had probably proclaimed the Fair, both on the Kilngreen and at the Cross, required to go with his companions to see if the Marches were clear, no date for the duty would be found more suitable than the slack day following the great day of the Fair. Even then the Proclamation would be regarded as the quaint survival of a past century, and it would be a natural proceeding to beguile the resting time at the Castle Craigs with a repetition of its well-known phrases. The custom, once formed, would soon gather around it the additional literature with which we are now familiar. As the sentiment of the proceedings began to make its appeal to the people, they would be enjoined to take part in it as a public duty, and so, gradually, the whole function would evolve into its present shape, and the verses given below would become attached to the original text.

The Crying of the Fair falls naturally into three parts. The prologue calls upon the townfolk to go out in defence of their rights; the central theme is the ancient Proclamation; and the epilogue expresses the satisfaction which comes from a duty faithfully performed. The local poets have employed their gifts to enhance the honour of the occasion, and their parts, too, are couched in the language of the period, even as is the Proclamation

itself. Regret must be expressed that recent "criers" have taken considerable liberties with the texts, both of the Proclamation itself and of the introduction and conclusion. In the preceding chapter we have quoted the text of the Proclamation as it was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731, and expressed a doubt whether even it is entirely free from textual change. But, obviously, it must approximate to the original text more closely than that now given. Probably the versions used by old John Irving, who "cried the Fair" for 25 years, were nearest to the historic text, both in the Proclamation and the accompanying verses, and we therefore quote them as given by him:—

PROCLAMATION OF THE LANGHOLM FAIR AND
COMMON-RIDING.

After demanding "Seelence," John Irving said:—

"Gentlemen; The first thing that I am gaun to acquaint you with are the names o' the Portioners* grounds of Langholm, from whence their services are from.

Now, gentlemen, we are gaun frae the Toun,
And first of a', the Kilngreen we gan' roun';
It is an auncient place where clay is got,
And it belongs to us be Right and Lot;
And then from there the Lang-wood we gan thro',
Whar every ane may breckans cut and pou
And last of a' we to the Moss do steer
To see gif a' oor Marches—they be clear;
And when unto the Castle Craigs we come,
A'll cry the Langholm Fair—and then we'll beat the drum.

Now, gentlemen, after what you have heard this day concerning gannin' roun' oor Marches it is expeckit that every ane wha has occasion for peats, breckans, flacks, stanes, or clay will gan' oot

* Portioner is no doubt "apportioner" abbreviated. It related to the proprietor of small feus or "portions" of a landed property. The designation and its equivalent "proportioner" occur frequently in Registers and other documents of the 17th and 18th centuries, but are now seldom used. Probably at that date the names were recited.

this day in defence o' their properties, and they shall hear the Proclamation o' the Langholm Fair upon the Castle Craigs."

On the return from the Hill, John resumed:—

"Now, gentlemen, we hae gane roun' oor hill
Sae now A' think it's richt we had oor fill
O' guid strang punch—'twull mak us a' tae sing,
For this day we hae dune a guid thing.
For gannin' roun' oor hill we think nae shame,
Because frae it oor peats and flacks come hame.
Sae now A' wull conclud and say nae mair,
But gif ye're pleased A'll 'cry the Langholm Fair.'

"Hoys yes! That's ae time. Hoys yes!! That's twae times.
Hoys yes!!! That's the third and the last time.

THIS IS TAE GIE NOTICE,

that there is a muckle Fair to be hadden i' the muckle Toun o' the Langholm on the 15th day o' Jul'y, auld style, upon His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch's Merk-land for the space o' aucht days and upwards, and ony lustrin, custrin, land-louper or dub-scouper or gae-by-the-gate swinger, wha come here to breed ony hurdum or durdum, huliments or bruliments, hagglements or bragglements or squabblements, or to molest this public Fair shall be ta'en be order o' the Bailie and the Toun Council and his lugs be nailed to the Tron wi' a twalpenney nail, until he sit doon on his hob-shanks and pray nine times for the King and thrice for the muckle Laird o' Ralton, and pay a groat to me Jamie Ferguson, bailie o' the aforesaid Manor.—and A'll awa' hame and hae a barley bannock and a saut herring tae ma denner be way o' auld style."

It is not difficult to detect the interpolations in this text. For example, the insertion of the date, 15th July, and the mention of the "Duke of Buccleuch's Merk-land," show that when the Summer Fair became the principal one in Eskdale, the original Proclamation, quoted in a previous chapter, was adapted to the new circumstances by these and other insertions. The mention of the date would not be necessary either in the original or the later texts. But owing to the alterations of the calendar in 1752 by the dropping of the 11 days, it would become advisable to mention that the Summer Fair had been originally fixed for the 15th, and not the 26th July. Hence the emphasis on the *auld style*.

The reference to the Duke's Merk-land is rather misleading. From time immemorial, the Fair had been held

on the Little Kilngreen, which, as the evidence given in 1759 proved, had never belonged exclusively to the Duke, and certainly was not his original Merk-land, but had been held in common, and freely enjoyed by the inhabitants of Langholm. It is, therefore, in every way probable that the Fairs held under the Nithsdale charter had been held on the Kilngreen, and though, naturally, the charters granted to the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch provided that the Fairs would be held on their land, it was found more convenient to continue to hold them on the Kilngreen.

The mention of the Town Council, too, was probably introduced by some one who could not separate the idea of a "bailie" from that of a municipal body. Of course there was no Town Council in Langholm until 1893. John Irving himself introduced current "hits" into his Proclamation, as for instance, when he came to the words, "twalpenney nail" he always touched the nail by which the herring and bannock were fixed to the platter, and added, "o' Jock the nailer's ain hand-making."

Most of the observances in connection with the Common-Riding are maintained strictly according to precedent, and it is therefore the more to be deprecated that the old words of the Proclamation, some of them old Scots and others pure Border words, and the quaint language of the verses, should be smoothed out and Anglified. The Crier should be instructed to preserve the ancient text, and keep it free from his own personal preferences.

The following are the names of the Criers of the Fair as far as can now be ascertained :—

JAMIE FERGUSON.

ARCHIBALD BEATTIE.

Better known as "Bauldy" Beattie the town-drummer. He cried the Fair for over 50 years. Died at No. 19 Kirkwynd. On his tombstone in Langholm Kirkyard there is the following inscription:—"Interred here, Archibald Beattie, town drummer, who for more than half a century kept up the ancient and annual custom of proclaiming the Langholm Fair at the Cross, when riding the Common granted to the town, and pointing out to the inhabitants thereof the various boundaries of those rights which descended from their ancestors to posterity. He died in 1823, aged 90 years. The Managers of the Common-Riding for the year 1829 have caused his name to be here inscribed, as a tribute of respect justly due to his memory." Lieut.-General Sir Chas. Pasley has commemorated Bauldy Beattie thus:—

"First Bauldy Beattie, glorious chief appears,
Who joins to youthful force the sense of years;
Majestic! how he moves, born to command;
Heather his brow adorns, a sword his hand.

While other men by fashion led astray,
Too blindly follow where she leads the way,
He, against all her gaudy tricks secure,
Preserves the manners of our fathers pure."

PETER GRAHAM.

More popularly known as "Pete Wheep." Succeeded Bauldy Beattie as Town-Drummer.

"Now let us hear the Fair proclaimed
By Peter Wheep wi' cockit hat,
He tells us that they're no ashamed
To show the country what they're at."*

DAVID HOUNAM.

JOHN IRVING.

Cried the Fair for 25 years. On the next page will be found an illustration showing him, then old and feeble and requiring support, making the Proclamation in 1882.

ANDREW JOHNSTONE.

ROBERT NISBET.

JOHN WILSON.

Died in 1907, aged 53. Buried in Wauchope Kirkyard.

CHRISTOPHER ELLIOT.

It may interest our readers, who are not Eskdale people, to learn how the Common-Riding is celebrated. It is

* Francis Bell's poem on *Langholm Common-Riding*.



JOHN IRVING.

the time when the good old town is seen at its gayest and best. Langholm people from all over the world turn their thoughts homeward on "the 15th day o' Jul'y, auld style," and all who are able endeavour to be in Langholm over the great event. It is a season of family reunions, of cordial meetings between school-fellows of long ago, who may not have met since they sat on the same form in the old school; a time, moreover, when Langholm looks her bonniest and charms once again the hearts of all her children. The dawning of the Common-

Riding is eagerly anticipated, and every item on the lengthy programme is enthusiastically observed.

The proceedings begin at 5:30 a.m., when the Flute Band and the Pipers perambulate the town, playing popular airs and quickly assembling a considerable crowd, who follow them to the Hillhead, on the northern spur of Whita, to witness the Hound Trail. This is a race between foxhounds specially trained, which since its commencement in 1845, has excited much interest along the Borders. After the race has been determined there is but time for breakfast, before the more important features of the day begin. At 8:30 the Cornet musters his supporters, generally between 60 and 70 horsemen, at the Town Hall, where the town's standard* is formally handed to him by the Provost, with many injunctions to bear it worthily in that day's proceedings. Headed by the Langholm Town Band, a Procession is then formed, which proceeds up High Street, across the Langholm Bridge, and round the old Pump in Buccleuch Square; then back to the Townfoot, and thence again to the Market Place. On the way the Band plays certain Scots airs—"O' a' the Airts the Wind can Blaw," "Thou Bonnie Wood o' Craigie Lea," "The Flowers o' the Forest," and others, and the townspeople would jealously resent even the slightest alteration in the programme.

The Procession has as yet only the Spade and the Bannock with it. On arrival at the Market Place, still referred to by aged persons as the Cross, the first portion of the Fair is "cried"—demanding the attendance of the burgesses to keep the marches clear. The Cornet then leads his men up the Kirkwynd and over

* The present beautiful flag was the gift of the late Mr. Alexander Scott, of Erkinholm.

the flank of the hill to the Castle Craigs on the Common Moss. Here the Fair is again cried, and refreshments—barley bannocks and salt herrings, moistened, perhaps, with some favourite beverage,—are served. The horse-men having reached the top of the hill ride round the Monument to Sir John Malcolm, one of Eskdale's most notable sons, which forms so conspicuous a landmark "through all the wide Border." An extremely pretty sight it is, to see the horsemen on the hill, and to watch the perilous descent straight down its steep and rocky face. On their arrival at Mount Hooley, the Cornet and his merry men are met by the Band, bringing with them the great Thistle and the Floral Crown, and also by some hundreds of children with heather besoms, the complement of the Spade, which, now is also bedecked with heather pulled from Whita side or the Common Moss. The Procession again forms and marches to the Townhead, then returns to the Townfoot, the Band still playing the familiar Scottish airs. On arrival in the Market Place the Crier mounts a horse, and proclaims the second part of the Fair. On its conclusion, three cheers are given; there is a moment's silence, then, very softly, the Band plays "Auld Lang Syne," which the people join in singing—then in quickstep the Procession moves off, once more up the Kirkwynd, and along the old Drove Road to the Kilngreen, where the last sods are cut and Langholm's Rights are again preserved against all encroachments.

Then the sports begin. The first event is the Cornet's Chase. The Cornet, carrying the Flag, is given a fair start, and at a given signal his followers are away in pursuit, a lingering suggestion of the old days of Border raiding making this event a popular one. The rest of the day is spent in horse-racing and other Border games

of the past, wrestling, running, and leaping. Though these races date only from 1816, Langholm was a prominent centre of horse-racing in the old days of Border warfare. It was at a race meeting here that the plans for the release of Kinmont Willie were made by Buccleuch and his dauntless men in 1596.*

Towards evening, when the sports are over and the sun is slowly sinking behind the hills in the west, the lads and lassies repair to the enclosure where the wrestling contests had been held earlier in the day, and dancing is kept up with great spirit and enjoyment until the darkness has settled down on hill and vale. Then the Cornet lifts his flag, marshalls his thinned forces around him, and leads the way back to the Town Hall, there to deliver up to the Provost the standard he received from him twelve hours before. Once more the Band plays "Auld Lang Syne"; at intervals dancing is indulged in, until at last darkness has fallen and the Common-Riding is over for another year.

THE COMMON-RIDING—AN IMPRESSION.

Long, long years have passed; many a flood has swept beneath Langholm Brig; many a time the heather has bloomed at the Round House since we saw the Common-Riding. But, like all Langholm folk, we return some golden Summer Fair night and await the morrow with mingled feelings—memories which are sensitive, which fill us with the old hope of boyhood; anticipations of the Day; wonder as to whom we shall see; the

* In his *Autobiography* the late John G. Paton, the famous missionary to the New Hebrides, mentions that by his prowess in this rough horsemanship, for which the Borderers were famous, his grandfather carried off his bride from Langholm—the most modern of Lochinvars!—Vol. I., pp. 13, 14.

Common-Riding airs meanwhile humming themselves in our soul.

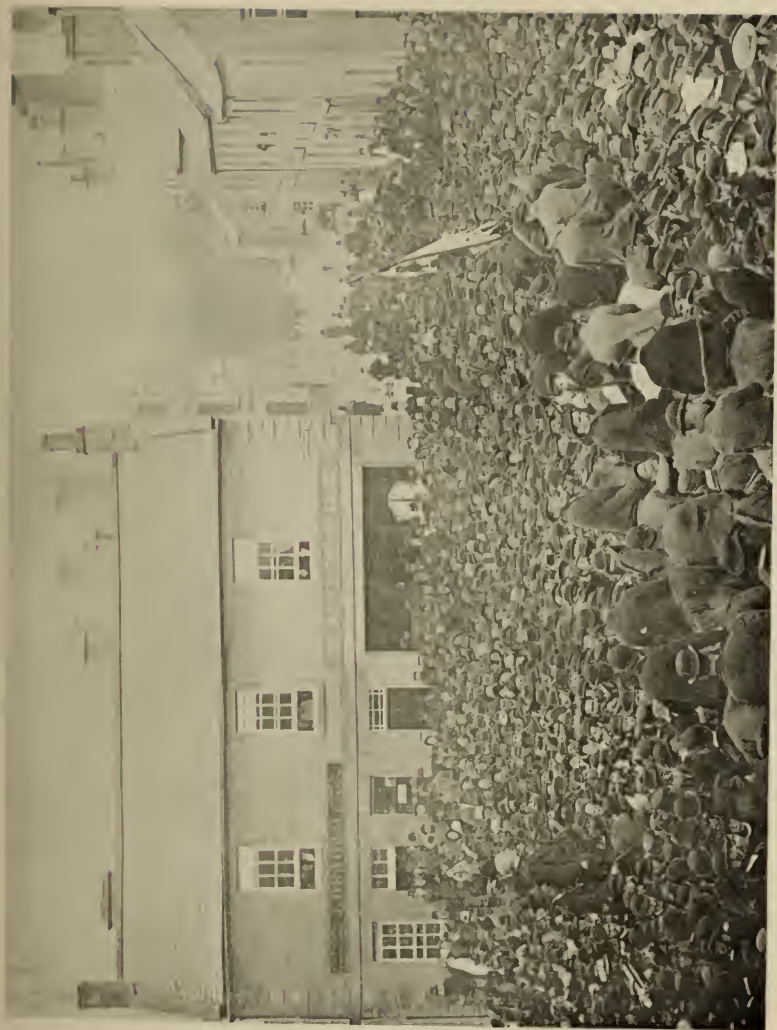
What a morning ! Warbla top is clear, and on the Peat Road the lark already is “ a sightless song.” A lovely freshness breathes from the cool hills, and in the Stubholm wood a heavy dew lies on the grass. Out by Scotts Knowe, there is a sound of the mower,—some one hastening to get his work done early, against the crying of the Fair. How charming is “ The Langholm ” on a Common-Riding morning ! Soon the glory of the heather over at the Castle Craigs will be dimmed ; soon the bracken on Warbla will be brown, and the great beech-trees by Glenfirra will be shaking off their withered leaves ; soon all the visitors will have gone, and the rainy days have come when Langholm will be very quiet ; but To-day is the Common-Riding Day, the gayest of all the year, and—Ah ! there is the sound of fife and drum—the Common-Riding has commenced ! Musical critics may find defects in this introduction of the Day ; they may refer to lack of balance, or to a preponderance of the drum—but we have heart for no such cynicism. There is not in all the wide world anything *quite* the same to one who was once a boy in Langholm, as the strains of the Flute Band on the Common-Riding morning. Changes must have come, we suppose, but the players look to be just the same men we saw so many long years ago. . . . We follow them to the “ Dog Trail.” We do not now care which dog wins the race : yet thirty years ago it was a matter of life and death to us—we felt that if “ Rattler ” did not win, all the joy of life would be clouded over. But since then genuine Care has placed the Trail and “ Rattler ” in their rightful perspective.

Now we are in the old Market Place. What a crowd! How many "kenned faces"! There is auld John Ir'in selling Proclamations—here is Willie Dick. We were never in the habit of shaking hands with Willie, but we do so to-day—it is the Common-Riding, and he is a man of tremendous importance this forenoon. What would have happened, we wonder, had some irreverent youth sought to carry that spade? We still secretly hope Willie will dash through Ewes as he did so long ago—but listen, the Langholm Band is coming; it is playing "Craigie Lea," and we silently fall in and follow them round the Pump in the Square. On the Brig the air is changed to "O' a' the Airs." Lads and lassies, now laughing and blithesome because it is the Common-Riding Day, who have not yet built up memories, are, unknown to themselves, absorbing food for wonderful thoughts in days to come, when they will have gone far beyond those heathery hills—when, in some big town, or on some distant shore, there will surge in their hearts that over-mastering longing for their "ain fouk" which ought to come to every one of us. We have all felt it, and when we return home and miss the old faces . . . Yes, this thought has been induced by the change made by the Band: they are now playing "The Flowers o' the Forest Are A' Wede Awae," and in the panorama of the years we see many dear familiar faces, now "cauld in the clay," who on a far-off Summer's morning heard the Fair cried at the Cross.

There! the Cornet and his men are off to the Hill, and as the Flag flutters up the old Kirkwynd with the horse-men following, our pulses are stirred by yet another emotion—are not these men Armstrongs, Elliots, Beatties, Irvings, Littles, and Scotts? and thus, surely, it must

have been that the clans "ran their horse on the Langholm Holm" as they spurred their way to Carlinrig, and thus that they cantered to Carlisle Castle to the release of Kinmont Willie.

See! John Ir'in is mounting the grey horse now, and we note with a pang how frail he is growing. The Market Place is crowded: Langholm as it is and Langholm as it was meet to-day and tell their separate stories. Old school-fellows, who shared the toffee and the tawse with us, whom we have not seen for many years, are in the throng. There is Sandie Dodd—we have not seen him since his campaign in Afghanistan. He was with Roberts in the glorious march to Kandahar. Now he is marching after the Langholm Band, with a brighter eye than he had on that famous march. Years ago we walked near him in the Procession. We bought our "canes" at the same time at Jamie Edinbro's, for our local prejudice was so strong even then that we gave preferential treatment to Jamie over Benson, who came from the English side. Now we watch the bairns waving their besoms, — but surely at those far-off Common-Ridings the heather was in fuller bloom than it is to-day! There were no new threepenny pieces for the boys then—what a godsend one would have been! Fancy one's savings suddenly rising from fourpence to sevenpence! Once, by rigid self-denial on many a Saturday, we saved ninepence in coppers, but, alas! ere yet the Cornet's Chase was run we had lost a penny of it in a reckless gamble at the cocoa-nut stall! We smile at the bairns now; we are at the top of the Brae of Life and are looking back; they, God bless them, are just beginning the climbing; and they wave their heather-besoms in a sheer ecstasy of delight—for it is the Common-Riding



PROCLAMATION OF THE FAIR, 1882.

Day. But John demands "seelence," and we wish not to lose one word of his old Scots tongue, so pure, so unaffected, so absolutely lacking in nippy English words. He "cries the Fair" as ably as he did it 20 years ago. John is the personification of the Common-Riding. Take away him and Willie Dick, and perhaps Sam McMillan, and where would the Common-Riding be?

John's work is over. A strange quiet falls upon the holiday crowd; it lasts but a moment; from the bottom of the Kirkwynd the Band plays, low and slow, the old, old air "Auld Lang Syne," and we remember childhood, boyhood, the long summer days, the old home and the kindly eyes, and the whitewashed cottages, and the mint and southern-wood of the Sabbath morning, and the Kirk bell, and the dreams of youth, of love and friendship, of wealth and fame, and high hopes and merry boyish hearts—and the Band is well into the Drove Road ere we awake from our reverie.

We see the sod turned at the Bar, see Willie Dick go through Ewes, as he did many years ago, see the Cornet's Chase, indulge in brandy-snaps and coolers, and sandwiches and mustard in the wrestling ring. We cannot now risk the toffee on the stands, but we visit them for auld lang syne's sake, and buy "fairings" for the bairns,—nuts and jumping-jacks and sweeties. All the slumbrous afternoon we wander about the Castle Holm, meeting old friends, admiring the beautiful scene, breathing deeply of the Eskdale air, so much purer and caller than that of the stifling town.

But slowly the darkness falls. Clouds of crimson and gold have been spread over the top of the Timpen all the time of the dancing, but now the colours have changed to grey and blue. The Cornet brings up his

horse, again gathers his men about him, now a straggling and thinner array, and they march slowly townward, as one can fancy the few dalesmen returning to the Forests on the night that followed Flodden. The only air now played is "Auld Lang Syne": it is the evening tune: "O' a' the Airts" is for the morning. Another memory has been added to the Past, and it will make the recollections of long-gone years sharper and more vivid still.

There is the new moon on Warbla—hanging lazily over the Resting Knowe, where, oft and oft, on similar nights it has been seen by our hallowed Dead, who, unconscious of this being the Common-Riding Day, sleep amid the shadows in Wauchope, and hear not the hoolet cry from the darkening beech gently moving in the night wind.

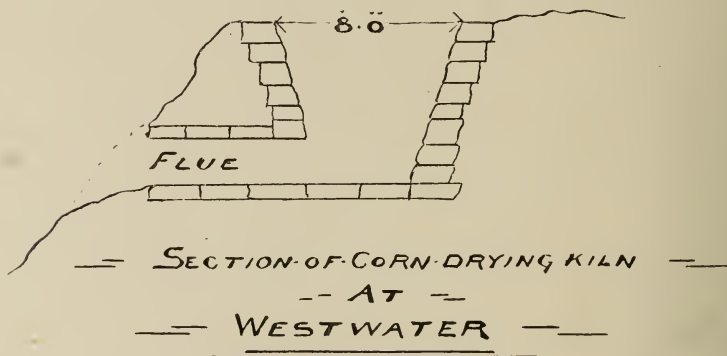
CHAPTER XXVII.

RELICS OF THE PAST.

THROUGHOUT the preceding pages mention has been made of discoveries of ancient relics in Eskdale, and these have been described in due order. But others remain to be recorded which are not readily separated into the periods we had under review.

KILN AT WESTWATER.

The accompanying drawing is of an old corn-drying kiln at Westwater. Concerning its date, we are unable to give any information. Such kilns were in use up to the



beginning of last century, but are obviously of a much earlier date. This one is situated in the plantation about 200 yards from Westwater House on the east side of the burn, and, like others of the same description, at the top of a steep slope. There are other two on St. Bride's Hill, close to the continuation of the old Roman road

from Calfield to Burnswark, where Mr. J. M. Elliot of Westwater also found a small Roman coin.

There is a similar corn-kiln further up the Logan Burn, and another in Wauchope nearly opposite the foot-bridge at the Earshaw.

When in use, the kiln had, placed across the top, rafters covered with drawn straw, on which the corn was spread out. Any grain falling through would be gathered from the bottom of the kiln when the drying was complete. The structure was enclosed, and covered with a conical thatched roof and chimney to cause a current of warm air to pass through the corn, peat or wood being used for fuel.

Malt was also dried in these kilns, and the fuel gave to the spirit that original characteristic known as the peat or birch flavour.

THE GIANT'S GRAVE.

This is the title given to an excavation found on the south side of Upper Dumfelling Hill. It is in the form of an ordinary coffin, measuring in length eight feet nine inches and in breadth three feet. In his MS. Diary Dr. Brown mentions that about 20 years before the date of his writing the grave was about 20 feet in depth, but it had since been filled up by the farmer to prevent the sheep from falling into it. What the excavation can have been has never been determined.

THE WESTSIDE STONES.

At the hamlet of Berrycar in the parish of Dryfe there is an inscribed stone on one of the cottage doors. It bears a shield carved with the royal arms of Scotland,

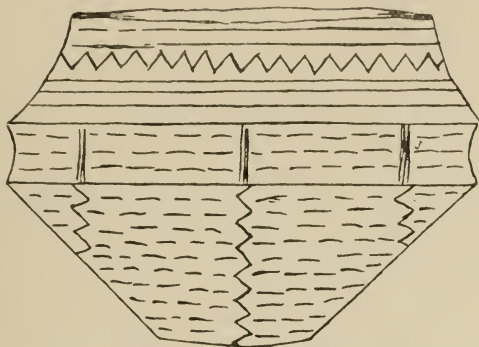
on one side of which there are a St. Andrew's cross and a holly leaf, and on the other side the letters "A.b." This stone was brought from Tanlawhill, where tradition says there was a hunting lodge. Moll's map, published in 1745, shows a tower at Tanlawhill,* but Dr. Brown says the stones were dug up on the farm of Westside by a cottar named Adam Marchbank, who found them whilst working in his garden. The stone bore evidence of having been once built with lime into a wall, but the building at Westside has long since been entirely demolished. The suggestion that the building was used by some of the kings of Scotland, who, as we have seen, retained Eskdalemuir as a royal hunting ground, is not an unlikely one.

CARLESGILL URN.

In 1862 a cist was found on the farm of Carlesgill. It was constructed of the rough undressed stone of the district. No body was found in the cist, but evidence existed that there had been an interment. On the floor were found powdery remains and fragments, possibly the dust of bones which had been wasted by the percolation of water into the cist. Lying on its side was an urn which contained nothing, but had probably been deposited for use as a food vessel with the body there interred. There is not sufficient data to warrant any opinion concerning the age of the cist. The urn is of the usual type found in cists of the neolithic and early bronze age. It is made of local clay, and the ornamentation is of the zig-zag

* The *Dumfries Standard*, Nov. 1897, remarks upon this stone, and says that Bleau's map shows a hunting lodge as formerly existing there, and explains the presence of the royal arms by suggesting that the royal forest of Ettrick extended into Eskdalemuir.

pattern, running round the widest part of the urn, and also lengthwise, dividing the surface into panels. The urn, of which a print is here given, is now in possession



CARLESGILL URN.

of the family of the late Mr. J. C. Little of Burnfoot, Ewes, who was tenant in Carlesgill at the time of the discovery.

LONGWOOD BRASS POT.

Found at Longwood in 1862 and declared treasure-trove. It measures 13½ by 11 inches, and is now deposited in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

ARKLETON BRASS POT.

Found by a shepherd at Lady Boodle's Cave on Arkleton Crags, "in a rude cave, fit only for a fox."* It was kept for some time by the shepherd but was ultimately broken up for toe-plates.

COINS AT ARKLETON.

In 1886 a considerable number of silver coins was found near Arkleton by a workman named William

* See Mr. Matthew Welsh's romantic poem, *Maggie Elliot*, p. 33.

Jackson. Most of the coins were sent to the Museum in Edinburgh. They were of the reign of Alexander III. and Edward I. It has been suggested that they were dropped or deposited by some of the English army fleeing from Bannockburn.

SANDSTONE BASIN.

A basin formed out of a block of red sandstone, found at Canonby in 1863, and presented to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, by George Maxwell, Esq., of Broomholm. On one side of the basin are the letters "T. A.," a tankard and drinking cup, a rose, part of an ornament, and the date 1660.

QUERN STONES.

These were also found in Canonby in 1863 and given to the Museum by Mr. Maxwell. They consist of the upper and lower stones, of quartz, about 20 inches in diameter, with three small sockets for handle.

Another quern—a bottom stone—was found by Mr. Andrew Aitchison in the bed of Irvine Burn in the year 1911. Curiously enough, it corresponds to an upper stone, which for many years has lain at the gable of Old Irvine farm house.

STONE WHORL.

Found at Mosspebble in 1867, an inch in diameter. Presented to the National Museum by Mr. A. H. Borthwick. See page 82.

GLASS BEADS.

Also found at Mosspebble in 1869. Referred to on page 82.

BRONZE AXE.

A flanged axe of yellow bronze $4\frac{5}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in width, with semi-circular cutting edge; butt imperfect. Found in Canonby in 1885 and presented to the National Museum by W. Scott Elliot, Esq.

SWORD.

A sword was found in Tarras, possibly a relic of the old mosstrooping days. It was at one time in the possession of Mr. Peter Martin, Langholm.

DAGGER.

A dagger, at one time in the possession of Mr. Geo. Martin, Langholm, was found in the moss at Old Irvine.

RAPIER.

Whilst the property of Mr. Matthew Knox, in Caroline Street, was being re-built some years ago, an old rapier was dug up. It passed into the hands of Mr. Clement Armstrong, who presented it to the Museum of the Hawick Archæological Society.

URN.

An urn was found at Orchard, Canonby, and until his death in 1894, was in possession of the late Dr. Carlyle.

COINS AT CASTLE O'ER.

Some years ago, whilst examining the hill fort at Castle O'er, described in Chapter V., the late Mr. Richard Bell found a coin of the reign of Charles II., dated 1672. It would be interesting to know how it came to be there. Was it dropped by one of the troopers who were in Eskdale after the Restoration, harrying the Covenanters?

COIN AT OLD IRVINE.

Near the site of the old village of Cauldtown, Mr. Andrew Aitchison, in 1881, found two coins.

SLAG DEPOSITS.

Reference has been made on page 87 to Slag Deposits found in Eskdale. The largest was found in 1911 by Mr. Andrew Aitchison on Burian Hill, about half a mile from Old Irvine farmhouse, at a height of about 400 feet. The main deposit is about 9 feet long by 3 feet deep. Professor Desch, of Glasgow University, reported that these "were excellent specimens of two typical varieties of ancient slag."

SILVER COIN.

On 18th October, 1910, a silver coin, dated 1584, was found on the bank of the Capel Burn, near Capelfoot. It is now in the possession of A. Hay Borthwick, Esq., of Billholm.

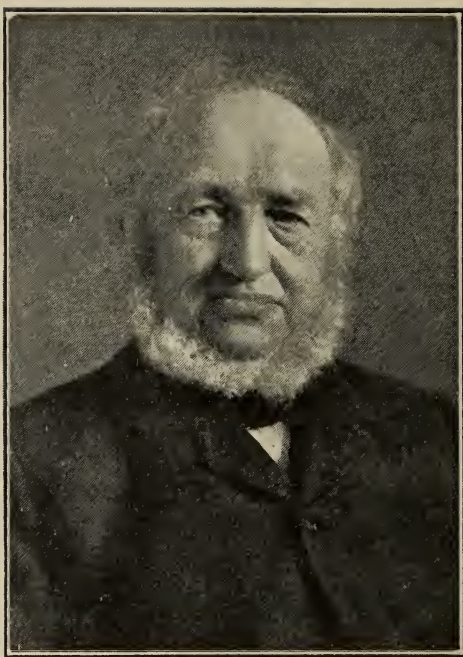
NOTE.

On page 407 reference is made to a report, that in 1629 the Earl of Buccleuch had a lien on the Earl of Niths-

dale's lands of Langholm, and there we suggest that it was only local gossip. Information has now, however, come into our possession which confirms the statement of the travellers. We find that in 1625 Nithsdale was in deep waters pecuniarily, and had to obtain *litteras protectionis contra creditores*. In 1624, Buccleuch had actually obtained a ratification of a charter made in his favour by Nithsdale, of Bloch, Becks, Calfield, and other places in Wauchopedale, and of Flask, Howgill, Buss, Bliss, and certain other lands in Ewesdale, all of which are enumerated in the charter of 1621. According to the *Great Seal Register*, from which the facts are taken, these lands seem to have gone through a series of vicissitudes about this period. In 1633, we find them granted to Sir Alexander Murray of Blakbarronie, whose family, prior to 1621, had possessed the Wauchope portion of the lands. They were then bestowed on William Dick of Braid, a merchant burghess of Edinburgh, to pass, two years later, to the House of Buccleuch, with whom they have since remained.

PART IV.

BEING THE REMINISCENCES OF
JOHN HYSLOP.



JOHN HYSLOP.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EARLY IMPRESSIONS.

I DID not hear the bells which rang to celebrate the victory of Waterloo, but during my younger years the Peninsular campaign still formed a subject of conversation in many a home in Langholm. I knew several men who had fought with Wellington, and some who had been through the earlier wars of the century, of which Trafalgar was the crowning victory, but of these I shall write presently. My Recollections, therefore, touch the greater part of the nineteenth century, and as I sit at the fireside these long winter evenings in the days of my old age, and throw my mind back to some eighty years ago, I often lay down my pen to reflect upon all the changes I have seen. I look forward, too, into that future which I shall not see, and try to forecast all the wonders that my grandchildren may yet behold.

MEMORIES.

How many memories crowd upon my mind as I write! But at this moment my dominating thought is one of amazement at finding myself thus engaged. At no period of my earlier life did I think that I would come to my 84th year, but my times have been in His hands. Nor did I ever for a moment imagine that any recollections of my common-place life could possibly be of interest or value. I have for many years collected historical and antiquarian information, most of which is embodied in this volume, but hitherto I have made no

effort to write down anything arising from my own personal experience.

It is, of course, impossible to tell of everything that interested us in those far-off days, but I shall try to recall the Langholm which then was, and there may possibly be something worth preserving in the story of the isolated and simple life of our little town. There is one impression, then common to us all, which I have had to re-adjust to the actual facts. Everybody in Langholm in my early days felt a very great pride in the thought that Langholm was a very big place. We called it

“THE MUCKLE TOON,”

and would hardly admit that Hawick or Carlisle could be bigger. The old man from Eskdalemuir, who supposed that ‘Edinburgh would be just sic another bit as the Langholm—wi’ gigs and busses rinnin’ about,’ was not alone in his ideas of geography. But as I sit here, occupied with things that once were and are no more, I see that we were wrong, and instead of being in the main stream of life, as we thought, we were only as a pool which the flood has left. And yet we had a life which was all our own. But I faintly suspect that we gave ourselves airs and boasted of our “muckleness.” This pride was fostered by folk from the outlying parts, who came in on Fair and market days. They seemed a bit bewildered with the turmoil. I once heard a herd, from about Stenniswater, who was taken to the end of the Boatford Bridge to see Reid and Taylor’s workpeople leave the mill, exclaim in amazement, “Weel, that beats a’!” Only at a Common-Riding, I suppose, had he seen such a crowd. And I well remember Auld Ned,

when he left the seclusion of Wauchope Schoolhouse and came to live in Wauchope Raw, telling me, in answer to my enquiries, that 'he liked the Langholm no sae bad—but he thocht that the traffic and commotion in Wauchope Raw would just about feenish him.'

But though the town was small it was never dull. Visitors, used only to city life, have sometimes remarked to me that life in Langholm, especially in the winter time, must have become slow and monotonous.

NO MONOTONY.

I have never been conscious of any such feeling. As I look far away to my boyhood and youth I see a Langholm which was certainly much more quaint, and I fancy much more interesting as well, than the Langholm of to-day. The town abounded in "characters," whose sayings and doings formed always a subject of fireside conversation. Stories of the past, letters from afar, from India and the seas where there were many Langholm lads, the Kirk, the State, the weather, the crops, and ourselves, provided us with material for conversation and gossip, which was ever fresh. Life was hard, no doubt, but it was also exciting to us boys of the early thirties. What with the hay and the peats, and the school, we had plenty to do, especially in the summer time, but we were healthy and hardy and did not expect great things. Then we had the Fairs and the Common-Riding, and the Hiring days—all full of fun and excitement. We had the hills and woods, and the rivers, too,—unrestricted fishing and guddling—and I do not mind confessing that we also got a glorious pleasure from raiding the orchard at the Milnholm when a

stroke, t. He used to attend the Church sometimes and it was said
that he once put four Pheasants Eggs into the Collection plate with
the remark "Silver and Gold have done me but such as I have give
I unto thee!" There was one Mary, who kept a small shop who would
make Sam do anything she wished. Sam had fallen rather in love
with Mary, and I recollect seeing him standing in the street
opposite her house and he was crying: "Stay me with flogons
comfort me with apples for I am sick of Love." Brown, the Duke
of Buccleuch's Gardener charged Sam with "raising" over the walls
at the Nursery and taking apples of the Waltoes. He said "Sam

chance occurred. We never really felt that in stealing apples we were breaking the Commandments, though sometimes our consciences hinted that, as the little lassie put it, we were "cracking" them. Tom Cairns took apples, we argued, and why could not we? And this reminds me of the excitement which arose continually in my boyhood from those quaint "characters" of whom Langholm seemed to possess an unusual share.

TOM CAIRNS.

Tom was one of these, and fresh stories were always being told of his sayings and doings. He was accustomed to wander, oftenest by night, all over the town, away in country places, and even amongst the hills. In the mornings the window-shutters of the town would be found chalked over with verses from the Bible, mostly from the Proverbs, with which he had a remarkable familiarity. He was very ready in retort, and some of his cleverest replies were given in Scriptural language. Though a "natural," he had still a most sensitive conscience, and would sometimes retrace his steps for miles in order to dot an "i" or stroke a "t." He used to attend church sometimes, and it was said that he once put four pheasant eggs into the collection plate with the remark, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I unto thee." There was one Mary, who kept a small shop, who could make Tom do anything she wished. Tom had fallen rather in love with Mary, and I recollect seeing him standing in the street opposite her house, and he was crying: "Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples, for I am sick of love." Brown, the Duke of Buccleuch's

gardener, charged Tom with "raxing" over the walls of the nursery and taking apples off the wall trees. He said: "Tam, what makes ye take my apples?" He put the question once or twice, and Tom's reply was, when it came, "because they are nearer than the Milnholm yins,"—a reply which had the double merit of being both truthful and smart.

LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS.

There was another thing that prevented Langholm from being a dull place—there was always something happening. When we foregathered round the blazing peat fire of a winter's night what tales were told! Legends and traditions of the old Border days, the recital of the literature of the Borders, reading the newspaper aloud, and the anecdotes of this or that local worthy, filled the night with amusement and interest. The newspaper reading was a great event. The papers were too expensive for one man to buy regularly, so they were bought on the co-operative principle, and the partners went to each others houses to hear the reading. What with arguing about the pronunciation of the foreign words, and discussing the politics of the day, or the strange news from a far country, the gathering was always an exciting one. On one of these occasions it was noticed that the selected reader introduced the same word an extraordinary number of times. Some of the listeners began to wonder at this, but had not the courage to interfere. At length one of the bolder spirits ventured to remark: "Wullie, the word 'gamby' seems to come in awfu' often—what does it mean?" Wullie mumbled some reply, and then it was discovered that whenever he had come across a word of whose pronun-

ciation he was uncertain, he had substituted "gamby," considerably to the confusion of the narrative. For two generations afterwards he and his descendants bore this as a nickname.

As I glance backward down the long years, I can see what none of us saw then, that many of our customs were old-world and queer—our manners and dress, and way of looking at things,—and our words even were of a different tongue from that spoken in Langholm to-day. Some of these may be worth preserving, and part of my purpose in writing down these Reminiscences is to help to do so, and to put on record a few of the stirring incidents which formed the daily life of Langholm when I was a boy more than 70 years ago. The people, too, seem to have been of a different type from those of to-day; at least we very rarely see now the quaint and singular personalities who were so plentiful in Langholm two or three generations ago. The coming of the railway up our valley, aided by other influences, has tended to reduce to a common level all the types that flourished among us. It used to be jocularly said amongst us that we could easily identify, say, a Hawick man, by his singular modesty concerning his native town, and by other less pronounced peculiarities, but to-day there is no visible difference between him and his Langholm neighbour. All this has tended to decrease the interest which Langholm now affords, and to render it less picturesque than it was in the days of my youth.

IN THE WEAVING SHOPS.

What stories we heard during those long fore-suppers!*

* The part of the evening between tea and supper was so named.

One of the greatest pleasures I experienced when a boy was to be allowed to sit in the weaving shops listening to the intelligent conversation of the weavers, which ranged over a large area — politics, religion, adventure and folk-lore, as well as the banter and small talk of the town. I remember the discussion turning one night on Concentration of Mind. One weaver declared that he had so schooled himself that he could just go into the kirk and forget absolutely everything but the service, and then afterwards repeat most of the sermon. This completely took the others by surprise, for they had not specially observed Johnie's powers of concentration. They invited him to prove his claim by giving them, next Monday, the gist of the minister's sermon. But when the Monday came Johnie was a humbler man. He made full confession before the shop: "When A' gaed intae the kirk," he said, "A' juist thocht what a big bit it was—what an awfu' lot o' looms it wud haud, and A' was sae busy fitting the looms intae the building that A' fair forgot tae listen to the sermon." And then he quoted the text about pride going before a fall, on which one of the weavers declared that Johnie had "got that frae Tom Cairns."

Another treat which I appreciated greatly was to be allowed to spend an evening in Aitchison, the clogger's, shop. It was this shop Tom Cairns patronised until he unexpectedly transferred his custom to the clogger at Westerkirk. When asked for an explanation, Tom replied that he had gone to Westerkirk because 'auld Aitchison didna make *fashionable* clogs.' A strange company assembled nightly here. My right of presence would probably be obtained by the excuse of requiring a new calker, and I won an extension of time

by keeping the fire well supplied with the "spielings" from the newly-cut clog soles, the fire and one or two tallow candles giving the only extra light in the shop. One old man whom I well remember being present on these evenings, was

"HALF-A-CROON ANDRA,"

so named because of his partiality for that specimen of the currency. Andra had worked as a lad on the Meikleholm Farm before the New-town was built upon its land. He remembered the building of the first houses, and was always loud in his praise of "Good Duke Henry." He had often crossed the Wauchope by the "Roman" bridge at the Manse. He had a large store of anecdote and story, and I can yet recall his graphic description of the Gonial Blast of 1794. Like many old folk in Langholm he was much more reliable than a weather-glass in indicating the changes in the weather, and people consulted him whether they should "shake oot" or "kyle" the hay. I remember his description of a water-spout which fell on Warbla in 1816. The day had been warm and sultry and the storm broke suddenly. The volume of water pouring down the hillside must, according to Andra's account, have been two feet deep,—a figure I merely quote, expressing no settled conviction on the point. Wauchope came down in high flood, but it was on the eastern side of the hill that the greatest damage was done. The torrent swept shrubs and brushwood before it, and all the small footbridges in the Dean Banks were carried away.

Another old man, a frequenter of the clog-shop, confirmed Andra's story. He was working at the time at the paper mill, now the distillery. Rain began to fall,

but in no abnormal quantity. He took shelter in one of the lofts, and was presently surprised to see Esk come down in heavy flood, and the wooden bridge leading over the Wauchope to Stubholm sweep past in one piece. It broke up on the rocks at the Skippers. The usual Dean Banks traffic had to be diverted to the Tarras Road.

I gathered from Andra not a little of my information concerning old Langholm, and I believe it was his old-world stories which first excited my interest in the history of my native town. Part, at least, of that information I am trying now to set down on paper, where it certainly has never been before.

MY FIRST PROCESSION.

One of my earliest recollections is of taking part in the procession to celebrate the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Great interest was shown in Langholm in the fate of this measure, and when the news came of its having been passed, a series of rejoicings was arranged. I was only a small boy at the time, but the whole event is clearly mirrored in my mind at this moment. There was a great demonstration organized for 10th August, and even the boys and lassies were given a place in it. We boys had to wear blue bows and the lassies had blue sashes or ribbons. The procession started from the Kilngreen and marched to the Watch Knowe. The town was gay with triumphal arches and other decorations. There had been some dispute concerning the best site for the grand arch, and the committee decided to have it just at the north entrance to the Market-Place, from what was called Mrs. Irving's corner, that is, where

Mr. Malcolm's shop now is, to the Globe Inn, which then occupied the site of Mrs. Latimer's shop. The rival site, advocated mostly by the people living in its neighbourhood and in the New-town, was at the Town-head, between the houses of Peter Telford and Alexander Hotson. This being decided upon only at the last moment the arch had to be built up in one night; gardens all over the New-town were laid under contribution, and brushwood and other material commandeered. Those who could not provide material willingly gave money, and the arch turned out to be a complete success. The guard and driver of the Royal Mail coach declared it to be the finest they had seen on their journeyings, a compliment which gave lively satisfaction to the builders. I fear I can only give an imperfect idea of what it was like. There was, I remember, a large main arch with a smaller one at each side. In the chimneys of the thatched houses on either side of the street there were set large fir trees, on one a pheasant perched and on the other a blackcock, and from the trees to the centre of the arch, which was surmounted by a floral crown, festoons of flowers were arranged, and the top of the arch was battlemented. Behind a bush of heather a fox was set, as if in the act of crossing to seize the blackcock or the pheasant.

In the procession itself, which numbered about 1,000 people, including 200 boys of whom I was one, every trade was represented and carried its banner. Strong contingents also came from Ewes, Westerkirk, and Canonby.

On their arrival at the Watch Knowe the processionists formed a circle and cheered for the King, Grey, Brougham, Russell and Reform. Refreshments were served,

and then the procession was re-formed and returned to the Market-Place, where a huge platform had been erected. The Rev. John Dobie of the Town-head church was called to the chair, and delivered an eloquent oration on the cause of the rejoicing. The enthusiasm was not unanimous, of course. The parish minister so strongly disapproved of the proceedings, that on the following Sunday, when the arch at the Town-head was still up, he declined to pass under it. As the kirk was then on the hill-side, his usual route was by the Well Close, at the top of which stood the cottage which served as the Session house, but on this occasion he went round by the Bar Brae, and thereby I supposed comforted his conscience. He also severed his connection with the Eskdale Kilwinning Lodge of Freemasons, of which he was chaplain, because the members had taken part in the procession. As perhaps the oldest Mason now in the Lodge I think the minister had the best of the matter, as it is against all the canons of Masonry to take part in regalia in a purely political demonstration, such as this was.

WALTER SCOTT.

It is interesting to know that, whilst the great agitation was going on, a native of Langholm, Mr. Walter Scott, was secretary of the Reform Club, one of the two largest political clubs in London. Mr. Scott, who was by profession a barrister-at-law, was born at Clint-head.* In his official capacity he was brought into

* A nephew of Mr. Scott, Mr. C. Henderson Scott, who also was born at Clinthead, but whilst yet a child removed to London, was called to the bar in 1874. He collaborated with Mr. C. Marsh Dennison in producing a book on the practice in the House of Lords. He died in 1908.

contact with most of the leading Whig statesmen of the Reform era. In the house of his nieces, the Misses Hyslop, of Mount Gardens, there are many interesting mementos of this important position. After leaving Edinburgh University Mr. Scott went to London, entering the office of Mr. Joseph Hume, the well-known writer and publicist. At that time Mr. Hume sat for Weymouth, but afterwards for his native town of Montrose, and then for the county of Middlesex. In this connection Mr. Scott was brought into the famous dispute between D'Israeli and Hume. It will be remembered that the former contested Wycombe in the Whig interest. On being returned as a Tory for some other constituency, D'Israeli attacked his old allies, who of course retaliated. D'Israeli denied that he had sought Hume's assistance at Wycombe, and I have before me now a copy of a letter written by Mr. Scott, who was present, in which he gives an account of the interview in Mr. Hume's office when Mr. D'Israeli called.

Previous to the opening of the Reform Club Mr. Scott had the honour of showing the Prince Consort over the premises. This was shortly before his marriage to the Queen. To this notable event Mr. and Mrs. Scott received an invitation, which is still kept as an heirloom by Miss Janet Hyslop, their niece. They attended the ceremony, and had an excellent view of the Queen and the Prince. Miss Hyslop has two china coffee cups in blue and gold which belonged to the great Napoleon, by whom they were given to Dr. O'Meara, his physician, in St. Helena. The doctor gave them to Mr. Scott as a personal memento. Mr. Scott died in 1848 at the early age of 38, having been secretary of the Reform Club for 12 years.

MY LAST PROCESSION.

The Reform Bill procession was the first in which I had a part, my age at that date being five, the last took place 65 years later, on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the late Queen Victoria, when I walked with the Eskdale Kilwinning Lodge, as shown below.



MASONIC PROCESSION, DIAMOND JUBILEE, 1897.

My life touches five reigns—George IV., William IV., Victoria, Edward VII., and George V. I can only faintly recall the accession of William IV., but of course I remember quite clearly that of Queen Victoria. The enthusiasm for the young Queen was increased by the contempt and disgust with which the bulk of the people had regarded the two previous reigns. But my recollection is that there was a more restrained demonstration of loyalty and far less fuss made throughout the country than we saw at the Queen's Jubilees in 1887 and 1897. Greatly as I admire the lofty character of the Queen, and respect the present and previous occupants of the throne, I have a feeling that the recent adulation was overdone; and I have been reminded, when reading all the profuse ascriptions of greatness poured out by the press, of what auld Lancie Armstrong said when he read of the coronation of one of the Emperors of Russia. Lancie read the story without comment, but when he finished it he laid aside the paper with the remark: "It's a queer thing to me if the Emperor doesna get six weeks at the grass like auld Nebuchadnezzar."

THE CHOLERA.

Writing of 1832 recalls another notable happening of that memorable year,—the coming of the cholera into this country. It broke out first in Sunderland, brought there probably by ships trading to the East, and after ravaging that town spread quickly over the entire country. Thanks to its comparative isolation, Langholm escaped this dreaded visitation. Great terror, however, existed, and I remember Half-a-croon Andra carrying disinfectants round the town—some concoction in a barrel,

which he stirred up at intervals with a long pole, and which gave out a most offensive odour.

I recall at the moment another event Andra often talked about, over that clog-shop fire; and with this I shall end the present chapter. The incident took place on the Peat hill at Warbla. A man and his wife were busy one day casting peats when a thunderstorm broke over the hill. To shelter from the rain they both took refuge under the same plaid, and later both were found dead—struck by lightning.

With these and many other narratives of a like nature, did these men beguile the hours of the long winter nights, whilst I listened, sometimes amused and sometimes awe-struck by their strange tales.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE OLD BORDER SPIRIT.

I HAVE already referred to the stories of the Peninsular War and its campaigns with which we were made familiar, and on recalling those days it is impressed upon me how largely such subjects bulked in the fireside talk of our homes. There cannot then have been many families in Langholm who had not at least one, if not more, of its members in the Army or the Navy. And it occurs to me, whilst I am writing these notes, that this feature of Eskdale life may have been due in part to the old warlike spirit which had been transmitted from our Border clans. I have heard it claimed that the Borderers, trained by the centuries of tumult, were amongst the bravest of our country's fighting men, and certainly, there were not a few of our Langholm men,

OLD CAMPAIGNERS

who had been in many wars, and in my youthful days stories of battles by sea and land were amongst the commonest subjects of our conversation.

I can well remember how, in my own circle of relatives, we were all thrilled with what we heard of the adventures of one of my great-uncles in the wars against the first Napoleon. This uncle, James Hyslop, had been dead some years before my time, but his letters were still greatly prized in the family, and we boys read them as we read a romance. He was Captain's clerk, and after-

wards Purser, in various men-o'-war—the "Hope," the "Camel," the "Tremendous," and the "Shannon." Apart from the adventures of the writer, the letters are interesting because of references they contain to men whom Eskdale still regards with affection and pride,—the Pasleys, the Malcolms, and the Littles. Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley evinced a great interest in him, on account of his connection with Langholm, and was always ready to recommend him for promotion. In one letter, dated August, 1800, the Admiral promises to do anything in his power for my uncle, whose mother he remembered well, and for whom, he says, he had always had a great regard. Through his influence my relative obtained the privilege of being placed by Lord Spencer on his list of recommendations. All this must have been very pleasing to his friends in Langholm, but his promising career was cut short by his ship, the "Shannon," being captured by the French. It was wrecked on 10th December, 1803, off La Hogue, and the crew were seized by the French and kept as

A PRISONER.

prisoners. My uncle wrote home to Langholm from Caen informing his relatives of his safety. He was soon moved to Verdun, where there was a large number of British prisoners. His letters from Verdun make interesting reading even yet, and one sees how his thoughts continually turned to Eskdale. In one of his letters he asks to be informed whether Captains Pulteney and Charles Malcolm have obtained commands,—enquiries which sound strange to us, with all our knowledge of these distinguished men. In glancing through these

old letters one sentence, which has just caught my eye, recalls a story I often heard in my early years. The sentence is, "When did you hear from Walter? Is he likely to remain at Jamaica for some time?" The story is that Walter Hyslop was leaving Langholm to settle in Jamaica, and on the night before his departure he went round amongst his friends to bid them good-bye. It was a very dark night and of course there was almost no light in the streets. When turning into the Pot Market, just at Carruthers's Corner, he failed to see an open drain, and stumbling into it broke his leg. Of course he could not sail as arranged, and many were the lamentations of himself and his relatives at this piece of evil fortune. This feeling, however, was soon turned into thankfulness when word came that the vessel, in which his passage had been taken, had foundered on the voyage, and every soul on board had been lost. There are frequent references to Langholm in the letters. He is glad to hear in 1798 that Langholm is flourishing so well; he enquires after his relatives at the Kerr, Auchenvivock, and Carretrig, and wishes to be remembered to the Revs. Thomas Martin and John Jardine, the Browns of the Milntown, Colonel Murray, Dr. Moffat, and others, with whose names we are all still familiar. Over and over again we read that rumours had reached the captives of an exchange of prisoners, but during the period covered by the letters, this hope had not been realized.

LOCAL PATRIOTISM.

The patriotic fervour of the early years of the century was very marked, but it was not entirely spontaneous. Owing to the fear of an invasion by Napoleon a large

force of Militia had to be organised, and the contingents were to be raised in proportion to the population. The Act establishing the Militia was very unpopular in many parts of the country, and riots occurred. All able-bodied men between the ages of 19 and 23 were first called up. Dumfriesshire had to provide 246 men. From Eskdalemuir, Dr. Brown relates, two men had to go, and the ballot fell upon John Warwick in Midraeburn, and Thomas Hislop of Todshawhill. Neither went to the war, however, as the parish collected money and found substitutes. Voluntary subscriptions were also invited by the Government, and the following sums were sent by the Eskdale parishes :—

Langholm	-	-	-	-	£97	8	6		
Ewes	-	-	-	-	68	14	0		
Westerkirk	-	-	-	-	54	4	9		
Canonby	-	-	-	-	41	11	10		
Eskdalemuir	-	-	-	-	31	14	6		
							£293	13	7

BLIN' BOB.

Many men from Langholm and the district volunteered, and I remember several who had come home, halt or blind, from the long-continued wars. One such was "Blin' Bob," a great strapping fellow, who had lost his sight in Egypt from the sandstorms, during the Nile campaign. For this he received a pension, and also an allowance for a boy to lead him about. However, when these were made certain, Bob dismissed the boy and married a wife, who took care of him, and these two became an

institution of the town. Very graphic were the stories Bob told, and though we sometimes doubted their strict truth, yet they entertained us well. He was a rare hand with the fiddle, and his performances were quite a feature of the amusements in his neighbourhood. Bob was, to use a present day expression, a well-groomed man, though in my young days we only applied the epithet to horses, and his morning ablutions were a matter of knowledge and interest to the entire neighbourhood. What it was that Bob did, I never definitely knew, but though he performed the ceremony at the back door, the greater part of the street was aware of the event, and we had sometimes to explain to strangers who wondered at the noise, that "it was only Blin' Bob weshin hissel." It would not, perhaps, be in very good taste if I were to describe Bob's methods in detail, but they excited the envy and unqualified admiration of every boy in the neighbourhood, and many were the attempts made to copy his finishing touches. We all had the feeling that Blin' Bob rather overdid this washing business. His practice was in vivid contrast to that of a great many in the community. There was an old man, a distant relative of my own, who did not share Bob's views on the benefit to be got from cold water. He had a fairly good wash every Saturday afternoon, though sometimes he demurred even to this as unnecessary, but in the ordinary way he washed his face but once a day. He was an awkward man—as we expressed it in Langholm, he always went by "Carretrig to Car'le"—the longest way round. If he wished to scratch his left ear he did it by reaching his right hand round the back of his head, and in washing himself he persisted in using one of those long, narrow, quart tins, into which

by a little dexterity he could get only one hand,—and the tin ran out. His women folk often declared they “felt black-burning shame” at his appearance, but in reply he would just give his face a rub over with his hand, only aggravating matters thereby, and declare that his “was juist as clean as a vast o’ faces.”

ROB AND NELL.

A later campaigner was Armless Rob. He lost an arm at the siege of St. Sebastian, and then retired to



ARMLESS ROB.

Moodlawpoint to carry on a less dangerous but longer continued warfare in words with his gude-wife, Nell. A queer couple they were. Owing to these domestic squabbles Rob one day attempted suicide, and nearly succeeded. The place selected was "Chick's Pool" in Wauchope, near Besse Bell's Brae, so called as a compliment to Rob, "Chick" being one of his "to-names." He was rescued and restored to Nell by my uncle, Tom McVittie, who, curiously enough, also had but one arm, having lost the other on a less warlike field than St. Sebastian. Rob and Nell occupied the lower part of the house looking on to Moodlawpoint. They frequently transferred their domestic disputes to the square, with the boys as a kind of jury. Nell herself was not lacking in a certain vigour both of body and mind. I do not think I ever heard the argument for a future life more epigrammatically put than was Nell's comment on Pete Johnstone's scepticism. Pete, who was a hawker of crockery—most of it "gleyed," and very unsteady—had some pretensions as a poet, and affected "liberal" views in theology. He had hinted in one of his poetical pieces his doubts as to the reality of a future state. "Pete Johnstone says there's nae hereafter," said Nell, who, being deaf, generally shouted the conversation, "but my faith, *he'll fin' oot whether or no!*" And as was her persistent habit, she wiped her eyes with the corner of her "check" apron. Nell always wore a spotless white "mutch," and she was one of the few old women in Langholm who smoked a clay pipe.

The upper portion of this domestic haven was occupied by

“WULLIE WUD,”

and, strange as it may appear, he too had only one arm. Wullie, whose portrait I am able to give, was a



splendid hand at making “nibbies,” to the gnarled appearance of which I always fancied he bore a striking resemblance.

KILLED BY A COW!

Perhaps the most remarkable of these veterans of the Peninsular war was Simon Fletcher, who was present at

Waterloo and other 31 engagements in various countries.* Simon was dead before I was born. I have often heard the story of how he met his death. Coming through perils many, from shot and shell and fever, he died from the effects of being knocked down by a cow on Langholm Bridge. On his deathbed he deplored this unheroic termination of his career, and was heard to mutter in contemptuous tones, "To be killed by a cow!"

"OLD CORUNNA."

Another Peninsular hero was James Scott, who died in 1868, and was given a military funeral, one of the few which Langholm has witnessed. He was known as "Old Corunna," and after he had returned from the wars and settled down in Langholm, there sprang up a legend—never entirely accepted by his own relatives—that he had carried the lantern at the burial of Sir John Moore, to whose Staff, by the way, Sir Chas. Pasley was attached. It is very remarkable how often, since Scott's death, I have seen in the papers, notices of the death of men who claimed to have carried that lantern. If all the claims are good, the burial must have resembled a torchlight procession. But I think there is no doubt that Scott was actually present when they buried their heroic Commander—"darkly, at dead of night." He had many thrilling stories to tell of the battles he had seen.

Mention should be made, too, of Christopher Borthwick, a Langholm man, who was present at the Battle of Trafalgar, and died at Westerkirk in 1860; and of

* His tombstone in Langholm Kirkyard has the following inscription:—"Simon Fletcher, pensioner from the 1st Royal Dragoons, in which he had served 21 years in Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Portugal, Spain, and France, where he fought in 32 battles including Waterloo. He died February 4th, 1824, aged 45 years."

Tommy Tinning, or Tinnie, as he was often called, an old Crimean campaigner. It was after him that the town's cannon was called "Tommy Tinnie" about the year 1856. It was told of Tommy that one day, whilst in America, he was passing along Broadway in New York when he suddenly remembered it was Langholm Common-Riding Day. He at once mounted a barrel standing at a shop door and "cried the Fair" to the amazed Yankees.

Of course, much of the patriotic spirit then shown in Langholm had its origin in the fame of the Pasleys and Malcolms. The renown of Sir Thomas Pasley, Sir Pulteney, Sir James and Sir Charles Malcolm, drew not a few Eskdale lads into the naval service, and in all such these famous Admirals ever showed a warm and practical interest.

There was, in my own family, another sailor whose adventurous life was a kind of romance to us all. My father's brother, John, was, at first, the Captain's clerk on board the "Esk," a post secured for him by the influence of Sir Chas. Pasley,—whose letter to my grandmother announcing the appointment is on the desk beside me as I write,—and afterwards he was a Purser in the Indian Navy. I can remember the excitement there was when his letters from India arrived. It was not confined to our own immediate circle, for when he delivered the letter, on which there was usually a postage fee of five shillings to pay, the postman would say, "A' see whae that's frae ; a'll juist wait and hear how Johnie is." My grandmother did not quite like this, for the letters contained many references to domestic matters, and, glancing through the letter, she would reply, "Oh, Johnie's juist rale weel," and with this scant information the post-

man had generally to be content. In these letters, my uncle gave us many glimpses into India—that land of many mysteries which for Langholm youths has ever possessed a wonderful attraction. In the service of the East India Company were not a few sons of Eskdale—Littles, Borthwicks, and Murrays, as well as Malcolms.

But my uncle's career was short. He died in Bombay in 1841, at the age of 36. Two letters lie before me now, to which I shall make only a brief reference. One is from my uncle himself to Miss Malcolm, sister of the Four Knights, dated from H. C. S. "Clive," at Suez, in the Red Sea, 20th June, 1836. It describes visits which he paid to Thebes, and to Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb. The heat on the desert journey, he says, was intolerable, and made him envy the people of Langholm, who were so near "the sweet Esk." "On the top of the Temple of Dendera," he proceeds, "I saw the name of your honoured and respected brother Sir John, and that of John Pasley," evidently inscribed in 1826. The letter then relates in a graphic manner, a visit to Sinai.

THE BURNING BUSH.

The route lay "through rugged defiles and over bare hills—the scene of desolations." His party were entertained at the Monastery of St. Catherine, kept by Fathers of the Greek Church. It tells how, owing to fear of the wild Arab tribes, there was no ground entrance to the Monastery, and the visitors had to be "hoisted up about 40 feet, by means of a pulley, and then hauled in by the Monks, like a bale of soft goods into a warehouse." Here, the monks told my uncle, there is a chapel built, on the spot where Moses saw the Burning Bush.

Then, up the mountain, they came to the plateau which divides Sinai from Horeb, and he saw the Well of Moses and

ELIJAH'S CAVE,

from the entering in of which the prophet witnessed the whirlwind and the fire, and with his face wrapped in his mantle, heard the Still Small Voice. My uncle does not say so in his letter to Miss Malcolm, but in one to his mother he tells how he scrambled up the rock at the entrance to the cave, and there carved upon it the names of his mother and brothers and sisters. I mention all this because, as can be easily understood, these letters telling of a visit by a Langholm man to where Moses stepped aside "to see this great sight," and where he received the Law, and to Elijah's cave, were of too great interest to be kept only within the family circle. As a matter of fact they were put into circulation and literally went through the town. We never ceased to wonder at this marvel, and it formed the theme of many a Sunday evening's talk, and also inspired the day-dreams of not a few of us boys.

The other letter is from Dr. Graham of Holmfoot, whose descendant, Lieut.-General Graham so distinguished himself in the Crimea and in the Egyptian campaign of 1882. It is a sad letter. I well remember the consternation and dismay it aroused, one day in July, 1841, when it was handed in to my grandmother. It was to announce the death of her son in Bombay on 19th May, 1841; and told all the details of his illness and last moments. Dr. Graham says he often spoke of Langholm, of his mother and relatives, and also of the deeper concerns of the soul. The letter then went on to tell how he was buried

WITH MILITARY HONOURS.

“The coffin was covered with white and borne to the churchyard by the Marines, and four Indian Navy officers with white satin weepers across their shoulders, carried the pall. Captain Oliver, the Superintendent of the Navy, officers and midshipmen followed, and in the rear the military officers. The coffin was preceded by 100 Sepoys and officers with reversed arms, and the garrison band played the *Dead March*. . . . I need not mention how much your son was esteemed by all people in Bombay. Captain Oliver was speaking of him to me in the highest terms, and his loss as a public servant and an accountant will be much felt.”

I have dwelt upon these matters at perhaps too great length, but I have done so to give some idea of the “atmosphere” in which my early years were passed. The roving temperament of the Borderer seemed to be then much more easily traceable in the men of Eskdale than it is to-day, and the interest created by the news of how these men fared in the great world beyond our quiet hills was a powerful inspiration to very many of us at home.

AULD TIB.

Coming to a later time, the Border spirit also revealed itself throughout the days of the Crimean War. There was one curious illustration of this military enthusiasm. In a back street near to Moodlawpoint there lived a decrepit lonely old woman known as Auld Tib, whose one enthusiasm in life was the Army. “Splendid fellows,” she said, all the soldiers were. Day after day throughout the Franco-German War, she came to read my *Scotsman* to see “how the brave lads” were doing.

To her every man of them was a hero, and she, who had not one, declared that if she had twenty sons they should all be soldiers!

It was, perhaps, due to Auld Tib's example that a woman, living near her, was wont to summon her bairns from their street-play, in much the same tone as she might have drilled a Brigade. I remember seeing her one night dragging home, "by the scruff of the neck," her little boy, whose bedtime had evidently come. Boy-like, he was resisting, and, with a set face and determination in her voice, she was calling upon him to "surrender"!

During all the wars of the century earnest discussions arose, especially amongst the weavers, on matters of strategy and administration. As may be imagined, some very humorous comments were made. One of these is perhaps worth recording. It was, I fancy, a near relative of the Duke of Buccleuch who, being on active service, was mentioned, not "in the despatches," but in the newspapers, as being attached to the Commissariat Department. There was considerable mistiness as to what precisely this meant. Various suggestions, most of them very wide of the mark, were made as to what the duties of the Duke's relative could be. It fell to Lancie Armstrong to settle the question: "As far as A' can understand," he said, "his work is *tæ dreep the tatties* and a' that kind o' thing!"*

PRESS-GANG.

There was, however, a feature of this warlike spirit which did not commend itself to our Border independ-

* "Dreeping" is pouring off the water from the potatoes when they have been sufficiently boiled.

ence. This was the press-gang. Occasionally, parties appeared in Langholm to obtain recruits for the King's service, and their operations were, of course, resisted. A suspicion arose that the parish ministers were supplying to the Government lists of eligible young men, and for a while it made them decidedly unpopular. A memorable incident occurred near where we lived. A strapping youth got a hint that the press-gang were on his track. He lived in what was then known as Manse Street, but which after the streets were re-named in 1868, was called Caroline Street. He barricaded himself in the cottage, and when the gang came they met with an organized resistance. The siege continued for a considerable time, until at last the young man saw that his capture was inevitable. He therefore resolved on a bold dash for liberty. He got out by a back window, without being at the moment observed. Down the garden towards Wauchope he ran, and made for the Stubholm Wood, where he knew there was plenty of cover. The men saw him and pursued, but he had already reached the plantation and they failed to catch him. His victory was extremely popular. The incident was given chief place in the "crack" of the town for several days.

BATTLE OF THE COOPS.

One of the most stirring tales I heard in Aitchison's clog-shop on a winter night was told by Half-a-Croon Andra, who called it "The Battle of the Coops." It was "fought" in 1783. The laird of Netherby had caused to be constructed across the Esk, where it ran through his policies, a stone and timber barrier, which prevented the fish swimming to the higher reaches of the

river. The people of Canonby, Langholm, Westerkirk, and Eskdalemuir were thus deprived of a plentiful supply of fish, which, poor innocent souls, they regarded as the gift of Providence to all and not to lairds alone. They upheld the doctrine of the Elect in theology, but could not accept it so readily in economics—perhaps one phase of the doctrine was sufficient for so unsophisticated a community! So it came to pass that they refused to take the interference of the laird of Netherby without a protest, and with that same grit which distinguished their forefathers, they determined to resist even to the shedding of blood. There was a swift and general rising of both men and women from the head of Eskdale even to the gates of Netherby Ha'. From every farmhouse and shepherd's or ploughman's cot, they came, armed with all manner of weapons, firearms included, for this was a matter as serious, and must be dealt with as promptly, as any Border raid in the olden days. Scythe blades fastened to poles, pitch forks, and the humble "nibbie" were all requisitioned; and thus equipped the host set off for Netherby.

Sir Walter Scott might well have had this incident in his mind when he wrote the ballad in *The Monastery*:—

“March! march! Ettrick and Teviotdale,
 Why the deil dinna ye march forward in order?
 March! march! Eskdale and Liddesdale,
 All the blue bonnets are bound for the Border.

• • • • •
 Come from your hills where the hirsels are grazing,
 Come from the glen of the buck and the roe;
 Come to the crag where the bracken is blazing,
 Come with the buckler, the lance, and the bow.
 Trumpets are sounding,
 War steeds are bounding,
 Stand to your arms and march in good order.
 England shall many a day
 Tell of the bloody fray
 When the Blue Bonnets came over the Border.”

Word of their approach had been sent, and they were met by a body of infantry from Carlisle barracks, drawn up as in battle, on the English side. But military tactics were not wanting on the part of the dalesmen. Many of them were old pensioners who had seen active service, and they, too, had rifles and ammunition.

Now the forces face each other across the Esk. The invaders are loading their muskets. This is to cover the main attack, for the civilian members of the force are now attacking the "coops." The honour of leading the assault has fallen to Johnie Foster, who is already on the barrier with crow-bar in hand, covered by the loaded weapons of the pensioners. It is a critical moment. Will the infantry attack? If so, the pensioners will open fire—and then, God defend the right! But no blood is spilt. In a very few moments a breach is made, the "coops" are destroyed, and Esk once again rolls freely to the Solway. The battle has been fought and won without a shot having been fired.

Never again did the laird of Netherby attempt to erect the barrier.* It will be seen from the footnote that

* Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* refers to this incident, and describes the dalesmen as "a large body of disorderly men to the number of at least 200, consisting chiefly of the militia, who had been disbanded from the Duke of Buccleuch's regiment of South Fencibles." The writer is good enough to absolve his Grace ("Good Duke Henry") of all knowledge of or sympathy with the raid.

This "Battle of the Coops" was the last of several such affrays. Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong (*History of Liddesdale, &c.*, p. 171) mentions that as early as 1474 the fishing question between Cumberland and Dumfriesshire had become acute. The Englishmen had erected a "fish-garth" across the Esk and the Scots had destroyed it. An agreement was made at Westminster that a Commission should visit the locality and collect evidence on the matter, and then give a decision. Negotiations proceeded, but evidently with no definite conclusion, for in 1485 the garth was again constructed by the English and destroyed by the Scots. Matters continued in this unsatisfactory condition until 1491, when it was agreed that damage to the fish-garth should not be held to be an attempt against the peace. In 1502 the dispute was still unsettled, and again Commissioners agreed not to regard the destruction of the garth as a violation of the peace. At various times, and as late as 1543, this was re-affirmed, but the main question remained unsettled.

the dispute of 300 years was effectually settled by this raid. As was fitting, a ballad was written to commemorate this Border story, and it obtained great popularity in Eskdale. I have often heard my grandmother recite it with great animation, aroused probably by the fact that her brother, an Armstrong with the Border blood strong within him, took part in the "battle." Unfortunately, after these many years, I am unable to recall the words.

BATTLE OF THE HAMES.

An incident of a similar nature, which I heard at the clog-shop fire, was called the "Battle of the Hames."* This was a brush between the military and the Langholm carriers. In those days soldiers very frequently passed through Langholm, the town being on the King's highway—on the direct route from London to Edinburgh by way of Carlisle. Not only were the soldiers billeted on the inhabitants, but carters and other owners of horses were commandeered for the conveyance of their baggage from one place to another. The range of the Langholm district was from Longtown in the south to Hawick in the north, and the carters were paid according to scale for either journey. The stipulated weight for each cart was 15 cwt., and of course, if the officer could get his baggage conveyed by a smaller number of carts, by slightly increasing the load in each, the saving went into his own pocket. It was this desire for gain which brought about the "battle," as many another has been fought for the same sordid reason. Suspecting this trick, the carters, among whom was my maternal

* The "hame" is that part of a horse's harness by which the cart chains are attached at the neck.

grandfather, Jamie Armstrong, a man of great size and iron physique, demanded that the loads should be weighed. The officer refused, and ordered a cavalry detachment with drawn swords to compel the men to proceed. But, even with the swords flashing around them, the carters, with real Border spirit, declined to move. The officer then ordered his men to take charge of the horses and proceed without the carters. This was the signal for the fray. The carters rushed for the horses, removed the hames from their necks, and the rig-widdies from the carts and ran to hide them, helped by their wives and bairns, panic stricken though many of these were. The troopers gave chase, and an exciting scene was witnessed. At the height of the disorder the town bell rang, as usual, at six o'clock, for the beginning of the day's duties. The soldiery interpreted this as a call to the town to "rise" (as indeed it was, but not in the sense they feared!) and some consternation was noticeable among them. At this juncture the billet-master, who happened also to be the Duke's officer, appeared, and up to him galloped the captain, demanding with much fluent profanity and great warmth of temper, to know the why and wherefore of the disturbance. To him the billet-master replied, emphasizing his words by vigorous use of his "nibbie," that not a carter would leave Langholm until his cart had been weighed, as the law ordained. "They can demand it," he said, "and I order it!" The effect was instantaneous, like unto that which followed the famous speech of the town-clerk of Ephesus. Order was at once restored, justice was preserved, and the carters had won the day! A special report of the incident was forwarded to Edinburgh, and the captain received a severe reprimand.

"SCOTS WINE."

Anent the passing through Langholm of these regiments I also remember hearing, not of another "tragedy," but of a little comedy, that was enacted one day. An English regiment, whose soldiers had not previously crossed the Border, halted in Langholm. At that date whiskey was much cheaper than it is now, a bottle costing from $1/3$ to $1/6$. Not understanding the qualities of our native "wine," the soldiers drank of it as freely as they were wont to drink of the more innocent English beer, with the result that in a very brief space Langholm streets were dotted red with soldiers lying helplessly drunk. On the attention of the officers being called to the condition of things, it was found that scarcely was there a soldier who was sober enough to arrest or care for the transgressors. Some of the heads of the town went to the officers, explained the cause of this extraordinary collapse, and interceded, successfully, on behalf of the men. Next day one of the soldiers described his experiences to a townsman, and spoke admiringly of the "grip" of our national liquor. Never had he had such a muddled head, he declared, and yet, said he, "I didn't drink more than a quart of the stuff!"

LOCAL JEALOUSIES.

In trying to show how the old Border traits lingered in Langholm, even as winter lingers sometimes into the merry month of May, I ought not to omit a reference to the curious local rivalries which existed, even to quite a recent date. They may have been a survival of the old clan jealousies, and frequently arose from trivial causes. The rivalry between the Border towns engaged in the

tweed trade is notorious, and some excellent stories could be told, say, of the jealousy which, though now dead, long existed between Langholm and Hawick,—a rivalry shown even in the merits of the brass-bands, in football, cricket, and everything else where rivalry could possibly arise. But this envy was manifested even amongst “gate-ends” in Langholm. In his introduction to Dr. David Irving’s *History of Scottish Poetry*, General Pasley refers to the hostility between the boys of the New Town and the Old—or Meikleholmers and Langholmers as they were called. Dr. Irving himself drilled the Langholmers for these contests on the Kilngreen. General Pasley relates how on one occasion the Meikleholmers had penetrated as far into the enemy’s camp as the Lake,—the neighbourhood of Rosevale House being so called,—when it was decided to settle the matter by single combat, as disputes had been settled on the Borders many a time in centuries gone by. But at the critical moment the mother of the Langholm champion appeared and forcibly drove the youthful warrior home, a somewhat ignominious retreat for a warrior bold!

I can remember similar “battles” between the boys of Buecleuch Square and those of Moodlawpoint. We had a doggerel verse embodying this hostility. It went something like this:—

“Holm-ery, domery, doon the dam,
Milk and bread and saut ham.”

Where the sting lay I cannot now well make out, but the calling of these lines after a Square boy was certain to result in a row, in which all the youths of these localities would speedily and joyfully become engaged. We had another rhyme which was supposed to display the

great superiority of us Langholm folk over those of the other parishes :—

“Canonby couts is nae couts,
Eskdale's nane ava,
Ewes is something like the thing,
But Langholm beats them a'.”

During the Parliamentary elections of the fifties and sixties, when party feeling ran so high, a parody of these lines was composed, and, if I remember rightly, sung as a taunt by both political parties.

TO-NAMES.

There is only one further aspect of Langholm life in my early years which I need mention as revealing the old customs of the Borders. I refer to the prevalence of to-names, or nicknames. In his *History of Liddesdale, &c.*, Mr. R. Bruce Armstrong, whom I had the pleasure of accompanying when he came to Langholm to examine the location of Wauchope Castle, and whose volume contains so much interesting information concerning the Borders, gives a list of to-names which he appears to have culled from State papers and other documents. The following, however, were in daily use in my earlier years, and some have survived to the present generation :

The Spider, Ben Block, Currants, Clink, Bamse, The Gommeral, Tippie Jamie, Lord Pompus, The Laird, Little Fashionables, Balmawhapple, Lord Limpit, Noosie, Pigem, Peggy's Sandie, Betty's Robie, Betty's Robie's Jamie,* The Parent, The Diamond, Kitty's Johnie, Old Pot Metal, The Cannie Article, Pood Pood, Too Too, Doodoo, The

* It was Jamie, I believe, who taught many of the mysteries of his art to “Professor” Anderson, the famous conjurer, popularly known as the Wizard of the North.

Thrasher, The Crusher, The Dad, The Brave Fal-
low, Cat Eggs, Cat Tails, The Bottle, The Sheriff,
The Crow, The Primrose, The Dry Ask, The Ped-
lar, The Scorpion, The Whip, The Jaffuler, Whustle,
Big Rob, Little Rob, The Muircock.

I ought to add that these to-names, unlike many to
which Mr. Armstrong refers, were not used in any offens-
ive sense, and probably not one of their bearers but
would at once have responded to his own, without any
thought of resentment. When I come to think of it,
there were very few people to whom was given the title
of "Mister," and we all called each other by our Christ-
ian names. If my memory serves me well, titles only
came in with the School Boards.

CHAPTER XXX.

“LANGHOLM AS IT WAS.”

IT will be readily understood that the Langholm of which I write was very different from that which we now see. The reader must imagine a town, one half composed of whitewashed cottages, some slated but many thatched. There were no trains, no telegraph, far less a telephone; no organized policemen, no local authority, no motor cars, no drainage system, no water supply, no gas. Oil lamps and tallow candles served for illumination, and were well thought of, too. The stage coach rattled through the town twice daily. The post itself was almost a novelty.

The people, too, were different. They spoke a purer Scots tongue in which had survived some quaint medieval expressions. Our fathers said “Mononday”^{*} for Monday, and older people said “Forsday” for Thursday, Sunday was called “the Sabbath-the-Day,” and they spoke of handwriting as “hand-o’-w-rite,” pronouncing the “w” as a separate syllable. It was not then considered bad taste for people with an income of over thirty shillings a week, nor yet for professional men, to speak our mother tongue, even from the pulpit and the platform.

THE SIMPLE LIFE.

The manner of life was on a much simpler plan than ours; dress was different, and I think much more

^{*} “And in semblable manere sal the saidz wardanes, or thair deputes assemble at Kircander, on Mounowndy, the 18th day of the same moneth for Eskdale and Lyddalysdale.”—See Note ii., p. 155 of Armstrong’s *History of Liddesdale, &c.*



MAP
OF
LANGHOLM.

Cir. 1850.

CASE HOME

1000

1000

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1000

agreeable. It may sound old-fashioned and funny to say so, but in my young days clothes were actually designed so as to protect the wearer from the weather and give comfort and warmth.

Langholm was then a town of some 3,000 inhabitants, rather more than it has at the present time. Isolated and lonely in the midst of its beautiful hills, it was well placed for the nurturing of “characters.” There is something lacking now, but existing then, which made for the development of originality. We seem much more commonplace than our grandfathers were—or can it be, I wonder, that the glasses through which I look back to the past are somewhat dimmed to the defects of those “good old times?” What strange specimens of humanity we had amongst us! My feeble pen cannot possibly reproduce all the humour, all the fun, or all the pathos and tragedy of Langholm life. My readers must bring their own powers of imagination to the aid of my efforts, if they are to understand, fully and clearly, what manner of men we were some seventy years ago.

LANGHOLM SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

The Old-town of Langholm, built, my readers will remember, on the site of the Battle of Arkinholm, grouped itself more closely then than now round the main road, and had not as yet thrown out its suburbs of Arkinholm Terrace or Coomassie, or even Buccleuch Terrace and Eskdaill Street. The Drove Road was its eastern boundary, with the Kirk on the verge, and on the south the Gas Entry was its limit. The Straits were straighter then, and ran in line with the houses still standing between the Douglas Hotel and the Spotted

House. Many of the houses, even in the High Street, were thatched. The last that I remember was a cottage which occupied the site of the present Conservative Club. Where the Library now is there stood a row of stiff-looking, whitewashed houses with steps up to the doors. Opposite, stood the Shoulder of Mutton Inn, which crept much closer to the roadway than the present hotel. There was, of course, no Rosevale Street, though Rosevale House was there. When Rosevale Street was built, there was removed from the Straits a house, long oc-



LANGHOLM MARKET PLACE.

cupied by old Blaiklaw, a lame man, who herded the cows grazing on the Castle Hill.

Where the National Bank is there were shops and the Post Office. The only Bank then in the town was known as the Leith Bank. Murray House stood where Mr. Milroy's and other shops now are. The picture given opposite shows very faithfully what the Market Place and Straits were like, though perhaps my artist friend has slightly improved the general appearance. The picture is very nearly a reproduction of a lithograph made for Mr. John Renwick, the stationer, in 1842. The *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* of 31st January, 1842, contains a notice of the issue of this picture. It is headed :—

“ FINE ARTS—LANGHOLM,”

and says, “ The said very pleasing picture represents the Town-House and Market Place of the Capital of Eskdale, with sections of the street on either side, and in front of the principal building named, a peep is given, by anticipation, of the marble statue about to be erected to the memory of Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm.”

A BURNS DINNER.

Almost the very week that this picture was published by Mr. Renwick, a notable gathering took place in Langholm to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Burns. Dunbar, the sculptor of Sir Pulteney's statue, took an active share in organizing the banquet over which presided Mr. William Aitchison of Linhope, a platform speaker of the front rank at that time. I well remember this dinner, owing to the excitement created in the town by the expectation of seeing and hearing Mr. Robert

Burns of London, eldest son of the poet, who replied to the toast of his distinguished father. Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm was also present and spoke.

THE JAIL.

We all felt quite proud of the Town-House—a name, by the way, given to it only on paper. We called it the Jail, and after the removal of the Cross, when Sir Pulteney's statue was erected, its steps provided, as they still do, a favourite place for open-air speakers. We often boasted of our spire-topped Jail, and laughed at a neighbouring village where, it was jocularly said in Langholm, they kept their prisoners in by a big thorn branch laid across the doorway. It was told that one day a Langholm man had offended the majesty of the law in this village and had been locked up. He kept demanding to be released, using the curious threat that if "they didna let him oot he wud gan hame and tell the Langholm folk what kind o' jail they had!"

On the right of the picture can be seen the Shoulder of Mutton Inn and the King's Arms Hotel, on the site of which the Eskdale Temperance Hotel has since been built. Opposite it, is the house so long occupied by the late Archibald Glendinning, ironmonger.

BAULDY'S STEPS.

The steps shown in the picture were called "Bauldy's Steps," so named probably from this being the residence of Archbald Little, brother of Bailie Little. Tradition says that here was built one of the houses erected under the Nithsdale contract of 1628, but I have never been able to verify this statement, though the connection of

the Little family with the house seems to give some support to the claim. I can remember an old man, whose name has escaped my memory, making Bauldy's Steps his daily resort. He was very much crippled with rheumatism, and any one going past him might hear him, when his pains gave an extra twinge, addressing his limbs in this strain :—“ Now ye're beginning yer capers again. Ye'd better be carefu' or ye'll maybe get a turn as far as Whita yett.”

The New-town was mostly built of one-storey cottages. All these are down now, excepting one or two on Esk side and one side of Manse Street, now Caroline Street, which is represented on the print overleaf. In the

MUNGO PARK.

second house from the left lived a sister of Dr. Laidlaw, who made a name on the Gold Coast, where he befriended Mungo Park, the African traveller, a native of Yarrow, when he arrived after his terrible adventures in tracing the course of the Niger. When Park returned to this country in 1799, he came to Langholm to visit the Laidlaw family, who entertained him in this house. I have heard my father relate how, in expectation of this event, the Laidlaws put a new grate into their room, and it was the first “Kinnaird” grate to be introduced into Langholm. Long years afterwards, soon after our marriage, my wife and I came to live in this house, and here all our children were born. The fact of Mungo Park having been a guest therein always gave the house a certain distinction in my estimation.

These houses were of course erected when the Meikleholm farm was broken up for building sites by “Good



E.X.

CAROLINE STREET COTTAGES.

Duke Henry." I have heard Half-a-Croon Andra say that most of the stones for these houses in the picture were obtained from the Cairn which stood down the loaning between Stubholm and Murtholm.*

THE COTTAGES.

As a rule these cottages consisted of one apartment and a garret. It seems strange at this date to recall the families who were reared in these small houses,—reared, not as slum children, weak and degenerate, but respectably and in robust health. Of course there were then no bye-laws requiring so much cubic space per head, nor any of the other modern fads. Very little attention was paid to ventilation, indeed, very few windows could be opened, and most of them which could were not. All the houses were provided with outside shutters which were fastened from the inside. This arrangement effectually kept out the morning air until the household was astir. The shutters also afforded Tom Cairns an excellent blackboard on which to chalk his love messages to "Mary," or his quotations from the *Spectator*. When they were closed the cosiness of the inside of the cottage was increased, but the effect in intensifying the darkness outside was appalling. At that time the window duty was operative. A house with eight windows became liable to a tax of 15/6. These cottages, having less than eight windows, many of them only two and a skylight, were exempt.

Of course a large proportion of the houses were of the "but and ben" type. The one end served as a bedroom, and the "but" end or kitchen was also utilized as a weav-

* See p. 57.

ing shop. This arrangement fell into disuse when the prosperity of the woollen mills created a demand for better accommodation. The word "sanitary" was hardly in use. The scope of the sanitary precautions was limited in many houses to whitewashing the walls, inside and out, once a year, about the Summer Fair. The floor was mostly of earth, though in later years boards or flags were laid down. Under the bed there was often dug a fairly deep pit in which the potatoes were stored, and in re-building these houses I have come across such relics of a past civilization! Under the fire there was another pit for ashes with a grating covering it. This effectually prevented any wastage of cinders, and I have often thought it could with advantage be retained in our modern houses.

A GOOD OLD AGE.

To-day we wonder how the people lived, but live they did, and that to a ripe old age. In his *Statistical Account* of Langholm, written in 1793, the Rev. Thomas Martin gives some striking figures showing the ages to which some of the people attained. He mentions that Mr. James Mouat, a surgeon, who lived in the top house of the Gas Entry, died in 1776 at the age of 120. In 1781 George Swan, cooper, died aged 105, and worked until a short time before his death. John Brown, dyer, lived to 101, and on his death in 1776, he left his business to be carried on by his sons, two striplings of 82 and 76 respectively. Within two years of the date of the *Account*, William Nicol, tenant in Calfield, at the age of 90 was hale and hearty, and able to attend markets and fairs. Mr. Martin says that three men had died whose ages were 90, 89, and 83; and four women whose ages were 88, 86, 84,

and 79. There were then men alive aged 90, 86, and 85, two of 83 and three who were 82, 81, and 79. Six women were alive whose ages were 88, 87, 85, 83, 82, and 81. Half-a-Croon Andra, whom I have already referred to, lived to the age of 92, and many others might be named. Mr. Martin adds that there were seldom any epidemic diseases, and that few fevers occurred, and when they did seldom proved fatal. My own recollection differs somewhat on the last point, as I can recall not a few outbreaks of fever and kindred diseases, but still people as a rule lived to a green old age. Even in recent years we have had not a few illustrations of the healthiness of Langholm. My highly respected friend of many years standing, Mr. Robert Smellie, is hale and well still, in his 93rd year; Mrs. Wilson died a few years ago in her 93rd year, and Mr. James O'Hair was, I believe, 92. A more striking case still was that of my wife's uncle, Alexander McVittie of the Ha'crofts, who died at the age of 93 in the room in which he was born, and who worked the farm until within a year or two of his death. My own kinsman, James Hyslop, of Barngleis, died a few years ago within some four months of his 100th year. His mother, poor body, had not so good a record, and “slippit away” at 90.

COSINESS.

Though small and inconvenient the cottages were cosy, and in some of the severe winters which I can recall in my early days, there was considerable comfort. Men who were reared in them went to fight our country's battles by sea and land, and not a few rose to considerable eminence. We must also remember that our fore-

fathers had a marvellous disregard of personal comfort, which perhaps accounts both for their success as colonists and missionaries, and also for their contentment at home with a very rough-and-tumble existence.

There was one great advantage arising from the size and style of the houses. The necessity for spring-cleaning, that "abomination of desolation," as auld Lencie Armstrong called it, did not exist, at least to any great extent. Lencie lived to see the modern mania, which he never ceased to deplore. Being deeply interested in prophecy he interpreted spring-cleaning as a sign of the end, indeed, he said, it seemed to him that the inner meaning to be attached to it was that it signified the pouring out of the Seventh Vial, so darkly foreshadowed in the Book of Revelation!

PEAT FIRES AS CLOCKS.

Inside the houses candles were used for illumination, but sometimes even they were thought extravagant, and unless anything special, such as reading or writing, was being done, the candles were put out, and the blaze of the peat fire was sufficient to allow the gude-man to smoke and the gude-wife to knit. On occasion the peat fires also served as clocks. As the peats burned very evenly the time could be calculated with fair accuracy by the replenishing that was required. People spoke of "sitting" so many peat fires.

Outside, in the busy town, the illuminating was done by oil lamps. They were covered by a lid which was lifted out when the lamps had to be cleaned, trimmed, or replenished. Across the top of the lamp there was a wire drawn, and from it was suspended a tin tray for the oil.

Into the oil two wicks were immersed. The lamps were allowed to burn until they exhausted the oil or the wick, and they were often found burning at eight o'clock in the morning. Perhaps this arrangement was a benevolent one, born of the necessities of the times, for at that date there was no ten o'clock rule for the closing of public houses, and some means of guiding "the drouthy neighbours" home was really a public necessity. The lamps were cleaned and replenished with fresh oil every day. The lamp-lighter in my youth was John Boyd, one of our local worthies. To light the lamps he carried a flaming torch which was an unfailing source of interest to us boys. The light given out was not what one could describe as pure in quality, but for this defect it made up by quantity. There was an abundance of lamps in various parts of the town. I remember no fewer than seven in the Front Street, now called Charles Street (New).

Candle making was quite an active trade in Langholm, and Jamie Hope, in the Drove Road, did a large business both in the home and export trade, and there was one Richardson, a candle seller, in the High Street. Thrifty housewives who wished to make their own candles had to do so in the night time, with the windows well darkened, for in those "good old days," on candles as on most other things, both luxuries and necessities, there was a heavy duty, and strange as it seems to us, the smuggler of candles was punished quite as severely as the smuggler of spirits. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that the two local officers of excise enjoyed no sinecure.

The public buildings such as the kirks were lighted partly by oil and partly by candles. The pulpit had an

oil lamp as a general rule, but everything lower than the precentor's desk had to be content with tallow candles. The vivid description given by Mr. J. M. Barrie of the snuffing of the candles in the Auld Licht Kirk of Thrums, could have been applied to Langholm also, where that scene was re-enacted every Sunday night. It was nobody's special duty to snuff the candles in the body of the kirk. Any active and intelligent man might venture on the task, and his efforts, it is needless to say, excited the liveliest interest amongst the congregation generally, and the juvenile section particularly. The effort did not always meet with immediate success, and when an awkward, feckless man burned his fingers, we boys felt that Langholm had its compensations.

GAS.

I well remember the memorable night when the gas was first turned on. Of course the luxury was to be found only in the houses of the elect. Ordinary folks regarded gas much as they then regarded the franchise—something they would have liked, perhaps indeed deserved, but could not get. Langholm was all astir—full of eagerness, waiting for the eventful hour. Until it came we spent the time perambulating the streets—criticising the burners, which showed a wonderful variety, for we had not only the commonplace single jet, but such whimsical varieties as “batwings,” “fishtails,” &c. At that time the Rev. John Dobie resided at Greenbank, and with characteristic consideration he arranged that the Manse blinds should be left up so that the large concourse of people on the roadway might see the splendid illumination. When the gas was

at length turned on, and the people saw the interior of the room—the furniture and even the pictures—there was a great outburst of cheering to hail the reaching of another milestone on the road of progress. But the rejoicing was not unanimous. Some of the old folks doubted. They feared that somewhere in the innovation Auld Nick was lurking. They were extremely suspicious of what Lanie Armstrong called "new kicks," and doubted whether any good could come of such novelties. To the weavers the directors of the Gas Company made a special concession. They were allowed to have gas for their weaving shops at so much a week, but with certain restrictions as to burners. The favour, however, was withdrawn when it was discovered that some of the weavers were in the habit of taking out the burners altogether and then singeing sheep heads at the flame! Meters were at once introduced in the shops. It was some years later, in 1851, before the gas was adopted in the new Established Kirk.

MATCHES AND SPUNKS.

Closely allied to that of the gas was the introduction of lucifer matches, and it is no exaggeration to say that they, too, were hailed as among the wonders of the age. The first box that I saw was on exhibition in the window of Mr. Fenwick, the stationer, in the shop now occupied by Mr. Walter Wilson. In each box there was a piece of folded sand-paper, and, to get the light, the match had to be sharply drawn through this. Up to this date the tinder box was in daily use. This was a round tin box about four inches in diameter by two deep, and a kind of candle-stick fixed on the lid. Workmen often carried these boxes with them to their work. The tinder was

a partially burnt rag. There were also the flint and steel, or the "frixil" as it was called, and by means of these the spark was produced which ignited the tinder,—which having been done—well, there you were! It was an attractive method, but in actual practice it was not quite so simple as it looked, and in the hands of an awkward man, or one agitated, say, by sudden illness in the house, it was not exactly an expeditious way of obtaining a light. But it was all we had then and we saw but little fault in it. Then came spunks. These were splints of dried wood some four or five inches long, sharpened at both ends and tipped with sulphur.

Such, then, were a few of the "resources of civilization" when I was a youth so many years ago. The reference to matches seems to suggest tobacco, and it is, perhaps, worthy of mention that there was then in Langholm a tobacco manufacturer. I believe his premises were somewhere in Wapping Lane.

FORTUNES.

Wages were then very low and there was much straitness, relieved often by money sent by sons who had left their native town and gone out into the world. I can recall many instances of this. Sometimes, if truth must be told, the money did little good. I remember a family of sons, one of whom emigrated to America and for a time sent no word home. Then came a letter to the effect that he saw a good chance of making money, and he suggested that his brothers should send him all their savings to invest in this concern. All declined save one who sent him something like £30. Years passed, but no return of the money was made. One day,

however, a letter came from a firm of lawyers in America to the brother who had sent the money, intimating that his brother had died, and because of the confidence he had shown in sending the money he had left him his entire fortune of £30,000. The possession of so large a sum, however, proved too great a temptation, and, sad to say, it soon brought the owner to the dust. Another case, of an amusing nature this time, comes to my recollection. A family in Langholm, noted for their eccentricity, received a considerable sum as a legacy. The man was a weaver, and of a convivial turn, and his sudden affluence seemed to develop all his natural tendency to generosity. He parted with the money right and left. One day whilst in Canonby he called at the Cross Keys Inn, and for some slight service done by the maid he slipped a sovereign into her hand in mistake for a shilling. She at once drew his attention to it, but pride prevented him from taking back the gold. Loftily waving the girl away he said, "No mistake, no mistake, I never give less!" However, his fondness for convivial society soon dissipated his modest fortune. I remember that my father, passing the door of the King's Arms one day, met this man coming out. "Man," he says, "there's the grandest company in there—splendid fellows! We've been in a' day, and we've had 21 half mutchkins* o' speerits!" He had paid for all this, and of course his cronies had only been too glad of the chance to accept his hospitality. But in a very short time his substance, like that of the Prodigal in another land, was all wasted, and he fell back to the meagre income of a weaver.

* A mutchkin is an English pint.

FURNITURE.

But while there was no abject or degrading poverty, there was what I might call "poorness." The whole style of living was on a scale which now-a-days would be considered extremely frugal. The furniture was neither costly nor elaborate. Chippendale would have been out of place: it was strength and durability that were needed. Box-beds were in common use. The ends and backs were of wood, and there was also a wooden canopy. This was no great height from the bolster, as all the cottage ceilings were low. When the beds had received their annual replenishment of new, clean "cauff,"* a chair was frequently required before one could mount into them! On the top of the canopy was disposed a considerable portion of the family goods—boots, bandboxes with the guid-wife's Sunday bonnet and the guid-man's best "tile," and even garden tools. Beneath the beds were stowed away what one might call auxiliary beds, but which were then known as "hurley-beds." When retiring time came these were hauled out and the younger bairns put into them, the older ones having been packed away into the loft, which not seldom had all the appearance of a barracks. Frightfully cold it often was up there next the slates. If a slate happened to be off we had the advantage of being able to watch the stars, but I do not remember that this made us like the cold any better! Often during my apprenticeship, when my father had contracts in the country, and we had to "put-up" in cot-houses, we had a vivid experience of this. My father was a man always very careful of his health, one of his most active aversions being a damp bed. I have known him in such

* Chaff.

circumstances get up, wrap himself in his plaid, and sit up the whole night. When he had only a suspicion that the bed was damp he took other steps. One occasion I remember when several of us occupied the loft. Just when we were about to go to sleep the alarm was raised that he suspected dampness. We were all awakened to deal with the situation. His precaution was to wrap himself up in *newspapers*, of which the loft contained a large quantity. We thought that this would let us get to sleep in peace and quiet, but the rattle every time he stirred, and he stirred often, gave us all one of the most restless nights ever spent.

These "hurley-beds" were not peculiar to Langholm. I have read somewhere that in the Masters' houses of an old English University 100 years ago, they were in regular use. Probably, there the "hurleys" were known by a Latin name! The box-beds were somewhat costly, and the women-folk of the house displayed no little pride in them. They were carefully screened from light and air, sometimes by shutters, but generally by cotton curtains, which at night were closely drawn. A dresser and corner cupboard were also deemed indispensable, and when these were stocked with good Staffordshire ware, with, perhaps, the wedding china well to the front, quite a fine show was made. The coarser ware, the "gleyed" plates and the cups, which leaned like the tower of Pisa, bought from Jean Kerrick or Ann Donkin on their daily rounds, were relegated to the wall-press. A common mantel-piece ornament was a pair of china dogs—one at each end—a form of art to which I always had a great aversion. There were no carpets or hearthrugs. I recall that when a family got a carpet they were considered to be either very extravagant or to be

“gey weel off.” In place of them the cleanly housewife would substitute designs in chalk or soft sandstone on her hearth-stone and kitchen floor. If the kitchen was boarded instead of flagged it was considered quite the correct style to have the floor well sanded. No one ever thought that the continual crunching was uncomfortable or unpleasant.

COOKING.

The cooking utensils were a pot for porridge, another for potatoes, and a large girdle for the making of oatmeal cakes, and, occasionally, such delicacies as apple bannocks. The oatmeal cakes formed a considerable portion of the food, and were varied by barley or pease bread, both of which are now off the menu. People to-day would not eat pease bread, especially with three or four days age upon it. But for a man, say a herd, or a stonedyer who was going to be out in the hill air all day, a meal of pease bannock with a bit hard Dutch cheese as “kitchen,” was well calculated to keep his digestive organs active for ten or twelve hours at a stretch. It strikes me now that we did not give very much attention to eating, as a pleasure or a pastime. It was considered an advisable thing to eat as much as possible at a meal to save any further necessity for some hours to come. My father used to tell that one day he was passing an old coaching inn in Carlisle when there came out a Scots drover who had just had a good square meal. As my father passed, the drover wiped his mouth and remarked, “That’ll set me weel owre Stirling Brig!” The food was not dainty, but it was wholesome, and there was reared on it a race of men and women who were strong both mentally and

physically. My readers may think it only an old man's lament, but I cannot help deploring the modern tendency to depart from those simple rules of life. A Scots race reared on porridge and the like were, in my opinion, superior in every way to their descendants, pampered by every toothsome delicacy their whimsical appetites demand. The table appointments were correspondingly simple. The spoons were of horn, and the forks were two-pronged, with horn handles. When the good old horn spoons gave place to the glittering electro-plated goods, the change was deplored by older folk, many of whom declined to use the newer and more fashionable article. At a public dinner one night a farmer out of Wauchope managed to create quite a disturbance about the spoons. He had as usual made a gulp at his broth—it was called *soup* on the card—and blamed the spoon for the scalding of his mouth. Instead of just "slisking" in private as others did, he loudly demanded, "Hey lassie, bring me a horn spune." The lassie explained that they had not one in the house, when he compromised the matter by insisting that he must, at any rate, 'hev a bowl o' cauld water to cool this metal ane in.' Everybody laughed, of course, at the incident, but if truth must be told there was a general bewilderment at the quantity of the cutlery, and a somewhat hazy notion as to the part each piece was expected to play in the meal. Such dinners were fairly frequent amongst us. The farmers had dinners, so had the curlers, when the old-time fare of "beef and greens" was served. On St. John's night we Freemasons generally had a very successful dinner, and the Friendly Societies followed suit as occasion offered. These functions called forth some capital stories, not a few of them bearing directly on the awkwardness of this one or that

one at the table. When Davie Deve seized a piece of shortbread, and ate it to the broth, instead of reserving it, as was intended, to accompany the "nip" of whiskey served at the end of the dinner, everyone recognised the incongruity of the thing. It became a proverb in Langholm speech, and afterwards "shortbread and broth" were always considered the worst assorted meal one's fancy could conjure. Despite the priming by the women-folk, it was not always easy to remember just what to do with all the cutlery, when, probably, the diner had been accustomed to nothing more elaborate than a two-pronged fork. In his own home auld Lancie Armstrong strongly resisted all these "new kicks," as he termed them, declaring that he for one "wad never attempt to sup broo wi' a fork!" At one of these dinners the waiter offered Lancie some gooseberry jelly with his roast mutton. "No, no, my man," he answered loftily, "A've never accustomed mysel' to eat jam wi' butcher-meat." Another innovation, concerning which I have heard him wax satirical, was the use of the tooth-brush, which he regarded as most effeminate. He often, in my hearing, congratulated himself that 'there had never been a brush *inside his mooth*'! And here I may say that Lancie's description of the waiter at one of these public dinners as "a muckle fallow, w'i a dickie doon to his breek-band heid," was generally admitted to be one of his happiest efforts. There was usually some mild excitement about our attire for these great occasions. The wardrobes of most of the diners being circumscribed, borrowing was often resorted to, for it was quite understood in the town that dress-shirts were luxuries. A relative of mine happened to drop into Johnie Weave's house when he was ginning on at the looking glass trying

to fasten the neck button. My relative was listening to his wife, Tibbie's talk, but noticed that the latter kept glancing over to see how the contest was progressing. “ Dear me, Johnie,” she said at length, “ dinna tug on like that, get another shirt.” Johnie instantly wheeled round, his eyes blazing—“ H'way, now,” he retorted, in his inimitable manner, “ dinna tr-try to mak oot tae Mistress —— that a've mair than yin !”

The speeches, too, were often very amusing. At one dinner which I remember, the health of auld Wullie Davidson was proposed—why, no one clearly understood, unless it was that there was still half an hour to fill up. Wullie rather bluntly declined to respond, and the “ pleasing duty ” was forced upon his son Jock, to whom words did not come very readily. He thanked them, however, and said, ‘ he had kent his faither for mony an 'eer, in fact, he micht say he was vera weel acquaint wi'm, and he aye thocht he was a decent, canny body.’

I need hardly say that every housewife baked her own bread. It was only in cases of emergency that the baker's shop was resorted to. At weddings and funerals there had to be fancy bread, and at the New Year the household “ bun ” was helped out by shortbread from the shop, but at ordinary times we lived on the products of the girdle. I remember once when baker's bread was coming more into use, a considerable increase in prices had been made, whereupon the bellman—Bonnie Willie it was, with his shepherd's plaid flung negligently about his tall, upright figure—went round the town giving “ Notice ” to the housewives to ‘ use their girdles !’

POTATO DISEASE.

Not infrequently in my younger days there was great

scarcity of food. An event which stamped itself on the memory of everybody living in Langholm in the early Forties was the outbreak of the potato disease. Up to that time, no such occurrence had been known, and I can even yet recall the consternation it caused. I remember seeing my father come in from his field on Warbla side with some of the diseased potatoes in his hands, and the anxious consultation which ensued. At that time meal was very dear, and working people lived, to a considerable extent, on potatoes. "Potato suppers" were regarded as something special, and neighbours were often asked in to share the first fruits—great "frush" potatoes, with plenty of butter and milk! The danger, therefore, from the disease was a very serious prospect. There had been several bad harvests, and imported flour was made almost impossible of purchase with a duty of forty-two shillings a quarter on it. Days of fasting, and of humiliation and prayer, were regular events, and the petition that we might be preserved from "cleanness of teeth" was not simply a devotional expression. A wet summer or back-end produced a feeling of depression, to which we are now strangers, and when this failure of the potato crop came there was dismay and lamentation in the land. It was, indeed, a dreadful time in Langholm. It was at this or some such a time, that one of the ministers of an adjacent parish went to visit a widow-woman and her children, who were suffering acutely from the scarcity of necessary food. He listened to her piteous tale, and tried to encourage her in her gallant struggle by seriously reminding her that the nettles would soon be here now, when she could make nettle broth for her hungry family. It is not recorded how the widow received the comfort, but one can imagine how consoling

the thought would be to the hungry bairns crying for bread!

MEAL RIOTS.

The potato famine recalls memories of the Meal Riots, of which I often heard my grandfather speak. He was a meal dealer in Charles Street (New), with a shop just a little nearer the Bridge than the present Co-operative Stores. The riot occurred one Saturday night, when it was believed there was not a stone of meal for sale in Langholm. My grandfather was at Hawick bringing a load, and, on this becoming known, the people went up as far as Arkin to meet him, imploring him to let them have a stone, half-a-stone, any quantity which could be turned into food for the women and bairns, who were being driven to desperation by hunger. He managed to get home with his load, and gave orders that no meal was to go out of the house without being first paid for in cash, because, unless he got the money, he could not go to Hawick for more. The shop was besieged by a threatening crowd, and constables had to be got to prevent the meal from being forcibly seized. My grandmother, however, a woman of deep sympathies and of great charity, could not resist the entreaties of the anxious pale-faced women, who came pleading that their hungry bairns were starving. She never moved from the shop until every ounce of meal had been given out. When she made up the cash there was only one-half of what there should have been. However, at this moment, in came a neighbour, William Little, of the Post Office,* who generously laid down the balance of

* William Little was grandfather of the late Mr. J. C. Little, at one time of Carlesgill, and Calfield, and of Burnfoot, Ewes.

money required to get another load of meal on the Monday. The event created considerable excitement in the town, and during the service in the parish kirk next morning the minister referred to it from the pulpit, and expressed the hope that Langholm might never again witness such a scene. Nor has it. It was soon after the scarcity I have mentioned as occurring in the early Forties, that a change in the fiscal policy of the country made the importation of foreign flour possible. I have no wish to enter here on any debatable question of modern politics, but I lived through those years of scarcity, and know from actual experience, that the coming in of American flour saved Langholm from a recurrence of those pitiable scenes, and enabled poor folk to regard without undue alarm even the failure of the crops.

BARLEY-MEAL PORRIDGE.

In connection with the question of food I remember an incident, humorous rather than pathetic, occurring. At that time fighting was very common, as I shall show later, and a fight had just taken place on Moodlaw-point Square, immediately after a very poor harvest, when, owing to a scarcity of oats, barley-meal was being used to a considerable extent. One of the combatants had given his opponent, against whom he had no malice, of course, considerable punishment. But evidently he himself had been disappointed with his own powers on this occasion, for as he walked away amidst the cheers of his admirers, he remarked that his partial failure was attributable to his diet. "Boys," he said, "them barley-meal porridge is no the thing ; A' should hae lickit that man far suner !"

DRESS.

At the risk of making this chapter too long I must say something about the dress of the period, for in almost no particular has there been a greater change. Both in style and quality the change is shown. The chief object sought for, especially in men's clothes, was durability. Most men had, in addition to their ordinary clothes, a black suit, which did service at weddings and funerals, and perhaps at christenings and the Summer Sacrament. These suits were expected practically to last a man's lifetime, and along with the tall hat were sometimes handed down from father to son. I remember once seeing Tom Cairns in a suit which older people remembered to have been his father's 30 years before. Not only was Tom eccentric, but his mother was scarcely less so. At the instance of the local authorities she was induced one Spring to have a "cleaning," and Tom's suit turned up in the confusion, and on its reappearance called forth quite a fund of reminiscence. Little attention was paid to style. The clothes were made "lucky," and if the wearer developed either in length or width,—well, the clothes fitted just the same. Old Tommy Wilson, the tailor, refused to be hampered even by such considerations as measurements. "Juist walk across the flure, my man," he would say to a customer, and then over his glasses he would measure him with the eye of an artist,—“Aye, that'll do; ye're about Johnie Thomson's clip A' think.” That was all. There was no chalking, no pinning, no padding—the clothes were brought home over Tommy's arm on the Saturday night, and he received from seven-and-six to half-a-sovereign for the job.

Sometimes, even in Langholm, taste in dress ran to extremes. When Jockie Telfer's eldest boy chose the calling of an ostler as his undoubted sphere in life, there was simply no pleasing of him in the style of trousers. No tailor in Langholm could make them quite tight enough. At last he became desperate, and after trying to make auld Johnie Dickie understand how tight the pair of new nether garments he was ordering, must be, if they were to please him, he had to fall back on this position: "Now Johnie," he said in further explanation, "A' want ye to understan' that *if they gan on—they're useless!*"

And yet the dress in my young days was by no means common-place. My readers will remember that I am writing of the period when Benjamin D'Israeli was swaggering along Regent Street in green velvet trousers. And up in quiet little Langholm there were in vogue certain picturesque styles which men of to-day would regard with timidity. It was quite a common sight to see masons working on a scaffold clad in bottle-green dress coats, light trousers, cravats, and high hats. The last were different in make from the glossy "tile" of the modern youth. They were what was called "stuff hats," and the nap was perhaps an inch long. When the wind blew against the hat it gave it a curious ruffled appearance, something like what trees wear on a blowy day in autumn. I can even yet recall the sight presented by one of these hats. By some process of shrinkage it had "cruppen doon," bit by bit, until it resembled nothing so much as a concertina, but it did not on that account occur to the owner that its day and generation were past. With younger men these old-world fashions gave place to something more like those of the present day, but even a youth who would never

have dreamt of appearing at his work in a swallow-tail coat, brass buttons, and high hat, affected costumes that strike us now as just a little bit gaudy. I can see a young man of my own acquaintance whose dress consisted of the following :—A bottle-green coat, cut away at the tails and adorned with massive brass buttons ; a waistcoat of bright Stewart tartan ; nankeen trousers and Wellington boots. These Wellingtons were greatly worn by smart young men. They reached nearly to the knee, and their price was 20/- a pair. In the wonderful procession of fashion they were followed by Bluchers—the names indicate that the memories of Waterloo were still fresh in the public mind. The waistcoats were of gaudy colour and the make-up was striking. It was a popular fancy to have them thickly braided, and the designs showed an ingenuity in the art of tailoring which simply bewildered tailors of the old cut, like Tommy Wilson and Johnie Dickie.

These were some of the fashions in Langholm, but it should be remembered that, being a town, it was influenced by the very latest styles.

PLAIDS.

In the country places the chief article of a man's dress was his plaid. Before the era of overcoats all men wore plaids. Each man had two—one for Sundays and one for week days. If anyone had appeared in the kirk wearing his every day plaid there would have been great sympathy expressed at such an evidence of poverty. In the kirk on a Sunday morning plaids were everywhere in evidence. The older men were accustomed to muffle themselves up in them when the sermon began, leav-

ing just sufficient room for the wearers to glance out to detect whether the minister was reading his sermon. Whether the plaid as an article of dress was artistic I am not qualified to offer an opinion, but I can say from personal experience that it was thoroughly comfortable.

It must not be thought, however that there was no elegance in Langholm 70 years ago. I remember a dapper little man, a connection by marriage of my own family, who was always dressed in the very latest fashion. He practically led the way in Langholm in the matter of clothes, and so up-to-date was he that he was known as "Little Fashionables." He occupied a responsible position in the office of a Writer—a queer, crotchety, feverish kind of body. One day "Fashionables" was lost. His master wanted him urgently. All the premises were searched, but nowhere could he be found. Even the Crown Inn parlour failed to locate him, and so very extraordinary did all this appear to the Writer that he began to fear something dreadful had befallen his little clerk. He was going from room to room wringing his hands when an inspiration came to him: "Desht, boys!"—a characteristic phrase of his—"Desht, boys! look in the wafer box; he's maybe fa'en in!"

Concerning the dress of the women of that day I cannot profess myself competent to speak. But I remember this: that married women wore bonnets and Paisley shawls, and their gowns did not trail on the ground.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OLD INNS AND WELLS.

ONE of the features of Langholm as it was in my younger days was the number of its inns. It will be remembered that there were not then the same limits to the sale of drink as happily we have to-day—no Forbes-Mackenzie Act or other restrictions. Comparing then and now I am often agreeably impressed with the marvellous improvement there has been in the habits of all classes of the community. Some letters in my possession give a glimpse into the social life of Langholm towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the picture, I must confess, is not very attractive. Rude of manner, wild in temper, turbulent and unruly, the people

JAMES HALDANE.

appear to have been. When James Haldane,* the famous evangelist, visited the town in 1798 on one of his preaching tours, he was mobbed and threatened. During his visit he was the guest of Archbald Little, who lived in the house at the foot of the Kirkwynd already mentioned on page 624. Mr. Little was indeed a "succourer of the saints." Whilst the Townhead congregation was slowly coming into being, it was he who entertained all the preachers. His house in the Market Place was a haven of rest for every one whose mission was humane or religious. Haldane preached from the steps

* One of the brothers Haldane who exerted so great an influence for good in Scotland, at that date,—forbears of Lord Haldane, the present Secretary of State for War.

of his house—"Bauldy's steps," and his preaching seems to have aroused very serious opposition. A similar ex-

REV. ROWLAND HILL.

perience befell the Rev. Rowland Hill when, during one of his famous preaching tours in Scotland, he visited Langholm. Unfortunately, he arrived the night before the Summer Fair, when the unruly elements from a dozen parishes had congregated in the town. He paid no compliment to the town—referring to it as "that Hell." It is told that, as he was conversing on the Wauchope Road with the parish minister, who had invited him to stay at the Manse, James Haldane and a friend passed. Later in the evening, Mr. Hill sought them out, when, no doubt, they would compare notes about Langholm and its people. I fear we cannot take refuge in Johnie Weave's invariable excuse for any disturbance in Langholm, that it originated "wi' them H' hawick folk."

SCOTS GREYS.

I have heard it said that on their return from Waterloo, the Scots Greys, or rather "all that was left of them," passed through Langholm on the eve of the Summer Fair. It was their first visit to Scottish soil after the campaign, and the Colonel evidently feared the effect of the Fair upon his men, for he suddenly determined to push onward, and the Greys marched off on the Summer Fair morning.

This roughness and turbulence had not wholly died out in my early years, and on looking back what an improvement I see! It was then considered excusable, if not actually commendable, even for the respectable

DRINKING.

members of the community to drink to excess. The man who refrained was "a puir weak body." Men sat down with the avowed intention of becoming drunk, and even elders of the kirk thought it no reflection on their profession to indulge even as other men did who were in less exalted stations. I myself have seen elders go home drunk between the Fast Day and the Sacrament, and then appear with the elements on the Communion Sabbath. I admit that this was exceptional, but it indicates the general standard which was then recognised in this matter of drinking.

INNS.

Beginning at the Town-foot the Inns were as follow :—

THE GEORGE,—where Young's property stands at the head of the Gas Entry.

THE SALUTATION,—now the Buccleuch Hotel.

THE CROSS KEYS,—where the shop of Mrs. Stewart, baker, is situated.

THE ROYAL OAK,—in the Straits, where the house of Mr. James Harkness, coal merchant, now is.

THE SHOULDER OF MUTTON,—now the Douglas Hotel. The latter name is after Robbie Douglas, so long the landlord of the old Inn.

THE SWAN,—where the Library stands.

THE KING'S ARMS,—now the Eskdale Temperance Hotel.

THE HIGHLAND LADDIE,—where the shop of Mr. White, the jeweller, is.

THE GLOBE,—where Mr. G. T. Latimer's hardware shop is.

THE COMMERCIAL,—as at present.

THE CROWN,—as at present.

THE SHEPHERD INN,—where the shop of Mr. Beattie, chemist, stands.

THE BUCK,—as at present.

THE BUSH,—where the late Mr. Cunningham's shop is. In the High Street were also the CROWN AND THISTLE, probably so named after the Common-Riding emblems, the SHIP INN, and the LITTLE OAK. In the Kirkwynd, near to the Drove Road, there was an hostelry called the EWE AND LAMB, which was greatly patronised by drovers and shepherds.

In the New-Town I can remember six inns :—

JAMIE YEOMAN'S,—at the foot of the Factory Entry, on the south side.

THE TRAP,—at the foot of the Factory Entry, on the north side.

THE WHEATSHEAF,—in Buccleuch Square, in the house occupied by Mr. Robert Oliver.

THE PLOUGH,—in Charles Street, opposite the boot and shoe shop of the Co-operative Store.

THE WHITE SWAN,—on the north side of Moodlawpoint, where Caroline Street and Henry Street join.

And an Inn, the name of which I cannot recall, situated in Henry Street, a little to the north of the last-named, and kept by Walter Reid.

These were all dignified with the name of inn, and in most, if not all of them, refreshment could be had. But in addition there was a large number of "dram-shops," where drink could be obtained in plenty, but which made no pretence of offering any other accommodation or re-

freshment. There were also four shops in the town where drink could be purchased over the counter. The

ILLICIT STILLS.

licence cost only a small sum, and even this was often evaded. Along the country road sides, there were private houses where whiskey could generally be bought by any well known customer. The practice was to buy a cake, say, for threepence. It then suddenly occurred to the guid-wife that it alone was but a drysome meal, and she very thoughtfully provided something wherewith to wash it down—against the protestations of the traveller! It was a simple and beautiful illustration of how the proverbial coach and four can be driven through an Act of Parliament. It will be seen from the above list that the “drouthy neebours” had not far to travel to quench their persistent thirst.

But I do not wish it to be thought that these old inns were merely drinking dens. Most of them were highly respectable houses of entertainment, and many of them were necessary, because of the fact that travelling was then all done by road. Much of the mirth and gaiety of

INN PARLOURS.

Langholm had its origin in their cosy parlours, and of an evening wit and humour flowed as freely as the wine. Large companies, forming a sort of informal club, assembled stately in one or other of these parlours, and their jokes and witticisms passed into our current conversation. In one of these select companies a man whom I knew very intimately occupied an acknowledged position as humorist. I was not a member of that con-

vivial band, but I generally heard the latest story or joke which originated among them, and, here I may say, all these stories and jokes were perfectly clean. No man would have been tolerated who ventured on an anecdote which was in any way doubtful. After his third dram my acquaintance was seen at his best. It took three—two, he said, 'didna' even warm him!' As the company ceased laughing at one of his efforts, one of them slapped his knee in a burst of admiration, declaring, "Man, Jamie, ye're the best man that was ever made!" "Eh? Better than Moses, and Jacob, and Dainiel, and a' yon lot?" the humourist asked, gratified, though a trifle surprised, at the comparison.

Concerning him I may here relate another incident. There was some special function on at Dumfries—the centenary of the birth of Burns I think it was—and he and I decided to drive over to Kirtlebridge in the early morning of the day after the Common-Riding, and there get the train to Dumfries. We left early and when we got to about Besse Bell's Brae the dawn broke. I then saw that my friend's face was far from clean, and had a strange, smeared appearance. At last I said, "Jamie, are ye aware that ye've come away wi' a very dirty face?" "Eh?" he said worriedly, giving it a rub over with his hand meanwhile, "is it awfu' bad? The fact is A' couldna fin' a towel, and as A' did'na want to disturb the hoose I juist used yesterday's *Scotsman*." However, we got most of the ink off when we reached the Blough Burn.

I shall refer later to the poetic satires which were mysteriously circulated describing very cleverly some feature of Langholm life. These efforts were generally traced to a select coterie of humorists who met regularly in a cer-

tain inn. Here, all kinds of absurd practical jokes were planned. I remember one which, though it made us laugh for a few days, almost ended in a tragedy. A local worthy had long nursed an ambition to fly. In pondering over the matter he became certain it could be done by some mechanical appliances he had made. One night, in a moment of exaltation in the inn snuggerly, he propounded the scheme to his cronies, who warmly commended his enterprise. An adjournment was made to his own garden where his "wing" theory could be put to the test. It was arranged that he should mount an apple tree as far up as he could get, and then one of the company would "shoo" him off at the appointed moment.

"Shoo! Mr. Martin," cried the starter, and Mr. Martin "shoo'd." When they gathered him up they found, that, in addition to various minor bruises, he had sustained a bad fracture of the leg, which confined him to the solid earth for a matter of six or seven weeks. When he recovered, his ambition did not soar quite so high.

I can only remember one other such occurrence as this in Langholm. It happened to a woman who had imbibed some outrageous religious notions, one of them being that she could walk on the water as Christ had done on the Lake of Galilee. So the trial was made one day down at Cogie in Esk. Its selection for the experiment was unfortunate, as it is one of the most treacherous pools in the river. They got her out alive, but, if I remember rightly, there was not much margin.

SMUGGLING.

Smuggling was extensively practised in those days, a large trade being done between Langholm and the

country places. Not only was this illicit traffic carried on in spirits, but also in tobacco, and even in salt, upon which, as on all things else, there was then a heavy duty. Private distilling was done in many an innocent-looking spot. The sites chosen were usually where pure spring water could be obtained, and the hills afforded plenty of cover in case of a surprise. One of the difficulties of the manufacturers was that the smoke from the fire might betray its whereabouts, and so it came to pass that the operations were carried on at dead of night. It greatly helped in avoiding detection if the stills could be placed near a dwelling-house, and the smoke led into its kitchen chimney. The spirit thus distilled was carried about the country in bladders, and sold at much below the regular price.* There was one small still known to exist in the immediate neighbourhood of Langholm—at Crawsknowe, high up, on the side of Whita. Here, excellent water for mixing or blending could be obtained from Whita Well, a clear, cool spring, intimately known to every Langholm-born man, and, even yet, of some repute in the distilling business. One of the sons of the Crawsknowe family related to me an amusing incident which occurred in connection

A DRUNK COW.

with this secret still. They had a cow pasturing near the house, and it chanced to get hold of some wort, and consumed a considerable quantity of the stuff, which was well saturated with spirit. The result was that the

* My friend, Mr. Simon Irving, of Langholm Mill, mentioned in a lecture delivered in Langholm, after the above notes were written, that he possessed a cutlass, which was left behind by an Excise officer, in a tussle with a smuggler on the Chapel Path.

cow got drunk—not helplessly, but uproariously drunk. It got down upon its knees, then sprang into the air, and raced about the field, and indulged in a variety of un-cow-like actions, bellowing terribly the while. Its strange and unwonted behaviour filled the people of the cottage with consternation. They concluded that the beast had gone mad. Their first care was to lock the door and look to the fastenings of the window, for a drunk cow was a novelty, and not even the most experienced of them knew exactly how to deal with the situation. They deemed it safer, too, to get into the loft and draw the ladder up after them, where they were able to await developments. After some weird antics, the noisy stage passed, and the animal settled down into a kind of drunken stupor. Next morning, following human precedent, the cow was dull and languid, suffering, without doubt, from the proverbial “sair heid.” The moral of the story then comes in—that never afterwards would that cow touch wort, nor even the cabbage plant called by this name! She seemed to suspect that, even in it, an insidious temptation lay concealed.

SMUGGLER JEAN.

But I was writing about smuggling. Women were sometimes employed to carry on the dangerous traffic. I remember one, named Smuggler Jean, who regularly smuggled whiskey across the Border. One of the carriers between Langholm and Carlisle told me that one Saturday morning, soon after midnight, as he was about to begin his journey, Jean appeared and asked him for “a lift.” He was un gallant enough to refuse, as he feared the chance of losing horse, cart, and cargo,

should he be met by the unromantic excisemen. However, one of his brother carriers was willing to take the risk and give Jean a ride. She kept in the cart until they reached Stanwix, where she got down at the inn. What with the cold, and the heavy cargo concealed about her fair person, Jean could scarcely hirple into the house, but at last she landed the goods safely. Her method was decidedly ingenious. She was completely encircled by tubes which bent and twisted all over her body, and in these she carried a considerable quantity of spirits. Her daring was remarkable, and brought her large sums in payment. On this occasion she very handsomely rewarded the carrier who had shared her danger ; so all ended happily.

WELLS.

Having given some account of the Inns, I should now say something about the Wells of Langholm. Before the introduction of a public water supply, about 1852, the Wells and Pumps were the only available sources of supply. As they are now virtually extinct, it may be of interest if I enumerate the principal of them. DAVIE'S WELL, on the Bar Brae at the Townhead—an excellent spring ; BETTY'S WELL, just behind the house in the Straits now occupied by Mr. James Harkness ; WHITA WELL, of which I shall say more presently ; THE BREWERY WELL ; THE MEIKLEHOLM WELL ; THE RAW-FOOT WELL, at the Boatford end of Caroline Street ; THE STUBHOLM SPOUT ; THE TOWNHEAD BAR SPOUT ; THE TOWNFOOT BAR SPOUT. Then in the New-town there were sundry large pumps, viz : THE SQUARE PUMP, which gave splendid water, and the MOODLAWPOINT PUMP. The Moodlawpoint Well was sunk by my father, who kept

both it and the Pump in repair for the benefit of the public. Owing to this it was known as ROBBIE HYSLOP'S PUMP, and very zealously did he look after it. The jangling of that pump handle had much the same effect on my father as the cry of "donkeys" had on Betsy Trotwood in *David Copperfield*. Boys who pumped the water just for the exercise it gave them in working off their animal spirits, did not long enjoy the fun. My father lived well within earshot, in the corner house, 21 Caroline Street,—now occupied by my son William Hyslop, who succeeded me in the tenancy,—so that the boys were unable to obtain much of an innings. However, in course of time the Well became poisoned with dye from Messrs. Bowman's works, which was a great grief to my father. After several efforts to rectify the mischief, Dr. Carlyle advised the closing of the Well, and at last my father had to acquiesce. The ELIZABETH STREET PUMP was situated near to where the dam emerges from Reid and Taylor's works, and I believe it also had to be closed. There was another at the Meikleholm Mill, but it was of comparatively recent date. The name of WELL CLOSE suggests the presence of a well in that vicinity at some past date. I do not remember such a well, but in my younger days there was a pump at the bottom of the Close. I succeeded in tracing a contamination of the water, and it, too, had to be abandoned. Many of the houses in the Old-town had private wells in their gardens, but as a rule the water was not sufficiently good for domestic use.

Concerning WHITA WELL, which belonged to the tenants-in-common of the Ten Merk-Lands, there arose some of the most exciting episodes within my personal recollection. The distillery company claimed a pre-

scriptive right to a part of the water, and succeeded in establishing their claim before the Courts.

WHITA WELL DISPUTE.

They objected to the water being brought into Langholm for public use, and as at first they would listen to no compromise, the people took the law into their own hands, and brushed aside all question of legal right. One night a large force of men, under the guidance of a few "characters," out for a little excitement, sought to settle the long dispute by cutting a waterway down the hillside and thus diverting the water from Whita Well into the town. This, they argued, would establish the right of the public. The scheme was carried out and the water actually ran waste down the Kirkwynd. For this escapade one prominent participator, at least, cooled his ardour in Dumfries Jail. Others were fined, but the fines were promptly met by subscription. Owing to the water running in this way no interdict could be got by the distillery company, unless and until they succeeded in obtaining effective possession of the stream. This the Langholm folk set themselves to prevent. It was rumoured that the company intended to import strangers to accomplish their object, and to meet this invasion a plan of campaign was arranged. A tent was erected near the Well, and from it a strict watch was kept. Should the "enemy" appear, the swiftest runner of the guard was to be sent off at once to alarm the town by ringing the kirk bell. I was a young man at the time and had joyfully entered into the business. I remember I had just returned from duty at the Well about ten o'clock one night, when the kirk

bell rang out the alarm. I rushed off carrying my coat and waistcoat, and I think I had nearly reached Tibbie Lug's Entry before I was fully dressed. The streets, especially the Kirkwynd, were filled by excited crowds, many of them resolved and prepared to fight if need be. However, no necessity arose—it was a false alarm. Lord John Scott, brother of the Duke of Buccleuch, was staying at the Crown Inn at the time, and was an eyewitness of the scene. It was said that he was most deeply impressed by the determination of the women.

DONKS WELL.

In the end, however, the dispute was amicably settled. When the DONKS WELL was taken over in 1852 the water was divided,—two-thirds being given to Langholm, and the remaining third to the distillery,—the division being effected in the reservoir. This arrangement exists to the present day. Mr. John Connell very generously defrayed one-half of the expense of this scheme, and it was by his consideration and tact that the difficulty was at last overcome. Of course, this incident, like all other Border frays, was celebrated in song. Mr. Frank Bell, whose poems on Eskdale have been already mentioned, wrote a stirring song on the incident, and I need quote but one verse to show how it went. The author is urging the distillery company not to interfere with what are considered the rights of the town:—

“Ye've surely seen oor Muckle Fair,
 And seen oor grand procession there,
 And heard oor Pete by Cross and Square
 Oor rights proclaim.
 I wonder then that ye should dare
 To break the same.”

Amongst other literature dealing with this exciting theme, there was issued a kind of parable, written in the

style of Scripture, and popularly believed to have been composed by Mr. Smellie. One popular paragraph in it was as follows :—

“And there was a man in those days named James, whose surname was Eppie, who having received authority from Edgar the Chief, gathered together a great multitude, who being armed with picks and spades ascended the hill, saying, ‘Quit you like men, be strong, and ye shall have water.’”

THE PICNIC.

I recollect very distinctly the opening of the Waterworks in 1852. Although not a few members of our community were more enthusiastic about the Inns than the Wells, there was considerable excitement in the town over the event, and a large bazaar was followed by a grand picnic at Whita Well. Some well-known speakers had been obtained, and great hopes were raised concerning one of them, reputed to be a speaker of the front rank. The earlier speeches were very well received, but we all reserved our keenest interest for the principal orator of the day. When at last he arose there was eager whispering and suppressed excitement. All ears were strained to catch the words of wisdom which should fall from his lips. But alas! He began by remarking that it was a beautiful day, and they were assembled in a beautiful place. These remarks were mere commonplaces to us Langholm people, but no doubt they were the “preliminaries” practised by every orator, and we eagerly awaited the unfolding of the speech. He went on to say that he was delighted to be present, and hoped we would all have the water laid into our houses——and then he sat down. It took Langholm a considerable time to get over its disappointment, but having done so, it took to laughing.

There is yet another Well of which mention must be made. I mean that known as THE SECEDERS' WELL, sometimes called "'Ceders' Well," in the Dean Banks, about 300 yards north of the Old Irvine Road End. It is ever associated in my mind with the early days of the Town-head Kirk and the old Relief Kirk at the Town-foot. A considerable number of worshippers came out of Canonby to both of these Meeting-Houses, and it was at this cool roadside Well that they foregathered, as they walked up to their respective kirks in Langholm. One can easily imagine the grave and earnest "cracks" these old worthies would have, on predestination, election, the Confession of Faith, the Covenants, and, probably, oftenest of all, on the back-sliding of the ancient Kirk of Scotland in those thrilling days.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CARTS AND COACHES.

IT is a far cry back from the motor-car to the staid old horse and cart, but the change has been accomplished well within my lifetime. During my earlier years the only means of travelling, except on the main road from Carlisle to Hawick, was by cart. We had the stage coach on this road, and the railway was being dreamt of by sanguine people, but as yet it was something over which to marvel, and the man who had seen a train dashing through the country at 10 or 12 miles an hour was considered to have indeed seen life. In the Forties Langholm had only heard of the railway, and the general opinion concerning it was that, though it might suit some people, yet the cart was quite well fitted to our requirements, and was also a good deal safer than this new invention.

TRAVELLING BY CART.

So in my younger days the cart held the road, unquestioned both as to popularity and speed. Indeed, the man who travelled by cart, instead of on foot, was held to be somewhat extravagant. For the rich there was what was known as the post-chaise, but by ordinary folk it was resorted to only on very special occasions, such as an elopement to Gretna Green. The only vehicle of the kind that came regularly into Langholm was what we called "The Burnfoot Tub." This was a conveyance, seated on the four sides, and in the middle was an enor-

mous umbrella, built to shelter all the occupants from the rain or snow. It was between Langholm and Annan, and between Langholm and Hawick, that the carts were in the most constant use, though I remember a coach also running on the Wauchope road, and its being upset one night at the Dumlinns. Seaside trippers were rare among us, and when we did go to the Solway it was because we had been ill, and not for pleasure, or because our next door neighbour had gone the year before. Those who sought the sea mostly selected Annan Water Foot, and they made the entire journey in a slate cart. The slates were brought to Langholm by the carriers, and then distributed to other places such as Hawick and Liddesdale. On the return journey the carts were free to take passengers, and the fare for the twenty odd miles was one shilling each passenger. It was not an exorbitant rate when one remembers the length of the journey and the manifold experiences of the trip. Perhaps it was this moderate charge on which Willie Crozier formed his estimate when he sent his wife to Annan Water Foot for ten days, during her convalescence from a rather serious illness, and gave her five shillings to pay the fare and her outlay at that gay resort.

The accommodation provided in the cart was, I confess, somewhat meagre. There were no cushioned seats, but along the side of the cart there was a bar,—not a very broad one—on which the passenger sat, though if he preferred he could sit in the body of the cart. In special cases straw or hay might be provided to ease somewhat the effect of the jolting when the conveyance swept down the Falford Brae, but the carrier did not bind himself to make this provision—the straw was simply an evidence of his kindly disposition. It was said that the

jolting sometimes effected a cure more surely than even the salt breezes from the Solway. Occasionally, one heard of passengers, again mostly women, going off to Edinburgh, perched high on the top of a heavily laden carrier's cart. Men did such journeys on foot, taking advantage of a "chance" if one presented itself. I myself once walked all the way to Edinburgh, some 75 miles, in the depth of winter. The journeys by cart always began immediately after midnight, in order to save double charges at the various toll-bars.

THE COACH.

Succeeding the cart came the stage coach, a quick* and delightful means of travel, especially in the summer months, when meadow and moorland were alike beautiful to look upon. I have heard my grandfather, Jamie Armstrong, relate how he saw the first mail coach that passed through Langholm. He stood on Langholm Bridge and watched it, drawn by four greys, cross the Ewes and up the Chapel Path, which would now be considered a rough and dangerous road. The arrival and departure of the coaches were the most exciting events of the day in our little town. One arrived from the south at 11.30 each forenoon, and another from the north at five o'clock in the afternoon. By them came our letters and newspapers; and we met the coaches just as people now meet the trains. The service was afterwards

* Since I wrote these sheets, Mr. Arthur Connell has written a letter to the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser* giving some interesting facts about travelling in the Thirties. I say the travelling coach was "quick," and comparatively it was. But Mr. Connell mentions that on his first return from school in 1839, he left London at 8 a.m. on the Wednesday and arrived in Langholm at noon on the Saturday, and he adds that a friend who had recently come the distance by train in 7½ hours actually complained of its being a "very tedious journey!"



CROSS KEYS, CANONBY.

increased to two daily, from both north and south. There were others besides the mail-coaches running, but the latter met with the greatest popular favour, the red-coated driver giving them a special dignity. Each vehicle had a distinctive name, such as "Defiance," "Locomotive," &c. Horses were sometimes changed at Langholm, and I can remember seeing them taken down, on a hot summer day, to the Esk, to the Coach Horse Pool, a little above the Boatford Bridge, for a plunge in the cool water. I have seen them swimming about where, at present, is only a dry sand-bed. The bed of the Esk is much deeper now, worn away with many a heavy flood, and we seldom see, what was common in my young days, the river washing into Elizabeth Street. "The Gulleets," too, are quite different.

My grandfather lived to see the mail-coach displaced by the railway, which never lost for him its wonder and romance; and, of course, the steamship also came into existence during his lifetime.

CROSS KEYS.

In Langholm, there was no noted coaching inn, but in Canonby there was the Cross Keys, and on the north, Moss-paul. Both were celebrated hostelries, and many passengers broke their journey, to enjoy the wild beauties of the one or the gentler attractions of the other. The Cross Keys Inn has long been associated with the name of Sandie Elder.* Sandie was himself, at

* In a most interesting lecture on his "Recollections of Ewesdale," given to the Eskdale and Liddesdale Archæological Society, after these pages were written, my nephew, Mr. James Graham of Wishaw, related how one stormy winter night there had been a landslip at a ravine called Bruntcleuch, on Fiddleton Brae. The debris had been carried down by the syke, and nearly covered the bridge on the coach road. The surface-

one time, the driver of a mail coach, but left the road to settle down as the landlord of this famous wayside inn, once the resort of travellers, and now a favourite haunt of fishers. Amongst many celebrities who frequented the Cross Keys, I remember at the moment the honoured name of John Bright. But Moss-paul, which was established as an inn as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, was the more famous of the two.

MOSSPAUL.

In my early days the landlord was Robert Govenlock, who also had seen service as a driver of a mail coach. His hostelry stood on the site of the present hotel, but occupied a much larger area. The print overleaf scarcely gives an adequate idea of the great extent of the inn and office-houses. It stood on the summit of the watershed between Ewes and Teviot, the dwelling house, I believe, being in the shire of Roxburgh and the office-houses in that of Dumfries. Govenlock had a seat under one of the large trees near the inn, and there he sat watching for the first appearance of the coaches. He could see far down Moss-paul Burn—the narrow pass between steep hills, where in the winter time so many coaches and carriers' carts came to grief in the great snow-drifts. The last time I was up the Burn I noticed, still standing, one of the snow-posts which were set up to guide the drivers past the dangerous bends. In one of his journeys from Hawick to Lang-

men were still busy removing the accumulation in the early morning, when the first coach going north, driven by Sandie Elder, was seen approaching. Instead of pulling up for a few minutes to allow the men to clear the road, Sandie, giving his team the whip, rushed the barrier, the near wheels of the coach just skimming along the parapet of the bridge—a skilful but rather reckless piece of driving.



MOSSPAUL INN.

holm, one stormy snowy night, my grandfather, Jamie Armstrong, was upset into the Burn and pinned under the cart heavily laden with meal, where he lay for some hours before being rescued.* This was one of many such adventures he met with on this exposed road, but he was a man of prodigious strength, such as I have often pictured his ancestors, the freebooting Armstrongs, to have been, and he treated most of his adventures as of no account, but on this occasion he was compelled to admit that 'he got the cauld!'

The old Moss-paul Inn saw many famous personages pass that way, and not a few slept under its roof. Sir Walter Scott often came, and the visitors' book, now in the Hawick Museum, also contains the names of Warren Hastings, William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and W. E. Gladstone. It was during their Scottish tour of 1803 that the Wordsworths stayed at Moss-paul, but from what Dorothy Wordsworth says in her *Journal* of the tour, they do not seem to have been impressed by anything, save the bleakness of the surroundings. If the day was cold, one can well understand her impressions.

CARRIERS.

The subject of travelling seems naturally to lead my thoughts to the carriers, whose carts were so conspicuous a feature of our main roads at that time. Langholm was divided into groups of trades, each group possessing some features peculiar to itself. There were the weavers, the carters, the carriers, and others, with a kind of freemasonry binding them to their fellows. Certainly,

* In the lecture already referred to, Mr. Simon Irving tells of an almost identical occurrence to himself in this dangerous Pass. Probably others had a like experience.

of these the carriers were amongst the most interesting. Their select themes of conversation, sprinkled so freely with anecdotes of accidents and storms, and other adventures, were very amusing and sometimes thrilling.

The following were the principal carriers to and from Langholm in my early years. Mitchell and Hargreaves worked a regular alternate service to Glasgow and Edinburgh, starting from Langholm—On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday night. Mitchell's warehouses and stables were where the Police Offices now stand, in Buccleuch Square, and Hargreaves' to the north of the arch at Mr. Wilson's shop. One James Armstrong had a service to and from Carlisle every Monday and Thursday. John Jardine carried to Ecclefechan, Lockerbie, and Dumfries, on Monday and Thursday nights. Jamie Nichol went into Liddesdale every Thursday; to Eskdalemuir went Byers on Wednesdays, and Bet Dickson on Saturdays, with letters and papers. Tommy Winthroppe carried to Hawick on Tuesdays and Fridays; one Moffat came from Edinburgh once a fortnight, and Watson came each Wednesday and left on Thursday.

As I have already remarked, the carriers and carters usually set out immediately after midnight. This led to some serious mishaps in the stormy winter nights, and to not a few very odd adventures. Wrapped up in their plaids the drivers regularly went to sleep, trusting to the instinct of the horses, to bring them to their intended destination. I remember hearing my grandfather relate how one night he set off up the Ewes valley on a journey to Hawick, and, as usual, was soon asleep. He was wakened by the horse suddenly coming to a standstill, and, to his amazement, found himself, by the light of the breaking day, in the courtyard at Carlesgill. The

horse of its own accord had taken the turning out of Ewes into Sorby Hass, and going along that difficult and rough road, had forded the Esk at Burnfoot, got on to the Eskdale road, and then taken the next turning which brought it to Carlesgill,—as far from Hawick as when it set out. On another occasion it turned right round, and some hours after leaving Langholm my grandfather found himself safely back in Buccleuch Square. I greatly regret that no record has been handed down of what my relative said on these occasions, but perhaps it does not matter, as in all probability I could not have printed his remarks.

THE POSTMAN'S PREDICAMENT.

Naturally, such episodes in the life of a carrier were kept strictly within his family circle, and one can very readily understand the urgent necessity for secrecy. My grandfather seems to have had more than his share of strange adventures. One other I may relate. One very dark morning, just after midnight, as he was yoking his horse for a journey, he fancied he heard someone moaning. Taking the stable lantern he made a search, and, guided by the sound, discovered, to his consternation, a man, who turned out to be the Langholm postman, suspended by one foot from a window in an upper storey. He ran for a ladder, but of course his difficulty was how, unaided, he could get the postman down from his perilous position. If he eased the window then the man would fall to the ground head first, and, on the other hand, without doing so, he could not extricate him. However, by the exercise of his great strength, my grandfather managed to hold the man with one hand whilst he eased the window with the other, and in this way he managed

to release the postman, who was greatly exhausted. It transpired that the man was in the habit of walking in his sleep, and had got partially out of the window, which, however, came down upon him and held him fast.

A GHOST!

Another relative of mine had an experience which was even a greater trial of the nerves than this. He had left Wauchope toll-bar some time after twelve o'clock one dark night, and had reached Besse Bell's Brae, where the hills seem to close in, and the road lies through a narrow belt of wood planted on the edge of a cliff some fifty feet above Wauchope Water. He was settling himself down to sleep, dimly conscious of hearing a fox barking in the Calfield Shotts and the hoolet crying its weird, dismal cry in the Stubholm Wood, when suddenly as they were climbing the brae at the Dumlinns the horse stopped. On looking up he saw the cause. A white figure was coming silently and slowly down the hill towards them. The horse had not sufficient spirit to bolt, and its driver sat for a minute or two transfixed. The figure came through the sparse plantation on the hill side, crossed the road a few yards ahead of the horse, and made for the wood on the top of the dangerous cliff. Its peril seemed to nerve the driver, who jumped from his cart and pursued the seeming ghost, whom he caught just in time. It turned out that the white-robed wanderer was that of a half-crazed woman who had left her bed in a condition of bewilderment, drawn a sheet about her head, and wandered on to the hill. My relative got her safely into his cart and took her home. But he admitted that the incident rather gave him a "gliff."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ROAD AND RAIL.

AN account has already been given in this volume of the making of some of the highways in the Langholm district. About the end of the eighteenth century several new ways were opened out, and it is of interest to have it on record where the old roads ran.

THE OLD WAUCHOPE ROAD.

In Wauchope, the earlier highway was not, as now, by way of the Auld Stane Brig, but turned off at the Meikleholm Mill, then up by Scott's Knowe and along the loaning towards the Becks Burn, which it crossed at the Ha' Crofts. It then continued along the edge of the Becks Moss, crossed the Roman road below the Calfield and came out on the present Wauchope road, near the Schoolhouse. I can remember an inn standing on the road side, midway between Ha' Crofts and the Curling Pond. The next house of refreshment on the Annan road would be Calister Ha', standing on the summit of the hills dividing Eskdale from Annandale. There would be a road leading down the right bank of Wauchope Water, past Bloughburnfoot. Just where the present road bends sharply round the spur of the hill, and where the Burn enters Wauchope, there was, in the olden days, a hamlet. By some, it is said, that here stood the baronial mill of Wauchope, but Bleau marks its site as on the *left* bank of the Water, where, almost opposite the hamlet, there was another group of houses. Originally, it was, no

doubt, the latter houses which were called Millbankhead, but the name seems to have been applied also to the houses on the other side of the river. Frequent mention of this village is made in the Stapelgortoun Registers.

THE OLD EWES ROAD.

The road up Ewes, after crossing the river by a ford at Ewesfoot, went by way of the Chapel Path, then along Balgray, and joined the present road below Arkin. This ancient way can be traced higher up the hillside, in different parts of Ewesdale, and an old pack-horse road may also be seen up Moss-paul Burn.*

The old road, which crossed the site of the present house at Clinthead, forded Ewes Water there, then branched into two parts, one leading towards the Chapel Path, as just explained, and the other proceeding up the edge of the Castle Holm along the left bank of the Esk. It crossed the river near the bend opposite Brackenwray, where it may still be easily traced, stretching towards Peden's View, and going over the spur of the hill there to the present Eskdale road. I believe it also branched off at the bend of the river, towards Stapelgortoun, though undoubtedly the original road to it was by way of Milnholm and across a ford of the Esk at Potholm. When the Duke's workmen were planting trees on the Castle Holm they came upon many evidences of this old road.

THE NETTLEY LINNS.

I have mentioned elsewhere the Tourneyholm, through which the new road into Ewesdale was cut. Originally,

* Mr. James Graham suggests that it was by this road that Johnie Armstrong and his men travelled to Carlinrig on that fatal day in 1529.

the banks, both here and down to the Town-head toll-bar, were unplanted. The part near to Whitshiels Cleuch, was then known as the Nettley Linns. This land formed part of the Merk-lands, and Mr. Matthew Little came into the ownership. One day he was walking round his land when he found the Duke's men planting the Nettley Linns. He pointed out that this place belonged to him, but they ridiculed the idea and went on with the planting. It so happened that my father had come into possession of Bailie Little's papers, from which I have frequently quoted in the preceding pages, and now came Mr. Little to him, in considerable perplexity, to say that the Duke's men were planting the Nettley Linns, which belonged to him, but unfortunately he could not lay his hands on his title deeds,—were they amongst Bailie Little's papers? My father went into the "loft" to search the box in which these papers were stored, and the first document he touched was the title deed of Nettley Linns. He took it to Mr. Little, who was so grateful for its recovery that he insisted upon at once conveying to him the field known as the Tourneyholm. Naturally, my father absolutely declined to accept so valuable an acknowledgment for so slight a service. Afterwards, I believe, an arrangement was effected whereby the Duke purchased all that portion of the Merk-lands.

There was then no made road into Liddesdale, but an accommodation track ran up to the farm of Whitshiels, and from there a pack-horse road went over the depression of the hill into Tarras. The road to Whitshiels farm continued to the Whitshiels Mill, more frequently called the High Mill, the seat of a considerable cotton manufacture, as already stated.

Another road led along Tibbie Lug's Entry to the fields on the opposite flank of the hill. Probably it was originally a tenants' road confined to the holders of the Ten Merk-lands, and I do not remember that there was even a public right-of-way through it.

THE BIRNEY BRAE ROAD.

The road to Copshaw at that date went by the Kirkwynd, past Tibbie Lug's and on to the hill. It then ran up what was known as the Birnie Brae, and I can remember milestones standing on it. The road was also used as the access to the Common-Moss, and I think there can be no doubt that it is the road referred to in the Award of 1759. All the peats and stone from the Moss would therefore come into Langholm down this way. Looking at it now, one would scarcely think it had once been one of the main roads into Langholm, so much have the heavy rains which fall on Whita cut up the path. Its use was abandoned, as was also that of the old road into Ewes by Balgray, when the new highway by Walker's Hole was cut.

LONGWOOD ROAD.

The old way leading past the Watch Knowe and the Longwood would also be made to enable the tenants of the Ten Merk-lands to reach the Longwood, wherein they had certain rights and privileges, and for the convenience of the Duke of Buccleuch, who possessed the timber rights of this as well as of other portions of the lands, and was also used as a road into Liddesdale.

It would, I think, be about the year 1759 that the foot-path along the Miller's Hill came into use.

THE DROVE ROAD.

One of the most important of the old main ways of Langholm was the Drove Road. As the name implies it was the great highway for cattle and farm traffic, and was probably the original highroad through Langholm before the Bridge was built, and whilst yet the traffic went by the Ewes valley. I do not know whether the two wells on this road, Davie's Well on the Bar Brae, and that which came to be known later as the Brewery Well—no doubt because of its being appropriated to the purposes of the brewery,—were dug to meet the needs of the cattle, but it is not unlikely. They certainly would not be made for the drovers themselves; they "sloekened their drouth" at the "Ewe and Lamb" in the Kirkwynd.

WARBLA PEAT ROAD.

The old Peat Road on Warbla Hill came into being with the laying out of the Meikleholm Farm about 1778. It was meant only as an accommodation road for the convenience of the feuars working the peat-moss, in accordance with the terms of the feus of the New-town.

A DANGEROUS ROAD.

It has often caused me surprise to observe how lax our forefathers were in providing safeguards on some of our dangerous roads. For instance, that precipitous part on the road from Lands End to the distillery was left unprotected until within my own remembrance. The authorities seemed to wait until someone was killed before they troubled to provide a fence or wall. The occasion of the retaining wall being built at this place was

a fatal accident that befell a carter one day. Two men with four horses and carts came out of Teviotdale to go to the pits in Canonby for coals. When the leader arrived the driver of the second couple was missing, and on a search being made, his body, very much bruised, was found in the Caul Pool. It was surmised that his hat had blown off, and that in trying to recover it he had fallen over on to the rocky bed of the river. The driver of the mail coach had observed a man running across the road at that place. Then the wall was built.

It was almost on this spot that there stood the St. Thorwald's Stone referred to on page 51, and on the hill side of the road there was a kind of cave called the Deil's Hole, concerning which old folk held some curious superstitions.

LANGHOLM BRIDGES.

It seems convenient to say something here about the two bridges which span the Esk within the town of Langholm, and add so considerably to the amenity of the town. We have already recorded the fact that my great grandfather, Robin Hotson, built Langholm Bridge, and that one of his younger workmen was Thomas Telford. The story of the great flood in the Esk, which made the new bridge quiver, has often been told, and people have laughed at the tale of my great grandmother, Tibbie Donald, Robin's wife, setting herself against the bridge to keep it from tumbling into the river. It is an excellent story which has been told by every writer on Telford from Samuel Smiles down to the latest essayist, but I am sorry to say it did not happen. The actual facts are that Tibbie had placed all the savings of herself and her

first husband, to the amount of £100 sterling, in the hands of Robin Hotson, her second husband, for this venture of the bridge. When she saw the flood, Robin being absent, she feared that this considerable sum was to be carried down the Esk, and she went about bemoaning her ill-luck, wringing her hands and saying, "Oh, ma puir hunner pun'! Oh, ma puir hunner pun'!" Telford tried to reassure her by saying the bridge was in no danger.

TIBBIE'S COURTSHIP.

Tibbie came originally from Hawick, and after their settling in Langholm her husband died. It was not very long after his death that Robin Hotson began to pay his coy addresses to the widow. When he hinted at marriage, Tibbie, I have heard my father tell, professed herself greatly shocked, and upbraided Robin for his haste. "O, vera weel," he replied, "but ye bade me tae the man's bural and said A' micht look in tae see ye." "Deed did A'!" said Tibbie, and from that thrilling moment they were "engaged,"—though of course in Langholm we never used this word to describe that happy state.

Robert Hotson was the progenitor of a line of builders, both Hotsons and Hyslops. Of the latter, I am the fourth, my eldest son is the fifth, and his son is the sixth generation carrying on the business in Langholm, a record of which I confess myself proud, and both branches of the family find a justifiable pride in the knowledge that it was their ancestor who gave to Thomas Telford, one of Britain's most famous bridge-builders, his first instruction and example. Therefore, for this reason alone I was highly gratified when to me was given the contract, in 1880, for widening and restoring Langholm

Bridge. My father naturally was greatly interested in the work, and I remember one day the present Duke of Buccleuch, then the Earl of Dalkeith, coming to see what was being done. I happened to be away from the job at the time, but my father told the above facts to "the Yirl," as he called him, who expressed his personal pleasure that the extension of the bridge should have been entrusted to the great grandson of Robin Hotson, its original builder.

BOATFORD BRIDGE.

After the development of the tweed trade many workers in the New-town complained of the inconvenience of having to go round by Langholm Bridge to their work in the Old-town, and at last, to ease the strain, a movement was begun to have a suspension bridge built at the old boat ford. I was a member of the committee, and strongly recommended the adoption of a local plan, not pretentious but substantial. The majority, however, were enamoured of one which certainly looked splendid on the lithographed sheet, but which, as a practical builder, I suspected to be lacking in strength. The contract for the piers was obtained by my old schoolfellow, Mr. John Reid.

THE BRIDGE COLLAPSES.

The Bridge was finished and ready for the opening. It was a brilliant day in the August of 1871 when the barriers were removed and a large number of people, amongst whom were many children newly out of the schools in the Free Kirk Entry, crowded on to the Bridge. In the grounds of the Established Kirk, Messrs. Carruthers were waiting to take a photograph of the scene. The crowd naturally spread itself along the near side of the Bridge, and the

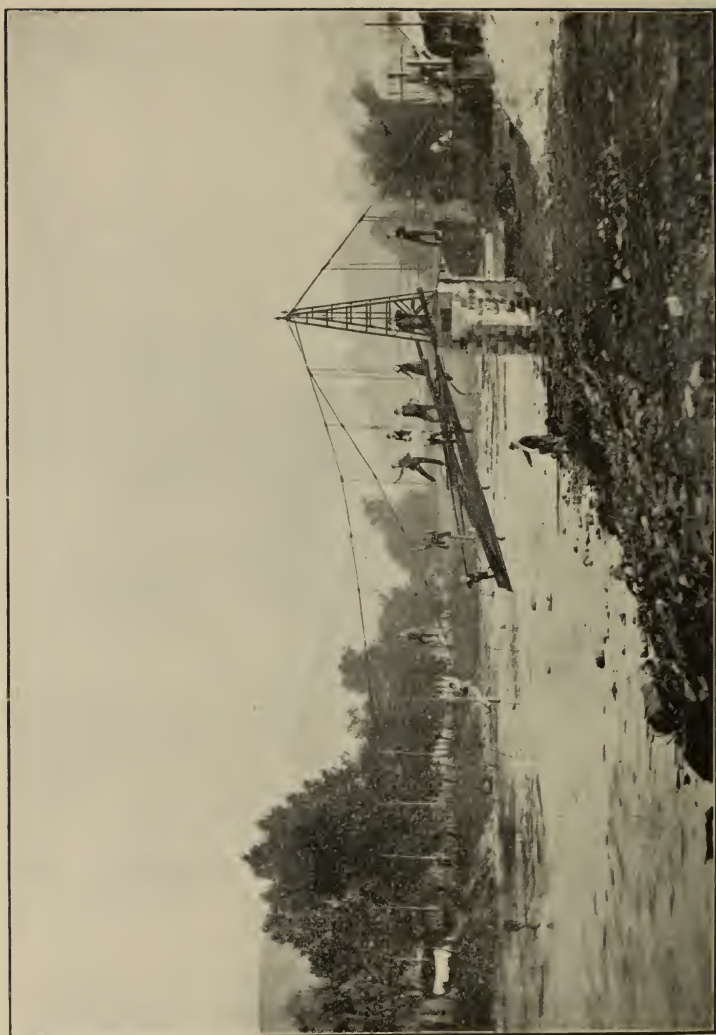
moment of suspense had arrived, when the photographer puts his head under the cloth, then the Bridge suddenly gave way, and the people were tumbled into the river amidst a mass of broken timber. Fortunately it went down very gently, and just as fortunately the river was low, otherwise there would have been a heavy death-roll, as the current is very powerful at that part. Naturally there was a scene of intense excitement. Such an occurrence had never before been witnessed in Langholm. Stories, mostly legendary I think, were told of frantic mothers rushing into the river, picking up a child and, finding it was not theirs, dropping it again in and passing on. Several people were hurt, one of them being an old lady of 92—old Rosie Donaldson, who was one of the three scholars who attended the first Sunday School, begun by the Rev. John Jardine as related on page 506, and another was one of my own boys. He had hung on by the wires, but, losing his presence of mind, fell amongst the broken timber. The illustration given overleaf is from a photograph taken shortly after the occurrence and before the chain had fallen.

MR. SMELLIE.

It was Mr. Smellie, with his ever-ready wit, who at once applied to the scene the words of Burns in "The Brigs o' Ayr," in which the Auld Brig, stung by the satire of its rival about its "formless bulk o' stane and lime," retorts:—

"And tho' wi' crazy eild A'm sair forfairn,
A'll be a brig when ye're a shapeless cairn!"

When Mr. Smellie pictured the good old Langholm Brig, which can be seen in the illustration and which had breasted the floods of Esk for over 100 years,



THE FALLEN BRIDGE, BOATFORD.

“standing laughing” at the wreck lying a few hundred yards down the stream, we could all enter into the humour of the situation, although the accident might have been a very serious one indeed. However, the Suspension Bridge was rebuilt on a sounder plan which had received the approval of Mr. Blyth, an eminent engineer, and it stands to this day.

If I remember rightly I was the only surviving trustee when the Bridge was handed over to the local authorities, who now maintain it at the public expense. I might mention here that along with the scheme for rebuilding the Bridge, there was at the same time another being pushed forward for the purchase of a

FIRE ENGINE.

The two movements were in a measure amalgamated, and though the Bridge fund was kept distinct, the balance in hand was given to the Fire Engine Committee. The arrival of the engine was another great day with us, and a grand demonstration was arranged on the Little Kilngreen. An enormous bonfire was built up and the local fire brigade very soon showed what the engine could do in the way of extinguishing it.

THE RAILWAY.

The conveyance of passengers and goods by carriers' carts may seem a slow and old-world method to moderns, who, between breakfast and dinner, can motor up to the head of Eskdalemuir and back, but in those quieter days we felt no dissatisfaction with the system, and scarcely dreamt that there could be any better way. Of course, we all recognised that it was a big step in advance

when the railway at last threw out its long arms and, as it were, took Langholm between its fingers. There was tremendous excitement, not only about the fact of its coming, but also as to whether the main line from Carlisle to Edinburgh should go north by way of Ewesdale, or by the alternative route of Liddesdale. All over the western Border the question excited the most intense interest—indeed, I may say it provoked no little bitterness. Public meetings were held in Langholm, Hawick, Galashiels, Kelso, and other places in support of the rival routes. The line by Langholm and Ewes received a good deal of influential support, the Duke of Buccleuch, amongst others, warmly approving of it. One of the most powerful arguments in aid of the Langholm route was the advantage the Canonby coalfield offered over that of Plashetts, and all its supporters spoke enthusiastically of the possibilities of the development of Canonby. One of the most exciting meetings during the whole agitation took place in Kelso in November 1858. Partisans of both schemes were present in large numbers, special trains being run from Edinburgh for the occasion. I have kept all the reports of these meetings, and they make rather amusing reading now after 50 years have gone by. Here is the peroration of the leading article of a Border newspaper at one stage of the question :—

“SILLOTH!”

“Silloth, Silloth, Silloth. The destinies of the north hang upon Silloth. One would suppose that the little crooked single line of rails leading thither was like the climate of Silloth, Silloth, Silloth—the best in the known world.” The sarcasm seems to lie in the repetition of the word Silloth.

Though it has nothing to do with the subject, this somehow reminds me of the comment of one worthy when there was so much discussion about the various expeditions to the North Pole. The weavers were greatly interested in the adventure, and it was discussed daily at the Factory Entry head during the smoking time in meal hours. His knowledge of geography was rather like Chairlie Hogg's, — bounded by "the Kirkstyle, Henwoll, and the Rashiel," and at last he gave vent to his views: "Howt, deveration,—wherever ye gan its North Pole, North Pole. How dae they ken there's a pole if they haena been there—nae patience wi' sic nonsense!"

Subscription lists were opened for the Langholm route, headed by the Duke of Buccleuch with £25,000. At one time it seemed tolerably certain that the Parliamentary Committees would pass the Bill. The Committee of the Commons actually did so, and there was unrestrained rejoicing when the news arrived. This was in May, 1858, but the supporters of the Liddesdale route could still fall back on that bulwark of our Constitution and "thank God for a House of Lords!"

THE BILL REJECTED.

For when the Bill went there, the whole of the Netherby influence was thrown into the scale against it. Lord Redesdale was Chairman of the Lords' Committee, and it was currently said that it was the pressure brought to bear on him by Sir James Graham that ensured the rejection of the Bill, which in the end was defeated in the Lords in the July of the same year.

Other schemes were proposed during the period of chagrin and disappointment, one of them being a line

by the Caledonian Company from Kirtlebridge to Langholm. None of these was proceeded with, and ultimately the Liddesdale route was carried, and Langholm sustained the most serious commercial set-back in its history.

OUR BRANCH LINE.

As everyone knows, a branch line was afterwards run up to Langholm. Largely through the efforts of Mr. Hugh Dobie, a concession was granted to Langholm in that the fare to the north was calculated as if the line had run through Ewesdale—and not first gone half way to Carlisle,—a concession, I believe, which cannot at any time be withdrawn by the Railway Company.

It will be easily understood that the opening of the branch line was an event of historic importance to Langholm. The arrangements were at first somewhat primitive. I remember my first trip very vividly. The carriages were little better than cattle trucks and were open to the weather. As we sped along, a gust of wind came upon the train and lifted a man's hat right over into a field, an incident that afforded us great amusement. Naturally, many of the older folk declined to risk their lives in the train. Down into the seventies there were many people, not in the country districts only, but also in Langholm, who had never taken a railway journey. When the Railway Company commenced running excursions, many people took advantage of them to visit Edinburgh and other places of which they had heard but never seen. Wullie Rickerby went with one of these day-trips, but was quite homesick before the day was over. It was told of him that when he saw some nettles growing on the Calton Hill, Wullie, thinking that nettles

were peculiar to Langholm, tenderly addressed them thus: "Puir things, ye're like mysel'—ye're far frae name!" It was told of John McGuire that when he was at last persuaded to venture down to Riddings Junction to meet his wife coming from Silloth he sat huddled together in the very centre of the carriage, scarcely daring to look to the right hand or to the left. As the train went

"NEAR ENEUCH THE EDGE."

over the viaduct at the Byreburn a fellow passenger asked John to come and see the fine scenery. "Na, na," nervously he answered, "A'll sit where A' is. A's juist near eneuch the edge!" But before John had made his first trip the railway was almost a commonplace thing to us Langholm folk.

CATCHING TRAINS.

We got to speak even as others did of "catching a train," but the word was not appropriate in our case, for we made it a practice to go to the station, even as most of us went to the kirk, in ample time for the beginning. Now-a-days, a great point seems to be gained if people have to chase the train along the platform and be half pushed into the carriage by the guard. It has always puzzled me to discover where the merit lies in *catching* a train. To hear some men talk one would get the idea that it would have been more creditable to their reputation for smartness if they had just missed it.

"NEW YORK!"

I had, I confess, a secret sympathy with a herd, of whom the following story was told me by my nephew, the late Andrew Park. He and another Langholm lad

had been in America for some years, and had just got settled in the train at Carlisle, on their journey home, when a terrible commotion was heard along the platform. Presently, a wild-looking herd, who, they soon learned, came from "the Bewcastle han'," banged into the carriage, followed by an equally wild and frightened dog. In about three or four minutes the train moved off, whereupon the herd looked round at them, saying, excitedly, "By gocks! that's a near 'an—another five meenutes and A' wud hae been a dunner! Ir ye theer, Toss?" Toss gave an answering bark, and the herd resumed, "Weel, A' never! Did *ye* ever see ocht sae near as that?" They remarked that he had been in plenty of time, and that in New York they would have considered they were far too soon—in fact, they would have looked upon it as a waste of time. "New York?" he asked in surprise, "Hes thou been in New York?" "Yes," my nephew replied, "we have just come from New York." They were by this time slowing down for Harker Station, and the man got his hand on the door handle, and, looking at them very suspiciously but very knowingly, he retorted: "Aye, faith, my man, *but thou'll no rob me!*" And, darting on to the platform, he yelled for "Toss," and the train moved off and left him, congratulating himself, no doubt, upon his happy escape.

But Langholm folk soon got used to the new way of travelling. The last mail-coach rattled through the town on the 2nd July, 1862, and in November of the same year the construction of the branch was begun. The first train ran on Monday, 11th April, 1864, and after that memorable day we had a regular service. For years, however, the railway train continued to be a thing to marvel at. I remember an Eskdale farmer, in the

"THE GREAT DIVIDE."

Seventies, bringing his family in a cart to see this great sight. He drew them up near Ashley Bank—for absolute safety, I suppose—and when the train steamed into view, the excitement was very great. We Langholm folk smiled, and cracked jokes over the incident, which, I fancy, was a kind of "Great Divide" in our local history—the passing entirely out of sight of an old era in the full blaze of a new.

BILL'S WALK.

An old pathway, now almost forgotten, led from the top of Henry Street, along the west side of the Bowling Green and Academy, up to the plantation behind the North U.F. Manse. It was known as Bill's Walk—a name one never hears now—so called because of its leading to Bill Sinclair's Ropery, which occupied the site of the present Bowling Green. Bill's house was at the Henry Street end of the Walk, and, of course, his ropery was worked by manual labour, the wheel being attended to by the members of his own family.

The surrounding land was known as the Bleachfield. Here, before the ground was broken up for the Parish School, was bleached the home-spun linen in which every housewife then took a legitimate pride. The lint was grown by almost every farmer and even by small feuars. After being gathered, it was kept for a certain time in water in what were called "lint dubs."* It was then put through one process after another—breaking, heckling, and so on—until at length it was spun into

* I believe the field on the opposite side of the river from the High Mill is still called The Lint Dub.

linen. Then came the bleaching by water and exposure to air and sunshine, to give it the requisite whiteness. At that date it was a matter of ambition for a bride herself to prepare the linen for her new home and what we called her "outfit"—a much better word, surely, than "trousseau," the word everybody uses now. The water for the bleaching was obtained from springs in the plantation, behind the Manse.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HER MAJESTY'S MAILS.

IT is doubtful whether during my lifetime there has been a greater advance in anything than in our postal arrangements. This applies to the whole country of course, but the post-office in Langholm 70 or 80 years ago was an especially primitive concern.

The post-office itself was originally in the New-town, at the corner of Charles Street and Elizabeth Street, at the end of Langholm Bridge. At the time of which I write it was under the charge of Mrs. Little. In 1839 it was removed to where the National Bank now stands. The postmaster then was John Nichol, who had married the daughter of Mrs. Little. On the building of the Bank in 1863 it was removed to the premises now occupied by Mr. J. Anderson, watchmaker, my old friend Mr. Robert Scott being postmaster. In 1876 the office was removed to the Library Buildings, and then, on Mr. Scott's retirement in 1910, to the present premises at the top of John Street, under Mr. Rhodes.

POSTAL RATES.

The postage rates in those early days were a very serious charge. They were not prepaid, but were payable on delivery. I remember that when letters came from my uncle in India a fee of about 5/- had to be paid, and it can be understood that letters were not written needlessly. A letter from Edinburgh cost 8½d., from Carlisle 6½d., Annan 7½d., Longtown 4½d., London 1/1½,

Sunderland 8½d., Dumfries 8½d. When Pete Graham's brother went to America he was very homesick, and relieved his feelings by writing very frequently to his father and mother, forgetting, in his love of home, that they had to pay the postage. When his letters came quickly one upon another, his father wrote him to this effect:—"Now Jock, if ye're weel so much the better, and if ye're doing weel yer mother and me's vera glad tae hear't, and if ye're no weel we're vera sorry, but we canna help it, and as the postage between America and the Langholm runs pretty high, I must insist that the correspondence be stopped!" Jock, however, did not remain long in that land of freedom. When the Common-Riding Day came round he absented himself from work, and, on being questioned by his employer as to the reason, he turned his piercing eye—which had a distinct cast in it—on the man and said, quietly but very impressively: "Did ye think for yin moment that a man's gaun tae work on the Langholm Common-Riding Day!" Jock lost his situation and resolved to return home. He had not the means to pay his passage, but, it is related, being a capital performer on the fiddle, he "fiddled" his way across the Atlantic and landed in Langholm safe and sound, and was welcomed back to his native town. And I may say here how cordial was the welcome given to Langholm men who, having gone out into the world, came back to see "the auld folks at hame." But we were very jealous of and deeply resented the airs of superiority assumed by some youths, whose folks every one of us knew. Everybody in Langholm knew the story of the young man who had been away in some big town for a time, and on his return repaired to the Buck parlour where the old company was assembled, amongst them, of

course, being Johnie Ca-pa, who had an irrepressible contempt for those who, being Langholm-born, affected to smile at our ways. The young man was carrying himself in a high and superior manner, and was slowly revealing his identity. "Yes," he said, "I'm a Langholm man myself." "Aye," ginned Johnie, glaring at him, "A' thocht A' kent them muckle feet." However, nothing daunted, the youth held on his way. He admitted that Langholm was a nice place—in summer—but after being in other towns and seeing the manner of life there—no, he really did not think he could now settle down here. "Weel," said Johnie, biting and worrying at the words, "A' dinna suppose we wad juist sen' for ye." It was no doubt very rude of Johnie to refer to the size of the visitor's feet, but Langholm people "allowed" the incident—that is, we thought the contemptible snobbery which would cause a son of Langholm to disparage the old town, deserved even the most personal rebuke.

LETTERS BY CARRIERS.

On account of the high postage rates, letters were often sent by carriers, whose charges competed successfully with those of Her Majesty's service. But, in practice, the posting of a letter was resorted to only in cases of emergency. An opportunity to send a letter or a message was offered, perhaps, by some one travelling near to a place, and a chance of this kind was seized to send a whole budget of family news. The taking advantage of a chance was well illustrated on the occasion of the death of a Hawick man. As his end drew near, so the story goes, one neighbour after another dropped into the sick room to send a message

to some relative who they were perfectly sure was in Heaven. At last one woman came, who entrusted to the weary man so many messages, that at length he protested. Slightly raising himself, he said, "Weel, if A' see them, A'll tell them, but ye maun understand that A'm no gaun clank-clanking through Heeven lookin' for your folk." The hint here as to the noise of the clogs and calkers on the golden pavement seems to suggest the thought that Heaven, like all places of any consequence, bore a striking resemblance to Hawick.

POST-RUNNERS.

The letters for country places were distributed by post-runners, as they were called. They had long distances to go, and took their own time over the delivery. Of course, people were in no hurry then, and no one ever dreamt of writing to the Postmaster-General on the subject, or even of grumbling (over initials) in the local newspapers; indeed, there was a vague feeling that letters were delivered to their owners by the goodwill of the postman. So the business career of the post-runner was not a troubled one.

TOM ROBSON.

It was told of old Tom Robson who "ran" with the letters from Langholm to Hawick, that he would fish up Ewes and down Teviot, and if the trout were "taking," he was in no hurry to deliver the mail, which would simply be late that day. Knowing Tom's leisurely habits, it was something like irony to say that he "ran" with the letters, but the point did not occur to any of us then.

WILLIE BEATTIE.

After Tom's system ceased to be, there came Willie Beattie. On one of his journeys Willie was tied to a tree in the Wrae wood and his letter bag opened and rifled. For years the perpetrator of this outrage remained undiscovered, until a convict, under sentence of death in Staffordshire, confessing his crimes before being hanged, admitted that he was the robber, and that this was his first step to the gallows. The man was a tramp weaver, and had for some time been working at the cotton mill which then stood where Reid & Taylor's factory now is. After this stirring incident Willie was furnished with a brace of pistols, but instead of proving a protection this was his undoing. One day, whilst resting in Hawick, Willie was cleaning one of the pistols, when it suddenly went off and shot him dead.

THE POSTMAN'S BAG.

The olden-time postman had not that official air which, probably, only a uniform can give. He would come in and hear any news there might be in a letter, whose writer he could guess. And, occasionally, he would break his journey at some inn and refresh himself,—not wisely but too well. For a considerable time he might in this way disappear from the ken of those who eagerly awaited his coming. His postman's bag was nothing more than "the croon o' his hat," and when he indulged, his letters were soon put into confusion. I remember an incident of this kind happening to the postman of my early years. He was expected in from his rounds at a certain time, and when that hour was far past it was thought well to send someone to look for him.

He was found at the head of the Well Close, sitting asleep against the wall, with the contents of his bag scattered around him. To-day, I suppose, there would have been a mass of correspondence in blue envelopes about the matter, but it was not thought necessary then to report such an occurrence, indeed, the Langholm people would have greatly resented any such action.

But Langholm was more highly favoured in its postal facilities than neighbouring places. It was on the main coach road, and the deliveries were fairly regular. To places in the country there was a scale of additional postage. For instance, the rate to Copshaw, or almost any part of Liddesdale was the Langholm rate, with a penny added. The runner into Liddesdale was Wattie Borthwick, who travelled the road daily for many years. Letters for places distant from the highway were left till called for, at some wayside cottage, where they might lie for days, until someone from the upland house happened to drop in. It was in this way that the toll-bars became such splendid centres for the collection and distribution of news and gossip. To spend an evening in a "bar" was almost equivalent to reading a well-stocked newspaper—and a great deal more entertaining. Of course, the keeper of the toll-bar was under no obligation to deliver the letters—he was not recognised by the Government at all,—the letters simply lay there, until some chance offered to send them up-by.

BET THE POST.

The letters to Eskdalemuir were carried twice a week, on Wednesdays by Michael Byers, and on Saturdays by Bet the Post. When up in the Muir, I had occasion

now and again to witness Bet's arrival at her destination, and one was able to detect by certain symptoms that she had transacted business, not only at the Bentpath Inn, but at one or two additional houses of call. Many people still living in Langholm are able to remember the letters being delivered by auld

JOHNIE LINTON,

and his being on special occasions assisted by Jennie, his wife, who did not hesitate to take the bundle from his



JOHNIE LINTON.

hands and distribute the letters herself. Johnie was what we called "a canny man,"—he had a cheery word for all his customers, and frequently sat down in their houses to rest himself and retail all the news he had collected on his rounds. He was popularly known as "Laird Linton," not that he possessed a single acre of land, but from his persistent practice, when he reached a certain stage of convivial feeling, of singing his favourite song "The Laird of Cockpen," even though the business men of the town were at that moment hunting for him in all directions to obtain their letters. These vocal efforts of Johnie's were sometimes a little trying to those who were eagerly expecting his opening the door and handing in a letter—of course there were but few houses in Langholm where Johnie was expected to knock.

His drifting into the "Laird o' Cockpen," when I come to think of it, was an illustration of a habit frequently shown in Langholm. We had men who after two, or perhaps three, drams would unfailingly steer towards certain themes. I remember one, who, after his third glass, was certain to insist upon reciting Wilson's poem of "Wattie and Meg," and another who just as surely commenced a discussion on the doctrine of Predestination.

DEVELOPMENTS.

When envelopes were introduced, about 1839 if my memory is right, a great improvement was at once effected in our postal system. Before that date the paper, known as post-paper, had to be folded in a particular way and then sealed. The establishment of penny-postage was of course the greatest reform. Like all innovations it led to some curious errors. A common one was

that people put the letter and the penny into the box together. Many a year elapsed before they could be got to understand that the contents of their letters were not known to the Post-office officials. Letter writing was then practised on a more elaborate scale than it is now, when communication is so easy. The letters were longer and more interesting, there was no "excuse haste" about them, or "rushing to catch the post"—phrases which I greatly dislike to see in a letter, even as I dislike to be urged to reply "by return of post." I could never see the necessity for this haste. With most of the stay-at-home folk letter writing was too serious a task to be lightly or frequently undertaken. The orthodox style was, of course, to say that you were "sitting down" and "lifting the pen to write you these few lines to let you know," and so on. When Tom Scott's boy went to Copshaw to learn the tailoring they got him to see that it was his duty to write home to his father and mother. After much preparation he began; and his parents were a little surprised to have from him a letter, beginning "Dear Phaim and Tom,"—the designation of them current in Wauchope Raw.

Of course the greatest sensation—greater even than the coming of the railway,—was that which arose when the electric telegraph, as it was usually called, became an actual fact. Ordinary folk, and old people especially, were filled with wonder and amazement. A great deal of misunderstanding existed concerning the means of communicating the messages, and I can recall the prophecies of evil uttered by the old-fashioned among us. By the time the telephone had come all our capacity for wonder had been lost.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OUR AMUSEMENTS.

WHEN I look back to my early years and contrast the amusements of to-day with those popular then, I am deeply impressed by the elevation in tone which is everywhere apparent. I can safely apply to the enjoyments of the Thirties and Forties, a term at one time frequently heard in Langholm, but now used only by old folk—the word “uncultivated.” To us, the word expressed everything that was rough or lacking in delicacy, and I think it was to our amusements that it could be most fittingly applied. To say this throws no special reflection on Langholm, of whose reputation and honour I have ever been most jealous. The relaxations of all sections of society in those days, would not now be tolerated, and this applies to the Court, as well as to the peasantry.

FIGHTING.

On days of celebration, such as Fair days and holidays, fighting was regarded as the height of enjoyment, and by a certain part of the community it was indulged in enthusiastically. Dickens says of the labourers of Seven Dials that their only recreations were fighting, and leaning against posts! In Langholm 70 years ago we would have been very glad indeed if some of our townsmen and neighbours had taken to leaning against posts as an alternative recreation, but they varied the fighting only with drinking. It was quite a regular practice for men to come in from the country districts for the express purpose of “licking” some Langholm antagonist, and a

love of truth compels me to say that the Langholm men made no effort to shirk the combat. These men had no personal quarrel: they wished simply to see who was the better man as they expressed it, though, of course, personal feeling did sometimes arise. The fights were not conducted under Queensberry rules, but were nothing less than brutal and unrestrained attacks upon each other. The general sense of the community was not much opposed to them, but the respectable and church-going part of the people regarded the proceedings with disgust.

FISHING.

In vivid contrast to this amusement was the gentle art of fishing, which in my early years was extremely popular. There were then no Fishery Associations, nor any laws that I can recall, prohibiting free fishing, though certain very picturesque methods of securing the fish were held to be illegal. A splendid recreation was fishing by torchlight. The Esk was not well suited for this sport, but in Ewes and Wauchope it was often followed, and a weird sight it was of a dark night to see the "burning of the water." One man would walk up the river carrying a blazing torch, and on either side of him would be men armed with leisters. When the salmon was struck by the leister it would probably turn and run down stream, and then an exciting chase would occur, during which both the men and the torch would probably be "dookit" in the stream before the fish was safely landed.

"GUDDLING."

A ducking was even more certain if "guddling"* was the recreation. Possibly it was owing to this certainty

* In some places called "tickling the trout."

that with us boys, it was so much more popular than fishing, and I can see it is so with later generations also. There was this added attraction to "guddling," that it partook of the nature of poaching, which was then indulged in to a greater extent than it is to-day.

POACHING.

Some very exciting, and not always harmless, incidents arose through this illegal pursuit of game. I relate the following, not because of its wild adventure, but to show how even harmless kind of men were not averse from the risk and excitement. Tommy Douglas was a canny, well-behaved man, whose "total depravity" was best revealed by his delight in snaring hares. One day, however, he was caught in the act up by the Becks Burn and brought before the Sheriff. On being charged Tommy set up the following ingenious defence :—

TOMMY'S DEFENCE.

"This is aboot the queerest thing A' ever kent," he began. "After A' get to bed A' aye dream a lot, and that vera nicht A' dreamt that there was a hare in a girn at the Becks Burn. As weel as dreamin', A' often walk i' my sleep—and then A' dae some gey queer things. Sae what did A' dae that nicht but rise i' my sleep and walk owre tae the Becks Burn! A' was soond asleep, and if it hadna been the middle o' the nicht some yin at the Meikleholm wad hae turned me, but nane saw me, and sae A' landit at the Becks Burn, still soond asleep, when tae my surprise, a gameguard lays his han' on my shooder and says, 'Ye're poaching.' It's the queerest

thing that ever A' kent, how A' could gan sae far in my sleep—it was the dream that did it.”

It was a clever plea, but it was currently remarked by those present in the Court that the Sheriff, with his legal training, “saw throw't.” He remarked, in reply, that there was no evidence to show that Tommy did *not* dream that night, but if he let him go this time he must take care not to dream again. “Oh, there's nae fear o' that,” answered the guileless Tommy, reassuringly, “for A'll juist get oor fook tae lock the door and tak the key tae bed wi' them—that should keep things richt.” And Tommy added, rather unnecessarily we all thought, “Ye see, travelling in this way through the nicht nicht vera easily get a man intae mischief.” The Sheriff smiled, and pointed out that it was very strange that the dream should take him to the precise spot where the hare was in the girn. “Aye,” continued Tommy, “that's the queerest thing about it, but oor fook are gan tae look better efter the doors, for this kind o' thing will never dae—fook'll begin tae think A'm a poacher.”

SERIOUS CASES.

But many of the cases were not quite so amusing as Tommy's. I was an eye-witness of an exciting scene which might have had serious consequences. For a long time the gamekeepers had been on the look out for a man, and one day they ran their quarry to earth in the Bush Inn, kept by Peter Telfer, where the shop of Mr. Cunningham now is. The poacher was a strong and determined man, and resisted to the last. The keepers got the assistance of the local constables, who acted the policeman very feebly, and at last they got him

dragged to the street, where they had a post-chaise in readiness to convey him to Dumfries Jail. By setting his feet against the machine he foiled the efforts of the constables to get him inside, and occasionally he made them scatter right and left. The struggle was carried on the whole afternoon, so long, indeed, that the poacher managed to get a message for help conveyed to his brother Pete at the Hollows Mill, a bigger and stronger man than himself. The two of them were notorious as the best fighting men in the district. When Pete got word that the constables were "ill-using" his brother Jock, he set off immediately for Langholm, vowing vengeance on them all. But he was too late. As he came through the Town-foot toll-bar, armed with a stout cudgel he had pulled from the hedge on the way up, the post-chaise, with Jock aboard, was rattling through the toll-bar of Wauchope. The keepers and constables had secured him with ropes, after the machine had suffered considerable damage from Jock's big clogs. It was an exciting afternoon, and there was general relief expressed at Pete's being late, as had he come ten minutes earlier there would certainly have been bloodshed. But we did not envy the guardians of the law their ride to Dumfries.

This happened on the day that Thomas Keir of the Potholm was buried. The two events are associated in my mind, because among the Potholm servants, all of whom had got new black suits for the funeral, was a young man whom I saw hanging on to the rear of the chaise—standing on the bar he really was—and kicking the machine as furiously as he could, to show his sympathy with Jock. This lad and his brother, with some others, were afterwards arrested on suspicion of causing the death of a gamekeeper in the wilds of Bewcastle. One of them

committed suicide in Carlisle Jail on the eve of the trial, which ended in a kind of "not proven" verdict.

I had in my employ for some years as quarryman a very powerful man, standing over six feet,—the last man in Langholm, he was, to wear the old stuff "tile" on week days. He was an inveterate poacher, and found himself one fine day in Dumfries Jail. He made a daring escape, but injured himself in the attempt. A woman, however, came to his help and he got clear away. For years he lived under an assumed name, finding work in remote quarries, but the dread of re-arrest so haunted him that at last he gave himself up to justice.

I recall another tragic case. Three young men, merely for the sport of the thing, arranged to have a night's poaching in the Flask Wood. They unfortunately took into their confidence a scoundrel, a notorious poacher, pickpocket, and card-sharper, who informed the authorities of the raid. A scuffle ensued in which some of the keepers were seriously wounded. The youths were tried before the Sheriff and committed, but bail was accepted. Learning from their advocate that the sentence would probably be transportation, they forfeited their bail and fled the country.

CURLING.

Curling was much more enthusiastically followed in my early years than it is now, and I, who have been an enthusiastic curler for over 50 years, cannot but deplore the change of taste. To be out on the Becks Moss on a cold, frosty day in December, with just a touch of snow in the air, when the ice was keen and the player keener, was simply unapproachable as a recreation,—and it was good

for one's health as well. I remember getting a touch of bronchitis one severe winter, and being ordered by Dr. Carlyle, "for 52 years the beloved physician of this district," to keep in the house. I obediently followed his advice, and day after day passed, in which I saw the curlers go and come and heard wonderful stories about the ice. Then it dawned upon me how simple I had been, and next morning when Sergeant Pearson called to enquire about my bronchitis, I was ready to go with him to the pond. I had a splendid day's enjoyment, and I left the bronchitis on the Becks Moss! The doctor called to see me during the day, and when he learned that I was off to the curling—well, I shall not repeat what he said, but when we met he expressed himself in language which I could not fail to understand; but I cared not, for the curling cured the ailment. I do not wish to recommend this treatment in all cases of bronchitis, but my special form of the disease just seemed to need the fresh air of the Becks Moss. But I am digressing.

Even the royal game of curling has yielded to changes of fashion, both in the curlers themselves and in their style of play. Go to a pond to-day and you will see men, daintily dressed, sweeping—not "soopin'"—the rink with besoms which were originally designed for drawing room carpets. In my younger days we went clad in good warm homespun, which not even the winds of Wauchope could pierce, and we cut our besoms from the broom which grew on the Meikleholm Scaur, and on the stalks we notched our score. Keen interest always attended the matches with neighbouring clubs—Eskdalemuir, Canonby, Ewes, and Westerkirk. On the ice we were all on an equality. The curling pond ranked with the old parish school as the leveller of all distinctions—

the laird and his cottar played in the same rink and forgot their inequalities. A very sociable game is curling. Until the Sergeant had announced in that regimental voice of his, "Coffee is ready," there would be, just now and again, a "tasting" of something stronger,—something with the flavour of the moors about it, for often it had been distilled quietly and without observation up some lonely burnside.

I can recall some specially severe frosts when we forsook the pond and curled on the Esk—even on the Skipper's Pool. Then there were the journeys to play local or Bonspiel matches, the jokes, often enough personal but never in bad taste, the repartee, with our wits made sharper by the keen frosty air, the elation of victory, the depression of defeat, the beef and greens at the end—are such memories not written deep upon the heart of every curler?

Occasionally, too, there happened events which were more exciting. I recall one day when a two-rink deputation left Langholm to go over into Liddesdale. Their way was by the Tarras road, and they had with them a cart to carry the stones. They were not far up the hill when there arose a terrific storm of wind and snow, such as we have never since experienced. They persevered, however, and managed to get down into the Tarras valley, where, finding the road blocked, they had to return, but found difficulty in doing so. Then they discovered that one of their company was missing. A search was made, and they found him lying unconscious and nearly covered with drifting snow. They managed to get him into the cart and brought him home, where they arrived in a state of exhaustion. My informant told me that his own plaid blew away, but he was so

convinced that they would never reach Langholm alive that he did not trouble to go after it. To show the indomitable spirit that animated these curlers, I must mention that next day they again attempted to make the journey, but met with no better success. Tarras roads were still blocked with huge snowdrifts, and once more they had to return, defeated, not by Liddesdale, but by the wild elements which raged on Tarras Moss.

I curled until the weight of years and the weight of the stones, which at one time I needed not to reckon, proved too great, and I had to retire to the side of the rink and watch the game, and of late years I have heard the story of the day sitting here at the fireside, and often as I have listened or have mused on past days, once more in my fancy I have "skipped" a rink on the keen, black ice, and felt again the sting of the snell wind as it swirled down the Wauchope valley.

FOOTBALL.

Football, too, was a common game in the earlier half of the century, but it was not played according to rules printed in a book, nor was there any referee. We played it in the way our Border forefathers did on the Murt-holm Holm, in the intervals of their raiding—that is, as many as cared could take part, until it became something just short of actual riot. The ball was a very crude affair, made of pretty tough leather by some local shoemaker. The limit of play was bounded only by the size of the field, and we had no half-backs or other modern arrangement of the players. There was a goal keeper who did not "keep goal," but "watched hail." Three "hails" were counted as a victory.

THE WESTERKIRK MATCH.

I remember a match being arranged to be played at the Craig, between Langholm and Westerkirk. The late Mr. Malcolm of Burnfoot supported the proposal with the idea of encouraging a healthy rivalry in sports. However, with the crowd there came a man selling whiskey, and in a very short time the match developed into serious fighting, and the healthy rivalry idea had to be abandoned.

BOWLING.

Bowling was a later development, and deserves more space than I can give to it. It has always seemed to me that nothing so much as bowling brings out all the little peculiarities of the players. To watch the exhibitions given by some of the early bowlers in Langholm was really an excellent entertainment,—their method of delivery, their following up of the bowl—by the time his bowl had reached the jack old Thomas Veitch would be standing with his back to it anxiously watching it over his shoulder—the humour and the banter—were very entertaining. But somehow, when I compare curling with bowling, I am always reminded of Byron's contrast between "the dark Lochnagar" and "the fair landscapes, the gardens of roses"—and the former appeals more powerfully to me.

Cycling had not at this date come into our list of amusements. Later, however, we had the velocipede, a noisy, ramshackle kind of thing, which older people regarded with dislike, though, indeed, "scorching" upon it was next to impossible. This form of recreation had no attraction for me. I fully sympathised with

Lancie Armstrong when he declared that "it was never like the thing to see a middle-aged man rinnin' about the country on a gird."

DANCING.

Of indoor amusements we had many. Dancing was very popular. The dances were the old-fashioned country dances—"nae cotillons brent new frae France," but jigs and reels and six-eights, and the like. Our dancing master was Willie Dick, who even then carried the Spade at the Common Riding. Younger folk, who only remember Willie in his older age, may think that in style and figure he did not suggest the professor of deportment, but in the early Forties, the steps that Willie Dick could not teach were hardly worth practising. Dancing never attracted me, but I remember one fore-supper when Willie dropped in to see my father about my learning the art. He was not making much headway until he explained to my father that he taught "mainers," as well as dancing. Whether he had been critically observing mine, and whether he held this out as a special inducement in my case only, I do not know, but the result was that I had to receive private lessons. So of an evening—it was during my apprenticeship—Willie would come along, and he and I would retire into "the room," where he sought to train me in the way I ought to dance. I do not recall any express instruction he gave me in manners—possibly I was expected to make a note of his, and absorb them slowly into my daily habits. However, when I discovered that the younger members of the family were competing for turns at the keyhole I abandoned the lessons, much to my teacher's regret.

THE ASSEMBLY.

At the end of each season Willie held what we called an Assembly, in one of the town ballrooms. Of course, all the young folk were there, and although I had given up the lessons I found I was expected to go. Our parents went too, so that they could judge for themselves of our progress in dancing and manners, and we had light refreshments. In one of the dances a glaikit-looking lassie from the Meikleholm took a wrong turn and in a minute the whole figure was in confusion. I remember Willie's indignation at having his exhibition spoiled in this way. He delivered a forcible lecture to the lassie referring to her as "a muckle awkward tawpie," and even hinted at "dadding her lugs,"—to the confusion of herself and the annoyance of her relations,—indeed, we all felt that Willie's language on that occasion scarcely bore out what the prospectus promised as to "mainers." Still, taking him all round, there were very few like Willie Dick.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

I N the early years of the century a considerable share of the education of the town was in the hands of women, and the work they did reached a very high standard. Every man and woman in Langholm knows the high tribute paid by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Charles Pasley to his schoolmistress, Miss Charlotte, better known as Chattie, Smith.*

In my youth there were two principal schools, viz., the Parish School, then situated in Buccleuch Square, opposite to the Townhead Manse, and the Broomholm School, at the top of the Brewery Brae, in the Drove Road. The latter was partly endowed by the Broomholm family, for the benefit of children whose parents were unable to pay the regular fees. The fees were very light, some sixpence per quarter per scholar, as far as I remember. The school was managed by trustees chosen from certain householders. I went there after a preliminary course at a small school kept by one William Murray, whose health had suffered by his residence abroad.

GEORGE J. TODD.

The teacher in the Broomholm School was George J. Todd, who also acted as inspector of poor. He was an

* In Langholm Kirkyard he erected to her memory a stone, on which the following inscription is cut :—

“In memory of Charlotte Smith, who died on January 17, 1826, after having been a teacher of youth in the town for more than half a century.”

“This stone was erected by Lieut.-Gen. Pasley, of the Royal Engineers.”

excellent teacher, and was equally noted as a disciplinarian, as not a few of us had cause to remember. At that time there were nearly 100 boys in the school, and Todd taught them with no assistance, save what one or two of the elder boys could give, by distributing copy-books and the like.

LESSONS.

His special subject was handwriting, for which he was famed throughout the south of Scotland. Good handwriting was considered essential in the education of every boy, and I cannot help expressing regret that so little importance is attached to it in modern education. Our principal reading book was McCulloch's *Course of Reading*; younger scholars had a book called *Reading made Easy*, which in our young brains got muddled into *Reedamadeesy*. Of course we also read largely from the Bible, a lesson being often set as a punishment to evil doers, which was, I think, a great mistake. I knew one worthy, who, in this way (so he declared to the minister who was "catechising" him), got "sic a scunner" at the Bible that he could never bear to look at it afterwards. Great care was taken to keep the books clean, so that they could be handed down to younger members of the family. To this desirable end we had to show our hands to the master each time we entered school. A boy who failed to pass this inspection was sent out to wash his hands in Sorbie Syke, which served as our school lavatory.

TRUANTS.

If, when the roll was called, a boy was absent, a deputation of his own schoolfellows was at once despatched in

search of him, the assumption being, not that he was ill, or was, what the minister in his prayer in the kirk called "lawfully detained," but that he was playing truant, a practice in which every healthy boy occasionally indulged. Very often the missing student was found busy at the marbles or the paips, or was "rinnin his gird" down the Kirkwynd, and he was dragged back to school and to the stern justice of Mr. Todd, which, having been dispensed, left the truant in a quiet and subdued frame of mind for the remainder of that day.

SCHOOLMASTERS' SALARIES.

The teachers of both the Parish and the Broomholm Schools were highly qualified men. Mr. Todd had classes in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and boys could go from his school direct to the University. The remuneration was very small. The parish schoolmaster was paid £20 a year by the Kirk Session, and made out a living wage by the addition of scholars' fees. It has often been charged against the village schoolmasters of Scotland that they eked out their incomes by holding exhibitions of cock-fighting. Such a practice was never heard of in Langholm within my recollection. On Candlemas Day, which from time immemorial has been a special day in the Scottish calendar, a gratuitous levy was made for peats or coals for heating the school during the winter time. The boy who gave the largest sum was king of the school, and likewise the girl who gave most was queen. Part of the honour given to the boy was that he was carried shoulder high by the other lads, from which ceremony his clothes generally emerged very much damaged. There was one feature of this custom of giving coal-

money which was greatly to be deplored. When a boy went up to the master's desk to pay over his sum he was treated to whiskey, and the girls were regaled with light wines. Biscuits were also served out. These were made by a Mrs. Pasley, who had a shop near the Broomholm School, and were not dainty morsels such as one sees now, but solid and substantial cakes about six inches in diameter. So began our winter session.

TOM SCOTT, POET.

Of the parish schoolmasters, I can just remember Tom Scott, who dabbled in poetry, and I believe even published a small volume of verses, which, however, I have never read.* He died in 1833 and was succeeded by Alexander Hannay, who died in 1846. Mr. Todd then left the Broomholm School to take up the position vacant by the death of Mr. Hannay. He died in 1858, and if I remember rightly was followed by William Strachan.

"EASTON'S SCHULE."

At the Free Kirk School we had Mr. Easton and then Mr. Stephen. I remember there being a somewhat stiff fight at this school between two boys, one of whom happened to be a son of the Free Kirk minister. The news of the battle, of course, penetrated to the minister's study, and he felt it his duty to point out to his boy that he had done a very wicked thing by engaging in this

* In his lecture published in the *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser*, March 1, 1911, Mr. Simon Irving says that Scott was originally a tailor and corresponded with Burns, with whom he remonstrated on his easy morals, and in reply received the scandalous poem, *Answer to a Poetical Epistle from a Tailor*. In Blackie's edition of Burns's Works, Vol. I., p. 174, it is stated that this poem was addressed to one "Thomas Walker, a tailor, residing at Poole, near Ochiltree."

fight with a schoolfellow. He was quite nice about it, and turned up the Gospel according to Matthew, to show the lad that beautiful passage from the Sermon on the Mount, which enjoins us, when smitten by the enemy on one cheek, to turn the other also. To this exalted precept the minister's son replied 'that this might be a' vera weel in Palestine, but it simply wouldna' dae at Easton's Schule!' Frankly, I myself thought the minister's standard put too great a strain upon a boy's human nature.

OTHER "SCHOOLS."

There were other "schools" in Langholm, some of them like the Cave of Adullam, a refuge for the discontented and distressed—for boys who had been invited to leave one of the others. Curious places they were, conducted often in the "ben" end of a cottage, which was as destitute of the appliances of education as the "schoolmaster's" head was of knowledge. Opening a school was often regarded as the last resource of a lazy man, but the inefficiency of such establishments only served to enhance the reputation of the regular schools.

As illustrating the lack of knowledge shown by some masters, I may mention an incident I remember in the days of Auld Ned of Wauchope. I was busy with some repairs at the Schoolhouse, when one day Ned came to me in a state of considerable perplexity, turning over the leaves of a book, which he seemed to regard with some concern. Still fingering the book and adjusting his specs, he said to me, "Here's a boy come to my schule and he's brocht a buik—A' dinna ken what it's about, A've never seen yin like it afore, there's some o'

the queerest things in't!" And he handed the book for me to examine. It was only an English grammar, none other than our venerable friend Lindley Murray. Ned seemed to meet the educational requirements of Wauchope without any acquaintance at all with syntax. Decent men, too, most of his scholars turned out to be, though to use Mr. Smellie's way of putting it, they could not tell a noun from an adjective if they saw the two of them walking together along Langholm High Street.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ODD FOLK AND ODD EVENTS.

I HAVE already referred to the number of quaint characters in Langholm seventy years ago. It is impossible for me to give more than a feeble portraiture of them. We had a very large number of men and women who were well known for their peculiarities,—eccentric people whose oddities had every chance of flourishing in our little, isolated town. But there were others with “kinks” in their tempers or their natures who afforded us great amusement, and created a kind of humorous atmosphere in which we lived and moved and had our being. Many of the incidents associated with these characters,—their odd actions and sayings—are untranslatable into book-English. To us who were familiar with the whole circumstances, the finer shades of humour were at once apparent.

STORIES OF TOM CAIRNS.

But I can paint here only the stronger colours. It is impossible, for instance, for me to convey the feeling of the atmosphere which Tom Cairns created. You had to know Tom, see his clothes, hear his voice, and be familiar with his life-story, to appreciate fully his peculiar place in the life of Langholm.

Tom had suffered a disappointment in love, the heartless damsel being Mary, whom I have mentioned earlier. This coloured, or perhaps I should say clouded, all his life. Often we heard him, in daylight and dark, weirdly

calling Mary's name to the winds, as he went on his way. We laughed at poor Tom, but how much pathos there was behind it all! It was certainly embarrassing for Mary to find her name some morning chalked on almost every window-shutter in a street, but she was very patient through it all. And here I would like to say what splendid women there were in Langholm then—as now,—brave, capable, and honourable, who were called upon to bear heavy responsibilities, and bore them without complaint. Many of them were thrown away on lazy, feckless men, who almost as soon as they were married, professed to have been visited by Providence with some mysterious “income”—in their knees or their elbows or anywhere else in their persons but somehow or other never in their pockets,—men who were content to see their wives, day in and day out, slave for them and the children.

Poor Tom conceived the fear that his love for Mary was a violation of the Scriptural commands, which he always interpreted very literally. The Biblical precept says, “If thine eye offend thee pluck it out.” Tom did not quite do this but almost so—he ran into it a darning needle, destroying the sight completely. And in obedience to the same command he severely injured a finger, because he thought his right hand was an offence unto him—probably he was thinking of the Milnholm apples. At one period of his life he became possessed with the belief that he was called upon to do one of three actions—he must undertake a journey to Douglas, or throw a boy over Langholm Bridge, or go through the kirk on the hillside naked. The last he actually carried out. I happened to be in the kirk that day and witnessed the sensation, and heard Mr. Shaw's quiet order, “Will

someone attend to that poor forlorn creature?" At length poor Tom had to be removed to the Asylum at Dumfries, but even in such surroundings his ready wit did not desert him. He was visited once by a man he had known well in Langholm, who asked him how he liked to live there. His reply was, "I would that you were altogether such as I am—except these bonds." One day he escaped, and had got as far as Lockerbie on his way to Langholm, when his sensitive conscience smote him, suggesting that it was wrong to bring away the clothes, as they did not belong to him. He retraced his steps, went into the Asylum again, and, I believe, died there.

"NAPOLEON!"

There was not the same care taken then of persons of weak intellect, and not a few roamed about the streets of Langholm who would now be placed under supervision. I remember one man who became possessed with the idea that he was the Emperor Napoleon. I have seen him haughtily swaggering about the town declaring that he would yet make England tremble.

CHAIRLIE HOGG.

Of quite another type was Chairlie Hogg, one of the queerest little bodies that Langholm ever knew. The only way to classify Chairlie is to say in our cautious Scots way, "he wasna a' theer." Chairlie's occupation was equally difficult of definition. He went from door to door with a box hung round his neck selling trifles. On the lid of the box in brass nails were the letters "C. H." Inside was an assortment of small wares,—tape, thread, bootlaces ("whaings," we called them),

and a little bit of everything else a pedlar was expected to carry. I do not remember that Chairlie did much business—in fact he had not time for business. His time was mostly occupied by skirmishes with the boys, which, we always thought, he invited. One of his set jobs was to bring coals to Mary Chisholm—Mary who sold the sweeties, “the roon black balls,” and in their due time the most wonderful collection of valentines to be seen in Langholm. He got the coals at Mary Jardine’s, who had a little coal business near the Dam Brig.



CHAIRLIE HOGG.

And here I may remark that we had no County Council inspector in those days, but I do not think that Mary's steel-yard would have quite satisfied his requirements. I remember even now Chairlie Hogg's barrow. It had been repaired so often that long ago all trace of the original barrow had entirely disappeared. Chairlie stopped "hurling" at once if he saw the boys anywhere near, and sat expectantly awaiting their attack. To them he was better sport than cricket, football, or guddling. They generally opened the game by remarking to Chairlie in a casual way that he was dying. From this they passed to more personal remarks, calling him a "birsie body." This had much the same effect on him as Dan O'Connell's taunt that she was a parallelogram had on Bidy, the Irish applewoman. The atmosphere at once became electric, stones hurtled through the air, the boys seeking cover behind doors, jouking out to renew the charge, until at last Chairlie worked himself up to a "swithering" in the square, which was precisely what they had hoped for. This "swithering" was one of his most characteristic actions, and we noticed that he often managed to have an attack just as the school was being dismissed. If Chairlie had confined his "swithering" to the public highway no one would have objected, but a favourite place for an attack was the Town-head kirk, whilst the service was in progress. At last the office-bearers gave him to understand that if he felt impelled to swither he must go outside, and not disturb the congregation. So it came to pass that when he felt an attack—perhaps it was more a desire—impending, Chairlie would scramble out from the top of the pew, making a tremendous clatter with his big clogs, and go out to the kirk steps and there

swither with an outrageous commotion. The Session, indeed, might as well have let him remain, for he always left the door open, and we could hear him dancing and shouting on the top step, just as plainly as if he had swithered in the kirk. Next to his personation of the devil, "swithering" was his distinguishing performance. There were two outstanding traits in Chairlie's disposition of which, when they wished to tease him, the whole community took advantage. One was his dread of death, which gave the point to the warning of the boys, and the other was his notorious gluttony. He could never be brought to speak of death—he called it "the grim messenger," and dying was "crossing the Jordan." His powers of eating were enormous. He lived under the care of a relative named Marjorie, and one day she had prepared for the family dinner a haggis, which usually served for two days, and had left it on the table to cool. She was absent a short time, but on her return Chairlie looked up with a sheepish glance, and, apparently in all innocence asked, "Dis yin eat the skin an' a', Marjorie?" He was frequently at Mr. Dobie's manse, where he received many a good meal. One day a terrible thunderstorm broke whilst the family were at dinner, and most of the courses came back to the kitchen almost untouched. Chairlie said nothing but ate steadily, until, having finished a whole rice pudding, he glanced round and slowly remarked, "There's been a considerable dust i' the heevens!" There came a day when the good Marjorie fell ill, and was sick even unto death. Hearing the neighbours doubt if she would recover, Chairlie betook himself to the sick chamber and sat down. Like Job's three friends he spake no word unto her for a long time, but at last

he opened his mouth and said, in his slow, high-pitched, nasal manner, "Mar-jorie! they tell me that ye'll be crossing the Jordan sune,—sae maybe ye'd better be payin' that half sovereign ye borrowed." And when at last Marjorie had really crossed the river and Chairlie was informed of the sad event, he restrained his grief and repaired straightway to the pitcher where Marjorie had kept her household bread. Lifting the lid and holding it aside as he looked into the empty vessel, he drily remarked, "Aye——! She's ta'en guid care to eat a' the flourocks* afore she crossed the Jordan!" At length the day came when the feet of Chairlie himself came down to the river's brink and he stood by the swellings of the Jordan he had so long feared to cross. Then he sent for Mr. Smellie, but it was not that he might be reassured or prepared for the voyage to the untravelled land—he desired, he said, to set his house in order. He therefore asked Mr. Smellie to draw up his last will and testament. It was a characteristic document, but now I recall only one "bequest." "I, Charles Hogg," he said, "leave and bequeath to the folk at the Ha'Crofts *two pound and a half of my remains*, for the day A' was born A' little thocht they wad be sae kind to me." Soon afterwards Chairlie Hogg was gathered to his fathers in Wauchope kirkyard, and Langholm life became a little less interesting.

JENNIE'S "MARRIAGE."

Down in one of the side streets in the Old-town there lived two unmarried women, Jennie and Betty, both of

* Flourocks were scones made of flour—a delicacy very popular in those days of pease and barley bread.

them well advanced in years, but who yet cherished a hope of marriage. They thought that it would be a suitable match if Jennie were to marry a friend of mine in Langholm, who had acted for them, as for many others, as confidential adviser. Not doubting that they had but to settle matters between them, and when all was fixed up, let the prospective bridegroom know of his happiness, they made all arrangements for the wedding. They then decided, very properly I think under the circumstances, that Betty should go and consult the happy man, and the following conversation occurred:—

Betty: “I’ve juist come up to arrange aboot the wedding: we think Monday would be a guid day, what div ye think?”

Robbie: “Oh, aye, A’ think Monday wad juist be as guid as ony other.”

Betty: “Weel then that’s settled—we thocht we’d better arrange things. Six o’clock’ll do I suppose?”

Robbie: “I see nae objection to six; but Betty, ye haena said yet whae’s wedding it is!”

Betty: “Oh, its Jennie’s, of course.”

Robbie: “Oh, aye, I see, I see,—and may A’ enquire whae Jennie’s gaun to marry?”

Betty: “Oh, aye, ye may enquire—its yersel!”

Robbie: “Oh, its me? Oh aye, umpha!——But Betty, dae ye no think that Jennie micht hae tell’t me aboot this afore?”

JENNIE’S “DEATH.”

My friend had another rather curious adventure with Jennie. Betty went the way of all flesh, and, being

left alone, Jennie's peculiarities increased with her isolation. One day a message was brought by some neighbours to the nephew of the old lady that they feared something was wrong with his aunt—she had not been seen all the week-end, and they could get no reply to their knocking. In some alarm the young man went for my friend, who accompanied him to the house. They found the report all too true. No answer came to their calling or knocking, so a joiner was got to break open the door; and there in the bed lay poor Jennie, calm and silent. They looked at her sadly for a few moments, and then some of the neighbours began to greet, and one of them remarked that she 'had never seen Jennie sae like hersel,' and another said 'what a bonnie corp she made!' The nephew took charge of things and got the neighbours to go with him into the room to light a fire and see to the arrangements generally. My friend was therefore left alone in the quiet death chamber. He had known Jennie very intimately, and understood better than anyone else all her queer ways. So he doubted the reality of Jennie's decease, thinking at least that it "had been greatly exaggerated." Drawing a chair to the bedside he sat down and whispered, "Jennie, when did this sad affair happen?" "Saturday morning," at once answered the corpse. My friend said no more, but slipped into the room and in his pawky way said, "Ay—A' think A' wadna gaun ony farer wi' the arrangements,—Jennie seems mair like hersel again."

Writing of Jennie's "marriage" reminds me that we had not a few of such love affairs in our town. There was an old body, one Ebie Irving, who, being too frail to work, might have been seen sitting idly at the door of his house of a summer's day. He lived under the care of his sister,

who noticed one day that he was not quite in his usual spirits, and made enquiry as to the cause. "Oh, Tibbie," he pathetically remarked, "A's in love." "Oh, that's it, is't?" she sharply answered, "A'll sune cure ye o' that—ye'll take a guid dose o' salts the nicht!"

"POETS."

As I sit, these long winter evenings, reflecting on the occurrences of those far-off days, there have flitted before my eyes the names of men of letters closely associated with Eskdale, of whom we are all proud. But there have also come before me names which even yet make one smile,—men and women of great literary ambition, whose gifts were scarcely equal to their own opinion of them. Not a little of the eccentricity of Langholm expressed itself in poetry—and I see from the magazines that this still holds good throughout the land. We had a considerable number amongst us who reckoned themselves poets, and no little merriment was aroused by their efforts.

DINGLETON.

Wattie Dingleton said, and with perfect sincerity, that if only he could remember in the morning the verses he composed during the silent watches of the night, "folk wad sune gie owre talkin' about Burns." The most splendid ideas, he said, came to him, but when the morning broke they had gone—an experience that perhaps is not wholly confined to Wattie Dingleton. One of these local poets went the length of publishing his works. He took the manuscript to a local printer who examined it very carefully, and then

said if he was to print this he must have the money in advance. If the author wished it printed of course he would do the job, but it must be distinctly understood that he ran no risk over the publication. Despite these discouraging observations the author decided to print, and very considerately said to the printer that if he saw anything that he thought could be improved, he was at liberty to alter it, to which the unsympathetic printer drily answered, then he would begin at the first line and end at the last. The book was duly issued, however, and at one time I had a copy of it in my possession, but it has disappeared,—lent, possibly, to some of my “book-keeping” friends, or perhaps swallowed up in the conflagration of spring cleaning. I have before me now, however, a poem which the author composed on himself. I quote one verse only; it is a typical specimen of the whole:—

“ON THE AUTHOR: WALTER SCOTT DINGLETON.

Of Scott I came, and Scott I am,
 In Scotland I remain,
 And greatly am attached to Scott,
 As Scott is my surname.”

One can now understand, perhaps, how it was that the printer refused to take any risks.

MY FRIEND'S POEM.

There was another aspirant to literary fame who came one day to obtain my opinion of some verses he had written. He was an intimate acquaintance, and I thought he would wish my candid opinion. The poem began in this way:—

“A padoked hair craw
 Looked out o' its nest to see what it saw,
 The tree it was high and the craw it grew dizzy,
 Doon fell the craw and broke the head off a daisy.”

I recognised the pathos of the incident, but was doubtful about the metre. Not wishing, however, to hurt the poet's feelings, I ventured the non-committal opinion that I thought it was a pity about the daisy. I fear the criticism was not to his liking, for never again did he mention the subject of poetry to me.

DAVIE BEATTIE.

There was a small book of verse published by one Davie Beattie, which contained a very long poem on the various occupations followed by the people of Langholm. The theme was singular and so was the author's treatment of it. I need only give one verse:—

“The weaving it goes briskly on
By virtue of the shuttle,
And they, like other gentlemen,
Do freely take the bottle,”

—a sentiment which I have no doubt was perfectly true, but one which might have been expressed with a greater regard for the feelings of the weavers.

WILLIAM WILSON.

I have before me another book of rhymes printed in Edinburgh in 1800. It is dated from Langholm by one William Wilson, who seems to have been a miner. The book appears to have been issued in a kind of tantrum, and one wonders what demand there could have been for its publication. Here is a verse from a poem called *The Dying Words of Thomas Smith*:—

“To die I'm e'en right fair aghast,
Ilk pang I'm fear'd will be the last,
An' Jenny, ye maun follow fast
Or it be lang;
Sae mind your auld mistaks in haste
As weel's ye can.”

Who Wilson was I confess I do not know, probably he only settled down in Langholm after working in the coal pits, but his mind seems to have been set somewhat bitterly on the fact of our mortality, as most of the poems are the dying words of somebody or other.

LANGHOLM THEATRE.

One of my reasons for mentioning the publication now is because it contains the "Prologue to a Charity Play, acted by some of the Inhabitants of Langholm." The Prologue was spoken by Mr. Graham, who had "for several years been the brightest ornament of the Langholm Theatre," and whose "performance of Bauldy in *The Gentle Shepherd*, of McClaymore in *The Reprisal*, and of Vizzard in *The Vintner in the Suds*, will long be remembered by those who had the pleasure of witnessing it." The author admits having included the Prologue in the volume "in order to increase the bulk of this collection." He apparently anticipated a hostile reception of the book, for on the title page he prints the following couplet from Falconer:—

"O! let not censure, with malignant joy
The harvest of this humble hope destroy!"

And so, perhaps, it is more charitable to forbear further criticism.

These various efforts added considerably to the gaiety of Langholm life, and I mention them because they excited so much amusement among us.

GEORDIE'S RIDE.

There was one odd event which served us all for conversation, partly mirthful, partly indignant, for a good

while. This was Geordie Hogg's ride from Westerhall to the Kennels at Falford. It happened in this manner. The late baronet of Westerhall sent for Geordie on the plea of seeing about some work at Falford. To Geordie's consternation Sir Fred told him to mount one of his blood horses whilst he took the other. Geordie vainly protested that he could not ride, but Sir Fred would listen to no excuse,—“your horse,” he said, “will easily follow mine.” And it did. Sir Fred gave rein to his steed which set off at a furious pace with Geordie's in hot pursuit. Geordie soon lost both reins and stirrups, and could only hold on by the mane. By the time they got into Langholm his trousers had worked up above his knees and his eyes were set fixedly in sheer fright. So furious was the pace that he afterwards declared he never saw the Langholm! Crowds of people rushed to witness the scene, and soon the whole town was seething with excitement. Sir Fred never drew rein until he was far up Wauchope, when poor Geordie got his release. Needless to say he did no more joiner work for many a day, but Sir Fred amply compensated him for the rough and risky practical joke.

I well remember the day, some years later, when Sir Fred's horse appeared riderless at Wauchope 'toll-bar, and search being made, his body was found on the roadside opposite Bloughburnfoot, where to this day a small heap of stones, now almost lost in the base of the wall, marks the spot where he fell.

Some suppose this tragic event occurred at Besse Bell's Brae, and is marked by the cairn of stones there. That was where a son of William Young, the carter, was found killed, some years later than Sir Fred's death.

PEGGY'S BONNET.

Near to armless Rob and his guid-wife Nell there lived another queer old couple, Jock and Peggy. The latter belonged to Bewcastle, and it was one of the sights of the neighbourhood when she set off to visit her own people. She went on horseback, even as she had come as a bride two generations before, for it was the custom in Bewcastle for brides thus to go to their new home. Peggy was the only woman in Langholm who would mount a horse and set off across the country. It was formerly common enough to see a farmer and his wife coming to kirk or market on the same horse, he on the saddle and she on the croup behind—

“So light to the croup the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung.”

Dr. Carlyle happened to call at their house one day, and found Peggy sitting at the fire crying. At this time she was 84 years of age, but she and her husband still kept up the old controversy on the question of his fondness for the bottle, which Peggy never ceased to deplore. The doctor thought the tears were the evidence of another dispute on this account, but on enquiry he learned from Peggy that she had just received very bad news from Bewcastle *about her mother!* “Good heavens!” exclaimed the doctor, “you don’t mean to tell me you’ve got a mother? What age is she?” “She’s 104,” said Peggy, still crying, “and A’ll hae tae gan and see her.” The doctor asked how, at her great age, she intended making the journey into Bewcastle. She said that Jock had the cart, leading coals, so she would just take the other horse and ride. And she did! I saw her set off on as depressed and dispirited a horse as ever took the road.

I have confessed my inability to describe women's dress, but at the risk of making a bungle of it I must try to describe the bonnet in which Peggy arrayed herself for the journey into Bewcastle, for it struck the on-lookers with wonder and awe. The material was straw, rather neatly plaited into strips about half an inch broad, each over-lapping the one under it, as slates do on a roof, and no doubt to serve the same purpose. The "croon," which was not on top, but stuck out behind, was about the size of a fairly large flower-pot. The front of the bonnet opened out well away from the face, over which it projected at a considerable distance, and from this projection there arose a sort of decoration, which to my masculine eye looked like a fan-tailed pigeon. Over the bonnet were arranged some fancy ribbons, which tied under the chin, but the glory of them had long ago departed from Peggy's bonnet. If the wind was straight ahead the bonnet had a tendency to capsize, but in sunshine it afforded a shield, and in rain it served partly as an umbrella.

Peggy had had this bonnet for the best of fifty years. Once a year, usually about the Summer Sacrament, the straw was all re-turned, and re-smoked with brimstone, and made quite fresh again.

This smoking with brimstone was quite a common thing. I remember a fire being caused by it in the shop of a milliner—"a straw-hat maker" she was called at that time. The smoking was being done in the garret, and the dish capsized, setting the house on fire. There was no fire-engine then, and owing to the fumes some difficulty was experienced in reaching the seat of the flames. My father was one of the men who mounted the roof and tore off the slates, and in this way put the fire

out. This had just been accomplished, when a queer old body who lived next door drily remarked to him, "Aye, man, A' was glad ye got it oot. A' hed a lot o' gunpowder juist through the partition, and it wad hae been raither dangerous if it had ta'en fire!"

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

I BELIEVE that our Scottish marriage laws and ceremonies have always been regarded as peculiar, but in Langholm seventy years ago, we were not aware that even a stranger could be either surprised or amused at any of our customs. We lived respectable and happy lives in blissful ignorance that we were even interesting. On looking back, however, I see how vastly our marriage customs, like all the others, have altered. No doubt each locality has in this connection its own special characteristics, and those of Langholm may prove to be interesting to a new generation.

COURTING.

For some reason which is rather difficult to discover, unless it lie in the objection we Scots folk have to effusiveness of affection, courtships were generally conducted in secret. It was not considered good form for a young couple to be seen much together, except, perhaps, on a Fair day or the like. They would greet each other in the street only by a smile or a nod, if indeed, they "let on" that they knew each other at all. In the home the fact of the courtship would probably be ignored, except perhaps by the younger members of the family, who discovered in it an excellent chance for chaffing the bashful lover. This affected indifference continued almost up to the day when "the names were given in." It would be fairly well understood in the town that such

an event was not unlikely, but I have known cases where the public intimation of the coming marriage was the first indication that even friends had of the courtship.

GIVING IN THE NAMES.

Once the proceedings had come to this point, however, the subsequent stages were made occasions of festivity and jollity, and of general conversation. It was a common practice for the names to be "given in" in a public house, and it was necessary for the clerk of the Kirk Session to attend. This important official was nearly always the parish schoolmaster, and I do not remember that, elder though he was, he raised any serious objection either to being present at these interesting little functions, or to drinking to the future happiness of the young people.

The first "crying"* of the banns took place on the following Sunday, and it immediately became one of the main topics of conversation among the womenfolk of the town,—and herein I notice but little change after the lapse of seventy long years.

"BIDDING."

After the "crying" came the "bidding," when the shy young groom, accompanied by his equally shy bestman, had to go round inviting his relatives and friends to the marriage, for the invitations were not then given by little printed cards. On reflection, I am of opinion that this was an ordeal somewhat more disconcerting than even the wedding ceremony itself. The couple

* Readers who are not of Langholm birth will doubtless notice that we generally use the word "cry" instead of "proclaim" or "publish." We "cried" the Fair and we "cried" the banns.

would come awkwardly into the house, where they had been nervously expected for some time, and would be furnished with seats near the fire. It was good manners to pretend that the object of their call was quite unsuspected, and the simple little fraud was kept up until the couple rose to take their leave. It was probably whilst his hand was on the sneck that the prospective bridegroom would make a sudden dash at the object of his visit, which during the interview had been uppermost in every mind, excepting in that of the guidman who, when the conversation seemed to be heading straight to the point, seemed to possess a perfect genius for diverting the talk into another channel. The invitation was not a formal one, and it was good manners to express great surprise at receiving it. Sandie Thomson, who was always an awkward man, instead of giving a definite "bid," said 'he supposed they wud be comin' to this turn-owre.' But that was recognised as a clumsy way of doing the business. The "bidding" was always done before the Friday following the first "crying." An invitation received after that day was "a fiddler's bid." It will excite no surprise when I add that the bidding was followed by considerable heart-burning, many who expected a bid being left out, and others included who "never thocht o' sic a thing." But there was still a chance, for the fiddler could exercise his ancient prerogative of bidding, and his invitations, though not favourably regarded by the women-folk, were deemed, especially by the young men, as better than no bid at all.

A SINGULAR CUSTOM.

The popular wedding day in Langholm, then as now, was Friday. On the preceding Thursday there was ob-

served one of our most curious and unexplainable customs—the washing of the bride's feet. A very select and favoured circle of women-folk assembled for this observance, which long ago fell into disuse. Into the wash-basin were put a ring, a piece of money, and perhaps a thimble, and these were groped for by the unmarried girls, who, by their success or failure in obtaining one or other of these, could judge of their own matrimonial chances.

THE WEDDING DAY.

The wedding day was one of excitement, both in the homes of those mainly concerned, and to some extent throughout the neighbourhood. Six o'clock was the usual hour for the marriage service, which took place in the house of the bride. Of late years this practice has been modified by marriages being celebrated in the church or at a hotel.

The smart young men among the guests were told off to bring in the ladies. Those invited by the bride were thus escorted to her home, and those by the bridegroom to his. At each arrival there was much cheering, laughing, and "hooching," and often not a little banter of some gallant youth who was probably that day for the first time rigged out in a tall hat. And I might here say that for weddings, even more than for funerals, all the family "tiles" were brought into requisition. Ancient handboxes were brought down from the tops of presses and box-beds, and their contents furbished up for the occasion. A wedding in Langholm was interesting if only for the study it offered in masculine head-gear. Not infrequently the fact of a "tile" having been borrowed was well known to the spectators, and jocular

allusions to the fact would be made by the irrepressible youths gathered around the door. The lassies were, of course, dressed all in white, and, before the arrival of her escort, each would have undergone a critical inspection by a company of neighbours, whose entry, on such an occasion as a wedding or a ball, was privileged. The staid women-folk donned their black silks, and for dazzling grandeur it would be difficult to beat a Langholm wedding of fifty or sixty years ago.

The bringing in of each couple was witnessed by an excited crowd of youngsters, to whom a wedding was a social and financial event of first-class importance, especially if it took place near Fair time. Difficulty was usually experienced by the guests in reaching the door through the crowd, and occasionally their dresses came off second best in the struggle.

“TOMMY.”

Close by the door-cheek stood Tommy, who for the sake of the refreshment he was afterwards to receive, meekly and patiently endured the “chairging” of the boys, in the intervals between the arrivals. No wedding was complete without Tommy’s presence and sympathy, —indeed there was a vague sort of feeling, unexpressed and latent, that the event was barely legal if Tommy was not there. I say he meekly endured the taunts of the boys, but now and again the whole atmosphere about the door became stormy and electrical. This happened when someone, seemingly in simple boyish innocence, but, of course, imitating one of his own characteristic actions, would appear to be dusting his knickerbockers with his jacket sleeve, or wetting his finger to remove tiny specks



TOMMY.

from his clogs,—which of course were thickly covered with “glaur.” Then Tommy’s righteous indignation was stirred to its very depths, and blazed forth in impotent rage. Poor Tommy! Mr. Smellie once asked him if what he had heard was true—that he had been seen working. Tommy indignantly denied what he treated as a malicious statement.

THE PROCESSION.

But to return to the wedding. When the bride’s guests were all assembled they formed into a procession and

went forth, without the bride, of course, to convoy the bridegroom's party to her house,—a practice which I have often thought must have been a parallel to the Jewish custom indicated in the Parable of the Ten Virgins. Headed by the bridegroom, the whole company then returned to the bride's house—a long procession accompanied by all the bairns in the neighbourhood demanding “Ba' siller.”* This was showered en route in pennies and halfpennies, on rare occasions mixed with small silver, but the principal distribution was made at the door, immediately following the marriage ceremony. A collection was taken from the guests, part going to pay the fiddler and part to provide “ba' siller.” The money was scattered by the best man, after which the crowd of bairns slowly dispersed, leaving Tommy to keep watch at the door for another hour or so.

“THE HERD FROM TE'IOT-HEID.”

In glancing back I see now that a great share of the enjoyment on those occasions arose from sheer noisiness, especially if our cousins from the country were present. I recall one wedding which created in Langholm what I can only describe as a sensation. One of the most conspicuous guests was “a muckle fallow frae Te'iot-heid.” He arrived early in the afternoon, accompanied by a terribly cantankerous dog, and immediately the whole town seemed to be aware of his presence. He was

* This was “ball-money”—an exaction at one time demanded in Northumberland and the south of Scotland from every newly-married couple, to prevent them being molested. The money was designed for the purchase of a football, but afterwards it was kept by whoever was successful in the scramble.

dressed in a check jacket of outrageous pattern, and tartan trousers, and on going to the inn he changed his boots, which had very aggressive-looking "neb-plates," for a pair of carpet slippers. In these he took part in the wedding procession. His governing idea was that we Langholm folk took our joys too seriously, and to do him justice, he did his best to remedy the defect. As the procession moved up the Front Street he came to a halt every few minutes, and then with a wild yell made a spring into the air, much to the discomfiture of the lady he was escorting. The dog trotted near him, but each time he did this it sat down on its haunches and howled piteously—as well it might. That one man made the evening memorable. There was never such a night experienced in Langholm. The wedding was in one of the cottages—and, naturally, when some thirty couples were crammed into one of those small houses the confusion was somewhat bewildering. Our hero danced in his carpet slippers, and he sat out not a single dance. His favourite trick when dancing was to jump up and bump his head against the ceiling—and then yell! We discussed that wedding for several weeks, and always the herd from Te'iot-heid was the focus to which all our memories turned.

Few presents were then given, and such as were made were useful rather than ornamental. There were no silver cigarette cases or dainty vases, but instead blankets, frying pans, fenders, and salt buckets. I remember one bride who was going to live in a cottage of two rooms, receiving no fewer than seven frying pans! Instead of presents friends would give a tea party—which both in the way of provision and enjoyment almost rivalled the wedding itself.

QUAINT DIVORCE CUSTOM.

Whilst writing of marriage customs I might mention a feature of which one never hears to-day, but which in my youth was held to be a legal process, though that it really was so, I am doubtful. It related not to the uniting process but to the disjoining, and may have been a survival of the old hand-fasting custom of Eskdale. It was held that if a woman left her husband's house and refused to return, he might set a plate for her at dinner time, then go outside and summon her to the meal, calling her by name, and if this were continued for a year and a day and she still proved obdurate, then he was legally free. I knew of a man who was said to have adopted this curious method of divorce, and rumour had it that after giving forth the summons to come to dinner he ran hastily into the house—and bolted the door.

PETE'S WAY.

A simpler way of divorce, worthier of America than Scotland, was that adopted by Pete Scott. Pete had not thought it necessary to go through the conventional marriage ceremony, but instead had come to a purely financial arrangement with the lady of his choice by which they simply amalgamated their estates. Pete gave the history of the experiment in his own way: "Kate and me did gey weel for about three weeks," he said, "but then she began to show some of her cant-raips. And so says I to her ane morning at breakfast time, says I, 'Kate, I can see perfectly weel that ye're ettlin' to begin yer capers. By the way ye're shapin' enow A' can see that you and me's no gaun to jump

thegither. Now as ye're vera weel aware, Kate, ye'd only eighteenpence when we came thegither : here's yer money doon on the table, and be oot o' the house by dinner time.'” “Did she gaun, Pete?” some one asked. “No, she didna gaun,” admitted Pete, “but she was a very different woman ever efter.”

Not a few couples were then living in the town concerning the strict legality of whose marriages there was more than a doubt. To rectify the scandal and for the sake of the children, Mr. Shaw, the parish minister, undertook a kind of missionary tour throughout the town, and, where he thought it necessary, performed the marriage service in due order. I remember his going to one house where the man and woman had lived together many years, without troubling themselves very much on the question of legality. When Mr. Shaw went in, the guid-man was up in the loft doing a few repairs to the roof. The woman at once guessed what was the object of the minister's visit, and going into the “entry” she shouted up, “Jock, here's the minister—come down at yince and get mairrit.”

CHAPTER XXXIX.

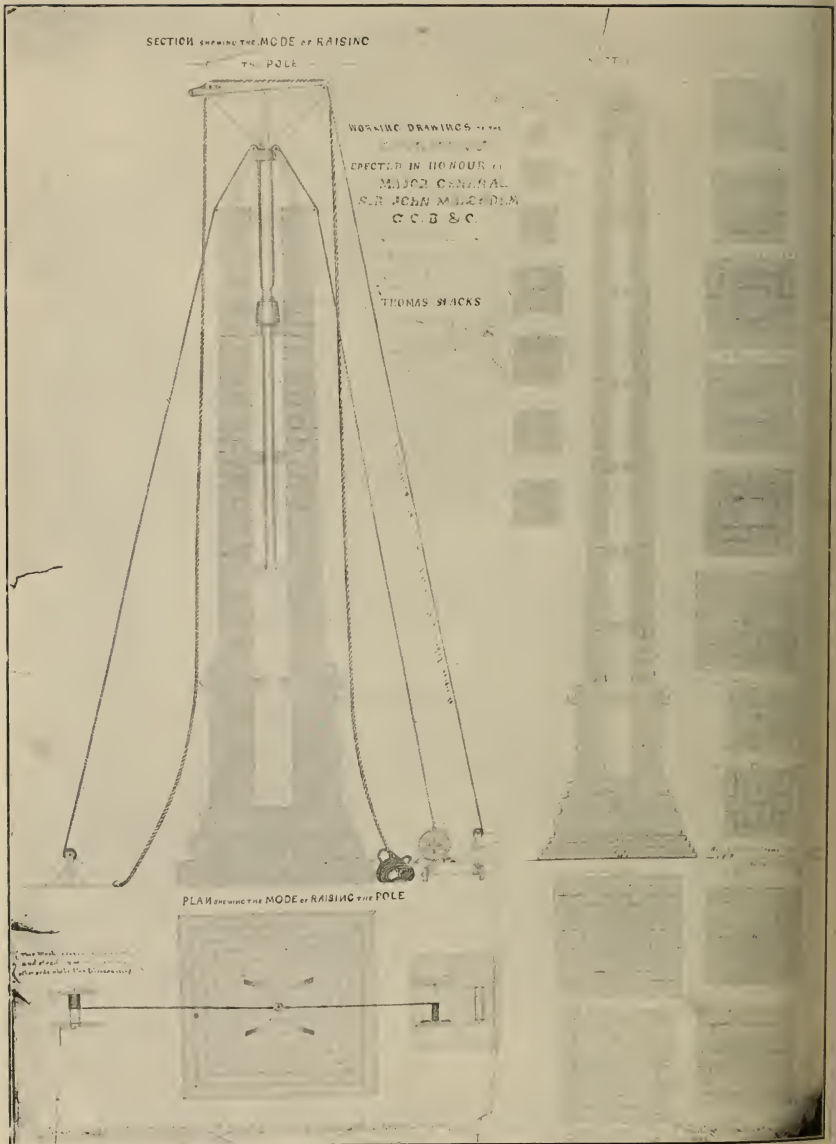
THE MONUMENT.

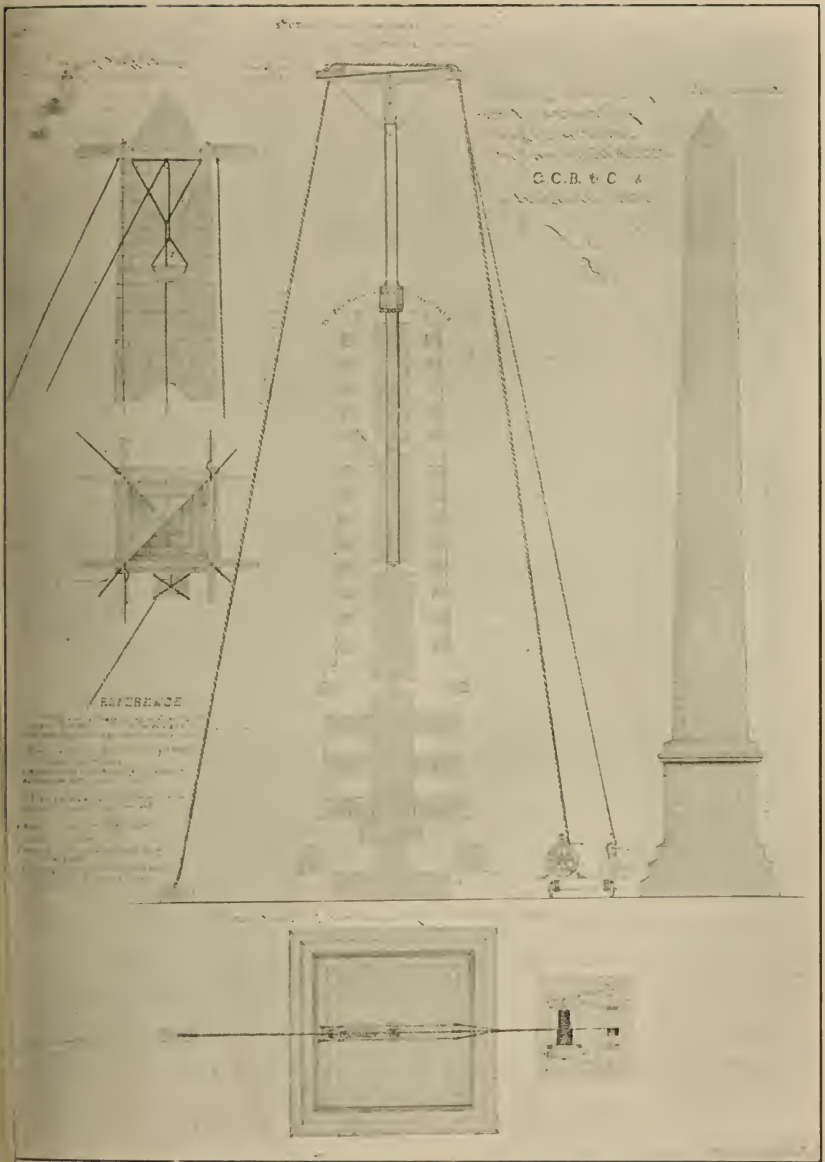
THERE are many monuments, but to a Langholm man or woman *the* Monument is the obelisk set high on the summit of Whita Hill, in honour of one of Eskdale's greatest sons—Sir John Malcolm, of whose brilliant career some account will be given in a later chapter.

It is, perhaps, the most conspicuous land-mark on the Borders. It can be seen from a distance of 30 miles, and he who knows not Langholm Monument, knows not the western Borderland. Towards it are strained the eyes of Eskdale men and women who return from afar,—from the busy world which throbs somewhere out beyond the circle of our quiet hills,—to catch the first glimpse of the old home-land, where once more they will look into sympathetic eyes and listen to the music of their mother-tongue.

The building of the Monument formed one of the landmarks of my boyhood, even as itself is to-day a land-mark along the Borders. I was present at the laying of the foundation-stone by Sir James Graham, of Netherby, and also when the work was completed. For a short time my father, and, I believe, some of my uncles and great-uncles (for most of them Hyslops' and Hotsons alike were builders) helped in its erection. Very naturally, therefore, it formed the subject of many an interesting talk at our fireside.

The building was begun in 1835 and completed within the year. Practical men will appreciate the difficulties





of the work when I mention that the Monument itself is 100 feet high and stands upon the summit of Whita Hill, some 1,200 feet above sea level. Apart from the man it commemorated, the work itself excited very considerable interest throughout the Border country. Designed by Robert Howe, the Monument was built entirely by local men.

THOMAS SLACK.

Naturally, there were very serious difficulties to be faced in the erection, but they were all successfully overcome by the practical genius of Mr. Thomas Slack, who, in recognition of his achievement, received a gold medal from a Society in London. Mr. Slack was a man of a remarkable genius, amongst other important inventions of his being that of the skew-bridge. Through the courtesy of Mr. John Miller, one of his descendants, I am enabled to give the accompanying prints of the plans of the Monument, which Mr. Slack drew to illustrate his method of working, especially in the raising of the stones and in taking down the scaffolding when the work was finished. The first course of the building is 17 feet 6 inches high, and is solid. Then it is built in walls of four feet in thickness, until it reaches the moulding 20 feet higher. The space then left inside for the workman is three and a half feet. Here the thickness of the walls is three feet, which is gradually reduced to two. At a distance of seven feet from the apex the solid building is resumed. To a height of 93 feet the Monument was built without any outside scaffolding. The appliance used for lifting the heavy stones into position consisted of a pole, about 40 feet in length, from the top of which extended two arms with pulleys, with a travel-

ling contrivance along the beam. The pole revolved on ball bearings, as seen in the plans, in a large iron collar. It was supported on blocks of stone projecting from the inside of the wall. As the obelisk lengthened the pole was raised by an ingenious device worked by a winch on the ground. The outside scaffolding at the top of the column, after the pole was dispensed with, was in two sections held together by four iron bolts, two of them screws and nuts, the other two being cotterils—a wedge in the slit of a bolt.

THE TOP STONE.

I remember that when the top stone was laid into its bed some of the spectators raised a cheer. I was beside Mr. Slack at the moment and heard him sternly rebuke the onlookers, saying there must be no cheering until the workman was safely down. The last man to come down was Mr. Slack's assistant, John Clark, to whom a share of the credit is due. He descended safely in the bucket, and then came the task of bringing down the scaffolding without injuring any one or damaging the Monument. Here again Mr. Slack's ingenuity overcame the difficulty. A rope was attached to each of the cotterils and by it they were pulled out.

THE BOLT DRAWN.

Ropes were fastened to each of the two sections of the scaffolding, and when the bolt was drawn the men in charge of the ropes ran outward. Down came the scaffolding with a crash—no one was hurt, and not a chip was made in the Monument. The work was successfully accomplished—begun, executed, and completed, by Lang-

holm men. Then there arose a cheer which resounded across Tarras Moss and penetrated into Ewesdale, Eskdale, and Wauchopedale. It was a great moment, and I have always felt gratified that I was present on an occasion so memorable and historic.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

As I have said, the foundation stone was laid by Sir James Graham, who was Provincial Grand Master of the Cumberland Lodge of Freemasons. His action in bringing with him his own officers, thus slighting the Eskdale Kilwinning Lodge, excited a considerable amount of ill-feeling. Perhaps Sir James remembered the incident of the "coops," and wished to take no risks. I am not aware of the reasons which induced the authorities to invite the Master of an English Lodge to perform this ceremony. The proper official would have been the Provincial Grand Master of Dumfriesshire, or some other high officer of a Scottish Lodge.

HOGG'S MONUMENT.

It may not be out of place to record here the fact that the block of sandstone for the monument to James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, on the shore of "still St. Mary's Lake," in Yarrow, was obtained from the quarry of George Scott, builder, on Whita Hill. The stone measured 4 feet 10 inches by 3 feet 8 inches at the base, and its estimated weight was 6 tons. I was present when it was removed from the quarry and brought, without mishap, down the Kirkwynd. On the first day, 24th Nov. 1859, they only succeeded in moving it about 100 yards. On the following day horse power was abandoned for

manual labour, which was given by a large number of willing helpers. With this help the stone was brought down its rugged journey to the Market Place, where its arrival was greeted by great cheering. Next day it was conveyed to Hawick, drawn by six horses.

CHAPTER XL.

GLIMPSES HERE AND THERE.

I N the Forties we had sensational incidents in addition to the potato disease and the failure of the crops. Besides the Disruption, there were the Chartist agitation and the establishment of a penny newspaper in Langholm.

CHARTISTS.

We had several Chartists in the town, most of them weavers. During the French Revolution of 1792 there was active sympathy shown with that movement. A great-uncle of my own went down and planted the Tree of Liberty at the Cross, and publicly drank success to the Revolution. For this he spent some time in Dumfries Jail, where his political ardour had ample time to cool. Some capital stories could be told of those Chartist days, but they would occupy too much space here. The weavers were strong politicians, and were ever ready to leave their looms, on any excuse whatever. When the Manse bees swarmed on to Tommy Elliot's head, they gladly made it the occasion of a holiday. "Send for my brother Eben," said Tommy to the minister, who was wringing his hands and predicting, "the man will die—the man will die." Tommy stood like a statue until, accompanied by all the weavers in the shop, Eben arrived. In a few minutes he had the bees into a skep, and Tommy had received only one sting.

THE LANGHOLM PAPER.

The *Eskdale and Liddesdale Advertiser* was first issued in May, 1848, and by the courtesy of Mr. Walter Wilson, the present proprietor, I am enabled to give an illustration of its first page. It was begun by Mr. Thos. L. Rome. Distributed gratuitously at first, the price was afterwards fixed at one penny. It had the distinction of being the first penny newspaper to be issued in Scotland. The new paper displayed a becoming modesty, and did not make the mistake of a local contemporary which began a leading article with the words "We have no wish to embarrass the Government," and went on to declare, in relation to some question of foreign politics, that "most of the great London dailies have adopted our views."

THE TWEED TRADE.

The rise of the tweed trade in Langholm was an event of much importance. In my early years our staple trades were hosiery and cotton weaving. I remember three hosiery factories. Mr. A. Renwick's was where the older portion of Messrs. Reid and Taylor's mill now stands. It was partly built of the stones of the old Kirk on the hill, which were publicly roused. Mr. Andrew Byers's factory stood on the west side of Charles Street, and Mr. G. Chambers's on the side of the dam in Henry Street.

Most of the cotton weaving was done in weaving shops, but not a little of it in private dwelling houses. Much of the work came from Carlisle. Both the Dicksons and the Fergusons sent their yarn to be woven, and when the webs were finished and delivered—"web-day" it was called—the weavers signalled the event by a day's en-

THE ESKDALE AND LIDDESDALE ADVERTISER, AND MONTHLY JOURNAL.

CIRCULATED REGULARLY IN THE TOWNS OF LANGHOLM, HAWICK, ANNAN, LOCKERBY, & ECCLEFE BURN, AND SENT TO ALMOST EVERY FAMILY IN THE PARISHES OF LANGHOLM, CANONBIE, GARDINGTOWN, WESTERKIRK, ESKDALEMUIR, HALF-MORTON, AND MIDDLEBIE.

NO 1

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST WEDNESDAY OF EVERY MONTH.

(GRATE.)

TO LET.

WITH FURNITURE IMMEDIATELY.

A DESIRABLE DWELLING HOUSE in Charles Street, Langholm, consisting of Parlour, Sitting Room, Three Bed Rooms, and Kitchen. For particulars, Apply to ROBERT SKELLIE, Draper, Langholm.

**WILLIAM HARKNESS,
PAINTER & C.**

RESPECTFULLY intimates to the inhabitants of Langholm, and surrounding district, that he has commenced business as

PAINTER & PAPER-HANGER,
in a part of that House occupied by Mr. JAKE ELLIOT, (next door to Mr. LITTLE, Draper), and trusts, by prompt attention to Business, and Moderate Charges to merit a share of public favour.
Langholm, 19th April, 1848.

SUMMER GOODS.

Prices in accordance with the existing Commercial Depreciation.

WILLIAM LITTLE,

ANNOUNCES the Arrival of the whole of his recent Purchases in London, Manchester, and Glasgow, comprising an assortment of the following Goods, which for Cheapness and general excellence, are not to be surpassed:—

**SUPERFINE CLOTHS,
DOESKINS, TWEEDS, VESTINGS, CORDS, AND
MOLESKINS.**

**SILKS AND SATINETTES,
DE LAINES, CASHMERE, PRINTED
MUSLINS.**

**CELTIC, CHALLI AND NORWICH CHECKS,
COBOURNS, FANCY ORLEANS,
PRINTED CAMBRICS,**

**GINGHAMS;
FRENCH AND PAISLEY SHAWLS,
COVENTRY AND FRENCH BONNET AND
CAP RIBBONS,**

**FLOWERS,
HOSIERY, GLOVES,
SEWED MUSLIN AND LACE GOODS,**

**SILK TIES, PARASOLS,
STRAW BONNETS.**

Brussels, Scotch, and Kidderminster Carpets, Hearth
Rugs, Crumb Cloths, Floor Cloths, Mattings, Furni-
ture, Chintzes, and Damasks, Bed and Table Linen,
&c.

PAPER HANGINGS.

Walls and Ceilings, (purified by Steam, and war-
ranted for immediate use) on a few days notice.

NO ABATEMENT FROM THE PRICE ASKED.
Langholm, 1st May, 1848.

WANTED.

AN APPRENTICE to the WOOLLEN and LIKEN
DRAPEERY Business.—Apply to W. WACON, Draper,
Annan.

Annan, 24th April, 1848.

SALE OF

**Farming Implements, Horses, Black
Cattle, and Household Furniture.**

THERE will be Sold by Public Roup, at CARFIELD,
in the Parish of Langholm, on Thursday the 25th
instant, the whole Farming Implements, Horses, Black
Cattle, Household Furniture, and Dairy Utensils,
which belonged to the late William Nicol, Tenant, there,
consisting of:—

MORSES.

2 Draught Horses; a Three-year-old Draught Colt,
15½ hands high; an excellent 4 year-old Pony, 13½
hands high, for saddle or harness.

BLACK CATTLE.

8 Milch Cows of the Galloway Breed, calved and to
calve; 12 three-year-old Galloway Queys; 13 two-
year-old Galloway Queys; 3 two-year-old Galloway
Steers; 2 Stot Stirks; 4 Calves.

SWINE SHOTS.**IMPLEMENTS.**

3 Carts and Cart Harness; 2 Iron Ploughs and
Plough Chains; 1 Double Moulded Plough; 2 Turnip
Ploughs; 1 Turnip Drill; Harrows; Rollers; Cart
Wheels and Axle; 1 Winnowing Machine nearly new.
1 Gig and Harness, Riding and Saddle.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.

1 Mahogany Side Board; 1 Mahogany Dining
Table; 1 Wainscot Dining Table; 1 Sofa; an Easy
Chair; a handsome Portrait of His Grace the Duke
of Buccleugh and Queensberry, and a valuable col-
lection of Books in excellent order; also Bedsteads,
Feather Beds, Bolsters, Pillows, Blankets, Sheets, and
Coverlets; Mahogany Chest of Drawers; Dressing
Tables; Wash-hand-stands, and Services; Looking
Glasses, & Carpets. The whole of the Kitchen Utensils,
Tables, Chairs, Crystal, Crockery, Grates, Fenders,
Fire Irons, &c.

DAIRY UTEN

Cheese Press, Whey Kettle, churns, and all the
other Dairy Utensils, together with many other articles
of Household Furniture.

The Sale will commence at Nine o'clock forenoon,
and 6 Months credit will be given on approved Security.

W. KIRKUP, Auctioneer, from Carlisle.

NOTICE.

All Persons having Claims against the Deceased
WILLIAM NICOL, are requested to present the same for
payment, and all Persons indebted to the said deceased,
are requested to make payment to ALEX. HORROX,
George Street, Langholm, on or before the 20th inst.,
and all accounts not paid before that time will be given
to a man of Business for collection.

All persons having Books, the property of the said
deceased WILLIAM NICOL, will oblige by sending them
to ALEX. HORROX, before the 20th instant.
Langholm, 1st May, 1848.

joyment and a considerable amount of drinking. Wages were low in this as in the other trades. I remember a weaver declaring under the cross-examination of the Sheriff, that it was only when he was "on the dooble desperate" as he termed it, that he could earn as much as half-a-crown a week!

A WEAVER'S ELOQUENCE.

Writing of the Sheriff reminds me that we had then a regular rota of Sheriff's Courts in Langholm, and recalls also a trial which I heard at one of them. A weaver was summoned by the inspector of the poor for non-payment of his rates. The action should never have been brought, but Mr. Todd, the inspector, as I knew to my cost at school, interpreted every law in its strict and literal sense. The weaver, who had received an excellent education, conducted his own defence. Some historians* have attributed to us Border folk a certain persuasiveness of speech, and the compliment was never more deserved than in his case. He concluded his speech with a peroration charged with native eloquence and pathos. He said he could prove from the books of his employers that he was not earning one penny per day per head for each of his dependents, and "I appeal to your Lordship," he cried in a burst of passion, "and I appeal to this Court, whether I am a proper person to be compelled to subscribe to the support of the poor." The Sheriff was a humane man as well as a clever lawyer, and during the delivery of this speech the tears were

* ". . . they have much persuasive eloquence and so many smooth insinuating words at command, that if they do not move their judges, nay even their adversaries (notwithstanding the severity of their natures), to have mercy, yet they incite them to admiration and compassion."—Camden's *Brittania*.

running down his face. He dismissed the case of course, saying it ought never to have been brought into Court, to which Mr. Todd replied that he had only done his duty.

ALEXANDER REID.

There was a great improvement in the condition of the weavers when the tweed industry developed. This may be said to date from the time that Alexander Reid came down from his loom and commenced manufactur-



ALEXANDER REID.

ing. He carried his own patterns to London, and by the excellence of his goods very soon established a large connection. The old narrow looms used in cotton weaving were not well adapted for tweed manufacture, but they served until new ones were got, and soon the industry was in a flourishing condition. In this connection I remember the arrival in Langholm of the first steam engine. My uncle, Tom McVittie, brought it down Wauchope, and there was a large gathering of spectators to witness its arrival, for the people were intelligent enough to see that it was a symbol of prosperity and plenty of work. It was of six-horse power and was first used in the wauk-mill.

Mr. Reid established a partnership with Mr. Joseph Taylor, and under their guidance the present great mills came into being. He made a considerable fortune, and few men employed their means to better purpose. Every good cause found him ready with an open purse, and his benefactions to the Library and the religious causes of the town, notably, the Town-head kirk, are still fresh in our memory. After living in the house at the end of Langholm Bridge, now occupied by Provost Easton, Mr. Reid, choosing one of the most beautiful places in the district, built himself a mansion at Craigeleuch. But alas, Mr. Reid died before the building was completed.

The tweed trade of Langholm under the guidance of Alexander Reid, Andrew Byers, John and Alexander Scott, George and Andrew Bowman, Thos. Lightbody, and others, speedily attained its present pre-eminent position.

“THE GATES OF EDEN.”

This particular part of Eskdale, where the hills suddenly open out into a beautiful landscape, was a favourite walk of the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, the famous divine of the City Temple, London, who happily christened it “The Gates of Eden.”

HIRING DAYS.

Reference has been made to the Common Riding and the great Fairs, and kindred to these were the half-yearly Hiring Days. These Hirings were mostly for farm servants, and so country folk flocked into the town in large numbers. The works and schools had holi-



“THE GATES OF EDEN.”

day in the afternoon, by which time it was only with difficulty that one could get "doon the toon." There were stalls of all descriptions, stretching in unbroken rows from the Cross up almost to the Town-head. The Pot-Market was filled with shoemakers and crockery vendors. An enormous trade was done both in their goods and also in clothing, as the country folk had seldom so good an opportunity of replenishing their homes. The shoemakers had two grades of shoes—one called "customers' shoes," made from the best part of the hide, and the other called "market shoes," made from the inferior parts. The fitting followed somewhat after the method adopted by Tommy Wilson, the tailor. Country people would produce a stick, as the standard, and if the boots nipped—well, it was just what one expected in Sunday clothes generally. Hiring Days served many another purpose. It was told of a herd from "the far side"—that is, over about Liddesdale or Bewcastle—that when, one Whitsun Hiring, he seated himself in the barber's chair for "a clip," as he styled it, that worthy drily remarked: "Gey lang this time." "Aye," said the herd laconically, "A' didna get in at Martinmas."

In the High Street were stalls laden with all manner of goods—Birmingham products, which brought great delight into many a cot-house, where the supply of toys was limited, Sheffield goods, medicines, confectionery, laces, and ribbons galore,—what a sight it was! From one or other of the stalls, every shepherd or ploughman,—aye, and every Langholm lad, too,—bought his sweetheart her "fairing," an attention that was tantamount to a formal proposal. But what I could never quite understand was why these love-gifts should so generally take the form of ginger-bread. Secondhand booksellers,

coopers, jugglers, tumblers, men selling the songs they were singing, and, over and above all, Jamie Dyer with his fiddle,—these were a few of the sights which filled five parishes with gaiety and excitement.

JAMIE DYER.

No Hiring Day would have been quite complete without Jamie. He was a native of Carlisle—born on the Christmas Eve of 1841,—and those who remember him will fully appreciate his mother's claim that he came 'as a little angel sent down from Heaven to cheer his mother.' There was a rhyme one often heard that

"Jamie Dyer's wedding-day
Was on the Langholm Hiring Day."

This would, no doubt, be a coincidence agreeable to Langholm folk, but my own opinion was that Jamie skilfully adapted his couplet to the particular Fair he was attending. His description of his own music was that it was "harmonious and sympathetic," but it is not necessary for me to discuss Jamie's statement. He was one of the professional beggars of our Borderland. I do not mean by this that he was a lazy tramp, such as Johnie Weave was wont to upbraid as "scoondrels," but rather that he could fill the part which was demanded of every "beggar,"—that is, he could sing, or fiddle, or recite, or tell a good story, after the manner of the ancient minstrel. Thus of a winter's night he would entertain a whole farm-town round the blazing peat fire. We had many of them travelling throughout the Borders, a famous one being Johnie Douglas, the well known "Ettrick Beggar," whose constituency embraced Ettrick, Teviotdale, Annandale, and Eskdale. These itinerant minstrels were eagerly welcomed and well enter-

tained in country places, and Jamie Dyer was one of the last of them.

ISAAC FLETCHER.

Then we had Isaac Fletcher from Ecclefechan, his hat gaily decked with pheasant or peacock feathers. Isaac was another of the institutions of the Hiring Day, even as Hawick Wattie was of the Common-Riding. Their



ISAAC FLETCHER.

arrival was duly noted, and when once we saw them in the High Street we realized that the Fair had indeed come. But when, precisely, these worthies left the town, or what was the manner of their going, no one seemed clearly to know. Their departure was generally by night, and

when Langholm awoke they, like the swallows from the kirk rigging, had ta'en their flight.

DANCING.

When the business of the day was over—and a rough, uncouth business I often thought it was, which compelled a young woman before being hired, to stand an inspection by a half-tipsy farmer, who discussed her fitness for her work with a circle of his ill-tongued associates—a rush was made to the public houses or to the ball rooms, where very soon the fun was fast and furious. Fiddlers belonging to Langholm or some near town, would hire a ballroom and charge perhaps a penny for so many dances. They generally brought with them a burly assistant to serve as a door-keeper, and his services were frequently required, for boys possessed then, as they do now, that guileless instinct which prefers getting into a circus by crawling under the canvas rather than by having the legitimate charge even paid for them. We did not grudge the penny for these “crushes,” as I see Society balls are now termed—a phrase which always suggested to my provincial mind a Langholm Hiring-day dance——, we simply considered it more exciting to get in without paying. The inevitable result was a conflict between the boys and the “chuckers-out” as we called them. We did not object to the action of these gentlemen, but on reflection I now see that their methods were lacking in gentleness, and that they could easily have accomplished their duties with a greater respect for our clothes—and, perhaps, for our bones as well.

The dancing was an exciting business, requiring not only skill but courage, and there was no idea of its being “the poetry of motion.” At the top of the room auld

Jamie "Average" would be engaged dancing the "Half-cut" or the "Highland Fling," which were regarded as the very climax of step dancing, whilst a little apart a big awkward ploughman, securely hid from the criticism of the crowd, would be attempting "the double-shuffle." Order was maintained somewhat indifferently by specially appointed constables. It was a playful little habit of these worthies to get drunk early in the day, so that they were really out of action before the serious work of the afternoon and night began.

ROUPS.

The Hiring Days were always utilized by the auctioneers for the holding of "roups,"—events which always excited a keen interest, and occasionally no little rivalry. Old Jean Beattie had an antiquated bonnet which we never saw except at a sale. Lencie Armstrong named it "the roup bonnet," and when we saw it we knew that Jean meant business. One of the most agreeable incidents I remember to have seen was when my father went to a "roup" and zealously ran up the price for some article to a ridiculous figure, stimulated thereto by someone on the outskirts of the crowd who was excitedly bidding against him. When at last it fell to his bid Tom McVittie gently broke the news to him that he had been bidding against his own wife! My father's subdued demeanour during the rest of that day greatly impressed us all.

The "bar-rouping" was also an annual event of almost first-class importance in Langholm. Then the toll-bars were let to the highest bidder, and there was considerable competition for them.

HOGMANAY.

Another occasion of mirth and enjoyment to us was the New Year. In conformity to the Scots practice since the Reformation, we entirely ignored Christmas, but at the New Year we were amply compensated for this abstinence. The festivities began on Hogmanay Day, which was generally regarded as the children's day. After my boyhood, the custom came into prominence of rising in the early hours of Hogmanay morning to welcome the day with the rattle of tin cans. Whether this, like most of the other celebrations of the day, was of pagan origin, I do not know, though I suppose it was, but it obtained an immense popularity amongst the boys for a generation or so. The demonstration began about two o'clock and continued until about six. The trailing of the cans was accompanied by a continuous chorus of "Hogmanay, Hogmanay," varied by an old folk-rhyme which was recited by the bairns when they went "hogmanaying:"

"Get up, auld wife, and shake yer feathers,
 Ye needna think that we're a wheen beggars,
 We're only some bits o' bairns come oot to play—
 Get up—and gie's oor hogmanay.
 Hogmanay—Hogman-ick,
 Hang the baker owre the stick,
 When the stick begins to break,
 Take another and break his back!"

The moral of the lines is somewhat obscure, but as one does not examine the grammar of a ballad, so my critical readers must not demand explanations of this old Hogmanay rhyme.

The hogmanaying began soon after breakfast and continued until midday. The practice, which I believe, was also a survival of an old pagan custom, ranking with the giving of Christmas presents, in other countries,

was for young children to visit the houses of their relations or others from whom they had received invitations, where they were given presents of cake, oranges, and the like, and sometimes money. In my young days oatmeal cakes and cheese were given as "hogmanay," but gradually these were superseded by more tasty delicacies. In some places a hooped penny was given; and here I may say the custom of giving a crooked sixpence as a keepsake was common in my youth, but, like so many other good old usages, has long ago fallen into disuse. I remember an attempt being made by some excellent people to turn this old Hogmanay custom to religious purposes by substituting tracts for oranges—texts for pennies. I need hardly say that the effort ended in dismal and well-deserved failure. All that Hogmanay Day the streets of Langholm were fluttering and strewn with tracts of a sound and elevating character, but the privileges of youth were happily preserved intact. On Hogmanay night many festivities were indulged in. As the old year was slowly dying, a large crowd gathered at the Cross, where a huge bonfire was lighted to welcome in its successor. This, too, was a relic of the celebrations of our prehistoric forefathers, some of which have already been referred to in this volume. As soon as the town clock had struck the midnight hour first-footing began; but as this and other customs of the New Year are still observed, it is unnecessary that I should allude to them further.

CONSTABLES.

I have several times referred to our local constables. I might here give one illustration of the manner in which they carried out their duties as guardians of public order.

Down in the Straits there lived a decent man, who, by industry and frugality, had made a modest little competency. He had two or three daughters, each of whom strangely enough made an unfortunate marriage. Their father, old Davie, used to say that his sons-in-law were so hopelessly lazy, that 'if he pat the breed into their mooth they couldna be bothered to chow't!' Very seldom could any of them pass our test of sobriety—to say quickly, "There was a drove o' pairtridges flew owre Auchenrivock rigging." They lived on Davie's means, yet were never content with what he did for them. One of them, Sandie ———, a great, powerful man, one of the notorious fighting men of Langholm, who in early life had been in the army, varied his drinking by going down to Davie's house and playfully discharging his gun through the window, to the alarm of the inmates. Davie applied to the Sheriff, who sent his officer to arrange with the local constable, John Boyd, to have Sandie arrested. The two officers hid themselves at the head of the Gas Entry and hoped to seize Sandie as he made for Davie's house. Presently they saw him coming down the Brewery Brae flourishing his gun and declaring what he would do to Davie. "Now, Boyd," said the Sheriff's officer, "now's your chance." "Oh, no," said the constable, "ye maun arrest him,—A'll help ye—get at him now." "No, no, Boyd, it's your duty,—A'll back ye up." And so they argued until Sandie was past and well on his way up the Straits. He fired his gun as usual, and as he returned the same dispute arose and continued until Sandie had disappeared along the Drove Road.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE KIRK.

UP to the Disruption there were three Kirks in Langholm, the Established, or the Auld Kirk, as it was always called, at the head of the Kirkwynd, the Secession, or Town-head, and the Relief, or Town-foot. These last two denominations united in 1847 to form the U. P. Church. In 1843 the Free Kirk came into being amidst great popular excitement which was awaiting at the Secession. It was in keeping with the ideas of the time that each of these denominations should be intolerant of the other. All such feeling, happily, is past and gone, and we can afford to smile—and wonder—at it now. But it was very powerful then, and no pains were taken to hide it. An aged relative of my own struck her son's name out of her will, because he left the Secession and joined the Free Kirk at the Disruption. Families were very frequently divided in this way. Husbands and wives continued after their marriage to attend different churches, neither feeling inclined to give in. I think now a lot of this must really have been due to what old folk called "obduredness." The spirit was carried even farther, and I have known cases where, say, a woman who sat upstairs in the kirk, would continue to do so after her marriage, refusing—as a matter of conscience, I suppose—to change even her pew, lest her principles might be weakened! We seemed to consider that everything connected in any way with the kirk resolved itself into a principle which must be sternly upheld.

We young folk, however, cared little about these finer shades, or even about Moderatism and Erastianism, so sometimes I went to the kirk on the hill. What exercised my mind on such visits was not any great question of principle, but rather how it came to pass that the Session always appointed Johnie Ca-pa to "lift" the collection inside the kirk. Johnie wore clogs even on Sundays and always seemed to have a loose calker, which jingled at every step, as he clattered down the aisle with the long ladle. I remember the fabric of the old kirk being sold by public roup, excepting the gables, which were left standing. I myself purchased some of the passage flags and other odds and ends. Most of the stones were bought by Mr. Renwick, who used them to enlarge his factory—that part nearest Mr. Paisley's tanyard.

The accommodation both in this kirk and the others was extremely primitive. For the most part the feet of the worshippers rested on the bare soil. People with means had boards laid down, whilst others provided themselves with plaited straw. Weeds of various kinds, and even toad stools, grew inside the kirk. The gallery was approached by three stairways all on the outside of the building, but only that on the north now remains. That on the east led to The Duke's Loft. There was no vestibule either here or in the Town-head, the door opening right into the building. This made the place draughty and cold. Whilst the congregation were assembling, the doors, even in winter, stood wide open, and at the Town-head I have seen the snow swirling down the aisle almost to the pulpit stairs. This caused no remark, for it was quite understood that we could not be both comfortable and pious at one and the same time.

Cold feet and tight boots were regarded as a Sabbath observance, if not indeed as a means of grace.

I am sure that my friends connected with other kirks will appreciate my attitude when I say that nearly all the religious interest of my life has been concentrated on the Town-head kirk. My father and grandfather were both intimately associated with the congregation, but the intensity of my own affection for it, I trace to my grandmother, whom I have so often mentioned, Tibbie Armstrong, or Tibbie Park as she was always called, according to our old Langholm way of retaining a woman's maiden name after marriage. From her own lips I absorbed the narrative of the romantic history of the congregation, and from her eyes, as she told it, I caught that gleam which has ever shone upon every page of its story. She was but a young girl when the original building was erected, but she remembered all the rejoicings of the old Seceders over the completion of their little temple. Often have I heard her relate, with a wondrous, tender look in her eyes, the story of the Lamps. Some difficulty had been experienced in obtaining a settled minister. Many candidates had been heard, but none of them seemed to have been sent from God, and the members were becoming anxious. One night a friend of my grandmother, a young woman older than herself, who was deeply interested in the Cause, had a dream. She was in the kirk, where the congregation had already assembled, and were waiting for the commencement of the service. The pulpit lamps were still unlit. One man after another essayed to light them, but though they flickered awhile they afterwards failed, and went out. At length came a young man who endeavoured to light them properly, and succeeded. The

lamps continued to burn brightly and the service proceeded. The dream was mentioned to several people, but no one took much note of it; it was a dream and nothing more, and a dream means nothing until it is fulfilled. Sunday came again, and again the congregation sat awaiting the commencement of the service. Presently a probationer ascended the pulpit stairs. On seeing him the young woman who had dreamt was startled, and excitedly whispered to her sister who was near her in the pew, "That is the young man who lit the Lamps." The preacher happened to be the Rev. John Jardine, who received the call and ministered to the congregation, with great acceptance, for many years. Naturally the remarkable fulfilment of the dream made a deep impression on the people, and the incident became part of their wonderful history. When she related this story my grandmother often added, "I saw a Lamp lit that day in the kirk, and it will never go out." When Mr. Ballantyne came to the Town-head in succession to Mr. Dobie, Tibbie Park, of course, narrated to him this story, and at the centenary meeting in 1886 he made appropriate allusion to it. I have more than once, in these pages, referred to my grandmother as a woman of great charity and piety. People came to her in times when their light had failed, and when their harps were on the willows. When meal was scarce and the pinch of hunger was in the home, or when dire trouble visited them, they betook themselves to Tibbie Park, assured of sympathy, wise counsel, and ready help. She regarded all ministers as indeed the ambassadors of Christ, and would listen to no criticism of them. When Lencie Armstrong—who did not share his relative's opinion that to disagree with a minister was virtually equivalent to denying the inspiration

of the Bible,—grumbled at the sermon of some visiting minister, she would find an excuse, saying, perhaps, that the minister ‘said some guid things.’ “Guid things!” exclaimed Lencie, “of course he said guid things. If he’d got up and blasphemed, some o’ us wad hae ga’en up and quietly linkit him doon the pulpit stairs.” I remember, at a Winter Sacrament, one of the assisting ministers giving us a terribly confused and unedifying sermon on that favourite text, “In my Father’s house are many mansions.” My grandfather said some rather severe things about it in his blunt, Armstrong way, and even my grandmother failed to discover any good points in it. It was left to Nannie Hudson, who was coming along the Bridge with them, to excuse the discourse: “It was no sae bad,” she said, “and A’ thocht he was juist awfu’ bonnie on the doors!” The critics said no more: how could they?

My grandfather, Jamie Armstrong, was one of the Bloughburnfoot branch, which I doubt not came from Archie o’ the Calfield, and through him was kin to Johnie of Gilnockie. The whole Clan has been portrayed in a light so unattractive that a descendant like myself experiences a relief when he discovers some softer and gentler features. Often when I have thought of the history of the Armstrongs, and the censures passed upon their doings, there has come before my mind an inscription on the fly-leaf of an old Bible, which I greatly prize, and which now lies before me. It is probably one of the oldest Bibles in Langholm, its date being 1669. The inscription, neatly drawn in ink, is as follows:—

JEAN
ARMSTRONG.

ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG.

His Book, Septem^r. 16, 1694.

And on the inside of the board is another inscription:—

Isabella Park's
Bible Book, 1849.

I do not claim that the Armstrongs were ever a romantic people, but one requires little imagination to read into these inscriptions, a suggestion of romance, touched by a gentle religious sentiment. Alexander Armstrong of Bloughburnfoot was great-grandfather to my grandfather, and his name appears in the Stapelgortoun Register, under date 9th April, 1669. I do not doubt that he presented this Bible to Jean his wife, and the thought of the Bloughburnfoot branch of the Clan possessing a Bible at this early date, so soon after the days of the raiding and rieving, throws a pleasant sidelight upon their nature. It passed ultimately to my grandfather, whom we certainly never suspected of having much sentiment. Apparently he had given it to his wife, perhaps because of the old associations it carried. I do not know whether it will be considered the correct thing for me to say all this, but I have done so to show how arose some of my devotion to the kirk of my fathers, whose wonderful history I have often been told by my grandmother herself. It will be readily understood, therefore, that when my father and I were entrusted with the building of the new kirk in 1867, it was not merely a building contract that we set ourselves to carry out, it was also a sacred task,—for both of us took pleasure in her stones, her very dust was dear unto us,—and into our work there entered something of that spirit which inspired the ancient Jews when they set themselves to re-build their splendid Temple.

Even in the religious life of Langholm we developed peculiarities; indeed, it was often just here that the oddi-

ties of temperament were best shown. Perhaps there never existed a congregation containing so many "characters," or one in which their queer little ways were revealed in so picturesque a manner. It mattered not how early you went to the Town-head kirk you were sure to find Dauvid Dalziel (which we pronounced "De-yell") sitting in his corner seat. An acquaintance of mine quite resented Dauvid's record and tried to be at the kirk before him. Next Sunday he arrived just as the beadle was opening the doors, and he walked in confident of victory. But Dauvid was already in his pew looking as if he had never come out from last Sunday's service. Finding the doors closed when he arrived, he had just slipped in through the vestry. I myself liked to be in the kirk about ten minutes or so before the time, but I never competed with Dauvid, who seemed to allow about half an hour's margin. One Sunday as I passed the plate I noticed in it one solitary halfpenny, but within the kirk were both Dauvid and auld Wull Jardine. Some curiosity sprang up as to the donor of this halfpenny. Some said it would be Dauvid and some said Wull. The point was settled, however, by Lancie Armstrong. "Wull Jardine?" he exclaimed, "we're aye glad when we get Wull safely past the plate withoot him taking ocht oot!" This, of course, was only Lancie's way of hinting that Wull lived on the near side of the street. Ah but, though he might give only a halfpenny to the kirk, or on occasion pass the plate altogether, I have known Wull put his hand deep into his pocket to help some widow and her fatherless bairns.

I can see the old kirk now—now as I sit at my fireside sometimes writing, but oftener musing,—and what a singular sight it presented, though at the time we knew

it not! What with the ample dresses and ancient bonnets of the women, and the shepherd's plaids of the men, it was striking, if only in the way of clothes. During the sermon the men wrapped themselves in their plaids and many of them went comfortably off to sleep, and the rhythmic snoring of both men and women mingled rather inharmoniously with the minister's words. There was an old woman, Auld Nannie we knew her by, who sat just across the aisle from our pew. Often, one of us had to slip over and nudge her, to such an embarrassing pitch did her snoring rise, and extremely disagreeable she was sometimes because of our interruption. She would turn round and glare at our pew for five minutes afterwards. I suspect now we must have been an abnormally sleepy congregation, for I remember Wattie Dunlop* once stopping abruptly in his sermon and addressing us thus: "Oh, *try* and sit up! Try and sit up and A'll tell ye an awn'-ecdote!"

But even the noise of them that slept was less than that made by the dogs. At the time of which I write, some 80 members of the Town-head were from the country, and of these perhaps about 30 brought their dogs to the kirk,—the reason being that the shepherds "lookit the hill" on their way home. But the effect during the service was a bit disturbing. The pews were open underneath, and so the collies had the run of the kirk. I never liked dogs, but if ever a dog-fight occurred—which was not seldom—the chances were strongly in favour of its being just amongst my feet, and often we had hastily to lift our feet on to the seat to save them

* The Rev. Walter Dunlop was a minister in Dumfries, and concerning him Dean Ramsay relates some excellent stories in his *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*.

getting mixed up in the fray. By various signs the animals knew when the benediction was due, and showed their—appreciation, shall I say?—by barking and then making a bee-line for the door. One Sunday, a herd from the head of Ewes got up during the sermon and left the kirk—a most unusual occurrence. When he reached the door he remembered the dog, which was then lying stretched out and asleep near the pulpit stairs. He turned round, and, just as if he had been on Arkleton Crag, he yelled, “Towler, Towler.” The dog at once responded with an answering bark and made for his master. We all felt that this was going too far, and the incident was severely commented on afterwards. I remember a fight taking place and one of the dogs being ejected. It evidently was not tired of the service, for it at once ran up the outside stair, and we were greatly amused to see it seat itself at the window, where at least it could watch the congregation until they came out. When, in 1867, the proposal came up to build the new kirk, the question of the dogs was raised. Some of the country members deeply resented the suggestion that they should be excluded. Partly as a joke, I got up and said that if the dogs were to attend, I proposed we should build a large kennel as well as a kirk, and, curiously, this humane proposal seemed to settle the matter.

Probably no place of worship in Eskdale drew so many “characters” into connection with it as did the old Town-head kirk. Chairlie Hogg was one of these, and painfully regular he was in his attendance on ordinances, though, to tell the truth, he behaved very badly indeed, fidgetting all through the service, and, apparently, wearying for his dinner, which was more to Chairlie than spiritual nourishment. Still, he had a

certain understanding of religious truth, and used to rebuke those who laughed at his oddities, drily saying that "them that laughs at Chairlie laughs at Chairlie's Maker," but his devotion required to be sustained by a copious supply of mint-drops.

Just under the pulpit sat "Picker Jock," the notorious invalid of the congregation. This was not his name, of course, but that was immaterial in a town where, not infrequently, a man's baptismal name was forgotten or obscured by more than one nickname.



"PICKER JOCK."

According to his own story, Jock lost his health "in the year 1," that is 1801, but an unbelieving and unsympathetic public attributed his many failings, not as he himself did to "an all-wise Providence," but to laziness, deliberately contrived and scrupulously re-

spected. Jock was willing to be dependent on the goodness of the congregation, and at their expense he lived an easy life and a long one,—dying at the respectable age of 84. Many harsh things were said of Jock by us younger members of the congregation, but I remember that my grandmother, a woman of gentle charity towards all mankind, ever excused him on the curious plea that ‘he was an orphan, puir thing.’

“An orphan!” her daughter would exclaim, “Aw wonder what his faither would have been like!”

“Picker Jock” had an artist’s eye for effect, and he generally contrived to enter the kirk just as the minister was ascending the pulpit stairs. Then the congregation would hear the stamp, stamp, of his “nibbies” as he hobbled, groaning and peching audibly, on his way to his conspicuous seat. It was at this moment, perhaps, that “Picker” was seen to most advantage. His tall hat was of ancient lineage, well in harmony with its owner. It had seen many summers and much service, and he wore it until he was seated. Under it he wore a curious arrangement, as the portrait shows—a blue cotton handkerchief tied round his head by a piece of white tape, looped in front, and often the ends were left dangling over his forehead. Many were the wonderings as to what the man meant by this absurd head-gear, but to us younger folk it was as an inheritance, and as such we quietly accepted it, though we sometimes smiled. Strangers laughed outright. His hat being carefully removed and a safe place found for it,—by someone else, of course, for Jock lived by proxy,—he would glance around on the assembled worshippers, and if the minister delayed announcing the Psalm, “Picker” would open a conversation with some one in a hoarse whisper distinctly heard throughout

the kirk. At times he selected me for these polite attentions, and being but a big boy at the time I resented them, perhaps with unnecessary warmth.

"John," he would gasp in a hoarse undertone, "how's thy grandmother this morning?"

For a Sunday or two, with shame and confusion of face, I whispered the bulletin, but one morning thinking this had proceeded quite far enough, I leant over the pew, and to the consternation of many and the amusement of a few, I replied, "Sit doon, and try to behave yersel i' the kirk." This brought upon me a severe rebuke from my father for wantonly wounding "Picker's" sensitive feelings, but it stopped the dialogues, which was precisely what I wished.

The self-imposed task of "Picker" was to visit the sick and afflicted, a delicate duty for which he considered himself to possess a special gift, but instead of bringing comfort, his ministrations consisted often of a dreary recital of his own bodily ailments. "Aye, Willie Thomson," he would say, seating himself at the bedside, with much groaning, "ye're a dying man, ye are so. Ye've been a great sinner in your day, Willie Thomson, and a most notorious liar, humpha, ye hev. Ye've been a Sabbath breaker, Willie Thomson, and a most profane sweerer, humpha." Probably Willie Thomson would manage at this stage to get hold of a "nibbie," when "Picker" would struggle to his feet and make for the door, much discouraged at the effect of his visitation. The story of how auld Yiddie Grant's housekeeper prevented "Picker" from praying with her master was often recalled. "Ye're no gaun to pray here," she said, bouncing into the room so quickly, just as he suggested the prayer to Yiddie, that no one

could fail to see she had been listening at the door. "But, my good woman, Yiddie desires me to offer a word o' prayer," he remonstrated. "It disna matter what Yiddie desires," said she, "ye're no gaun to pray here." And he did'nt.

We had another man in the kirk who was always ready if not eager to pray in public. His spiritual ministrations were far from agreeable to us, and Jamie Beattie correctly expressed our estimate of him when he said he was "the most impudent Christian in the congregation." His prayers were long and argumentative, with no grace in them, and frequently contained "hits" at various members of the kirk, and especially at the Session, whose lack of spirituality he never ceased to deplore. All that even my grandmother could say in his defence was that 'there were guid bits about him,' which was not a very extravagant testimonial.

The woman sitting at the opposite side from "Picker" and close to the pulpit stairs, was Nannie Dornie. Her appearance is best described by the old Scots word "disjaskit,"* and her manners lacked that delicacy which one naturally expects in the sanctuary. If she fell asleep she snored very persistently, which was bad enough, but when awake she was incessantly searching and scratching about her person, which was far worse and added greatly to the annoyance of the elder folk, but to the amusement of us young people. Taking these habits into consideration, Willie Dobie, one of the minister's sons, who had a turn for wit, nicknamed her "Nimrod." At first the congregation failed to grasp the full significance of the title until it struck some enquiring spirit to

* Decayed : worn out.

look up what the Bible said about Nimrod, and found that he was there described as "a mighty hunter before the Lord."

Higher up the pulpit stairs sat another old woman, Jennie Riddell, who, in consideration of her deafness, was allowed to occupy this exalted position. When the Psalm was given out, Jennie just stepped up and looked on with the minister. Though it was a daily annoyance to the beadle, this would not in itself have made her notorious, but very often Jennie fell asleep during the singing, and kept rocking her body and bobbing her head to such an extent that the excited congregation expected every moment to see her overbalance and tumble bodily on the bonnet of Nannie Dornie, who sat scratching herself in the seat below.

It will be seen that apart entirely from religious considerations, a service in the kirk, though long and often dry, was not entirely devoid of interest to us who were young, in those long-past days.

Ah, but the congregation were not all "characters," such as I have just described, nor did they all sleep during the sermon. What splendid men many of the elders were! Even yet, after all these years have fled, I can still see auld John Ogilvie, James Johnstone, John Brown, and John Cowan, walking down the aisle, of a Sacrament Sunday, with the Psalm books in their hands, singing the 103rd Psalm to "Coleshill :"—

" All thine iniquities who doth
Most graciously forgive,
Who thy diseases all and pains
Doth heal and thee relieve."

And as I took note of these godly men there came to my mind the vision of the old Jewish patriarchs going up to Jerusalem to the Feast, and our bare, old meeting-

house became to me even as the Holy of Holies. To hear Robbie Dunn engage in prayer, pouring out his soul in "guid braid Scots," reverently addressing the Deity as "Oor heevenly Faither," and praying that He would "pit Sawtan far frae us a'," to see the transformation of his face, for as he prayed, a wonderful light seemed to fall upon his face, and he was no longer a herd on the hills of Eskdale, but a priest within the veil,—such an experience made the Town-head Kirk to be "none other but the House of God and the gate of Heaven."

But I cannot claim that these godly elders had a similar influence over every one in the community. A well-known resident of the town, who had led a most regardless life, and was designated by our women-folk "an auld sweerin' scoondrel," lay very ill, and there went to see him a visitor, who skilfully led the conversation up to that dread change which he thought would soon come to the sick man. He spoke to him nicely about Heaven, and mentioned some of the saints who had gone there from Langholm, naming particularly some of the good old elders of the Town-head kirk, whose godly fame was a household word in the town, and he added that maybe he would see them too. The invalid, who, being a hard drinker and a man of profane language, had never consorted with such serious company, reflected a moment and then made his choice. "Desht it, boys!" he said, "A' think A' wad juist raither gan to the other bit wi' auld Cuddyling and the miller"—two cronies with whom "he had been fou for weeks thegither."

Though we were much interested in doctrines, and could discuss the Shorter Catechism and even the Confession of Faith with confidence, we rarely spoke,

even to intimate friends, of the personal aspect of religion. Perhaps of a Sunday night, after an impressive sermon from Mr. Ballantyne, when there was hush upon all our feelings, or as we slowly sauntered down from Wauchope kirkyard of a lovely summer night, we might draw near to the deeper things of our own souls, and give hesitating expression to them, but we did not give testimonies. We could not. We could argue on the Decrees or on Election, but whilst doing so we would still guard the avenues to our own inner life. I remember a talkative body from the English side being brought by the colporteur one Sunday morning to Mr. Smellie's meeting. During the prayer he kept interjecting "Amen," and some of us gave him a "glower" to keep quiet, but it had no effect. Mr. Smellie, of course, invited him to "say a word," and that man occupied fifteen minutes by the clock, in giving us, not only a detailed history of his Christian experience, but managing as well to insert, at convenient places, a few incidents about his business career. But we Langholm folk could not do this kind of thing.

The services in the Town-head kirk would now be considered long. We went in at a quarter to twelve, but we had no set time for coming out. We were in no hurry, because, for one thing, we enjoyed the service, and for another, there was nothing else we could do. We were not allowed to roam about the country, a practice which I see is now called "admiring the beauties of nature." Instead of doing this, we children sat at home learning the Shorter Catechism (with proofs) and parts of the Psalms. These exercises we very appropriately called "tasks." Besides, many of the congregation had come long distances, and to compensate them, I suppose, they

were given two sermons, separated only by a Psalm. When a girl, my wife walked the eight miles from Fiddleton every Sunday, and her people were rarely absent. Others came even longer distances.

The order of service, too, has been greatly altered. We had then very little singing, and what there was, I fear, would not now be considered agreeable. We sang nothing but Psalms until quite a late date. I recall the suspicion, and in some cases the violent opposition, with which the introduction even of Paraphrases was met. And the resistance to the use of hymns in public worship was more determined still. The Paraphrases,—so many of which, notably the 35th, which is sung now at every Sacrament in a Presbyterian kirk, have become hallowed to us and have entered into our religious experience,—were at least drawn direct from Scripture, but the hymns were merely nice bits of poetry. I confess to being amongst the strongest opponents of the innovation. For many years I declined to touch a hymn book in the kirk. I thought this an evidence of grace on our part, but in these last years I have come to the conclusion that it must only have been an indication of Scottish dourness, for I came to find in the “human hymns” much comfort and inspiration. The singing was led by the precentor—of course we had yet another dispute over the formation of a choir when that daring proposal was made—who got his key from a tuning fork, which was the only instrument allowed inside the kirk. He read the lines singly or in couples, and then the people sang them. Many old folk bitterly opposed the change to four lines being read at a time. As the precentor rarely struck the same note in beginning again, and as most of the congregation dragged some two words behind the

leader, the melody, though it might exist in our hearts, was certainly not evident in the singing. Our list of tunes was small: "Coleshill," "Martyrdom," "French," "Dundee," and "Jackson," were some of the most popular, and about all I can remember.

Up to some 40 years ago the congregation sat during the singing and stood during the prayers. This was a trial of endurance, in the long prayer especially, for it lasted from 20 to 25 minutes. The worshippers, though erect at the beginning, were, ere it concluded, "hinging owre the buik-board," as a relative of my own satirically expressed it. At length the Session decided on a change, and an edict to this effect was promulgated from the pulpit one memorable Sunday morning, and it nearly split the congregation. Then the order was made permissive. I remember the tense feeling in the kirk on the Sunday when the change had to take effect. Over forty people adhered to the old, and, as we thought, orthodox way. But year by year the number slowly dwindled. Thirty, twenty, fifteen! It stood for a long time at twelve, then fell to seven, five, three. I was one of the three, but age came to the help of the innovators, and I yielded in this as I had done in the hymns. Many will smile at this recital. It is true that we were only a handful of old folk clinging desperately to a vanishing day—but maybe if our Scottish forefathers had not shown firmness of purpose on matters seemingly immaterial, we would not have maintained our privileges as we have—at least it is nice for us old conservatives to think so.

The minister's part of the service was a very heavy one, and I have often wondered how he did his work. He "prefaced" the Psalm—that is, he gave a fairly elaborate lecture on its authorship, date, and teaching.

He also gave a lecture, and this was followed by the sermon, which was longer and more elaborate than the other discourses. All these had to be memorised, for of course we would not allow "reading." To have read a sermon would have brought disaster to the preacher and dismay to his congregation. Cameronian Jenny denounced the Geneva gown as a concession to Popery, and "gloomed" many a Sunday when she saw the minister with it on, but if he had read his sermon she would have hived off and formed a denomination of her own.

The greatest occasions in our kirk life were the half-yearly Sacraments. The services lasted from the Fast Day, a Thursday, to the following Monday. The Fast Day was observed almost as strictly as the Sabbath. There was a service in the morning to which every member tried to go, and a Missionary meeting in the evening. At this meeting the *Missionary Record* was distributed. This magazine was dutifully read by men and women who scorned the lighter forms of literature, but oh dear, what a dry affair! One of my brothers, whose humour was touched by a pleasant twinkle of exaggeration, wishful to take a quiet nap of a Sunday afternoon, always took the *Record* to read, for as a rule it sent him off to sleep at once. If it failed to do this, he considered his condition so serious that he consulted the doctor on the Monday.

Services were also held on the Saturday and the Monday, and were well attended. I think it was at the Saturday service that the tokens were issued to those whom the Session considered worthy of communicating. Occasionally the congregation was startled by the minister refusing a token to some member. A pathetic sight we

witnessed each Sacrament season was the refusal of a token to a man whose mind had become clouded by an accident. An upright, and I believe a godly, man he was, but his poor brain tossed itself into a storm sometimes, and this was deemed a disqualification. I can still see his look of dejection as he walked away without his token. It so affected him that almost of a surety the storm would break out at the afternoon service of a Sacrament Sunday, and we could hear him far up in the loft crying out as did one of old upon whom the Saviour had pity. We got used to the scene, and on coming out would only remark, "Jock's been gey lood the day," and then it passed from our memory.

The Sacrament Sunday was a day of several services, each of them of great length. They lasted practically all day, but we wished not to have them curtailed. At the Summer Sacrament we left the crowded kirk, owing to the great number of people who flocked from all parts to the Occasion, and held the service in the meadow at Greenbank. Many of my most sacred memories are associated with these open-air Communion. Owing to the number of addresses to be given, the minister was generally assisted by three, and I have seen four, neighbouring ministers. He himself preached the "action sermon,"* a visiting minister would "fence the tables,"—which to me always seemed designed to prevent as many people as possible from sitting down at the Table—whilst a third would address the communicants.

The sermons of the visiting ministers were eagerly anticipated, not so much I fear for the spiritual stimulus they provided, but as material for comparison and criti-

* The "action sermon" is that preached before the Sacrament is dispensed.

cism—our own minister being always taken as the standard. I sometimes fear that our criticisms were not quite just or charitable. “What did ye think o’ that man?” old Sandie Gibson would ask as we came over the Bridge. “Oh, he wasna muckle o’ a preacher,” I might cautiously reply. “Preacher!” he would querulously say, stopping to look at me in a manner as if I was to blame, “A’ wasna thinking a’thegither aboot preaching, but the man couldna read—he couldna read the printed Bible. A’ didna expect eloquence, but A’ thocht that, being a minister, he could maybe read.” This, whilst it was probably Sandie’s fierce eye upon him that made the man nervous.

One of the most frequent helpers on these great days was the Rev. “Wattie” Dunlop. I never cared for his style of preaching. On reflection I have come to this conclusion—that there was no real difference between Wattie preaching and Chairlie Hogg swithering! He spoke in broad Scots, which of course was right enough, but he had so peculiar a way of worrying the words that we lost the greater part of his meaning. We disapproved of laughing in the kirk, but we could not refrain from smiling at some of Wattie’s quaint remarks. The late Andrew Bowman told me that when Wattie went to “preach in” his brother Robert, as minister of Bethel Chapel, Sunderland, he simply dazed the English congregation by his delivery. At the end of the service they had only a vague idea of what it had all been about. In the afternoon they went along the pier and seeing a lady approaching Wattie addressed her thus: “My woman, ye’re a douce, canny looking body; are ye Scotch?” “No, God forbid,” indignantly answered the lady, to which prayer Wattie, with his ever ready wit, simply answered “Amen,” and resumed his walk.

I remember one of these visiting ministers preaching what was perhaps the most extraordinary sermon to which I ever listened. I do not now recall the text, but that does not matter, as almost any text would have served. Beginning with the words "'Twas in Trafalgar's Bay," the preacher roamed over everything in sea, and earth, and sky, for about an hour, when at last he said he would just conclude with that homely lullaby, "Rock-a-by-baby, on the tree top!" Willie Dobie said the discourse was like Dennis the hawker's cart—it had a bit of everything in it, and his sister declared the only consolation she derived from it was that the minister appeared to finish "wi' an awfu' sair heid!" It served us for conversation well into the next week.

But such sermons were the exceptions. Those olden time Sacraments provide me now with many happy recollections. Often in my reading I come to a verse which served as the text for a great sermon on some of those memorable days, and though so many years have come and gone, I can recall the "heads and particulars," I hear once again the preacher's voice, and see the old faces in the kirk—now all away, and only one or two of us left who can talk of the days of old. Everywhere there is change, in the kirk as well as in the market-place, and perhaps most of all in our homes. I suppose there comes to every man of my age a sense of aloneness as he looks back, down the long-past years. As I have been writing these Reminiscences, sitting here these long fore-suppers, I have lived over again the scenes I have tried to depict—seen my old school friends, and the quaint folk who dwelt among us, lived through many a sunny summer or long, cold winter, sat in the plain little meeting-house and seen again the visions which there came to me so

long, long ago. Yes, and when someone has come in and I have laid my pen aside, I have laughed with him over the stories told in these pages, and told him many another which I have not written here. But no one has come who remembered all the men and women, all the events I have described,—and then once again I have felt alone,—an old man trying to interest a new generation.

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In glancing over what I have written I am made conscious of having omitted much, and conscious too that much of what I have written, Lencie Armstrong would have rejected as “juist havers,” but I cannot amend it now. Many of the stories I see are “nowther richt spelt nor richt settin doon,” as the mother of the Etrick Shepherd said to Sir Walter Scott after he had printed her old ballads, but I am an old man and I have done my best, in answer to many urgent demands, to tell the story of the past eighty years, to describe the Langholm that once was but is no more.

PART V.

GEOLOGICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL,
AND GENERAL.

CHAPTER XLII.

NOTES ON THE GEOLOGY OF ESKDALE.

THE geology of Eskdale follows, with certain variations, the characteristic features of that of the entire southern uplands of Scotland. The scenery of the valley has been, in the main, determined by its geological structure. As the rocks have yielded to or resisted the destructive agencies which, in rain and sun, in frost and snow, in stream and river, have been unceasingly at work upon them through many dim ages, so they have received that sculpturing and carving which now give to Eskdale a charm all its own. Ruskin saw and was impressed with the distinctiveness of the river scenery of Eskdale, and in his *Modern Painters** refers to it: "There are perhaps no scenes in our own island more interesting than the wooded dingles that traverse them, the red rocks glowing out of either side and shelving down to the pools of their deep brown rivers, as at Jedburgh and Langholm. The steep oak copses climbing the banks, the paler plumes of birch shaking themselves free into the light of the sky above, and the few arches of the monastery where the fields in the glen are greenest, or the stones of the Border tower, where its cliffs are steepest, render both field and cliff a thousand-fold more dear to the heart and sight."

It is one of the most noteworthy features of the rocks of Eskdale that they are folded, contorted, or broken into wonderful and picturesque disorder by the slow-moving

* Vol. iv.

lateral pressure which is ever at work upon the rock systems of our globe. And yet the tops and sides of the hills have been planed and smoothed, almost as if by rule, into one common type, by ice-action and other forces acting from without, though here and there a bold escarpment remains, such as Whita Hill, Warbla Knowe, or Arkleton Crag, to give a pleasing variety to the landscape.

The Esk is not a long river, yet in its course it flows over at least four distinct geological systems:—

I. North of Stennies Water the rocks are lower Silurian.

II. Southwards to Skipper's Bridge they are upper Silurian.

III. Between Langholm and Canonby we have the Calciferous Sandstone rocks of the Carboniferous system.

IV. Southwards to where the Esk crosses the Border and becomes an English river, there is found a system which by some is called Permian, by others Triassic, or, as some name it, the New Red Sandstone. But the unfossiliferous nature of this series leaves its classification an open question. Thus, from the source of the Esk to its junction with the Solway, the rock systems are in a regular and ascending series, save that there is one system missing, viz., the Old Red Sandstone. A few isolated patches of it, however, remain, mostly on the higher ground, to tell us of an age of enormous waste and denudation.

These rock-systems, being all stratified, indicate to us that once upon a time, where now stand lofty hills, there rolled a sea whose depth varied with successive upheavals and depressions, until, by some steady force acting throughout many ages, the sea-bed was raised,

and what was once the home of star-fishes and sea-worms became the haunt of the plover and the lark.

I. North of Stennies Water, then, the rocks are of the lower Silurian system. The line of separation in Eskdale between the upper and the lower Silurian, which consist of shales and greywacké,* runs from Stennies Water in a south westerly direction, touches Enzieholm Bridge and Crossdykes, then runs over towards Hartfell.

II. The boundary between the upper Silurian and the Calciferous Sandstone is an irregular line running roughly east and west from Whita Hill, away towards Winterhope Head in Wauchopedale. The upper Silurian rocks predominate in Ewes, but after passing the Terrona Burn they are mostly confined on the left bank of the river to a narrow belt along the water's edge. This narrow belt runs through the Old-town of Langholm, along the side of Whita, as high up the hill as the gate, and it then gradually tapers off as it approaches the Skipper's Bridge. The upper Silurian, which, by the way, can be easily detected as the greywacké, locally known as the hard "whinstone," then crosses the Esk a few yards south of the Skipper's Bridge, where the division between it and the Carboniferous can be easily traced through the river to the mouth of the Skipper's Burn. It then runs up past the Isolation Hospital to Warbla Hill, on the lower flank of which it gives place to a broad band of the Old Red exactly as it does on Whita, opposite. In both places a sheet of porphyrite has been intruded into the latter rock, and the escarpment of Warbla Knowe, like that of Charteris Crag, is thus of volcanic origin, and is contemporaneous with the adjoining sandstone. These

* Greywacké is the impure sand of the period and the shales are the compressed muds.

two cliffs, therefore, stand as it were like sentinels placed, many ages ago, by volcanoes, long since extinct, to guard the entrance to Eskdale.

Tracing it now from the west, the upper Silurian crosses from Winterhope Head to the neighbourhood of Cleuchfoot. It then runs down Logan Water and the left bank of Wauchope. Some fifty yards above the Big Dowie Stane it crosses the river, in which the up-turned edges of the rock can be seen running in almost straight lines. It then runs down the right bank of the Wauchope to Langholm, and up along the side of Warbla, where, after forming the escarpment already referred to, it dips down into the Skipper's Burn. The town of Langholm is therefore built on an isthmus of upper Silurian rocks, with the crags of Whita and Warbla towering above.

These Silurian rocks furnish evidences both of animal and plant life. The animal life of the period was elementary, consisting largely of graptolites and foraminifera. Many beds of shale contain these fossils, some of them being found near the top of Garwald Water. This bed is probably part of the great shale deposits which lie along the course of Moffat Water. The Silurian plant life, at least what the rocks retain of it, seems to have been meagre, consisting largely of seaweeds.

III. The line of separation between the upper Silurian and the Calciferous Sandstone of the Carboniferous system passes along the ridge of Whita Hill. So far as Eskdale is concerned this series begins on Arkleton Hill, which is an isolated patch of White Sandstone set in a frame of Old Red, with which the boundary line between the Silurian and the Calciferous is, as shown on the geological map, dotted with patches more or less broad, from Whita

Hill, up Ewes, and over into Hermitage Water. Whita Hill is thus composed of three distinct series of rocks:—
(*a*) Up to near Whita Gate the rocks are Silurian,
(*b*) with a belt of Old Red stretching from Hillhead over to St. Thorwald's, in which is an intrusive sheet of porphyrite, extending from near Hillhead, past Whita Well and along Charteris Crag almost to the old quarry; and (*c*) higher up the hill than the Crag and forming its main mass is the Sandstone rock of the Carboniferous age.

On the opposite side of Esk, the Sandstone begins in the Skipper's Burn and the Middlehams Hill, and then stretches down beyond Canonby Bridge. The southern boundary line of the Sandstone runs from the west of the county, past Cadghillhead, crosses the Esk at Canonby Bridge, and terminates within the angle formed by the railway and the road leading from Canonby Bridge to the station.

IV. Here it gives place to the Sandstones whose reddish colour is so marked a feature of the landscape at Riddings and southward to Carlisle, the classification of which, as we have said, is still a matter of discussion.

More detailed mention must be made of the appearance of the Old Red Sandstone, with whose lower group the writings of Hugh Miller are so inseparably associated. Its most noteworthy feature in Eskdale is that it seems to exist only along the lines of separation of the Silurian and Carboniferous rocks. It runs in patches more or less prominent from Birrenswark in Annandale to Arkleton Crag in Ewesdale. Tracing it from the former place it forms a belt,—lessening in width as it comes eastward, and accom-

panied on its southern edge by a parallel band of porphyrite,—past Dunaby and Kirtlehead in a north-easterly direction to Falford and Calister Ha'. Here it has been considerably faulted, but re-appears opposite Cleuchfoot and ends in Logan Burn. Its next outcrop is a broad wedge, which runs between Warbla and Earshaw Hill. The old Peat Road along Warbla runs across this wedge at the "Ellers," where, as so frequently happens in the Old Red, there is a patch of porphyrite,—easily traceable in the heavy purple-coloured pieces of rock lying in the syke. These bands of porphyrite, as we have said, are igneous rock injected into the Old Red. This one continues in a south-easterly direction right across the front of Warbla Knowe and down into the Skipper's Burn.

From the face of Warbla Knowe there has been a big landslip, when masses of rock and soil fell from the front of the hill on to the land below. From Arkleton Crag there has also been a landslip. The huge portions of the sandstone rock scattered on the hillside, known locally as "tumblers," are no doubt the broken fragments of this fall.

Another isolated patch of Old Red crops out at Ha'crofts. It is well seen in the Becks Burn, at the end of what was once the highway into Wauchope and Annandale. It is a small piece extending from the Burn a few hundred yards past the farmhouse and it may be seen crossing the road half-way between the latter and the Curling Pond.

Coming now to the east side of the Esk valley, we find the largest remnant of the Old Red on Arkleton Crag, whose sides, as we have already said, are of this series, whilst the summit is of the same sandstone as Whita

Hill. The crags are thus a patch of White Sandstone set round with Old Red and separated from the Sandstone of Terrona Hill by a wedge of upper Silurian which, crossing the Ewes at the Kirk Style, runs over into Tarras near the Cooms. This Old Red also is edged with porphyrite, especially on the Liddesdale side, and where it stretches up into Hermitage Water. Occasionally, as on Cooms Fell, there is seen a volcanic vent filled with broken lava.

All over Ewes and Hermitage the Old Red is greatly disturbed by faults, some of them with a very considerable downthrow. Tracing the belt of Old Red from the hill just above the Howgill, we find it thinning out as it runs down the left bank of the Ewes. It proceeds by a rapid series of faults along the flank of the Terrona Hill. Between it and Hillhead, it suffers a fault whose downthrow is no less than 300 feet. As we have shown, it reaches to the old quarry on the face of Whita, where, by another fault, it is thrown down some 400 feet into the Skipper's Burn, where it terminates.

Geologists tell us that the scenery of Eskdale and of Dumfriesshire generally, has been determined more by the agencies of ice, rivers, rain, and frost than by igneous or volcanic action, yet the whole district is studded with evidences that in some far-off age, chiefly in Carboniferous times, volcanic action was very powerful in the neighbourhood of Eskdale. One of the most distinct indications of it is seen in Tinnis Hill, on the borders of Tarras and Liddesdale, both of which water-gates, right up to Hermitage, are studded with old volcanic vents or craters. Only a little smaller than Tinnis Hill is the Perter Hill in Tarras, which, as well as the Perter Rig, is an ancient volcanic vent which has been

filled up by broken rocks. A larger one still is seen at Cooms Fell. Nearer Langholm we find a volcanic vent on the left bank of Ewes, extending for some 500 yards, from the Whitshiels Burn to the Miniature Rifle Range on Arkinholm. There is also a small one in Arkleton Burn and another on the Mid Hill, above Unthank. These vents are filled with broken lava, i.e. agglomerate, which was shot out of the vent at the time of the eruption, and fell back into the neck of the crater.

Other interesting evidence of such volcanic activity is found in the various intrusive dykes of igneous rocks, which form a fairly conspicuous feature of the scenery of the Border counties. These dykes, which are for the most part of basalt, have been forced into the overlying strata by eruptive agencies. The most noteworthy local example is the great Dyke, which, appearing in the Lead Hills, runs past Moffat over into Eskdale, which it enters near the source of the Black Esk. It crops out in the prominent crag of Wat Carrick,* a mass of basalt, or as some authorities call it, dolerite.† Crossing the Esk near Crurie it pursues a zig-zag course over Meggat Water then through the policies of Westerhall into the Back Burn, near Burnfoot, where it is lost. It re-appears on the left bank of the Esk near Staneholm Scar, and runs through the Langfauld Wood and across the flank of the Castle Hill, where it seems to terminate. Here, and at many places along its course, it has been quarried for road metal and also for building material. Its lithological structure makes it well adapted for curling-stones, and

* We suggest, p. 163, that the place-name is derived from the crag.

† The specimen of the rock in the Geological Museum, Edinburgh, is so labelled, and so is that from the Kirk Burn, Westerkirk. That from Whita is labelled as basalt. Dolerite is a more closely crystallised basalt.

the curlers of Eskdalemuir, Westerkirk, and Langholm have frequently obtained their stones from its hard, black rock. Between the Back Burn and the Langfauld the Dyke has been cut through by the persistent action of the Esk, which, day by day for many centuries, in calm and storm and flood, has been carving its way through this stubborn barrier.

From its first outcrop among the Leadhills to its disappearance at Langholm, the Dyke runs a course of not much less than 50 miles. It may be surmised, too, that the similar dyke of basalt which crops out at the Orchard in Canonby, and then runs past Liddlebank into Cumberland, is a continuation of it. These dykes were intruded into the strata along the fissures of the rocks long after they had been deposited, viz., in Tertiary times.

Other isolated pieces of intrusive dyke are scattered about Eskdale. Near to Eskdalemuir Manse there is an outcrop similar to that at Wat Carrick. Both probably are branches of the great Dyke just described. On the right bank of Meggat Water, near Dorniegill, a smaller dyke appears, which, running in an easterly direction, ends in the Stennies Water. Near to Enzieholm, at the foot of the Shiel Burn, there is an outcrop of mica-trap or minette. At Over-Cassock and in Fingland Burn, and at the head of Garwald Water, small lengths of basalt crop out, whilst at Burncleuch there is an outcrop of felsite. Among the hills between Eskdale and Ewesdale there are several small dykes, intruded during different ages, of basalt, felsite, and mica-trap. On the hill behind Fiddleton wood there is a dyke of basalt nearly half a mile in length. At the head of Meikledale Burn there are intrusions of porphyrite, and another is seen striking across the burn at the entrance to Moss-paul

Pass. In the Dean Banks, nearly opposite Longwood, a small piece of porphyrite crops out, running across the road through the plantation and down into the bed of the Esk.

In Canonby one of the most noteworthy geological features is a band of volcanic ash. It appears in the Irving Burn, divides into two at Auchenrivock, then crosses over to the left bank of the Esk. Here may be occasionally found volcanic bombs imbedded in the ashes. The two bands re-appear at Mumbiehurst, where they bend off in a north-easterly direction. They then pass under the railway line and again unite about half a mile from the Mumbie Cottages. The united band then runs up towards the Bruntshiel Hill, where it is highly faulted, down to the Broomieknowe, whence, pursuing a course parallel to the original band, it runs into Liddesdale.

As already noted, the rock system of Eskdale changes at Langholm, where the Silurian gives place to the Sandstone of the Carboniferous period. This stone of which the town of Langholm is built, is a white freestone of great durability. It has been deposited in masses probably many hundreds of feet thick, on Whita and the Middlehams Hill. In Irvine Burn it occurs in the well-known "cement stones." It is to this group of the lower Carboniferous, and not to the Coal Measures proper, that the coal seams of Canonby belong. These number no fewer than thirteen, and vary in thickness from seven inches to nine feet. The main seams measure respectively three, five, six, seven, and nine feet. In the lower strata the coal appears in thin bands interbedded with limestone. All the seams are much

faulted, especially as they proceed eastward. Limestone of the Carboniferous age is deposited in considerable masses in the hollows of the old Silurian rocks, where its position seems to have preserved it during the times of great denudation. In several places, notably at Harelawhill, the limestone, of which there is a large quantity, has been successfully worked. The Statist of 1842 mentions as a curious fact that "within the space of 200 yards in one particular place, coal, peat, limestone, and freestone may be digged."

Near Tarras distillery is what is locally known as "The Marl Well," a petrifying spring similar to the famous one at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, the water being heavily charged with carbonate of lime. In Wauchope there are two chalybeate and one sulphureous spring. Of the former, the larger spring is known as the Grains. The water contains a very strong solution of iron, and medical men acquainted with it declare it to possess great medicinal value. The sulphureous spring is on the peaty soil at Bloughwell, and it is held to be remarkably efficacious in certain skin diseases, excelling, some affirm, the famous springs of Harrogate and Cheltenham.

Several minerals have been found in Eskdale. Lead has been found at Westwater in Wauchopedale, and also at Broomholm, but at neither place has there been any attempt made to work the ore. By the researches of Sir James Johnstone, antimony was discovered in 1760 on his estate of Glendinning in such quantities that at one time it was regularly worked. Some 40 men were employed in raising and smelting the ore, which was manufactured into sulphurated antimony. From 1793 to 1798 there were produced from the Glendinning mine 100 tons of regulus of antimony, realizing about

£84 a ton. It was said to be the only antimony mine in Great Britain. The vein also yielded blende, calcareous spar, and quartz, but the great difficulties of transit operated against its commercial success. Traces of copper have also been found near Broomholm, but generally it may be said that the Silurian rocks of Eskdale are singularly free from metallic veins, iron especially being almost entirely absent. It was mainly this fact which determined the selection of the Eskdalemuir site, when the Magnetic Observatory was removed from Kew on account of the interference with the instruments caused by the proximity of electric tramway lines.

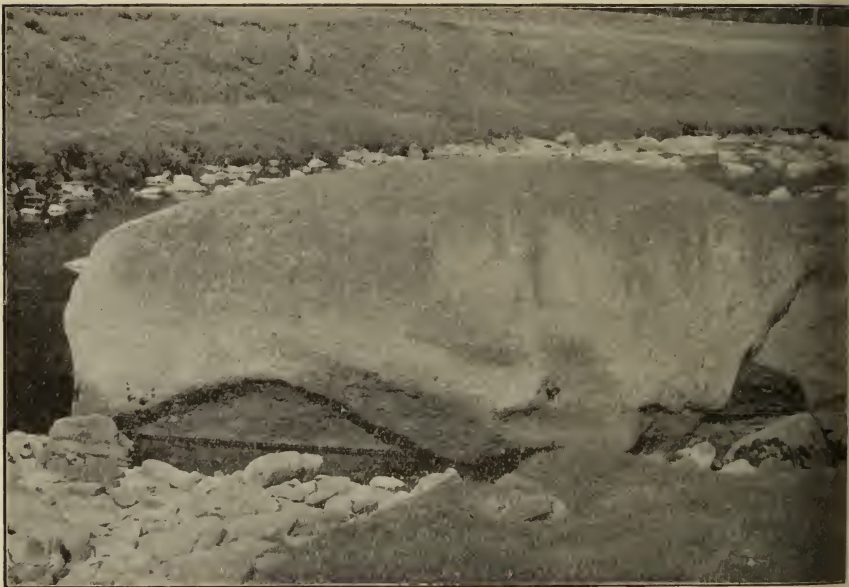
Though volcanic action has had only a subordinate share in determining the general scenery of Eskdale, some of the most picturesque features of the valley are, nevertheless, due to its agency. Warbla Knowe, the escarpment of Charteris Crags on the brow of Whita, and the more rugged hills of Ewesdale, owe their boldness to the resisting power of the hard volcanic rocks.

But in their main outlines the hills have been moulded and shaped into their present forms by sub-aerial agents, such as ice and frost, floods and winds, rain and sunshine, more than by any violent volcanic action. Geologists tell us that Scotland was at one time buried under an ice-field, as extensive and quite as thick as that which covers Greenland to-day. The ice has smoothed down the crags and rounded off the sharp angles left on the hills and rocks by the violent and long continued denudation of the period preceding the glacial age. The rounded summits of the Eskdale hills have thus been slowly chiselled and planed by ice. The valleys, now covered over with corn, were once upon a time wholly filled with glaciers, which have left their magic writing upon many

a hillside and many a rock. Many of these marks are as fresh to-day as when the glaciers first cut them, and it is by them that the movements of the ice-field are traced. Not only were the valleys, where birch and hawthorn now grow, filled with ice, but even the tops of the highest hills of Eskdale were covered by it to a great depth. Now, this mass of ice was not fixed and inert, but flowed with a persistent movement towards the sea or lower ground. The general direction of the ice-flow through Eskdale was south-easterly, but the striation marks seen higher up in Eskdalemuir and in Ewes indicate that there was also an easterly flow. Round about Meikledale they point almost due south, but at the Burnfoot of Ewes the trend is straight over into Liddesdale.

The main flow of the Eskdale ice, however, was towards the English border, and its course may be traced, not by ice-markings alone, but much more readily by the perched blocks which dot the course of the Wauchope Water. The ice which came down the Wauchope valley, or over its hill tops, appears to have broken up somewhere about Carpshairn on the borders of Dumfries and Galloway, helped possibly by the pressure of the ice moving down from the Highlands. It was this Galloway ice which travelled across Annandale towards Eskdale. It carried with it boulders and pebbles and all manner of detritus broken off from the surface of the rocks over which it slowly pushed its way, and these it dropped in its progress or left behind as it slowly melted when the climate gradually became warmer. So that to-day, long ages afterwards, these stones form both an interesting feature of the scenery, and scientific evidence of the climatic con-

ditions of Eskdale in those far-off times. The Wauchope Water contains hundreds of large granite boulders, all of them planed and polished by the grinding they received in their journey thither, as well as by the friction to which they have been and are daily subjected in the river bed. The largest in the district is the Big Dowie Stane,* lying in the bed of the Wauchope at Earshaw, some two miles west of Langholm. It is of the



BIG DOWIE STANE.

* "Dowie" is a term commonly applied in Eskdale to granite stones. Its derivation is obscure. Possibly it comes from the Frisian *duhne*, signifying a collection of snow or sand, as if heaped up by the wind, e.g., "sand-dune." Mr. Palgrave conjectures (*History of England*, Vol. I., p. 67), from the very close resemblance the old Frisian dialect bears to the Anglo-Saxon, that the early conquerors of Britain must have come principally from Friesland. An interesting trace of their language exists in the name *Dunfries*.

grey granite characteristic of Galloway, from whose hills, with hundreds of similar but smaller stones, it has been torn and carried away by the ice. Its weight is estimated at 60 tons. Large numbers of these granite boulders lie scattered about the tops of the hills around Westwater and over the Becks Moss. It is a circumstance worth noting, that higher up the Esk and Ewes than Langholm, there is an entire absence of these "dowie" stones.

Glacial drift or boulder clay, the *moraine profonde* of the ice-sheet, is also thickly spread over the valleys of Eskdale and on the slopes of its hills. Instances of these thick deposits of "till" being partly washed away by the rivers are seen in the Corsholm in Wauchope, and the Staneholm Scar in Esk, where the floods of many ages have eaten into the mass of glacial clay.

Reference has been made to the effect of agencies, such as rivers, rain, and frosts, in chiselling out the scenery of the Eskdale valley. Interesting evidences of this sculpturing are the so-called "letter-stones," of which several series exist. The best known are on the road from Eskdalemuir Kirk to Lockerbie, near to Fauldbrae. The appearance of lettering is due, of course, to the unequal weathering of the hard and soft amygdaloid strata, but concerning their significance there was no little superstition existing at one time in Eskdale. Similar effects are seen on the rocks at Watch Craig, about a mile nearer the White Esk than the above, but in the same range of rocks, and also near to Twiglees, Burnhead, and Black Esk-head Pikes, and we believe also on the Shawrig and Castlehill Crag.

The effects of water action on the rocks are well illustrated at the Linns of Garwald, about half a mile from

the high road, where a charming cascade of eight feet is formed in a deep-cut gorge overhung with birk and fern, through which the Garwald threads its way among masses of broken rocks—"the fragments of an earlier world." The illustration on page 10 conveys some idea of the rocky bed of the Garwald Water. In the Byreburn, Canonby, there is a similar waterfall known as "The Fairy Loup," a drawing of which is given on page 11.

But finer still is the cascade of Wellsburnspout at the back of Fingland Hill. This waterfall has a descent of about 56 feet, and in rainy weather the effect is remarkably impressive—"changed from the beautiful into the sublime," to use the words of the Rev. Dr. Brown.

Noticeable features, almost everywhere in the valleys of Eskdale, are the old river-terraces, which have been cut since the glacial period, and which indicate where the rivers ran in days gone by. As the Esk, Wauchope, and Ewes are all rapid-flowing rivers, they have possibly cut out their present courses in a shorter time than most rivers take, so all these old terraces may not be of very great antiquity. Still many of them undoubtedly are; for a series of three, and occasionally four, distinct terraces may be traced along the rivers in Esk, Wauchope, and Ewes. Good examples of these duplicated terraces are the holms in front of Terrona House and at Murt-holm, and in Wauchope at the Big Dowie Stane. Perhaps the most interesting of all these is that on which the town of New-Langholm is built. This land once formed the old river course of both the Esk and the Wauchope. In some far-off age, the Esk turned westward near the Academy and flowed across the New-town. Then it altered its course and left behind it gravel and

soil, even as it did in the opposite direction when it flowed close by the base of the Castle Hill. Wauchope, too, has greatly changed its course. Formerly it turned off at the Auld Caul and swept round the pasture fields which lie on the east and west of the Wauchope Road. It then flowed over the field to the west of Meikleholm toll-bar, and, when near Moodlawpoint, it united with the Esk. The united river then ran across what is now called the Eldingholm—the site of the Established Kirk—and joined the present bed of the river at Codgie.

The Kilngreen, as well as the Castle Holm, is an old river terrace. Arkinholm, the fertile stretch of holm land in front of Terrona, and the field on the right bank of the Ewes near the Bridge, once known as the Lint Dub, are also indications of where that river once flowed. These holms, with the New-town of Langholm, and the land whereon Stapelgortoun Kirk stood, and the land on both sides of the Byken Burn, at its junction with Esk, are perhaps the oldest river terraces in the Eskdale district.

Later terraces, which the rivers have vacated within a comparatively recent date, may be seen both in Esk, Wauchope, and Ewes, such as those at the Enzieholm, Hopsrig, Potholm, Milnholm, Brackenwrae in Esk; Flaskholm and the Kilngreen in Ewes; and near the Big Dowie Stane in Wauchope.

Wauchope Water presents a very interesting study to the physiographer. In addition to its boulders of granite and its old terraces, its course affords an excellent illustration of how a river, though comparatively small, may affect the scenery of a district by carving its way through hard belts of rock. To eat out a course for itself through hard Silurian rock, a river requires long periods of time,

far beyond the reach of history, whilst to carve out the softer boulder-clay is an easier and quicker process. This inequality produces a succession of small lakes, which form just above the rocky parts in the river's course. As the action of the river prevails over the hard barrier, a gorge is slowly cut through the rock, and these small lakes are drained away, only, in the case of the Wauchope, to form others farther on. In its short course from the Schoolhouse to Langholm, the Wauchope has had to overcome this hard rock barrier at three different points. The first of any great importance is met with just at the bend where the river receives the Blough Burn. Whilst, with long continued patience, it was cutting its way through this mass, the water was dammed back and covered the large holm at Blough-burnfoot. The small outflow from this lake again accumulated above the bend at Besse Bell's Brae, where again a lake was formed. From the overflow of the second lake a third was formed, extending from Besse Bell's Brae to the Auld Stane Brig.

Naturally, the Wauchope took longer to cut for itself a passage through the third mass of rock, that lying between the Brig and the Plump, and so the lake which formed on the glebe land was of longer duration. But in course of time it overcame all its obstacles, with the result that this gorge, along which runs the charming woodland path known as Gaskell's Walk,—overhung with trees through which the summer sun can scarcely pierce, its steep side abounding in ferns, mosses, and wild flowers,—forms one of the most picturesque landscapes in Eskdale. The accompanying view of the Plump, at the end of the gorge, shows the contorted mass of grey-wacké through which the river had to cut its way.



THE PLUMP, WAUCHOPE WATER.

The same method of work is seen in the Esk. Whilst it was cutting a course through the rocks at Skipper's, a lake was formed, which covered not only the holms about Murtholm, but extended back even to Langholm itself.

Wauchopedale, of all the "water-gates" of Eskdale, is richest in relics left by the Great Ice Age. Besides the granite stones and the boulder clay, the ice has left in Wauchope the solitary example in Eskdale of a kame, —a huge mound of sand or gravel. This was probably by slow degrees heaped up under the ice by a stream that flowed beneath. When the ice melted the kame was left. This local example is seen just above Wauchope School house, in the huge mound through which the Bigholms Burn has now cut its way. It consists of

sand, gravel, and water-worn stones, upon some of which striation marks are discernible.

In some of the sedimentary rocks, as we have said, both animal and vegetable fossils have been found. Here and there in the Silurian rocks are deposits of shale-bearing graptolites, considerable quantities of them being found at the head of Garwald Water. They are probably connected with the immense beds of Birkhill Shale running along both banks of Ettrick Water. Other beds of graptolitic-shale lie up Carlesgill Burn and on the left bank of the Stennies Water.

Some years ago a notable discovery of scorpion fossils was made in the Carboniferous rocks in the bed of the Esk at Glencartholm, whose existence in these strata had not hitherto been known. Such scorpions have, so far, not been found complete, but those discovered at Glencartholm, though not absolutely complete, were the best which had yet been found. The best specimen is without its tail or sting.

A number of new fossils were found in 1882-3 both at Tarrasfoot and Glencartholm, the most valuable being amongst the Arthropoda. These groups have recently been named by Mr. B. N. Peach, one of the officers of the Geological Survey, to whose valuable work is due the discovery that the Silurian group, which predominates in Eskdale, rests on a base of volcanic rocks. The following fossils, several of which have not been found anywhere else, have been obtained at Glencartholm.

ARTHROPODA.

1. *Perimecturus Parki*,* varying from five inches in

* It is interesting to note that this group, and also the group of fishes known as *Holurus Parki*, have been named after the late Mr. Walter Park of Brooklyn Cottage, Langholm, whose interest in the geology of the Eskdale district was well known.

length down to about an inch; 2. *Perimecturus elegans*; 3. *Perimecturus communis*; 4. *Palæocaris Scotica*; 5. *Acanthocaris scorpioides*; 6. *Acanthocaris elongatus*; 7. *Crangopsis Eskdalensis*; 8. *Crangopsis elegans*; 9. *Teallicaris Etheridgei*; 10. *Pseudo-Galathea Macconochiei*; 11. *Eoscorpius eulglyptus*; 12. *Eoscorpius glaber*; 13. *Glyptoscorpius personatus*.

Numbers 1 to 9 may be popularly described as shrimp-like in appearance. Numbers 10 and 11 are probably the true land scorpions, and too closely resemble their living descendants to be mistaken. Number 12 differs in appearance from 10 and 11 and was probably their water variety. It is found at Tarrasfoot as well as at Glencartholm.

FISHES.

1. *Rhadinichthys tuberculatus*; 2. *Rhadinichthys fusiformis*; 3. *Canobius elegantulus*; 4. *Canobius Ramsayi*,—these two species of *Canobius* are about two inches in length; 5. *Holurus Parki*; 6. *Cyclotychius concentricus*; 7. *Platysomus superbus*.

PLANT FOSSILS.

The newest discoveries in plant fossils are:—

1. *Sphenopteris Hibberti*; 2. *Sphenopteris decomposita*, (Ferns); 3. *Bythotrephsis carbonaria*; 4. *Bythotrephsis plumosa*, (Fucoids).

Among the mollusca the Pteropod "*Conularia quadrisulcata*" is the commonest here, as in many other districts. Corals have been found between Tarrasfoot and the Hollows Mill, amongst them *Lithostrotion* and *Zaphrentis*, and in the limestone outcrop in the bed of the Esk near the Tower numerous examples of the *Productus giganteus* occur.

GEOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

<i>Recent.</i>	River terraces, peat, &c.
<i>Glacial.</i>	Boulder clay, boulders, glacial striations, kames, &c. Great period of denudation, &c.
<i>Tertiary.</i>	Tertiary basalt dykes intruded.
<i>Permian.</i>	Red sandstones.
<i>Carboniferous.</i>	Calci ferous sandstone series, with limestones and coals. Much volcanic activity.
<i>Old Red Sandstone.</i>	Red sandstone.
<i>End of Silurian.</i>	Silurian rocks folded and denuded. Mica-trap dykes intruded.
<i>Silurian.</i>	Greywacké, shales, and graptolitic shales.

CHAPTER XLIIA

SOME ESKDALE MEN.

THE biographies of Eskdale men, whose life-story is worth preserving, would require an entire volume. All that is possible in the space available here is to present a brief outline of the lives of a few of those whom Eskdale is proud to acclaim as her sons.

WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE

Was the third son of the Rev. Alexander Meikle,* A.M., minister of Langholm. He was born on 28th September, 1735, in the manse at Wauchope Waas. His mother was Julia Henderson, of Ploughlands, in the parish of Dalmeny, a cousin of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall. Educated first of all at Langholm parish school, he afterwards went to the High School of Edinburgh. At the early age of 13 he had read Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, and formed the ambition to emulate the achievements of its author. Having obtained a post as corrector for the Clarendon Press at Oxford, he cultivated his literary tastes, and zealously contributed to periodical publications. From stray contributions of verse he proceeded to more exacting work, and in 1762 published his poem *Providence*, which brought him under the notice of Lord Lyttleton. Other poetic pieces followed: *Pallio*, in 1764, *The Concubine*, in 1767, *Voltaire in the Shades*, and *Mary, Queen of Scots*, in 1770. In 1775

* As explained on page 464, this is the spelling used by the father of the poet. The latter, however, without apparent reason, changed it to "Mickle."

Mickle published his great translation of *The Lusiad* of Camoëns, the Portuguese national poet, and it is principally upon this work that his reputation as a poet rests. It not only placed him amongst the best British poets, but created much enthusiasm in Portugal, and when later he visited Lisbon he was received with the greatest cordiality, and admitted a member of the Royal Academy of Portugal. Whilst in Lisbon he wrote his poem *Armada Hill*. His ballad *Cumnor Hall*, which was originally published in Evans's *Collection of Old Ballads*, is admitted by Sir Walter Scott to have suggested to him the groundwork of *Kenilworth*; indeed, Sir Walter originally intended to name his romance after Mickle's poem, but was dissuaded by his publishers. Perhaps the best known amongst Mickle's shorter pieces is the song, *There's nae Luck about the Hoose*. Some controversy arose concerning its authorship, a claim being put forward on behalf of Jean Adams, one of the minor writers of Scottish verse, but the weight of evidence is on the side of Mickle,—Sir George Douglas, perhaps the greatest living authority on Border literature, strongly favouring Mickle's authorship, as also does Palgrave in his *Golden Treasury*. The poet died in 1788 and was buried at Forest Hill, near Oxford. He had succeeded in his dominating ambition to write a poem that would live in English literature. Amongst his other works was a poem entitled *Eskdale Braes*, the scene of which is laid at Langholm, but it possesses no poetic or romantic merit. It is a matter of regret that Mickle attempted so little work in his native tongue, in which department, competent judges think he would have excelled. A *Memoir* of the poet, by the Rev. John Sim, was published in 1806.

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS PASLEY

Was born at Burn in Westerkirk,* in 1734. He was the fifth son of James Pasley and Magdalen Elliot, and his sister Margaret was the mother of the Malcolms—the “Four Knights of Eskdale.” Thomas Pasley entered the Navy, and gradually rose in the service until he attained the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red. In this position he was on the “Bellerophon” and fought under Admiral Howe off Ushant, on the “Glorious First of June.” In this action he had one of his legs shot off, but for his “distinguished share . . . in the glorious operations” he was created a baronet of Great Britain, received a pension of £1,000 a year, and was given the post of Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth. Here his daughter Maria, who kept house for him, showed on one occasion that she had sailor’s blood in her veins. One day she was out in her father’s cutter-yacht, and, running outside the Eddystone, was seen and chased by a French cruiser. Instead of at once seeking safety the young lady made a fight, and kept firing at the Frenchman with the cutter’s two brass guns, until a frigate was sent out to her assistance. Maria Pasley married Colonel Sabine, and their son Thomas succeeded to the baronetcy. It is of interest to note that Colonel Sabine’s sister was the grandmother of the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, the well known divine, archæologist, and hymn writer, author of *Onward, Christian Soldiers*, and *Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow*.

A biography of Sir Thomas Pasley was written by his daughter. His portrait hangs in the Town Hall of Langholm. Sir Thomas’s elder brother Gilbert was Surgeon-

* See p. 288.

General to the East India Company, and died at Madras in 1781.

GENERAL SIR CHARLES W. PASLEY

Was the son of John Pasley (an elder brother of the before-mentioned Sir Thomas), a merchant of Gower Street, London. He was born in Eskdalemuir on 8th September, 1780, and educated first at the school of Miss "Chattie" Smith in Langholm, and afterwards at the parish school, which was then taught by one John Telfer. Here, and afterwards at the school of Dr. Little in New-Langholm, Charles Pasley had as schoolfellow and friend David Irving, to whose well known book, *The History of Scottish Poetry*, he afterwards wrote the preface. At this time he boarded with Miss Easton, the post-mistress of Langholm, to whose memory, as well as to that of Miss "Chattie" Smith, he erected a tombstone in Langholm kirkyard. Charles Pasley afterwards went to a school in Selkirk along with his cousins, James, Pulteney, John and Charles Malcolm, and James Little, and singular to relate, these schoolfellows and cousins, all of them nephews of Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, each received the honour of knighthood. In 1796 he entered the Royal Academy at Woolwich, and received his commission in 1797. Young Pasley saw considerable foreign service, and his aptitude for acquiring languages, trained no doubt under Dr. Little, obtained for him rapid promotion. He was attached to the staff of Sir John Moore during the Peninsular campaign, and was with him at Corunna. As Captain in the Marquis of Huntly's division, he took part in the Walcheren Expedition, in which he rendered conspicuous service, and was wounded. Later, the duty fell to him of blowing up the "Royal

George," some of the timber of which he sent to Mr. Irving, the builder of Kilncleuch, who had some articles of furniture made from it. In 1846 he received his K.C.B., and in 1851 he was made Lieut.-General. Sir Charles had devoted much time to the literature of his profession and published several volumes, some of which were used as text-books by the military authorities, and are still, we believe, in use in the engineering colleges. He died in April, 1861.

SIR JAMES MALCOLM

Was the son of George Malcolm of Douglen (son of the Rev. Robert Malcolm, minister of Ewes), and Margaret Pasley of Craig. They had seven daughters and ten sons, of whom James was the second. He and three of his brothers, John, Pulteney, and Charles, each received the honour of knighthood,—a circumstance which is probably unique in any family. James Malcolm was born in 1766, and entered the Marines, in which he served for 48 years. He saw active service, first in Spain and later in the war with America in 1812. For his services in these campaigns he received his knighthood. On his retirement he came to live at Milnholm in Eskdale, where he died in 1849, aged 82.

SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM

Was third son of George Malcolm, and was born in 1768. Entering the Navy at an early age he joined the war ship "Sybil," under his uncle, Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley. He took part in the French wars, acquitting himself with great distinction. After a period of much active service, which brought him quick advancement,

he was appointed to the "Donegal." By a very short time he missed being engaged with his ship in the Battle of Trafalgar, arriving, to his intense chagrin, just too late. His ill-luck was deplored by every one of his brother officers, and Admiral Collingwood voiced this feeling in a letter to Captain Malcolm's uncle, Sir Thomas Pasley. For his services in the battle of San Domingo, in which his brother James was also engaged, he received a gold medal and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. In 1813 he was made Rear-Admiral. He was engaged in the American War of 1812, and in 1815 in co-operating with Wellington in the Peninsular campaign. After the fall of Napoleon at Waterloo, Sir Pulteney, as he now was, was entrusted with the conveyance of "the little Corporal" to St. Helena, and elicited the commendation of the fallen Emperor for his chivalrous conduct towards his former foe. He died in 1838 and was buried in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bone in London.

As already mentioned a statue was erected to Sir Pulteney in 1842 in the Market Place of Langholm, on the site of the old Mercat Cross. The foundation stone was laid with masonic honours on 20th August, 1841, by His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, under the direction of Mr. John Babington, P.G.M., of Dumfriesshire. The sculptor of the statue was Mr. David Dunbar. In 1878 the statue was removed to within the grounds of Langholm Library, where it still stands. Strong opposition to the removal was offered by an influential section of the towns-people headed by Mr. R. Smellie. An interdict upon the removal was applied for, but refused.

Sir Pulteney's residence was at Irvine House, which prior to and during his occupancy was called Peel Holm,

after the Border peel-tower of Stakeheuch, or Auchenvivock, which stood on the eminence overlooking the mansion.

Sir Pulteney's son, William Elphinstone Malcolm, Esq. of Burnfoot, was for very many years one of the most beloved and revered residents in Eskdale. In religious and philanthropic work of all kinds he took a foremost part. At his own expense he built the Temperance Halls and Reading Rooms for the benefit of the working men of Langholm, to whom he also delegated their management. As Lieut.-Colonel of the Dumfriesshire Volunteers he manifested the keenest interest in that movement, and raised the Langholm corps to a high standard of efficiency. On Saturday, 28th December, 1908, Mr. Malcolm was presented with his portrait in oil, painted by Mr. Alex. Roche, R.S.A., and subscribed for by 700 admirers throughout Eskdale and the Borders. On the following Monday he was found dead in bed, having quietly passed away in his sleep, at the advanced age of 90. The portrait now hangs in the Town Hall.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

The most distinguished of the sons of George Malcolm of Douglon, and the most eminent native of Eskdale was John, fourth son, who was born 2nd May, 1769, the day after the birth of Wellington, and the birth-year of the first Napoleon. In his boyhood John Malcolm showed no special aptitude auguring his brilliant career as scholar, soldier, and diplomatist, excepting a love of boyish mischief, which caused his schoolmaster to say, when any pranks were played: "Jock's at the bottom o't."

Whilst yet a mere child he was sent to London and, it is said, with what truth we know not, that the last words of advice given him by his old nurse were: "Now Jock, my man, be sure when ye're awa' to kaim yer head* and keep ye're face clean!" To which the future Knight replied, "Tut, woman, ye're aye sae fear't. Ye'll see if I were away amang strangers I'll do weel eneuch!" Young John Malcolm entered the service of the East India Company at the age of 13. Later he was appointed a Cadet in Madras, and saw active service against Tippoo Tib. In 1798 he was made, by Lord Wellesley, assistant to the Resident at Hyderabad. There he obtained great praise for his resource and coolness in the suppression of a mutiny. Shortly afterwards he was sent on an important mission to Persia, where he was sent a second time after he had filled the office of secretary to the Governor-General, and later he was made Minister-Plenipotentiary to that country. In 1815 he was made K.C.B., as his brothers James and Pulteney had been before him. On returning from India in 1817 he received the thanks of Parliament for his distinguished services. The motion was made by Mr. Canning, and in one of the speeches it was said that "the name of this gallant officer will be remembered as long as the British flag is hoisted in India." He was also given the rank of Major-General, and a pension of £1,000 a year from the East India Company. Sir John was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1827, but he soon resigned the position. On his return to England he became M.P. for Launceston, and whilst in Parliament vigorously opposed the Reform Bill.

* Comb your hair.



SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

Not only was Sir John Malcolm a brave and distinguished soldier, and an administrator worthy to rank with the most celebrated pro-consuls, but to these distinctions he added that of scholarship. His *History of Persia*, published in 1815, is perhaps his most notable literary achievement, but, in addition, he wrote a *Sketch of the Political History of India*, *Sketches of the Sikhs*, and a *Life of Lord Clive*—the last, published after his

death, in 1833, was made the basis of Macaulay's famous Essay on Clive.

In 1832, a grand banquet was given in the Crown Hotel, Langholm, in honour of Sir John, Sir James, and Sir Pulteney Malcolm. When the three distinguished sons of Eskdale afterwards entered Sir Pulteney's carriage, the populace removed the horses and drew the carriage out of the town.



MONUMENT TO SIR JOHN MALCOLM, ON WHITA HILL.

Monuments to the memory of Sir John were erected at Bombay, in Westminster Abbey, and on Whita Hill. Some description of the erection of the last has already been given. The foundation-stone was laid by Sir James Graham on the 16th September, 1835. It is a plain obelisk, built of the freestone of Whita Hill. Its height is 100 feet, and standing on the lofty hill it can be seen from a great distance.

SIR CHARLES MALCOLM

Was the tenth and youngest son of George Malcolm. Born in 1782, he entered the Naval Service at the age of fifteen. He served under his brother Sir Pulteney in the "Fox," and was afterwards promoted to the command of the "Narcissus," 32 guns. During this and subsequent commands, in actions in the West Indies and other waters, he took no fewer than 20 Spanish privateers, carrying 168 guns and 1,059 men, and also captured many merchantmen. On the conclusion of peace in 1822 Malcolm was given the command of the Royal yacht in attendance on Lord Wellesley, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, from whom he received the honour of knighthood. In 1837 he was made Rear-Admiral, and 10 years later Vice-Admiral. The first wife of Admiral Malcolm was his cousin Magdalen Pasley. He died at Brighton in 1851, aged 69.

SIR JAMES LITTLE

Was the son of Matthew Little, baron-bailie of Langholm so frequently mentioned in the foregoing pages, and Helen Pasley, sister of Sir Thomas. Sir James was therefore a cousin of the Malcolms and of Sir Charles

Pasley, and, as already remarked, he was the seventh knight descended from James Pasley of Craig. Sir James was also a Knight of the Most Illustrious Spanish Order of Charles the Third, Sacred to Virtue and Merit. He was born in 1761 and died at Shabden Park, Surrey, in 1829.

COL. JOSIAH STEWART, C.B.

Was the son of John Stewart of Langholm. His mother was a descendant of the Scotts of Davington and Thirlestane.* He was educated at the school of Dr. Little in New-Langholm, two of his school-fellows being Sir Charles Pasley and Dr. David Irving. Sir Charles mentions in his preface to Dr. Irving's work on the *History of Scottish Poetry*, that Stewart was one of the boys whom Irving drilled on the Kilngreen to meet their sworn trans-Esk enemies, the Meikleholmers. After a period at Kelso, Stewart entered the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated M.A. Being admitted a Cadet of the East India Company, he saw active service in the Persian Gulf, where he lost his right arm and was in other ways severely wounded. When Sir John Malcolm went to Persia, Stewart accompanied him as first Assistant. Later, he held the position of Political Resident at the Courts of Jeypore, Gwalior, and Hyderabad, and on several occasions received honourable mention from the governing authorities of India. Returning to England in 1838, he died at Cheltenham in 1839.

DAVID IRVING, LL.D.

Was the fourth son of Janetus Irving, and was born in the house, then a thatched cottage, adjoining the

* See p. 315.

North U. F. Church, at the Town-head of Langholm, on 5th December, 1778. Irving, who became probably the most learned man whom Eskdale has ever sent forth, received his early education in the school of John Telfer, and afterwards in that of Dr. Little, to both of whom reference has already been made. In 1796 he went from Langholm to Edinburgh, where he attended the University classes. He took up literary work and began to produce the notable books associated with his name. The following list will convey some idea of the versatility of Irving's genius: *Ferguson's Life*, *Lives of Scottish Poets*, *Elements of English Composition*, which became a text-book in many English schools; and in 1805 he produced his greatest work the *Life and Writings of George Buchanan*. In 1808 he received from Mareschal College, Aberdeen, the degree of LL.D. He was elected in 1820 to the position of Librarian to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, which he held until 1849. During his occupancy of this eminent position he edited various works for the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs, and contributed several articles to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Dr. Irving died in 1862 in his 82nd year. He was twice married, first to Annie, daughter of Dr. Anderson, Edinburgh, and secondly to Janet, daughter of Mr. Charles Laing of Canonby. He was a man of great learning, his knowledge of ancient and modern literature being profound and extensive.

JOHN MAXWELL

Was the laird of Broomholm, *cir.* 1770. The Statist of 1793 makes reference to his *Essay upon Tune*, which he characterises as "comprehensive, ingenious, and pro-

found." Mr. Maxwell was a correspondent of Pennant, the antiquary, and furnished him with certain data during his *Tour*, amongst other information being Mr. Geo. Malcolm's article on *Sheep Farms*. Mr. Maxwell also furnished the Rev. Dr. Brown with a sketch of the ancient practice of hand-fasting in Eskdale, and a summary of the Roman remains which had been discovered in the district.

THOMAS TELFORD.

The father of Thomas Telford, was a shepherd on the farm of Glendinning in Westerkirk. The cottage



BIRTHPLACE OF THOMAS TELFORD.

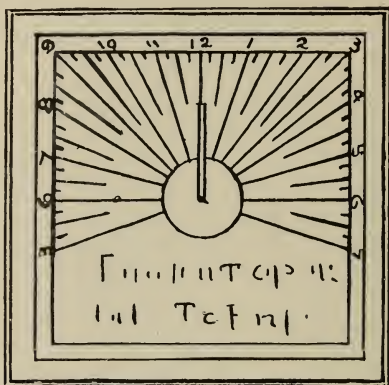
in which he lived was of the most humble description, of the class known in the pastoral districts of the south of Scotland as "shielings," from the Norse *skali*, a shepherd's hut. Here in this lonely spot, where once the Kings of Scotland hunted, was born one of the greatest engineers our country has produced—born in this cottage in August 1757, but buried in Westminster Abbey. His father died within a few months of his



THOMAS TELFORD.

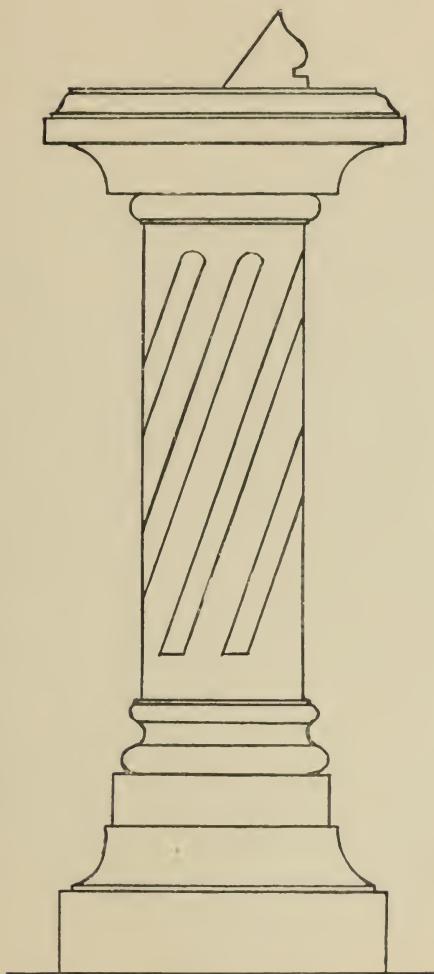
birth, leaving his widow to face a bitter struggle. She bravely set herself to work for her boy, and with the help of neighbours she kept hunger and want from the door. Mother and son removed to the Crooks, where she took a cottage and set herself to train the lad. His early years were spent herding sheep amongst the hills of Eskdale, and attending the parish school of Westerkirk. In due time young Telford became apprenticed to a mason in

Lochmaben, on whose death he came to Langholm and finished with one Thomson. At that time "Good Duke Henry" was engaged in the improvement of his estates, amongst other works being the building of the New-town of Langholm. In the work of building the cottages Telford took a share, and possibly it was at this time that he worked the sundial, of which a print is here given. It is one of the few genuine pieces of Telford's handicraft extant in Langholm, and is now in the garden



TELFORD'S SUNDIAL.

of Mr. William Park, Buccleuch Square, in the possession of whose family it has remained for very many years. Telford worked the dial only, the fluted pedestal being of recent date, and wrought by the late Andrew Park. The only other authentic relic of Telford's workmanship known to exist in the town is the Doorway, now appropriately erected within the grounds of Langholm Library, which Telford's liberality helped to endow. This Doorway was probably that of the old Kings Arms Inn, shown on the right of the print on page 622.



ANDREW PARK'S PEDESTAL.

When the building of Langholm Bridge was commenced by Robin Hotson in 1775, Telford assisted, and there received his first lessons in bridge-building, with which his name and fame were afterwards to be insepar-



DOORWAY WORKED BY THOMAS TELFORD.

ably connected. On not a few of the stones of the bridge Telford's mason's-mark may still be seen.

In 1780 he went to Edinburgh and thence to London, where he enjoyed the patronage of Sir James Johnstone

of Westerhall, on whose estate he had been born. He became Surveyor for the county of Shropshire, and in 1793 was appointed engineer for the Ellesmere Canal at a salary of £500 a year. From this moment he quickly ascended to fame and fortune. Some of his principal works were the Ellesmere Canal, the Caledonian Canal, the Tubular Bridge over the Menai Straits, and St. Catherine's Docks, London. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and President of the Institute of Civil Engineers. He was never married and died at Abingdon Street, London, 2nd Sept., 1834, at the age of 77. By his will he left £1,000 each to Westerkirk and Langholm Libraries, and amongst other bequests he left £500 to Southey, then Poet-Laureate, and a like amount to Thomas Campbell, the poet.

As well as a distinguished engineer Telford was a writer both of prose and verse, one of his best-known poems being *Eskdale*, a descriptive piece of average merit, but written with good taste and feeling. He was conversant with the Latin, German, French, and Italian languages, all of which he acquired by self-tuition. His writings on engineering subjects were published, but are now extremely scarce. Dr. Smiles included a biography of Telford in his *Lives of the Engineers*, and a more detailed *Life* has also been published.

It is interesting to note from E. T. Cook's Biography of Ruskin, (Vol. II., page 163), that the Master considered engineering to be his true bent, and jocularly said that through his devotion to literature, 'England had lost in him a second Telford.'

WILLIAM PARK

Was born on the farm of Effgill in 1788. He became

servant to the Rev. Dr. Brown, minister of Eskdalemuir, and whilst in this humble position contributed to periodicals. Stimulated by the success of Burns, he devoted his spare moments to literary pursuits, and ultimately attained a position in letters which, though not exactly distinguished, was yet highly creditable. In 1833 he published, through Blackwood, a modest little volume of verse dedicated to Sir John Malcolm, entitled *The Vale of Esk*. Some of the compositions display very high and refined powers, notably his *Ode to Poverty*, to which attention was drawn by a writer in *Chambers's Journal*.

When Dr. Brown died in 1837, Park became tenant of the farm of Holmains in the Solway-side parish of Dalton. He "came out" in 1843, and by his writings advocated the claims of the Free Kirk. He became editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, but only held the position for three weeks, dying in June, 1843, at the age of 55.

Appended to his volume of poems is a note on the poems of William Park, R.N., of the parish of Hutton, evidently a relative, editor of the *St. George's Chronicle*, Grenada, to which place he had gone as overseer of an estate belonging to the Johnstones of Westerhall. William Park was for a time in Lisbon where he met William Julius Mickle. One of the poems is on the death of Governor Johnstone,* and another on the death of William Telford, Surgeon, R.N., who was a surgeon on a 74 gun ship-of-the-line in Lord Rodney's action in the West Indies, and whose father had been a farmer on the Westerhall estate.

* See p. 266.

WILLIAM KNOX.

Though not a native of Eskdale, Knox was for five years, 1812 to 1817, tenant on the farm of Wrae, in Ewesdale. It was during this tenancy that he wrote *The Lonely Hearth*, published at North Shields in 1818, which secured him the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott, Professor Wilson ("Christopher North"), and Henry Scott Riddell. In 1824 he published his *Songs of Israel*, and in 1825 the *Harp of Zion*. His best known poem, often wrongly attributed to President Abraham Lincoln, with whom, as with the Czar Alexander II., it was a favourite piece, was that entitled *Mortality*, beginning :

"Oh why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"

Knox died in 1825 at the age of 36. His poems were collected and published in one volume in 1847.

HENRY SCOTT RIDDELL

Was born at Sorby in Ewes on 23rd Sept., 1798, in a cottage at the bridge which has long since disappeared. It is remarkable that the songs of the Scottish people, and the singers who obtain from the latter the readiest response, have come oftenest from such humble cottages as that wherein the author of *Scotland Yet* was born. His father, a representative Scottish peasant, went to live at Langshawburn in Eskdalemuir, where his son became acquainted with James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. For a while Henry Scott Riddell, who had obtained the favour of the Duke of Buccleuch, was minister of the *quoad sacra* church of Teviothead. Resigning this, he retired on a pension granted by His Grace. The author of many poems of great literary merit, he is, of course, most widely known by his song

entitled *Scotland Yet*, the popularity of which in Scotland is second only to *Auld Lang Syne*:—

“The heath waves wild upon the hills,
 And foaming frae the fells,
 Her fountains sing o' freedom still
 As they dance down the dells;
 And weel I lo'e the land my lads,
 That's girded by the sea,
 Then Scotland's dales and Scotland's vales
 And Scotland's hills for me,—
 I'll drink a cup to Scotland yet
 Wi' a' the honours three.”

The profits derived from the publication of this song were devoted by Riddell to putting a parapet and railing round the monument to Burns on the Calton Hill, Edinburgh. He wrote a great deal, not only in verse but in prose, and many of his writings became extremely popular in Scotland. Some of his more notable poems are *Songs of the Ark*; *The Crook and Plaid*; *The Wild Glen sae Green*; *The Emigrant's Wish*; and *The Hames o' oor Ain Folk*.

In 1898 the centenary of his birth was celebrated at Sorby by a company of admirers from Langholm, headed by the Provost, Mr. J. J. Thomson, who delivered an eloquent eulogium on the poet. He died on 30th July, 1870, and is buried in Teviothead kirkyard.

MATTHEW WELSH,

Like Henry Scott Riddell, was born in the lovely vale of Ewes, whose pastoral beauties excited his poetic fancy also. Mr. Welsh, who happily is still hale and vigorous despite his 82 years, early devoted himself to improving his meagre education, and to that cultivation of the higher graces of the intellect, which has ever been one of the boasts of the Scottish peasantry. That he was successful in this gentle ambition is attested both



MATTHEW WELSH.

by the large output from his pen, and the excellence and taste which characterise all his writings, whether verse or prose. Mr. Welsh worked on the Arkleton estate until the age of three score years and ten, when he retired to Langholm. He has devoted his days of ease to literary and archæological work, and in all matters of local lore he is an acknowledged authority.

His chief publication is a volume of verse entitled *Maggie Elliott and other Poems*—a Romance of Ewes. He has also written, but not published, *Thoughts on Redemption*, an epic in three books; also many smaller religious pieces. Mr. Welsh's stray contributions to

periodicals have been many and popular, and have embraced a large variety of themes and treatment: lyrics, sonnets, and odes. Our author has lectured on literary and archæological subjects: *Border Ballads*; *Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd*; *The Lady Balladists of Scotland*; *Roman Roads* and kindred topics.

PRIVATE MCVITTIE.

The name of Private McVittie of Langholm was for a quarter of a century known throughout the world as one of the most famous rifle-shots in the British Isles. He early distinguished himself with the rifle and won many important prizes at the various rifle meetings—Wimbledon, Altcar, Lanark, and Edinburgh. As early as 1869 Private McVittie was selected as a member of the Scottish Twenty to shoot for Scotland in the International Matches. He was also for many years a member of the Scottish Eight, to compete against England and Ireland for the Elcho Shield. In 1876 he was one of the representatives of Scotland in the great Centennial matches at Creedmoor, New York, when America, Scotland, Canada, Ireland, and Australia competed for the Centennial Trophy in what was perhaps the most famous rifle-match in the history of long-range shooting. On the first day's shooting Scotland led, and McVittie was top scorer with a score of 209 out of a possible 225. This was the biggest score which had ever been made in a long-range rifle match, and the third largest score on record. The portrait given opposite was taken on that occasion, the rifle being the one with which the score was made. In 1882, he was a member of Sir Henry Halford's team, representing Great Britain against America in the mili-



PRIVATE McVITTIE.

tary breech-loading matches. His scoring on that occasion surpassed all records, and on the average of the aggregate scores, he was some four points ahead of his nearest competitor. It is an evidence of the reliance placed by the team-captains on McVittie's judgment, that he was invariably selected to lead off the firing, and from him the team received guidance as to windage and elevation.

During his various visits to America, the inventive press of that country contained much apocryphal matter relating to the Border marksman, — interviews which

never happened, and photographs of him for which he never sat! One paper having described him as "an Englishman and the best shot in England," *The Scottish-American Journal*, with national pride, at once corrected the statement, saying that 'McVittie was not an Englishman, but a Scotsman, and the best shot in Great Britain.' In 1885 the *Volunteer Record* took a plebiscite of its readers as to who was the best all-round shot in the shooting world, and McVittie headed the list by an enormous majority.

In 1874 he won the St. George's Vase and Dragon Cup, at Wimbledon, with the highest possible score at 500 yards with the Snider rifle. He also won the Bass, the Olympic, the Albert, and many other notable prizes. Albert Place, Langholm, was so named in commemoration of his success in the Albert competition. In the famous Queen's Prize competition he was three times second for the silver medal, and has been third and fourth in the final stage, only losing the great prize, in 1881, with his last shot. By it he scored an outer, counting two, but had it been an inner, which counted four, the "Blue Ribband" would have been his. His successes are too numerous to mention here, but he won distinction with every rifle he tried. In the famous *Wimbledon Ballads* the following reference to McVittie is made:—

"From near the Border-land comes Nestor sage,
For skill, esteemed the wonder of the age.
May Heaven protect him and reward him still,
Preserve his eyesight and his snuff-box fill."

During the period of which we write, the Langholm Volunteer Corps possessed not a few first-class shots in addition to McVittie, and its fame was known throughout the country. The team embraced such veteran and cool shots as John Cowan, Samuel Hounam, James Bell,

Thomas Wintrop, George Duncan, Gilbert Byers, C. Weatherstone, Thomas Bell, Sergeant Pearson and his son Albert, Ackroyd Bowman, and others, who well maintained the honour of Langholm at the rifle-butts.

In 1886 Private McVittie produced a manual entitled *Hints and Advice on Rifle Shooting*, which had a very large circulation both in this country and America. He emigrated to Canada in 1888, where he also distinguished himself at the great rifle meetings.

THOMAS HOPE

Was born on 3rd March, 1809, in Charles Street (New), Langholm. His father, Matthew Hope, had had a cotton mill with a field attached, but was not successful in business. His mother was Grace Corrie of Corrie Common, near Lockerbie. Thomas was named after his uncle, Thomas Hope, at one time farmer in Bomby,* now Hopsrig. In 1817 the father and his son James emigrated to New York, and two years later the mother and the rest of the children, including Thomas, joined them, the voyage occupying no less than nine weeks.

Owing to the straitened circumstances of the family, they had to leave Langholm without paying some school fees. Many years afterwards when Thomas Hope returned, a rich man, to his native town, he at once sought out his old schoolmaster and more than repaid him.

Thomas Hope and one of his brothers began business as grocers in a small way in New York, but by their integrity and hard work they succeeded in establishing a very large enterprise, comprising three main stores in

* It is related that when a letter addressed to "Thomas Hope, Bombay," could not be delivered in that city, it happened to be seen by a clerk who came from Eskdale, who wrote across it, "Try Langholm!"

Chambers Street, with about 30 branches in various parts of the country. On retiring with ample fortunes, the brothers conveyed their business over to their clerks, who presented them with a silver testimonial which is now in the Hope Hospital, Langholm. Thomas Hope paid three visits to his native country, the first in 1844, the second a year or two later, and the last in 1888. It was on this last occasion that he made public his intention of benefitting his native town. His first idea was



THOMAS HOPE.

to erect cottage homes for aged people down near Holm-foot, but this scheme was abandoned for that now established. In the Hope Hospital are many very interesting memorials of the generous donor, whose name will ever be gratefully cherished in Langholm and Eskdale.

Thomas Hope, whose portrait we reproduce, was a man of singularly benevolent disposition, delighting to help his less prosperous fellowmen, yet his liberality was always controlled by a wise judgment.

RICHARD BELL

Of Castle O'er, laird, naturalist, and author, came of one of the oldest families in Eskdale. In 1764 George Bell of Woodhouselees purchased Burncleuch from Robert Scott, the last of Davington,* but later it was exchanged by his descendants with the Duke of Buccleuch for Castlehill. But the Bells were in Eskdalemuir earlier than this date, for the Rev. Dr. Brown in his version of the legend of *Gilpin Horner* gives the name of "Thomas Bell from Westside" as certifying that the "bogle of Todshawhill" was possessed of both flesh and blood. This Thomas Bell, he says, was "the grand-uncle to the present Thomas Bell Esq. of Crurie." The family had purchased Crurie from Scott of Tushielaw, and later they came into possession of Yards and Yetbyre also. The name of the latter lairdship was changed to Castle O'er by George Graham Bell, who was succeeded as laird by his son, the late Richard Bell. George Graham Bell was an advocate of much renown throughout the south of Scotland, where he was known as "Advocate Bell." In addition to his interests at the

* *The Scotts of Euisdail*, by Thomas J. Carlyle of Templehill.

Parliament House, the Advocate farmed his ancestral acres in Eskdalemuir, and it is said of him that he would walk from Castle O'er to Edinburgh—a distance of 60 miles by road—and perhaps dance at a ball in the evening! His eldest daughter Eliza married, in 1848, John Wilson, tenant of the neighbouring farm of Billholm, the elder son of John Wilson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh, known to all the world as “Christopher North,” whose premier place in the literary life of Edinburgh was unchallenged, and who was brought into close touch with Eskdale by his son's tenancy of Billholm.

The late Richard Bell devoted himself largely to the oversight of his estates, but his interests were not limited to these. In 1905 he published *My Strange Pets*, a book of fascinating interest, dealing mainly with the wild life of Eskdale. As a naturalist, Richard Bell had few equals, and the volume reveals not only his intimate knowledge of bird and animal life, but the keen observation of all the interesting phenomena of the country side. He died in 1910.

CHAPTER XLIII.

STORMS AND FLOODS.

IT is a frequent remark of older inhabitants that the climate of Eskdale, within the last two or three generations, has become more temperate. No doubt this change has been helped by the irrigation and cultivation of the land, and the smaller area now covered by woods and forests. Some of the place-names of the Esk valley give indications of the existence of those large forests—e.g., Blackberry-wood, Woodslees, Brockwoodlees, Langshaw, Braid-wood, Timmer-wood, and others. Place-names derived from the presence of wild animals have already been mentioned. In the heights of Eskdale is a place called Wolf-stane, where tradition says, the last wolf was killed. The late Mr. Richard Bell describes* many species of animals now extinct in Eskdale, for whose preservation extensive forests were a necessity.

Observations made by Dr. Brown, the parish minister, showed that rain or snow fell in Eskdalemuir on about two days out of every five from 1800 to 1810, and the average temperature throughout the period was about $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F.

“THE THIRTEEN DRIFTY DAYS,”

Was the name given to what was perhaps the severest snow-storm ever experienced in the south of Scotland. Nine-tenths of the sheep were destroyed, and in Eskdalemuir alone, which was capable of sustaining 20,000 sheep, only 40 dinmonts were saved. These were on the farm

* *My Strange Pets.*

of Westside, and there were also five old ewes saved on another. The storm occurred at the end of February and beginning of March, old style, 1674. The cold was intense, and about the fifth or sixth day of the storm the young sheep began to die. On the ninth day the shepherds built up circular walls of the dead to safeguard the living, but this gruesome remedy came too late to be of much use. When the storm abated, on scarcely one of the high lying farms was there a sheep left alive. It was under these circumstances that the Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth received license to import stock from Ireland.*

1740.

Snow began to fall on New Year's Day, 1740, and it lay on without decrease until it was melted by the sun, in the spring. Even on May 20, new style, the frost was so keen that people were unable to cast their peats.

1746.

A snow-storm began on 25th January, 1746, and lasted six weeks, destroying practically all the stock in Eskdalemuir. Every farmer save six was ruined—the fortunate six being Thomas Bell, Westside; John Grieve, Kilburn; William Curle, Moodlawknowe; William Graham, Cot; William Beattie, Watcarrick; and John Beattie, Upper Dumfedling.

1751-5.

These years were memorable in Eskdale because of the calamities which again befel the farmers. For five

* See p. 411.

years one disaster followed quickly upon another. The old sheep were destroyed by the inclement seasons and the lambs by the frost and snow. For many years afterwards this period was spoken of and always with horror.

DROUGHT OF 1765.

A severe drought occurred in 1765 which did great damage to sheep and cattle. A species of worm, of a green colour and about one inch in length, destroyed the grass, by cutting it away at the roots. The worms appeared first in May and continued till the beginning of August, when they were destroyed by large flocks of crows helped by heavy rains. Great quantities of the worms were found at the sides of the burns and rivulets after the rains ceased. The neighbouring dales of Liddle, Annan, and Teviot were similarly visited.

1772.

More than one-third of the sheep and lambs in Eskdalemuir perished by a severe storm of frost and snow.

1785-6.

An almost continuous storm lasted from 26th November to the end of March, but fortunately very little loss was sustained, as the snow was accompanied by high winds which cleared the ground and enabled the sheep and cattle to get sufficient food. The few years succeeding this storm were good, and farmers were enabled to recoup themselves for the severe losses of previous years.

"THE GONIAL BLAST."

This storm was so named because of the extraordinary number of sheep that perished, "gonial," or "goniel," being a term applied to the mutton of sheep found dead, from which the smoked mutton-hams are got. The storm began on 23rd January, 1794, and continued several days,—snow, rain, and frost alternating and following each other in quick succession. The sheep were either smothered, drowned, or frozen. The melting snow washed them into the sykes and burns, where hundreds were afterwards found frozen to death. An especially heavy fall of snow was followed by a deluge of rain, and the Esk had never before been known to rise to such a height. When the storm abated and the rivers fell, there were found thrown up on the beds of the Esk, at the Solway, the bodies of two men and one woman, and the carcasses of 1,840 sheep, nine black cattle, three horses, 45 dogs, and 180 hares. In Eskdalemuir 4,006 sheep and seven black cattle were killed. The only farms which escaped the disaster were Yetbyre and Tanlawhill. Burncleuch lost one stirk, but Upper Cassock lost 540 sheep, Nether Cassock 240, Garwald 440, Langshawburn 300, Black Esk-head 254, Kilburn 280, Fingland 250, and Rennelburn 200.

ICE FLOODS.

Towards the end of December, 1870, a severe frost set in throughout Eskdale, and continued for about ten days. On 4th January, 1871, a thaw came and the ice broke up. Huge blocks of ice, thirty to forty feet square, were thrown high up on the banks, where hundreds of tons were soon deposited.

A similar flood occurred in January 1881, following a prolonged frost, during which curling had been played on the Skipper's Pool. The scene presented by the ice-flood when it broke away on the night of Sunday, 30th January, was a memorable one.

THE SOUTER STANE.

One of the heaviest floods ever known in the Esk occurred on 2nd November 1898. A heavy rainfall brought all the rivers down in flood, and at the Boatford Bridge the water was only some two feet from the bridge level. The Souter Stane, an isolated stack of greywacké, which from time immemorial had served as the town's flood-gauge, was toppled over and broken up. The enormous volume of water had found an opening at the base of the rock, the bedding of which so favoured such an



THE SOUTER STANE.

occurrence that it is wonderful that the stone had resisted so long. The water, with sustained force, at last overthrew it, and the famous landmark was destroyed, to the great regret of the people of Langholm, who were wont to tell :

“How oft they'd seen Esk, roaring, leap the Souter Stane.”

Discussion has frequently arisen concerning the derivation of the name “Souter Stane.” Perhaps the simplest and most probable explanation of its origin is that on it, the “souters,”—i.e., the shoemakers, cobblers, and cloggers—of the town were accustomed to sharpen their knives. Its hard and polished surface provided an excellent whetstone, and through serving this practical purpose the rock came to be designated the *souters'* stane. Whether this is historically correct, we are unable to say, and we quote the explanation with reserve.

A CURIOUS OCCURRENCE.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1748, a correspondent described how certain Border rivers, notably the Teviot, had suddenly ceased flowing on 25th January, and had continued in this condition for about nine hours. On 19th February the river Kirtle also went dry for six hours, and Sir William Maxwell rode along its banks for seven miles and attested the fact. “On February 23rd the river Esk itself stopped its course, and the channel was quite dry . . . for the space of six hours, to the admiration of the whole country ; the more so, because this large river is as rapid as most in England.” On this occasion quantities of fish were gathered from the dry river-bed and sold at Longtown and other places.

In the April issue of the *Magazine* there appeared a letter, dated Carlisle, April 16th, attempting to explain the phenomenon. The explanation given was that the previous autumn had been hot and dry, and these rivers had then been lower than ever was known before, and that the earth, being heated to an uncommon degree, affected the melting of the snow on the hills. "The different courses of the freezing air and the situation of the mountains with respect to the several rivers were the cause, and this circumstance did not happen to all on the same day. And that several adjoining rivers did not freeze, must be attributed to their running through a more level and therefore a warmer country; and for the same reason some parts of the Esk might have little ice, as it is not surrounded by mountains."

CHAPTER XLIV.

ESKDALE CHARITIES.

THE following Charitable Trusts, for the benefit of education in Langholm, are now administered by the School Board, in terms of an Order in Council, dated 28th November, 1887.

(1) REID'S MORTIFICATION.

A sum of £50 was mortified by one John Reid, school-master in Langholm, for teaching poor scholars to read and write.

The date of the bequest appears to have been 27th June, 1727. It is mentioned in a minute of the kirk session of 12th July, 1749. “. . . Reid's mortification for teaching poor scholars to read and write, together with the Instrument of Seisine thereupon, in the lands of Burnfoot, formerly designed Cannel-Shiels, being part of the Barony of Westerhall,” &c.*

(2) BROOMHOLM TRUST.

This Charity consisted of the free school known as the Broomholm School in the Drove Road, for the benefit of poor scholars. It was established by Captain Geo. Maxwell of Broomholm, on 24th July, 1827. A sum of

* In the same minute a legacy of £10 sterling is mentioned as having been made by “Jno. Little, junr., merchant in Langholm and member of the Session for buying books” for poor scholars, and reference is also made to the wasting of the principal.

Another legacy of £3 is noted as having been made [in 1732] by Mrs. Meikle, wife of the parish minister, for teaching poor scholars in Wauchope.

£500 was mortified for the support of the teacher, and a tack granted from Whitsunday 1828 for 1,000 years at the nominal duty of 6d. annually, of two houses on the east side of Drove Road.

In his letter intimating the Charity, Captain Maxwell made the interesting suggestion that 'each of the scholars should be required to bring each day they attend the school a single Peat of at least one foot in length and of proportionate thickness for the supply of fire in the schoolroom.' Certain feuars "in Langholm or those parts of the ten merk-land of Arkinholm" are nominated, along with the parish minister, as trustees.

To the above Mortification the kirk session added £100 which they had received in trust for the education of the poor from one David Park in London.

(3) MAXWELL'S TRUST.

By a codicil of will dated 13th January 1866, William Maxwell, surgeon, in Langholm, bequeathed a sum of money sufficient to yield an annuity of £10 for providing "a good plain English education for 10 orphan children," natives of Langholm, five to be educated at the Parish School and five at the Free Church School.

The scheme sanctioned by the Order in Council provided that there should be "at least one School Bursary, to be called the Maxwell School Bursary . . . of the yearly value of not less than £5 nor more than £10."

The following three Mortifications are administered by the Parish Council of Langholm for behoof of the poor:—

(1) THE IRVING BEQUEST.

Dated 21st March 1866, by John Irving, secretary, Royal Navy, Oak Cottage, Langholm, interest on a legacy of £401 16s. 3d.

(2) THE PASLEY BEQUEST,

By William Pasley, The Lindens, Effray Road, Brixton, London, who died 8th Sept. 1906, the sum of £300.

(3) THE MAXWELL BEQUEST.

A sum of £200, left by Captain George Maxwell. The date of the bequest is uncertain, but it was probably made about 1830.*

THE WILLIAM MAXWELL BEQUEST,

Of £50, less duty, by the late William Maxwell, Townhead, Langholm, paid 9th November, 1910, to the parish minister, to be used at his discretion for behoof of the poor of the congregation of Langholm parish church.

THE HOPE TRUST.

This is the most important Charity in Eskdale. The late Thomas Hope of New York, left in trust the sum of £100,000 for the benefit of his native town of Langholm.

* On 20th January 1839, there died at Rosevale, Mrs. Agnes Little, or McKinley, who by her will bequeathed to the parish minister and kirk session, for the Infant School of Langholm, the sum of £50.

Also a sum of £100 for behoof of the poor of the parish of Langholm to the Rev. W. B. Shaw and Mr. Alexander Stevenson.

These Charities do not appear to be included either in those administered by the School Board or in those by the Parish Council.

Part of the money was expended in the erection and equipment of the Hope Hospital, Langholm, for the treatment of surgical cases, and part is used to afford assistance, by way of regulated pensions, to deserving and necessitous inhabitants, at the discretion of the Trustees, by whom the Trust is administered. Mr. Robert Smellie and Mr. W. E. Elton, solicitor, are joint-secretaries of the Charity.

In the other Eskdale parishes there are no charitable or educational trusts of any importance.

In Westerkirk the kirk session has the disbursement of some small Charities.

In Canonby there existed until some years ago a small charity known as THE YEOMAN BEQUEST, by which the schoolmaster at the Tail school benefited to the extent of £1 yearly, but the payment has been discontinued.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE LIBRARIES.

VERY excellent Libraries, well stocked with carefully-selected books of wide and varied interest, exist both in Langholm and Westerkirk.

LANGHOLM.

In 1800 "Langholm Library" was established, and in 1813 another known as the "New Library" was formed by tradesmen and others. Some time after 1850 the latter ceased to exist, but its members were received by the older institution, under certain conditions.

Under the will of Thomas Telford a sum of £1,000 was left to the parish minister of Langholm, in trust for the Library, the interest to be annually expended in the purchase of books. Both "Langholm Library" and the "New Library" laid claim to this bequest. In order to enable the parish minister to obtain the legacy, certain arrangements were agreed upon by the two societies, but at the instance of the Trustees a suit was instituted to determine the rightful legatee. The Court decided that the "Langholm Library" was intended by the testator, and the sum of £1,349 15s. 3d. was thereupon paid to the Rev. W. B. Shaw. This was augmented by further amounts which made together a sum of £3,119 15s. 11d.

Suitable accommodation being urgently needed for the proper housing of the books purchased under the Telford Legacy, His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, on

being approached, very generously gave a site free of all conditions, excepting a nominal feu-duty of 5/, and the late Alexander Reid gave £1,000 towards the erection of the building on condition of a like sum being raised by the members. The present handsome and commodious buildings were erected in 1878.

The position of Librarian has been held by Mr. Robert Scott for over 40 years.

WESTERKIRK.

Under Telford's will the sum of £1,000 was also left to the parish minister of Westerkirk in trust for the parish Library. The legacy accumulated to the amount of £2,729 1s. 3d., which yields an annual revenue of £66 for the purchase of books.

Through this munificent provision the parish of Westerkirk has been enabled to acquire a Library such as few villages in Scotland possess.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE ESKDALE KILWINNING LODGE OF FREEMASONS.

THIS Lodge stands third as to age in the chronicles of Craft Masonry in the county of Dumfries. Dumfries Kilwinning No. 53 was founded 1687, Sanquhar Kilwinning No. 194 in 1738, and Eskdale Kilwinning No. 107 on 16th September 1747, though the Sanquhar Lodge is the only one of the three which holds a charter from the original Lodge at Kilwinning. A charter was obtained by the Eskdale Lodge from the Grand Lodge of Scotland on 10th November 1767, with the number 134, which in 1816 was altered to 103, and in 1835 to 107.

A society to assist distressed brethren was instituted in connection with the Lodge in 1786, and in 1788 a joiner was granted £13 as indemnity for the loss of his tools by accidental fire at Langholm House.* In 1816 the Lodge interested itself in the formation of a Band of Music in Langholm, contributing five guineas, in return for which the Band agreed to play gratis on St. John's Day.

For a period of about 10 years, from 1860 to 1870, the Lodge was dormant, but interest being then revived, the Craft was again followed with enthusiasm.

The foundation-stone of the present Masonic Hall was laid on 17th October 1894 by Mr. A. H. Johnstone Douglas, P.G.M., and it was consecrated on 23rd August 1895 by Sir Charles Dalrymple of Newhailes, Bart., M.P., M.W. Grand Master Mason.

* Langholm Lodge, which was destroyed by fire when in process of erection.

The following is a list of the Past Masters of the Craft since the formation of the Lodge :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1747—John Maxwell of Broomholm | 1816—John Young |
| 1748-50—No Records | 1817—William Johnstone |
| 1751—John Maxwell | 1818-19—John Young |
| 1752-53—John Little | 1820—John Irving, Baker |
| 1754-64—No Records | 1821—William Nichol, Calfield |
| 1765-66—John Craigie, late Chamberlain | 1822—William Johnstone |
| 1767—Gilbert Richardson | 1823—John Irving |
| 1768-69—John Little | 1824-30—John Young |
| 1770—John Armstrong | 1831—William Johnstone |
| 1771—Gilbert Richardson | 1832—Ninian Wilson, Joiner |
| 1772-76—John Little | 1833-34—John Young |
| 1777—John Armstrong | 1835—Ninian Wilson |
| 1778—William Yeoman | 1836—William Johnstone |
| 1779-80—Gilbert Richardson | 1837—John Young |
| 1781-83—No Records | 1838—William Johnstone |
| 1784—William Yeoman | 1839-42—John Young |
| 1785-93—John Little (died in office) | 1843-53—William Johnstone |
| 1794-95—John Graham, Merchant | 1854-60—John Irving, Miller |
| 1796—William Johnstone, Joiner | 1871-72—Joseph Clark Lyall |
| 1797-99—John Graham | 1873—William Byers |
| 1800—William Johnstone | 1874—Joseph Clark Lyall |
| 1801—Thomas Douglas, Surgeon | 1875-87—John Scott, Manufacturer |
| 1802—John Young, Brewer | 1888-89—Henry Sanders |
| 1803-06—William Johnstone | 1890-93—William Alex. Connell |
| 1807—Francis Beattie, Innkeeper | 1894-96—Henry Graham, Manufacturer |
| 1808—William Johnstone | 1897-1901—Thomas Moses, Manufacturer |
| 1809—William Yeoman | 1902-05—William Edward Elton, Solicitor |
| 1810-11—William Johnstone | 1906-09—E. J. Bell, Clinthead |
| 1812—Alexander Hotson, Mason | 1910—The Rev. J. A. Seaton |
| 1813—John Irving | |
| 1814-15—William Johnstone | |

Royal Arch Masonry has also been practised in Langholm, but its origin is of much later date than Craft Masonry.

In 1800, the Grand Lodge of Scotland, from which the Eskdale Kilwinning held its charter, prohibited its daughter lodges from holding any meetings above the degree of Master Mason. Application had already been made to "The Grand and Royal Chapter of the Royal Arch of Jerusalem," in London, and in 1797 a charter of erection had been granted by it to the Lodge, which was designated the "Loyal Scots," No. 106. Later, in 1803,

another charter to the "Mount Sinai," No. 123, was granted. This charter was signed by Lord Mount-Norris, z., Sir Ralph Milbanke, h., the father-in-law of Byron, and Walter Rodwell Wright, j., to "our Excellent Companions William Johnstone, Matthew Hope,* and Walter Forrester." Suitably framed, it forms one of the wall decorations of the present Masonic Hall, Langholm.

The Chapter has been dormant for many years, but in 1905 another Royal Arch Chapter, "St. Thorwald's," No. 319, was erected, of which Mr. W. E. Elton is s.e.

* Presumably, the father of Thomas Hope, the founder of the Hope Hospital.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ESKDALEMUIR OBSERVATORY.

IN the summer of 1903, owing to the laying down of an electric tramway near the Kew Observatory, and the consequent disturbance of the instruments, it became necessary to look for a site to which could be removed the Magnetic part of the Observatory work. It was essential that the site should be remote from railways and tram lines and be where there existed no trace of iron which might disturb the extremely sensitive instruments. After much enquiry the site was selected on the farm of Cassock in Eskdalemuir.

The Observatory was opened in 1908 as a branch of the National Physical Laboratory. The primary object of the Observatory is the investigation of the Science of Terrestrial Magnetism, but the work in other branches of Geo-physics has developed rapidly. The Observatory is now a first order station for Meteorology, while in earthquake investigation there are now in regular operation the following seismographs:—Milne two horizontal components, Galitzin three components, Wiechert two horizontal components, and Omori one component.

On 1st July 1910, the administration was transferred to the Meteorological Office, while the Gassiot Committee of the Royal Society acts as an advisory scientific committee. Complete publication of all observations commenced on 1st January 1911, and these will be found in the *British Meteorological and Magnetic Year Book*, published by H. M. Stationery Office for the Meteorological Committee. The Superintendent of the Observatory is Mr. George W. Walker, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

POPULATION.

THE following table shows the population of each of the civil parishes of Eskdale from the institution of the Census in 1801. The figures prior to this date are those of the ecclesiastical parishes, as ascertained by the parish ministers.

Year.	Lang-holm.	Eskdale-muir.	Wester-kirk.	Ewes.	Canon-by.	Total.
1755	1,833	675	544	392	1,733	5,177
1791	2,540	619	655	325	2,725	6,864
1801	2,536	537	638	358	2,580	6,649
1811	2,636	581	698	338	2,749	7,002
1821	2,957	651	672	314	3,084	7,678
1831	2,676	650	642	335	2,997	7,300
1841	2,820	646	638	328	3,032	7,464
1851	2,990	672	658	354	3,163	7,837
1861	2,979	590	537	356	3,219	7,681
1871	3,735	551	540	338	3,055	8,219
1881	4,612	543	478	337	2,723	8,693
1891	3,970	488	454	299	2,476	7,687
1901	3,500	441	415	261	1,959	6,576
1911	3,302	392	393	247	1,838	6,172

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

LOWLAND WORDS.

IN Chapter XI. there are given lists of place-names in Eskdale which are Celtic or Norse in their form, and some of which may possibly date back to the coming into Eskdale of these races.

Subjoined are lists of words now, or until recently, in common use in the south of Scotland, which are traceable to Celtic, Norse, or Norman-French influence.

CELTIC.

Many words of Celtic descent are in daily use throughout the British Isles, e. g., *button, cart, bogie, gown, rug, darn, trap, whip, wicket, clan, flannel, kill, tartan, whiskey, plaid, &c.*

Others are more commonly found in the dialects of the north of England and south of Scotland: *brat*, an apron; *cam*, meaning crooked, as in the Scots word *camsteerie*, or in the Northumbrian word *cammeral*, crooked (cp. "a game leg"); *peel*, a castle, applied especially to the towers on the Borders. A word once in regular use in Eskdale but now rarely heard, was *ker-handed*, meaning left-handed. The term is said to be derived from Kinnath-Ker, an ancient Pictish King who was left-handed. The name *ask*, applied in Eskdale to the water-newt, is from the Celtic *usc*; *airt* is Celtic *aird*; *bannock* is from the Gaelic *bonnack*; *brae* from *bre*, a hill; *dub* from *dubh*, the gutter; *duds*, meaning rags, from *dud*; *ingle*, the fireside, from *aingeal*; *lum*, the chimney, from Cymric *llumon*; *spate*, a flood, from *speid*; *whin*, gorse, from Cymric *chwyn*.

NORSE.

The number of Norse words in the speech of the Lowlands is naturally very large, and not a few of them show very little modification. The following list might easily be augmented:—

<i>Lowland Words.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Norse.</i>
Bairn	Child	Barn
Busk	Prepare	Busk
Byre	A cow-house	Byr
Clip	To cut	Clippe
Drucken	Drunken	Drukken
Frem Folks	Strangers	Fremmede Folke
Fou	Drunk	Fuld
Gar	To make	Gjöre
Glaikit	Inattentive	Glaikit
Greet	To weep	Græde
Gudeman	Husband	Gudeman
Hansel	Gift	Hansel
Hass	Throat	Hass
Hine	Raspberry	Hindbær
Hogmanay	———	Hogmanay

<i>Lowland Words.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Norse.</i>
Kame	To comb	Kœmme
Kail	Cabbage	Kaal
Kirn-milk	Churn-milk	Kjernemelk
Liester	Barbed fish-spear	Lyster
Kittling	Kitten	Killing
Kirkyard	Churchyard	Kirkgarth
Lowe	Flame	Lue
Nieve	Fist	Nief
Mun	Must	Mun
Preen	A pin	Preen
Rid	To comb	Rede
Rigging	Ridge of a house	Ryging
Rive	To split	Rive
Sackless	Worthless	Sageslös
Sark	Shirt	Særk
Slocken	Quench	Slukke
Smiddy	Blacksmith's shop	Smedie
Speel	To climb	Spele
Stey	Steep	Stige
Stern	Star	Stern
Swey	A sway	Sweigia
Toom	Empty	Tom
Yin	One	Een
Thole	To endure	Tola
Trumf	Trump	Trumf

NORMAN FRENCH.

It is impossible to trace definitely how many of the Norman-French words came into the Scots. The settlement of the barons in the time of David I. ; the inter-communication between Scotland and France in commerce, and the interchange of soldiers in the sixteenth century, were all favourable occasions. The words relating to feudalism, war, and sport, such as *chivalry*, *warden*, *truncheon*, *forest*, *quarry*, *banner*, *joust*, *falconer*, probably were introduced by the barons. Others still in use are *ashet*, from *assiette*, a plate ; *jigget*, from *gigot*, a leg of mutton ; *grosel*, or *groser*, from *groseille*, a red currant ; *gein*, a wild cherry ; *gou*, an after-taste ; *corbie*, from *corbeau*, a crow ; *boule*, a ball ; *dour*, from *dur*, hard ; *douce*, from *douce*, sweet ; *brulliment*, from *brouiller*, to quarrel ; *cundy*, from *conduit*, a pipe ; *muillings*, crumbs, from *moulin*, mill ; *flash*, from *fâcher*, to vex ; *hoolet*, from *hulotte*, the wood-owl ; *raw*, from *rue*, a street ; *tue*, from *tuer*, to tire.

APPENDIX II.

LORD WILLIAM CRANSTOUN'S CHARTER OF 1610.

Apud Regiam de Roistoun, 15 Jan., 1610.

REX,—in memoriam revocans servitium sibi prestitum per D. WILLELMUM CRANSTOUN de eodem equitem auratum ducemque sui satelliti constituti subire illud servitium ad pacandos incolas limitum regni Scotie *lie lait borderris* continuo post suam corone Anglie successionem, non solum ejus magnis sumptibus verum etiam ejus, amicorum et servorum in varia damna et pericula expositioni, quod servitium recompensationem meritum est cum digno premio ei in verbo principis promisso,—concessit dicto Wil., heredibus ejus masc. et assignatis quibuscunque,—terras de Langholme, cum fortalicio, manerie, molendinis, piscariis, terras de Brwneholme, Arkinholme, Taviotscheillis, Quhytscheillis, Balgray, Arkin, Brakinuray, Over et Nether Mylneholme et Tympen, Stablegortoun, Burnefute, Strankgait et Fingland, Carnisgill, Bombie, Glenberten, Cowcherland, Loganeheid, Bowineis, Enzieholme et Milgillheid, Apiltraquhit, Harberquhit, Lyneholme, Dabeth, Monksyde, Bailyehill, Earshud, Crunzertoun, Scheill cum molendino, Littil et Meikill Megdail, Braidheid, Glenkeill, Massiesait, Wyndieleis, et Staneis, Auchingavill, terras dominicales de Logane, Knok cum molendino, Boukin, Rig, Craig, cum fortaliciis, maneriebus, molendinis, moris, piscariis, tenentibus, etc., omnium suprascriptorum, vic. Drumfreis;—que regi devenerunt ob forisfacturam Joannis olim dom. Maxwell (Jun. 1609);—et quas rex incorporavit in liberam baroniam de Langholme, ordinando fortalitium de L. principale fore messuagium:—REDDEND. unum den. argenti nomine albe firme:—Test. ut in aliis cartis *etc.*

[TRANSLATION].

At the Palace of Royston, 15 January, 1610.

The KING—calling to remembrance the service discharged for him by SIR WILLIAM CRANSTOUN of that ilk, Knight of the Bath, and commander of his guard constituted to undergo that service for the pacifying of the inhabitants of the boundaries of the kingdom of Scotland—the late Borders—immediately after his accession to the crown of England—not only for his great expenses, but also for the venturing of himself, his friends and his servants into various losses and dangers—which service hath earned recompense and therewith a worthy reward promised on the word of a Prince—has granted to the said William, his heirs male, and assignees whatsoever the lands of Langholm with its fortress, manor, mills and fisheries, the lands of Broomholm, Arkinholm, Teviotshiels, Whitshiels, Balgray, Arkin, Brackenwrae, Over and Nether Milnholm and Timpen, Stapelgortoun, Burnfoot, Strankgate and Fingland, Carlesgill, Bombie, Glenberton, Coucherland, Loganhead, Bonese, Enzieholm and Millgillhead, Appletrewhat, Harperwhat, Lyneholm, Dabeth, Monkside, Bailie Hill, Erschewood [Airdsmoss], Crunzertoun, Shiel with its mill, Little and Mickle Megdale, Braidhead, Glenkeill, Mossieseat, Windylees and Staneries, Auchingavill, the demesne

lands of Logan, Knock with its mill, Boyken, Rig, Craig, with the fortresses, manors, mills, moors, fisheries, tenants, &c., of all above written, in the sherifdom of Dumfries—which were escheated to the King by the forfeiture of John, sometime Lord Maxwell (June 1609)—and which the King has incorporated into the free Barony of Langholm, appointing the fortress of Langholm to be its principal messuage :—RENT, one silver penny, in the name of blench farm—Witnesses, as in the other charters of the same date.

APPENDIX III.

THE BURGH CHARTER OF 1621.

(GRANTED TO THE EARL OF NITHSDALE.)

Apud Theobaldis in Anglia, 19 Sept. 1621.

REX,—cum consensu Joannis Comitis de Mar, Domini Erskene et Garioch, Thesaurarii, Computorum Rotulatoris et Collectoris,—et Carolus princeps et senescallus Scotie et Vallie dux Rothsay, Albanie, Cornubiæ et York comes de Carrick dom. Insularum baro de Renfrew,—concesserunt ROBERTO COMITI DE NITHSDAILL domino Maxwell, Eskdaill et Cairleill &c. heredibus ejus nasc. et assignatis quibuscunque . . . 10 mercatas terrarum de Arkiltoun, 20 librat. de Mekildaill, infra bondas de Eskdaill, vic. Drumfreis; 12 mercat. de Wraithis vocat. Over and Nather Wraithis in parochia de Nather Ewis, vic. de Drumfreis; cum molendinis et piscationibus earundem: . . . advocacionem ecclesie parochialis de Nather Ewis et terrarum ecclesiasticarum ejusdem, decimas garbales et alias decimas et devorias rectorias et vicarias dicte ecclesie et parochie ejusdem, advocaciones ecclesiarum et parochiarum de Wauchope et Sibbelbie, decimas garbales aliasque decimas et devorias rectorias et vicarias earundem, vic. Drumfreis: . . . necnon terras de Flask alias Flaskholme, Howgill et Glendoven, Burnegrans (vel Burnegrange), Woufhoip (vel Wolfhoip), Park alias Busis, cum turribus, vic. Drumfreis; 53 solidat. 4 den. terrarum de Murthum, 5 librat. de Gallowsyd, 40 sol. de Nes, 26 sol. 8 den. de Wattergrans (vel Wattergrange), 40 sol. de Brigholmes, 53 sol. 4 den. de Glencorff, ant. ext. que fuerunt partes de Wauchopdaill, terras de Torronnane extenden. ad 3 librat. 6 sol. 8 den. ant. ext. cum salmonum aliisque piscationibus, vic. Drumfreis;—quas D. Gedeon Murray de Elibank miles cum consensu D. Patricii M. de Langschaw militis filii sui natu maximi et heredis apparentis resignavit;—necnon terras de Dewscoir, Willieholme et Cruholme, Townsteidis, Hallieschaw, Sanctbryd-hill, ter de Quhittingstounholme (vel Puttingstounholme), Raeknowis, Glentmonthheid, Tannalie, Waterholmes et Birslandis, Bloche, Brokinheidishoill, Blocheburnefute et Corsmungo, Irishauch, Thomishoill, Newlandis, Beckeis, Birnlie, Caffield cum molendino, Middilholme, Staikhench, Stobholme, Rowntrielle et Monkreland, cum advocacione rectorie et vicarie ecclesie parochialis de Wauchop, cum salmonum et aliis piscationibus in aquis de Esk et Wauchop, jacentes in Wauchopdaill, terras de Blissies in Ewisdeall, terras de Park, Craigielandis, Carrutheriscroft, Crosie, Craigie, Hoteroftis et Middingknowis, terras vocatas Inter quas (*Betwix-the-watteris*) terras de Tannasyd, Quhitleis, Bogthropill, *the Chaippell*, Patrikholme, omnes in Carrutheris, vic. de Drumfreis; cum advocacione rectorie et vicarie ecclesie et parochie de Carrutheris; terras de Dryisdaill et Pengaw . . . necnon terras de Langholme, cum turre, manerie loco, molendinis, piscariis, terras de Brumholm, Arkinholm, Teviotscheillis, Quhytscheillis, Balgray, Ardkin, Breckanewrae, Over et Nether Mylneholme, Timpen, Staplegortoun, Burnfute, Stainkgatt (vel Strongait) et Pingland, Carnisgill, Bombie, Glenberten,

Coucherland, Loganheid, Boineis (vel Bowineis), Enzieholme et Mylglieheid, Apiltriequhat, Harperquhat, Lyneholme, Dalbeth, Monksyd, Bailliehill, Ershuid, Crunzertoun, Scheill cum molendino, Litill et Meikil Megdail, Braidheid, Glenkeill, Massieseat, Windieleyis et Stanreis, Auchingavill, *lie* Maynes de Logan, Knok cum molendino, Boykin, Rig, Craig, cum castris, manerierum locis, molendinis, moris, piscariis, tenentibus, &c., vic. de Drumfreis;—quas Wil. dom. Cranstoun de eodem et D. Jo. Cranstoun ejus filius et heres apparens similiter resignaverunt; . . . terras vocatas *the Birrages* aut acras burgales *lie Burrow-aikeris* de Stapilgortoun,* terras de Absterlandis et Dornokgillis in parochia de Watstirker, 5 libratas de Langriggis in parochia de . . . et senesc. Vallis Annandie . . . Preterea rex creavit urbem et villam de Langholme, partem terrarum de L. existentem,—in liberum burgum baronie, BURGUM DE LANGHOLME nuncupand; cum potestate dicto com. eligendi ballivos, burgenses, &c.; cum potestate comburgensibus *lie pack* et *peill* emendi et vendendi, &c., cum potestate dicto comiti habendi pretorium et cruceum foralem, et forum hepomadatim die Jovis, cum duabus liberis nundinis annuatim, 29 Jun. et 24 Oct., cum tolloniis, &c.: REDDEND . . . pro Flask, &c. (usque ad Torronnane) 2 den., nomine albe firme; pro Deuscoir, &c. (usque ad Pengaw) 40 sol. feudifirme, cum duplicatione feudifirme in introitu heredum; pro Langholme, &c. (usque ad Craig) unum den. argenti, cum administratione justicie in dicto burgo.

Test. ut in aliis cartis, &c.

[TRANSLATION].

At Theobald's in England, 19 Sept. 1621.

THE KING,—with consent of John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine and Garioch, Treasurer, Enroller and Collector of Accounts, and Charles, Prince and Steward of Scotland, and of Wales, Duke of Rothesay, Albany, Cornwall, and York, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, Baron of Renfrew,—have granted to ROBERT, EARL OF NITHSDALE, Lord Maxwell, Eskdail, and Cairleill, &c., and to his heirs male and assignees whomsoever, &c., &c., the ten merk-lands of Arkiltoun, the 20 pound lands of Mekildail within the bounds of Eskdail, in the county of Dumfries; 12 merk-lands of Wraithes, styled “Over and Nether Wraithes,” in the parish of Nether Ewes, in the county of Dumfries, with the mills and fisheries of the same, &c., &c., the advowson of the parish church of Nether Ewes and of the glebe land of the same, the corn tithes, and other tithes and dues, rectorial and vicarial of the said church and parish of the same, the advowsons of the churches and parishes of Wauchope and Sibelby, the corn tithes and other tithes and dues rectorial and vicarial of the same, in the county of Dumfries, &c., &c.: moreover the lands of Flask, otherwise Flaskholme, Howgill, and Glendoven, Burngrains (or Burngrange), Woufhope (or Wolfhope), Park, otherwise Buss, with their towers, in the county of Dumfries; the 53s. 4d. lands of Murtholm, the £5 lands of Gallowside, the 40s. lands of Neis, the 26s. 8d. lands of Watergrains (or Watergrange), the 40s. lands of Brigholmes, the 53s. 4d. lands of Glencorff, of old extent, which were parts of Wauchopedale; the lands of Torronnane, extending to 3 pounds 6 sh. and 8d., of old extent, with salmon and other fisheries in the county

* These are doubtless “the burgh-roods of Stapelgortoun” referred to on p. 192.

of Dumfries—which Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, knight, with consent of Sir Patrick Murray of Langschaw, knight, his eldest son and heir apparent, resigned;—moreover the lands of Dewscuir, &c., &c.; Calfield with its mill, &c., &c., with the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of the parish church of Wauchope, with the salmon and other fisheries in the waters of Esk and Wauchope, lying in Wauchopedale, the lands of Blisses in Ewesdale, the lands of Park, Craiglands, Carutherscroft, Crosie, Craigie, Hotcrofts, and Middlingknowes, the lands called *Betwixt-the-Waters*, the lands of Tannaside, Whitelees, Bogthrop-hill, The Chapel, Patriekholme, all in Caruthers in the county of Dumfries; with the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of the church and parish of Carruthers; the lands of Dryffesdale and Pengaw, &c., &c., moreover the lands of Langholm, with the tower, the manor place, mills and fisheries, the lands of Broomholm, &c., &c.; the mains of Logan, Knock with its mill, Boykin, Rigg, Craig, with their castles, manor places, mills, moors, fisheries, tenants, &c., in the county of Dumfries—which William, Lord Cranston of that ilk, and Master John Cranston, his son and heir apparent in like manner resigned, &c., &c. The lands called the Burages, or Burgh-Acres of Stapelgortoun, the lands of Absterlands and Dornockgills in the parish of Watsirkir, £5 lands of Longriggs in the parish of . . . and the stewartry of Annandale . . . moreover the King has created the town and house of Langholm, the existing part of the lands of Langholm—into a free burgh of barony, to be styled THE BURGH OF LANGHOLM, with power to the said Earl to choose bailiffs, burgesses, &c., with power to the fellow-burgesses, “the pack and the peel,” of buying and selling, &c., with power to the said Earl of having a public hall and market cross, and a market weekly on Thursdays with two free fairs yearly (29 June and 24 Oct.), with tolls, &c. RENT for “Flask, &c.”—(to Torronane,) 2d. in the name of blench farm; for Dewscuir, &c.—(to Pengaw,) 40s. fee farm, with a double fee farm in case of entrance of heirs; for Langholm, &c. (to Craig,) one silver penny; with administration of justice in the said burgh. Witnesses as in the other charters, &c.

APPENDIX IV.

THE NITHSDALE CONTRACT OF 1628.

Copy of the Minutes of Contract between the Earl of Nithsdale and the Heritors of Langholm, 1628.

ANE contract to be drawn betwixt my Lord Nithsdale on the one part and James Maxwell of Kirkconneil, Master of Maxwell, James Maxwell of Tinwald, Archibald Maxwell of Cowhill, George Maxwell of Carnsalurth, Robert Maxwell of Dinwoodie, John Maxwell of Middlebie, Herbert Maxwell of Templand, Robert Maxwell, brother to the said James Maxwell of Tinwald, John Maxwell of Holms, John Maxwell of Broomholm, brother to the said Archibald Maxwell of Cowhill, on the other part, as follows—That is to say, the said Earl disposes heritably in fee to the forenamed persons equalie amongst them, their heirs and assignees, all and hail the lands of Arkinholm, with the pertinents, except the woods and fishings within the same preserved to the said Earl, holden of My Lord, his heirs and successors, in feu farm, for payment equalie amongst them for the sum of 250 merks Scots, at Whitsunday and Martinmas proportionally, and doubling the feu farm the first year of the entry of each heir and successor, as use is of in feu farms, and My Lord still warranting the said lands free of all inconveniencys, and because the forenamed lands on ane part of the lands and Lordship of Langholm pertaining to the said Earl, and that he has procured of His Majestie the erecting of ane Burgh of Baronie at Langholm, to be called the Town of Langholm, and that the said Earl be of mind and be thir present consents that the said Burgh of Baronie called the Town of Langholm, shall be builded within the said lands of Arkinholm, as ane part of the said land and Lordship of Langholm; therefore the hail forenamed persons binds and oblidges them, their heirs and successors, ilke ane of them for their own part, to build and conform upon the most convenient part as they shall design within the bounds of the said lands of Arkinholm, ilke ane of them a sufficient stone house on the fore street, builded with stone and lyme, of two houses heicht at the least, containing forty foote within the walls of length, eighteen foot of breadth, twelve foot of heicht, with power to them to build higher, longer, or broader, or more houses within their own bounds designed to them as they shall think expedient on the said persons their proportion of bounds designed to them shall allow conform to their gavall. These shall bigg upon each side of the High Street of the said Burgh of the quantitie and quality foresaid—to wit, five of the said persons on the ane side thereof and the other five on the other side of the same, and that within the space of three years of the date hereof, and the said persons, and ilke ane of them, oblidges themselves, their heirs and successors, that ilka ane of their buildings so to be constructed within the said space shall be worth at least five the sum of 500 merks Scots money, and if they shall fail therein they oblidge them and ilke ane of them to pay to the said Earl the sum of 500 merks, and that by and attour and without prejudice of the fullfilling of the premissies like as the said persons oblidges them and ilka ane of them and their foresaids, that if they shall dispoone any part or portions of the properties dispooned to them, that they shall

build and confront upon the said High Street ane sufficient stone house with stone and lyme of the like height with the rest and breadth and of length so far as shall be proportionable to their parts alike; and they shall dispone under the aforesaid pains, and the said persons oblidges and ilke ane of them to leave ane *patent* and High Street to be the High Street of the said Burgh of thrittie fouts of breadth at least in all parts thereof, and it is proceeded (or provided) that the Tolbooth of the said Burgh in the same shall be constructed and bigged and the same shall be in the High Street, part foregainst or next adjacent to the proportion which shall belong to the said George Maxwell of Carnsalurth and his foresaids, and My Lord oblidges to make the said haill ten persons Burgesses of the said Burgh of Langholm in due form as officers, with power to them to use all kinds of trade and traffique within the said Burgh as any Burgh of Baronie uses now or may do within this kingdom, and the haill forenamed persons oblidges them and ilka ane of them that they shall nowise sell or dispone or woodset the said lands, houses, and pertinents thereof, or any part of the same, or yet *sett* any longer tack whereof than nynteen years without the special consent and assine of the said Noble Earl and his foresaids first had and obtained thereto, otherwise to be null and ineffectual, and it is specially provided betwixt the haill parties or his presents that it shall be lesum to them their heirs and successors, or any other persons dwelling within the said town, who shall have the said Earl and his foresaids' consent and be burgesses therein to win and lead stones of any part of the Common quarries of the said lands of Arkinholm, and for grassings to be made to the persons and ilka ane of them for their own parts equally as said is in the said lands of Arkinholm, upon the provisions and conditions above specified, the said Noble Earl make and constitute conjunetly and severally his bailleys committing to them or any of them his full power to give state seasing heritable, actual real, or corporall possession of the said lands of Arkinholm, with the pertinents, excepting the woods and fishings thereof, as said is to the said persons equally, or to their attorneys their name to deliverance, of earth and stones of the said lands as use conform to the tenor hereof, and the said persons oblidges them their heirs and successors *nunc inde* to others for extension of this minute of contract in ample form keeping the substance herein contained, and to observe and fullfill the same aither of them to others conform to the tenor hereof in all points and the said parties are content thir presents be insert and registrat in the books of Councill and Session, or in the Sheriff Court books at Dumfries; and ilka ane of them conjunctly and severally their procurators respectively, in witness whereof the said partys have subscribed these presents with their hands, written by Martin Newall, writter to His Majestie's Signet at Dumfries, the fourth day of February, 1628 years, before these witnesses—Matthew Hairstens of Craigs, John Maxwell of Thornieland, and John Maxwell of Shaws, and the said Martin Newall, writter hereof, *sic subscribitur*.

(Signed)

JAMES MAXWELL, Nithsdale.
 ARCHIBALD MAXWELL of Cowhill.
 JAMES MAXWELL of Tinwald.
 GEORGE MAXWELL of Carnsalurth.
 HERBERT MAXWELL.

ROBERT MAXWELL of Dinwoodie.
 ROBERT MAXWELL.
 JOHN MAXWELL of Middlebie.
 JOHN MAXWELL of Broomholm.
 JOHN MAXWELL of Holm.

JOHN MAXWELL, of 3 Merkland, *Witness*. MATTHEW HAIRSTENS, *Witness*
 JOHN MAXWELL of Shaws, *Witness*. MARTIN NEWALL, *Witness*.

Seaxion was given to the within-named persons at Dumfries, April, 1628, at four in the afternoon by Martin Newall.

APPENDIX V.

DIVISION OF THE COMMONTY OF LANGHOLM IN 1757-8.

THE COMMONTY of Langholm, the division of which is referred to in Chapter XXV., was bounded as follows:—

Beginning at the Kilnsyke ford goes down the said syke till it joins the water of Esk, and then goes northward by the side of an enclosure belonging to John Little, defender; along the dyke and hedge of said enclosure to the old Mercat Road at the head of the said hedge, and from thence to the side of the water of Esk, and down the water side to the foot of the aforesaid Kilnsyke, and from thence along the side of the said water to the foot of the Longwood Gill, commonly called the North Gill or March Gill, which is the march betwixt the property lands of Broomholm, belonging to the pursuer, and the said Commonty, and the march of the said Commonty goes from thence eastward up the aforesaid Gill to the head thereof, where a pit is made at the sample of a syke, and from thence up to the said syke or sample of a syke by pits made to a pit made with wings, and from thence in a line to a rush bush at the Peat Road, where a pit is made, and thence goes northward by pits to a pit where a line going northward cuts a line coming westward from the Saugh Bush at the head of the Haresyke till it comes to a stone at the Beacon end, where a pit is made at the waterfall, and then the march goes straight east to the said Saugh Bush on the Haresyke head, and down the said syke till it join the Water of Tarras, and from thence up the side of the said water to the foot of a little syke or runner, and up the said runner to a pit made at the root of an old alder tree, and from thence by heaps of stones until it join the Water of Tarras again at the Willow Bush, a little above a big stone called the Hackyd Stone, and goes from thence by the side of the said water to Little Tarras-foot, and up Little Tarras to the foot of Birch Syke, where a piece of ground lying between Birch Syke and Black Syke, bounded on the east side with the Black Syke and on the west with the Birch Syke until the same joins the Mercat Road is called the Pleafields, and that the march of the said Commonty goes from thence along the said Mercat Road to a place called Clatteringfoord, where the march joins with the Black Syke, and then goes up Black Syke to the head thereof, where a pit is made, and goes from thence northwards through a flow moss in a straight line to a pit made at the head of a syke at the east end of the Donks, and down the said syke or runner to the Turner Cleuch head, where another pit is made, and from thence the march goes up Slatyford Syke to the Slaty Ford, where it joins the corner of a stone dyke belonging to John Little, defender, and goes from thence along the said dyke to the head of Langholm Loaning, and from thence along another dyke belonging to the pursuer to Kilnsyke-head, and down Kilnsyke to Kilnsyke Foord, where the march began.

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On the suit of 1757, by Maxwell of Broomholm against the Duke of Buccleuch, John Little, Simon Little, and Archibald Little, the Court made the following AWARD:—

The Lands

PLAN OF THE
COMMONTY OF LANGHOLM

DIVIDED

According to the Interlocutor of
the Commissioners

FOR THAT END
27 OCTOBER 1758

BY

JAMES TAIT EDINB^g



“That the whole bounds comprehended within the said limits and marches do belong in common property to the pursuers and defenders, proprietors of the Ten Merk-lands of Langholm and pertinents and have been immemorially possess as such by them and their tenants and that the whole of the said Commonty within the foresaid limits excepting the Moss after mentioned is to be divided amongst the defenders the Duke of Buccleuch and John Little and the pursuer and that the valuation of each of the Ten Merk-lands of Langholm is 70 merks Scots and that the pursuer John Maxwell's share in the said division as proprietor of five of the said Ten Merk-lands and as having rights by the writes produced to the share of the said Commonty falling to the other merk-land which belonged to Simon Little is to be conform to 420 merks Scots and that the said John Little's share of three of the said Merk-lands is to be conform to a valuation of 210 merks Scots and that the Duke of Buccleuch's part is to be conform to 70 merks Scots valuation.”

The witnesses summoned before the Commission were Archibald Paterson, weaver, Langholm; William Plenderleith, labourer, Langholm; Archibald Scott in Hopsrig; and John Irving and John Murray in Milntown. These, with the Commissioners, passed to the Kilsykeford, the first-mentioned point on the boundary of the Common, and being solemnly sworn, proceeded along the marches of the Common as far as they could till darkness set in. The company then returned to Langholm and the examination of the witnesses began, their evidence being put down in writing and signed by the Commissioners, the clerk, and the witnesses, except John Irving, who could not write. The evidence of the witnesses, who were all men of advanced age, embraced statements as to the correctness of the description of the bounds of the Common and who possessed rights to it. One witness, Archibald Little, merchant in Langholm, stated in regard to the latter point that “the tenants within the Ten Merk-lands had been in use to cast their peats and lead home the same, and that the tenants and inhabitants of Langholm had a right and had always been in use to quarry and lead home stones the same as the peats.” Plenderleith concurred with the evidence by Little that the whole Common was very stony, and that building stone might be had in any part of it.

The Court found that the Common Moss lying within the limits of the said Commonty must not be divided, but was to be reserved as common for the use of those having interest therein. The boundaries of the Common Moss were defined as follows:—

“Beginning at a pit made at the Castle Craigs on the east side of the hill, and from thence westward in a line to a two-pointed pit near a gray stone at the south corner of the said Moss, and from thence westward by another two-pointed pit near a well, and from thence northwards by pits to Maxwell's Cairn, and from thence north-eastwardly by another pit near a cairn, and thence eastwardly by a pit at another pit near a cairn, till it strikes the common march, and along the same to the head of Grey Bannock or Black Syke, and down the same to a two-pointed pit a little above the Clattering Foord, and from thence in a straight line to the said pit at Castle Craigs where it began.”

The accompanying plan is a copy of that prepared, in accordance with the Award of the Court, by James Tait, land surveyor, Edinburgh.

THE KILNGREEN was not included in this Award, but was made the subject of a separate enquiry. The witnesses examined regarding this part of the Commonty were :—

John Irving in Milntown ; William Paisley, innkeeper, Langholm ; and John Murray in Milntown, and they pointed out its marches and gave evidence as to its possession by the people of Langholm. The statements of these witnesses included a description of the marches of the Kilngreen, and showed that at one time the Ewes ran in a course nearer to the old Castle than that in which it ran at that date, and consequently the Kilngreen had been reduced in size. The course of the river had been changed by a bank of stones laid down at the foot of the mill dam by Mr. Melville, the Duke's Chamberlain, and a big flood occurring, the Kilngreen was broken into by the river. The witnesses also declared that ever since they could remember the Kilngreen had been pastured upon by the cattle of the inhabitants of Langholm, and that at one time this right extended to the ground on the right bank of the Ewes, and was only interrupted after Elliot of Middleholm Mill went to Langholm Castle [1724], and it was by his orders that the miller of Langholm Mill interfered with these pasture rights, and that Langholm Fairs had been held upon it, the Buccleuch family levying tolls at these Fairs.

The following is a description of the bounds of the Kilngreen as pointed out and sworn to by the witnesses to the Commissioners :—

“The march begins at the little Clinthead, where a pit was made, and from thence to another pit made at the corner of Johnathan Glendinning's park nook, and from thence to another pit made at the side of a dyke at Janet Bell's pathhead, and from thence along the dyke on the head of the Green Braes to a pit made opposite to the bridge, and from thence down the brae to a pit made at the lower ledge of the bridge, and along the said bridge to another pit made where the old watercourse was, and from thence to another pit near the foot of the mill dam, and from thence by pits made along the old watercourse, until it join with the water of Esk at the foot of the old Castle garden, and down Esk till it join with the water of Ewes at the little Clinthead, where the said marches began.”

APPENDIX VI.

REGISTER OF BAPTISMS OF STAPELGORTOUN.

(*This appendix is not included in the subjoined indices.*)

A Copy of Register*—of all the names of the Children in the parish of Staplegortoun—and some other Children, in some other parishes that was Baptized by me; since the 8 of May 1668, all these in the parish of Staplegortoun, that was Baptized, in my absence, by some other Ministers, all having this mark in the hinderend of the line. ∞

1668.

- June 11. The Foresaid day John Thomson *s. naturall* to James Thomson in Winterhope-head, in the parish of Middlebie. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Over-Crage and Matthew Lyttle elder . . . in the foresaid Over-Crage. ∞
- July 19. The fd. day, Janet Graham *d.* to William Grahm in Brekanwrae. *Wit.* Walter Scot in Talend and Andrew Little in Brekanwrea.
19. The fd. likewise, William Mackintosh, *s.* to James Mackintosh in Miltown. *Wit.* Patrick Scon at Miltown, and John Huggon at Langholm Castle.
26. The fd. day Besse Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Dowglandholme. *Wit.* John Irving in Dowgland-holme and John Lyttle in Overdowgland. ∞
- Aug. 2. The fd. day John Talphor, *s.* to Stephan Talphor in Rushill. *Wit.* John Pasley in Longholme and Willm. Macvitie, yr.
6. The fd. day Margaret Allet *d.* to Robert Allet in Longholme. *Wit.* Adam Glendining in Longholme and Willm. Macvitie, yr. ∞
- Oct. 7. The fd. day Janet Hope *d.* to John Hope in Over-crage. *Wit.* Thomes Armstrong of Crage-burne and Matthew Little elder in Over-crage.
9. The fd. day John Lindsay *s.* to John Lindsay in Langh. *Wit.* John Maxwell of Broomholme and Robert Wright in Ld.
22. The fd. day Andrew Bettie *s.* to Walter Bettie in Bombie. *Wit.* John Allet in Bombie and John Little in Hole.

* The writers are indebted to Miss Janet Scott Hyslop, Mount Gardens, Langholm, for the use of this document. The entries appear to have been copied by the late Simon Hyslop, Market Place, Langholm, from an imperfect copy of the original Register, made, probably for his own use, by the Rev. Robert Allan, episcopal minister of Stapelgortoun. The story is told of one of the lairds of Broomholm that, riding one day in Nicol Forest, he noticed some children playing at a cottage door with a MS. book. On examining it he discovered it to be one of the Registers of Stapelgortoun, and later he succeeded in obtaining possession of it. Possibly it was from this copy that Simon Hyslop obtained his.

The entries have been carefully compared with the original Register in the Register House, Edinburgh, and corrected by Mr. John Reid.

- Nov. 3. The fd. day Andrew Gowenlocke *s.* to Thomas Gowenlocke younger in Whichshields. *Wit.* John Scott in Whichshields and Andrew Lyttle yr.
10. The sd. day William Pasley *s.* to John Pasley in Langh. *Wit.* William Macvite in Longholme and James Oliver yr. ∞
22. The fd. day Adam Dalglish *s.* to Walter Dalglish in Longh. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholm and John Pasley, younger yr.
- Dec. 17. The fd. day Nans Irving *d.* to Thomas Irving in Carlesgill. *Wit.* William Irving in Carles-gill and Archbald Irving, yr.
27. The sd. day Isabell Murray *d.* to John Murray in Timpen. *Wit.* William Armstrong in Nether-Crage and Andrew Little in Brekenwray.
- 1669.
- Jan. 7. The sd. day Nans fforsythes *d.* to John Forsythes in Longholme. *Wit.* Anthony Brown in Longholme and John Lindsay, yr.
10. The sd. day William Lambe *s.* to James Lambe in Pott-holme. *Wit.* Thomas Wilson in Pott-holm and John Scott in Bankhowse.
14. The sd. day Willm. Blackloke *s. natrull* to George Blackloke in Longholme. *Wit.* George Wyilie at Miltown and Robert Blackloke in Calf-field.
17. The sd. day Simeon Wilson *s.* to Thomas Wilson in Pottholme. *Wit.* John Scott in Bankhouse and William Scott, yr.
22. The aforesaid day Anna Allet *d.* to John Allet in Bombie. *Wit.* Walter Bettie in Bombie and John Lyttle in Hole.
- Feb. 11. The sd. day Janet *d.* to in the P. of Middlebie. *Wit.*
15. The sd. day Mary Armstrong *d.* to William Armstrong, of Nether-Crage. *Wit.* Thomas Murray in Nether-Crage and Walter Hope yr.
23. The sd. day George Irving *s.* to Mungo Irving in Aughengile in the half P. of Morton. *Wit.* Robert Maxwell in Aughengile and James Rae yr.
- Mar. 18. The sd. day Nans Scot *d.* to Walter Scot in Taillend. *Wit.* John Scot of Renneburn and John Maxwell of Broomholme.
- The sd. day likewise Bessie Fletcher *d.* to Thomas Fletcher in Longholme. *Wit.* Thomas Lyttle in Longholme and James Johnston yr.
28. The sd. day Margrèt Irving *d.* William Irving in Carlesgill. *Wit.* John Armstrong in Crage-burn and John Hope in Over-Crage.
- April 3. The sd. day Patrick Maxwell *s.* to the deceased John Maxwell of Broomholme. *Wit.* Sir James Johnston of Westerhall and Frances Scott of Erkelton. ∞
9. The sd. day Helen Scot *d.* to John in the P. of Waughope. *Wit.* Andrew Hewetson in Bigholme and Alexander Armstrong, Bloughburnfoot.
11. The sd. day Jeane Lyttle *d. natural* to Willm. Lyttle, Overdowgland. *Wit.* John Lyttle in Overdowgland and Archbald Lyttle in Middowgland.
15. The sd. day Hugh Reid *s.* to William Reid in Longholme. *Wit.* Thomas Lyttle in Longholme and James Johnston yr.

- April 22. The sd. day, George Lyttle *s.* to Archbald Lyttle in Middowgland. *Wit.* John Lyttle in Overdowgland and John Bettie Dowglandholme.
- May 13. The sd. day John Allet *s.* to Walter Allet in the P. of Wachope. *Wit.* Andrew Hewetson in Bigholms and William Young in Shaw.
18. The sd. day Margret Wright *d.* to William Wright in Longholme. *Wit.* Adam Glendining in Longholme and James Oliver yr.
31. The sd. day Janet and Jeane Macvites *drs.* to William Macviti in Longholme. *Wit.* Robert Allet in Longholme and William Wright yr.
- June 13. The sd. day John Murray *s. natural* to William Murray in Broomholme. *Wit.* John Murray in Timpen and David Murray yr.
- July 14. The sd. day John Wright *s. natural* to Andrew Wright in Longholme. *Wit.* John Wright in Longholme and Thomas Byres, yr.
- Aug. 4. The sd. day Margaret Macvitie *d.* to Thomas Macvitie in Longholme. *Wit.* James Oliver in Longholme and Thomas Byres yr. ∞
15. The sd. day William Hewetson *s.* to William Hewetson in Holmhead. *Wit.* Andrew Irving in Holm-head and George Scott, yr.
- Sept. 12. The sd. day John Scott *s. natural* to Robert Scott in Byking in Wester-kirk P. *Wit.* William Armstrong of Nether-Craige and Andrew Irving in Holm-head.
28. The sd. day Janet Gibson *d.* to Mr. Thomas Gibson in Longholme. *Wit.* Adam Scott in Longholme and James Pasley yr.
- Nov. 2. The sd. day Helen Allet *d.* to Robert Allet. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholme and William Wright yr. ∞
7. The sd. day Grissle Henderson *d.* to John Henderson in Craige-Hope. *Wit.* Mathew Lyttle in Over-Craige and Thomas Hope, yr.
25. The sd. day John Lyttle *s.* to Andrew Lyttle in Westerkir. *Wit.* George Dixon in Linholme and Simon Lyttle yr.
- Dec. 4. The sd. day John Scott *s. natural* to John Scott in Longholme. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholme and James Pasley, yr.
7. The sd. day Margret Scott* *d.* to John Scott in Bankhous and laird of Rennelburn. *Wit.* John Scott in Bankhous and David Scott yr. ∞
- 1670.
- Jan. 14. The sd. day Janet Lyttle *d.* to Archbald in Longholme. *Wit.* Thomas Lyttle in Longholme and William Bell yr.
16. The sd. day Thomas Hope *s.* to John Hope in Over-Craige. *Wit.* George Talepher in Over-Craige and Matthew Lyttle yr.
30. The sd. day Matthew Lyttle *s.* to William Lyttle in Steenholme. *Wit.* John Hope in Holmehead and Andrew Irving, yr. ∞

* The writers take this to be the Margaret Scott of Rennelburn, who is referred to on page 496 as suffering for her faith during the persecution of the Covenanters.

- Feb. 20. The sd. day Jeane Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Overdowgland.
Wit. John Battie in Dowglandholme and John Lyttle yr.
20. The sd. day likewise Margaret Hislope *d.* to John Hislope in Hole. *Wit.* John Allet in Bombie and Matthew Lyttle in Over-Crage.
27. The sd. day Robert Hope *s.* to John Hope in Longholme.
Wit. James Oliver in Longholme and James Johnston, yr.
- Mar. 6. The sd. day Besse Wright *d.* to George Wright in Longholme.
Wit. John Pasley in Longholme and Adam Glendining, yr.
6. The sd. day likewise Jane Bettie *d.* to John Battie in Calfield in Wawchope. *Wit.* Thomas Irving in Carlsgill and John Irving yr.
10. The sd. day Magdalen Scott *d. natural* to John Scot in Bankhowse. *Wit.* Thomas Hope and William Bell both in Wawchope P.
13. The sd. day Adam Gowenloke *s.* to Thomas Gowenloke in Whichshields. *Wit.* Andrew Irving in Holmehead and John Scott yr.
13. The sd. day likewise Isabel Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Dowglandholme. *Wit.* Matthew Lyttle in Over-Crage and George Talpher, yr.
15. The sd. day Jean Armstrong *d.* to John Armstrong in Longholme. *Wit.* John Hope in Longholme and Hugh Alexander yr.
31. The sd. day Margaret Clarke *d.* to William Clark in Longholm. *Wit.* James Pasley in Long. and James Reid yr.
- April 25. The sd. day Besse Scott *d.* to Adam Scott in Longholme.
Wit. George Thomson in Longholm and Thomas Aitchison yr. ∞
28. The sd. day Margaret Murray *d.* to David Murray in Timpen.
Wit. John Murray in Timpen and Thomas Murray yr. ∞
- May 26. The sd. day John Irving *s.* to David Irving in Coldtown in Wawchope. *Wit.* Gaving Armstrong in Cold-town and George Irving yr.
- June 5. The sd. day Isabel Battie *d.* to Walter Battie in Burnfoot.
Wit. Edward Lyttle in Overdowgland and John Lyttle yr.
9. The sd. day Adam Reid *s.* to James Reid in Longholme. *Wit.* John Pasley in Longholme and William Aitchison, yr.
- July 15. The sd. day Janet Scot *d.* to Adam Scot in Todshaw-hill in the P. of Westerkirk. *Wit.*.....
17. The sd. day Adam Scot *s.* to John Scot in Holme-head. *Wit.* George Scott in Holm-head and John Murray yr.
- Aug. 28. The sd. day William Reid *s.* to David Reid in Longholme.
Wit. John Pasley in Longholme and John Scot yr.
- Sept. 25. The sd. day John Dixon *s.* to David Dixon in Longholme.
Wit. James Edgar in Longholme and John Lyttle yr.
- Oct. 9. The sd. day John Byres *s.* to Thomas Byres in Longholme.
Wit. Andrew Wright in Longholme and ffergus Bell yr.
20. The sd. day Thomas Lindsay *s.* to John Lindsay in Longholme.
Wit. John fforsythe in Longholme and Robert Blacloake yr.
- Nov. 6. The sd. day John Wilson *s.* to James Wilson in Broomholme.
Wit. John Murray in Broomholm and Adam Glendining in Longholm.
13. The sd. day Margaret Irving *d.* to John Irving in Carlesgill.
Wit. George Talpher in Over-Crage and Thomas Lyttle yr.

- Dec. 8. The sd. day Margaret Dalgliesh *d.* to Walter Dalgliesh in Longholme. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholme and George Wright yr.
10. The sd. day Anna Allet *d.* to Robert Allet in Longholme. *Wit.* John Lindsay in Longholme and James Oliver yr. ∞
18. The sd. day Margaret Wright *d.* to Andrew Wright in Longholme. *Wit.* William Wright in Longholme and James Oliver yr.
20. The sd. day James Grive *s.* to John Grive in Glendining. *Wit.* Sir James Johnston of Wester-hall and William Aitchison in Longholme.

1671.

- Jan. 15. The sd. day Bessie Alexander *d.* to Heugh Alexander in Longholme. *Wit.* William Wright in Longholme and James Reid yr.
- Feb. 1. The sd. day Grissel Palmer *d.* to William Palmer in NetherCrage. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of NetherCrage and John Armstrong yr.
14. The sd. day Archbald Irving *s.* to Thomas Irving in Carlesgill. *Wit.* William Irving in Carlesgill and Andrew Irving, yr.
14. The sd. day likewise James Irving *s.* to William Irving in Carlsigill. *Wit.* Thomas Irving in Carlsigill and Archbald Irving yr.
- Feb. 28. The sd. day Andrew Lyttle *s.* to Andrew Lyttle in Chappelknowe in the half P. of Morton. *Wit.*
28. The sd. day also Margaret Scot *d. natural* to John Scot in Longholme. *Wit.* George Wilson in Walls and William Huggon yr. ∞
- Mar. 12. The sd. day Archbald Thomson *s.* to Archbald Thomson in Knoks. *Wit.* George Dixon in Lineholme and William Dixon, yr.
17. The sd. day Mary Gibson *d.* to Mr. Thomas Gibson in Longholme. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholme and Jo. Pasley, yr.
- April 5. The sd. day Andrew Glendining *s.* to William Glendining at Castle. *Wit.* John Glendining at Castle and Thomas Glendining yr.
15. The sd. day William Wilson *s.* to Thomas Wilson in Pottholme. *Wit.* Thomas Scott in Baukhouse and William Hislope in Pottholme.
16. The sd. day Jane Aitchison *d.* to Thomas Aitchison in Longholme. *Wit.* James Oliver in Longholme and David Dixon, yr.
30. The sd. day John Wilson *s. natural* to George Wilson in Walls in the P. of Waughope. *Wit.* John Pasley in Longholme and James Pasley, yr.
- May 28. The sd. day Margaret Lyttle *d. natural* to John Lyttle in Hole. *Wit.* Edward Lyttle in Dowgland and Thomas Lyttle in Overcrag.
- June 15. The sd. day George Maxwell *s. natural* to John Maxwell of Broomholme. *Wit.* Adam Glendining in Longholme and John Wright yr.
19. The sd. day Besse Scot *d.* to John Scot in Longholme. *Wit.* Patrick Scoon at Miltown and John Hope in Longholme.

- June 19. The sd. day likewise Margaret and Helen Lambe *drs.* to James Lambe in Pottholme. *Wit.* Thomas Wilson in Pottholme and William Hislop *yr.*
- July 6. The sd. day John Scot *s.* to Walter Scot in Dryclewghside in the P. of Wauchope. *Wit.* Thomas Wilson, in Pottholme and James Lamb[me] *yr.*
13. The sd. day Margaret Johnston *d.* to James Johnston in Longholme. *Wit.* James Oliver in Longholme and David Reid *yr.*
16. The sd. day William Forsythes *s.* to John Forsythes in Longholme. *Wit.* Heugh Alexander in Longholme and John Scot *yr.*
23. The sd. day John ffletcher *s.* to Thomas ffletcher in Longholme. *Wit.* John Allet in Longholme and George Thomson *yr.*
24. The sd. day James Irving *s.* to John Irving in the P. of Lochmabene. *Wit.* John Lermond in the P. of Westerkirk and William Whals *yr.*
- Oct. 8. The sd. day Thomas Armstrong *s. natural* to John Armstrong of Over-Crage. *Wit.* Thomas Hope in Over-Crage and John Hope *yr.* ∞
12. The sd. day Janet Wright *d.* to Robert Wright in Longholme. *Wit.* Adam Glendingin in Longholme and Richard Irving *yr.*
15. The sd. day Walter Thomson *s.* to John Thomson in Carlesgill. *Wit.* Thomas Irving in Carlesgill and Archbald Irving, *yr.*
- Nov. 19. The sd. day Jenet Beattie *d.* to Walter Beattie in Burnfoot. *Wit.* Edward Lyttle in Overdowgland and John Lyttle, *yr.*
28. The sd. day Thomas Clark *s.* to Walter Clark in Milholme. *Wit.* ∞
- Dec. 8. The sd. day Isabel Lyttle *d.* to Archbald Lyttle in Middowgland. *Wit.* John Lyttle in Overdowgland and William Lyttle, *yr.*
31. The sd. day William Scott *s.* to John Scott in Bank-howse. *Wit.* James Lambe in Pott-holme, and William Hislope, *yr.*

1672.

- Jan. 28. The sd. day Helen Gowenlocke *d.* to Thomas Gowenlocke in Whichsheels. *Wit.* Andrew Gowenlocke at Castle and John Hope, *yr.*
- Feb. 15. The sd. day Hugh Reid *s.* to David Reid in Longholme. *Wit.* Thomas Lyttle in Longholme and James Johnston, *yr.*
- Jan. 7. The sd. day Francis Scot *s.* to Adam Scot in Longholme. *Wit.* William Wright in Longholme and John Hope *yr.**
- Feb. 17. The sd. day Francis Scot *s. natural* to Thomas Scot in Bankhowse. *Wit.* John Scot in Bankhowse and David Scot, *yr.*
- Mar. 1. The sd. day William Bell *s. natural* to John Bell in Galaside. *Wit.* John Pasley in Longholme and John Hope, *yr.*
2. The sd. day Francis Scot *s.* to John Scot of Rennelburn. *Wit.* Walter Scot in Brekenwray and John Scot Bankhowse. ∞
21. The sd. day James Dixon *s.* to David Dixon in Longholme. *Wit.* William Atchison in Longholme and James Oliver *yr.*

* This entry is made on the margin of the Register, having apparently been omitted. It is marked with an asterisk probably as a reminder to the clerk, or minister,

- Mar. 21. The sd. day likewise Elizabeth Grahame *d. natural* to Robert Grahame in the P. of Kirkandrews. *Wit.* John Glendinging at Castle and William Glendinging yr.
- April 19. The sd. day Isibell Blakloke *d. natural* to George Boocklocks in the P. of Kirkandrews. *Wit.* George Ferguson at Mil- town and John Glendinging yr.
21. The sd. day Jeane Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Dowglandholme. *Wit.* Edward Lyttle in Over-dowgland and William Lyttle yr.
- May 16. The sd. day Walter Allet *s.* to Robert Allet in Longholme. *Wit.* John Pasley in Longholme and William Atchison yr. ∞
26. The sd. day s. to in the P. of Middlebie. *Wit.* George Bell in Middlebie and John Bell, yr.
- June 6. The sd. day Nans Oliver *d.* to James Oliver in Longholme. *Wit.* Adam Glendinging in Longholme and George Wright, yr. ∞
26. The sd. day Andrew Macvitie *s.* to Archbald Macvitie in the P. of Wauchope. *Wit.* John Macvitie in Stubholme and John Purves, yr.
- July 5. The sd. day Thomas Scot *s. natural* to Walter Scot in the P. of Canobie. *Wit.* William Dixon in Blough and Alexander Armstrong.
18. The sd. day Thomas Lyttle *s. natural* to William Lyttle in Dowgland. *Wit.* John Scott in Bankhowse and Thomas Scot, yr.
28. The sd. day Mary Lyttle *d.* to Thomas Lyttle in Rushill. *Wit.* John Pasley younger in Longholme and David Dixon, yr.
30. The sd. day Walter Hope *s.* to John Hope in Over-Crage. *Wit.* George Talpher in Over-Crage and Matthew Lyttle younger yr.
- Aug. 15. The sd. day Margaret Bettie *d.* to John Bettie in Burnfoot. *Wit.* John Lyttle in Over-Dowgland and William Lyttle, yr.
- Sept. 3. The sd. day Margaret Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Over-dowg- land. *Wit.* John Bettie in Dowglandholme and John Lyttle yr.
22. The sd' day Bessie Glendinging *d.* to Adam Glendinging in the P. of Hutton. *Wit.* William Scot in Bankhowse and John Scot, yr.
- Oct. 6. The sd. day William Wright *s.* to Andrew Wright in Long- holme. *Wit.* John Hope in Longholme and William Bell, yr.
12. The sd. day Margaret Crage *d.* to John Crage at Castle. *Wit.* William Dixon at Castle and Andrew Lyttle, yr. ∞
20. The sd. day Margaret Tod *d.* to Michael Tod in Hole. *Wit.* William Irving in Carlesgill and John Irving yr.
- Nov. 14. The sd. day Janat Reid *d.* to James Reid in Longholme. *Wit.* James Pasley in Longholme and Francis Bell yr.

1673.

- Jan. 11. The sd. day Elspeth Jarden *d.* to Robert Jarden in Milnholme. *Wit.* William Palmer in Nethercrago and Adam His- lope yr.
12. The sd. day William Bettie *s.* to William Bettie at Castle. *Wit.* Thomas Glendinging at Castle and Andrew Lyttle yr.

- Feb. 6. The sd. day Margaret Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Longholme. *Wit.* Simeon Fletcher in Longholme and Robert Wright yr.
22. The sd. day Helen Dalglish *d.* to Walter Dalglish in Longholme. *Wit.* Charles Wright in Longholme and John Hope yr.
27. The sd. day William Scot *s.* to Walter Scot in Milnholme. *Wit.* John Scot in Bankhouse and William Thomson yr.
- Mar. 17. The sd. day Janet Maxwell *d. naturall* to John Maxwell of Broomholme. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholme and John Pasley, yr.
23. The sd. day John Wright *s.* to Robert Wright in Long. *Wit.* James Reid in Longholme and David Dixon, yr.
30. The sd. day John Glendining *s.* to William Glendining at Castle. *Wit.* William Dixon at Castle and William Bettie yr.
- April 1. The sd. day Margaret Fletcher *d.* to Thomas Fletcher in Longholme. *Wit.* William Cranston in Longholme and David Dixon, yr.
6. The said day Margaret Armstrong *d.* to John Armstrong in Longholme. *Wit.* William Bell in Longholme and David Reid yr.
17. The sd. day Thomas Wilson *s.* to James Wilson in Longholme. *Wit.* David Dixon in Longholme and David Reid yr.
22. The sd. day John Bell *s.* to William Bell in the P. of Kirkpatrick. *Wit.* George Bell in Carruthers and Richard Bell yr.
- June 22. The sd. day James Lindsay *s.* to John Lindsay in Longholme. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longholme and John Forsyth, yr.
23. The sd. day Mary Reid *d.* to William Reid in Longholme. *Wit.* Robert Wright in Longholme and John Armstrong yr.
29. The sd. day John Mair *s.* to John Mair in Pottholme. *Wit.* Thomas Murray in Holme-head and John Scot yr.
- July 27. The sd. day Janet Irving *d.* to William Irving in Carlesgill. *Wit.* John Lyttle in Overdowgland and Andrew Lyttle yr.
- Aug. 17. The sd. day Helen Hope *d.* to John Hope in Longholme. *Wit.* John Wright in Longholme and William Bell yr.
- Sept. 7. The sd. day Margaret Lyttle *d.* to Archbald Lyttle in Longholme. *Wit.* Thomas Fletcher in Long. and George Wright, yr.
- Oct. 5. The sd. day Margaret Allet *d.* to Robert Allet, proportioner of Long. *Wit.* William Aitchison in Long. and John Hope yr. ∞
15. The sd. day Francis Johnston *s.* to James Johnston in Long. *Wit.* John Johnston in Longholme and David Reid, yr.
- Nov. 8. The sd. day William Allet *s. naturall* to John Allet in Longholme. *Wit.* George Thomson in Long. and John Hope, yr.
30. The sd. day Elspeth Aitchison *d.* to Thomas Aitchison in Long. *Wit.* James Johnston in Longholme and William Bell, yr.
- Dec. 25. The sd. day Janet Byres *d.* to Thomas Byres in Long. *Wit.* William Reid in Long. and Robert Macgill yr.

1674.

- Jan. 5. The sd. day Helen Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in the P. of Kirkpatrick. *Wit.* David Harkness and John Lyttle.

- Jan. 27. The sd. day Janet Anderson *d.* to Robert Anderson at Milltown. *Wit.* Andrew Lyttle at Castle and Andrew Scot, yr.
- Feb. 4. The sd. day Walter Dalglish *s.* to Walter Dalglish in Long. *Wit.* John Johnston in Longholme and James Oliver, yr.
15. The sd. day William Lyttle *s. naturall* to Matthew Lyttle in Over-crage. *Wit.* Thomas Murray in Holmehead and James Oliver in Longh.
26. The sd. day James Reid *s.* to David Reid in Long. *Wit.* William Reid in Long. and James Reid, yr.
- Mar. 11. The sd. day William Aitchison *s.* to Thomas Aitchison in Long. *Wit.* Robert Wright in Long. and David Dixon yr.
- April 2. The sd. day Elizabeth Thomson *d.* to George Thomson in Long. *Wit.* John Hope in Long. and John Allet yr.
12. The sd. day Jeane Allet *d.* to James Allet in Long. *Wit.* James Pasley in Long. and David Reid yr.
12. The sd. day likeways Janet Wilson *d.* to Thomas Wilson in Hole. *Wit.* Edward Lyttle in Dowgland and William Lyttle yr.
19. The sd. day Matthew Irving *s.* to Irving in Carlesgill. *Wit.* Edward Lyttle in Overdowgland and John Lyttle, yr.
- May 1. The sd. day James Lyttle *s. naturall* to William Lyttle in Dowgland. *Wit.* Edward Lyttle in Overdowgland and John Lyttle yr.
10. The sd. day Blench Lyttle *d.* to Archbald Lyttle in Mid-dowgland. *Wit.* John Bettie in Dowgland and William Lyttle yr.
- June 24. The sd. day Mary Dixon *d.* to George Dixon in Broomholme. *Wit.* John Murray in Broomholme and David Murray, yr.
- July 19. The sd. day Isabel Scot *d.* to John Scot in Dowglandholme. *Wit.* John Bettie in Dowgland and Archbald Lyttle yr.
- Aug. 2. The sd. day Thomas Wright *s.* to Andrew Wright in Longh. *Wit.* Archbald Lyttle in Long. and William Bell, yr.
9. The sd. day Matthew Dixon *s.* to David Dixon in Longh. *Wit.* William Irving in Long. and William Bell yr.
- Sept. 15. The sd. day Anna Clarke *d.* to Walter Clarke in Miln-holme. *Wit.* Walter Scot in Brekenwray and Andrew Lyttle yr. ∞
26. The sd. day Janet Armstrong *d.* to John Armst. in Longh. *Wit.* Charles Wright in Longholme and John Lindsay, yr.
- Nov. 1. The sd. day Nans Wright *d.* to Robert Wright in Longh. *Wit.* George Thomson in Long. and James Pasley yr.
21. The sd. day Besse Bell *d. naturall* to Francis Bell in Longh. *Wit.* Thomas Aitchison in Longh. and George Wright, yr.
- Dec. 27. The sd. day Isabel Lindsay *d.* to John Lindsay in Long. *Wit.* John Pasley in Longholme and David Dixon, yr.

1675.

- Jan. 3. The sd. day Heugh Alexander *s.* to Heugh Alexander in Lon. *Wit.* John Wright in Longholme and Thomas Aitchison yr.
3. The sd. day likewise Janet Scot *d.* to Walter Scot in Longh. *Wit.* John Allet in Longholme and William Bell yr.
31. The sd. day John Lyttle *s.* to William Lyttle in Overdowgland. *Wit.* John Bettie in Dowglandholme and John Scott yr.
- Feb. 28. The sd. day Margaret Oliver *d.* to James Oliver in Long. *Wit.* Thomas Murray in Holmhead and Andrew Irving yr.

- Mar. 28. The sd. day John Lyttle *s.* to John Lyttle in Overdowgland.
Wit. John Bettie in Dowglandholme and John Scott yr.
- April 22. The sd. day Isabel Pasley *d.* to John Pasley in Long. *Wit.*
James Pasley in Longholme and Robert Wright yr.
25. The sd. day Thomas Davison *s. naturall* to John Davison
in the P. of Middlebie. *Wit.* James Nicholl and William
Bell, both in the same P.
- May 2. The sd. day John Smyth *s.* to George Smyth in the P. of
Kirkpatrick. *Wit.* William Irving in Mossknow and
William Scott yr.
9. The sd. day Helen Lyttle *d.* to the deceased Andrew Lyttle
in Whichsheels. *Wit.* Andrew Gowenloke in Whichsheels
and Thomas Gowenloke yr.
- June 3. The sd. day Mary Scot *d.* to John Scot in Dryclewgh-side
in the P. of Wawchope. *Wit.* John Moffat and Arch-
bald Lyttle, in the foresd. P.
- July 4. The sd. day Walter Irving *s.* to William Irving in Carlesgill.
Wit. Edward Lyttle in Over-dowgland and William
Lyttle yr.
11. The sd. day Isabel Armstrong *d.* to Robert Armst. in Which-
sheels. *Wit.* Andrew Gowenlocke in Whichsheels and
Thomas Gowenloke yr.
- Sept. 19. The sd. day John Pasley *s. naturall* to James Pasley in Long.
Wit. John Pasley in Longholme and William Bell yr.
- Oct. 7. The sd. day John Thomson *s.* to George Thomson in Long.
Wit. James Reid in Longholme and Thomas Byres yr.
12. The sd. day Andrew Bettie *s.* to John Bettie in Nether-Craige.
Wit. John Armstrong Over-craige and John Hope yr. ∞

1676.

- Feb. 11. The sd. day Isabel Scot *d.* to John Scot at Castle. *Wit.*
William Glendñing at Castle and Thomas Waddel at
Milntown.
- April 11. The sd. day Agnis Hope *d.* to John Hope in Over-craige.
Wit. Walter Armstrong in Craighburn and John Bettie in
Over-craige.
23. The sd. day Ewphan Waddel *d.* to Thomas Waddel at Miln-
town. *Wit.* John Glendñing at Castle and William
Glendñing yr.
28. The sd. day Jeane Atchison *d.* to Thomas Atchison in Long.
Wit. Robert Wright in Longholme and Thomas Fletcher
yr. ∞
- May 2. The sd. day Margaret Armstrong *d.* to John Armst. fiar of
Over-Craige. *Wit.* John Hope in Over Craige and John
Bettie yr.
- Aug. 13. The sd. day Mary Allet *d.* to Robert Allet in Long. *Wit.*
John Pasley in Longholme and James Johnston yr.
- Oct. 22. The sd. day Nans Alexander *d.* to Hewgh Alexander in
Longh. *Wit.* William Bell in Longh. and James John-
ston yr.
22. The sd. day Richard Glendñing *s. naturall* Adam Glendñing
in Longh. *Wit.* John Brown in Longh. and James Reid yr.
- Nov. 12. The sd. day Adam Dalglish *s.* to Walter Dalglish in Tailend.
Wit. John Scot in Holmehead and John Hope yr.
- Dec. 14. The said Janet Byres *d.* to Thomas Byres in Long. *Wit.*
Robert Pasley in Longh. and James Reid yr. ∞

- Dec. 27. The sd. day Adam Purves in Bigholms in the P. of Waughope
s. to John Purves yr. *Wit.* John Moffat in Irving and
William Armst. yr.
31. The sd. day Isabel Wright *d.* to Robert Wright in Longh.
Wit. George Thomson in Longh. and Robert Kirkup yr.

1677.

- Jan. 21. The sd. day Mary Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Long. *Wit.*
William fforsyths in Longholme and William Brown yr
Feb. 11. The sd. day Margaret Gowenloke *d.* to Thomas Gowenloke
Whichsheels. *Wit.* James Synton in Whichsheels and
Andrew Gowenloke yr.
Mar. 1. The sd. day William Irving s. to John Irving in Carlesgill
Wit. William Irving in Carlesgill and Archbald Irving yr.
25. The sd. day John Armstrong s. to John Armst. in Longholme.
Wit. George Thomson in Longholme and James Johnston
yr.
April 22. The sd. day Thomas Glendñing s. to William Glendñing at
Castle. *Wit.* John Glendñing at Castle and Andrew
Scott yr.
24. The sd. day Janet Thomson *d.* to George Thomson in Long.
Wit. Robert Wright in Longh. and John Hope yr. ∞
24. The sd. day likewise Margaret Reid *d.* to James Reid in Long.
Wit. William fforsyths in Longholme and James John-
ston yr. ∞
May 10. The sd. day Janet Reid *d.* to William Reid in Longh. *Wit.*
Robert Wright in Longh. and David Reid yr.
June 6. The sd. day Jeane Reid *d.* to David Reid in Longh. *Wit.*
Robert Wright in Longholme and Thomas Byres yr.
12. The sd. day Janet Lyttle *d.* to William Lyttle Overdowgland
Wit. John Armstrong of Over-Craige and John Hope yr.
12. The sd. day likewise Susanna Johnston *d.* to James Johnston in
Longh. *Wit.* Robert Wright in Longh. and James
Oliver yr.
22. The sd. day Robert and Walter Waylie *sons* to George Wylie
at Milntown. *Wit.* John Atchison at Milntown and
Thomas Waddel yr.
24. The sd. day Isabel Bell *d.* to William Bell at Milntown. *Wit.*
John Scot in Holmehead and George Scot yr.
29. The sd. day Thomas Allet s. *naturall* to John Allet in Longh.
Wit. William Glendñing at Castle and John Murray yr.
July 15. The sd. day William Lyttle s. *naturall* to Thomas Lyttle in
Bombie. *Wit.* John Scot in Holmehead and John Hope yr.
16. The sd. day Thomas Macvitie s. to Archbald Macvitie in the
P. of Wawchope. *Wit.* John Scot in Mikleholme and
William Bell yr.
Aug. 15. The sd. day Mary Wright *d.* to Andrew Wright in Longholme.
Wit. Thomas Byres in Longh. and David Reid yr.
Sept. 9. The sd. day William Irving s. to William Irving in Carlesgill.
Wit. Thomas Armstrong of Over-craige and William
Armst. yr.
Oct. 12. The sd. day John Pasley s. to Robert Pasley in Longh. *Wit.*
John Hope in Longholme and Robert Mackgill yr.
Dec. 16. The sd. day John Millen [? Miller] s. to James Millen in Longh.
Wit. George Thomson in Longholme and William fforsy-
thses yr.

1678.

- Feb. 14. The sd. day John Lawson s. to William Lawson in Rush-hill.
Wit. Robert Wright in Longholme and John Scot yr.
15. The sd. day Nans Bettie *d.* to John Bettie in Dowgland.
Wit. John Scot in Bankhows and William Scot yr.
- Mar. 14. The sd. day Walter Blacke s. to William Blacke in the P. of
Westerkirk.
14. The sd. day likewise Margaret Atchison *d. naturall* to Walter
Atchison in the sd. P. *Wit.* William River and Simeon
Johnst. both in the foresd. P.
21. The sd. day John Reid *d. [sic]* to James Reid in Longh. *Wit.*
Robert Mackill in Longholme and James Johnston yr.
28. The sd. day John Hwnam s. *naturall* to John Hwnam in Longh.
Wit. George Thomson in Longh. and Robert Wright yr.
- April 7. The sd. day Bessie Oliver *d.* to James Oliver in Longholme.
Wit. Thomas fletcher in Longh. and James Brown, yr.
- May 9. The sd. day Mary Armstrong *d.* to John Armst. fiar of Over-
Craig. *Wit.* John Hope of Over-Craig and William
Lyttle yr.
- Aug. 8. The sd. day John Atchison s. to Thomas Atchison in Longh.
Wit. George Thomson in Longh. and Robert Mackgill yr.
16. The sd. day David Hope s. to John Hope in Carlesgill. The
sd. day and at the same time Besse Lyttle *d.* to William
in Carlesgill. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Craig and
Matthew Lyttle yr.
- Sept. 15. The sd. day Jeane Wright *d.* to Robert Wright in Longh.
Wit. John Hope in Longh. and Robert Pasley yr.
- Oct. 13. The sd. day James Scot s. to John Scot in Bankhowse. *Wit.*
Adam Glendfining in Longh. and Andrew Wright, yr.
- Dec. 1. The sd. day George Lyttle in Longh. s. to John Lyttle yr.
Wit. William fforsyths in Longh. and John Wright yr.
1. The sd. day also Isabel Dalglish *d.* to Walter Dalglish in
Milnholme. *Wit.* John Longlands in Bank-hows and
Michael Tod in Pottholme.
29. The sd. day Thomas Lyttle s. to Archbald Lyttle in the P. of
Wauchope. *Wit.* John Scot in Mikleholme and Jasper
Hay yr.
29. The sd. day likewise John Beattie s. to William Bettie in the
half P. of Mortown. *Wit.* Andrew Huietson in Blowgh
and Robert Hewetson yr.

1679.

- Jan. 6. The sd. dy. Besse Bell* *d.* to Patrick Bell in the P. of Waughope.
Wit. John Bell in Galaside and Adam Bettie, yr.
10. The sd. day Sibell Lyttle, *d.* to Matthew Lyttle in Over-Craig.
Wit. John Armstrong fiar of Over-Craig and William
Irving, yr.
12. The sd. day Isabel Scot *d. naturall* to William Scot in Bank-
howse. *Wit.* John Langlands in Bankhowse and Andrew
Irving yr.
13. The sd. day Adam Story s. to John Story in Whichsheels. *Wit.*
Thomas Gowenloke in Whichsheels and John Armstrong yr.
- Feb. 2. The sd. day Rosina Lawson *d.* to William Lawson in Rush-
hill. *Wit.* David Reid in Longh. and Andrew Wright yr.

* See p. 325.

- Feb. 11. The sd. day Besse Macvitie *d.* to Andrew Macvitie in Stubholme in the P. of Wawchope. *Wit.* John Scott, Mikleholme and William Bell yr.
11. The sd. day likeways Janet Allet *d.* to Robert Allet in the same P. *Wit.* the foresd. persons.
14. The sd. day Richard Byrs *s.* to Thomas Byres in Longh. *Wit.* William fforsyths in Longh. and Thomas Sinclair yr.
20. The sd. day Nans Thomson *d.* to George Thomson in Long. *Wit.* William fforsyths in Long. and Thomas Byrs yr.
- Mar. 25. The sd. day Robert Wright *s.* to Andrew Wright in Longh. *Wit.* John Scot in Longholme and David Reid yr
- April 2. The sd. day Mary Wright *d.* to Robert Wright in Longh. *Wit.* James Pasley in Longholme and Thomas Sinclair yr.
27. The sd. day Margaret Scot *d.* to William Scott in Graystownlee in the P. of Westerkirk. *Wit.* Sir James Johnston of Westerhall and John Johnston his son.
- May 3. The sd. day John *s.* to William Bell at Milntown. *Wit.* John Atchison at Milntown and George Wylie yr.
28. The sd. day Adam *s.* to John Scot in Longh. *Wit.* John Scot in Mikleholme and Robert Wright in Longh.
- July 8. The sd. day John Glendfining *s. naturall* to John Glendfining at Castle. *Wit.* Thomas Murray of Castle and John Murray yr.
- Aug. 4. The sd. day Patrick Johnston *s.* to James Johnston in Longh. *Wit.* William fforsythes in Longh. and James Johnston yr.
10. The sd. day Janet Scot *d. naturall* to Walter Scot in the P. of Ewes. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Nether-Craige and Thomas Nicol yr.
25. The sd. day Gilbert Atchison *s. naturall* to John Atchison in the P. of Westerkirk. *Wit.* Andrew Lyttle and Adam Warricke both in the sd. P.
31. The sd. day Walter Hope *s.* to John Hope in Longh. *Wit.* Thomas ffletcher in Longh. and John fforsythes yr.
- Sept. 29. The sd. day John Grahame *s.* to ffancis Grahame in the P. of Westerkirk. *Wit.*
- Oct. 15. The sd. day Helen *d.* to John Thomson in Burn. *Wit.* William Armstrong in Burn and Walter Armstrong yr.
16. The sd. day Besse Reid *d.* to James Reid in Longh. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longh. and John Hwnam yr.
30. The sd. day Janet *d.* to John Irving in Over-Craige. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Over-Craige and Thomas Armstrong of Nether-Craig.
- Nov. 8. The sd. day Janet *d.* to David Reid in Longh. *Wit.* Adam Glendining in Longholme and William Brown yr.
14. The sd. day Helen and Janet *drs.* to George ffergusson at Miltown. *Wit.* William Bell at Milntown and Thomas Waddel yr.
18. The sd. day Adam Hislope *s.* to Robert Hislope in Broomholme. *Wit.* John Maxwell of Broomholme and Robert Hwetson.
18. The sd. day likeways George Hwnam *s.* to John Hwnam in Long. *Wit.* James Reid in Longh. and George Thomson yr.
30. The sd. day William *s.* to James Thomson in the P. of Westerkirk. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Nether-Craige and John Hope in Holmhead.

- Jan. 4. The sd. day Isabel *d.* to Thomas Gowenlocke, Whichsheels.
Wit. John Scot in Holmehead and John Hope yr.
9. The sd. day Jane Warroch *d.* to John Warroch in the P. of Waughope. *Wit.* John Scot, Mikleholme and William Bell yr.
25. The sd. day John *s.* to John Lyttle in Hole. *Wit.* John Armst. in Over-Craige and John Irving, yr.
29. The sd. day Janet *d.* to John Hislope in the P. of Wawchope.
Wit. Andrew Lyttle, Nishill and William Lyttle yr.
- Feb. 22. The sd. day Jeane *d.* to William Irving in Over-Craige. *Wit.* John Armst. of Over-Craige and John Irving yr.
- Mar. 5. The sd. day Simon *s.* to James Millen in Longh. *Wit.* George Thomson in Longh. and Thomas ffletcher yr.
13. The sd. day Andrew *s.* to William Lyttle in Kirk-gill in Westerkirk P. *Wit.* John Johnston of Westerhall and John Atchison.
14. The sd. day William *s.* to Adam Thomson in the P. of West. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Over-Craige and Thomas Armstrong of Nether-Craige.
18. The sd. day William Pasley *s.* to Robert Pasley in Longh. *Wit.* Robert Allet proportioner of Longholme and Robert Wright yr.
- April 18. The sd. day Isabel *d.* to George Corry in P. of Hutton. *Wit.* Robert Scott of Gillesbie and William Graham of Shawes.
18. The sd. day likways Andrew Lyttle in Hooke in the P. of Applegirth. *Wit.* the foresaid persons.
29. The sd. day John Maxwell *s.* to John Maxwell of Broomholme. *Wit.* Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell and John Scott of Renneburn.
30. The sd. day John Armst. *s.* to John Armst. fiar of Over-Craige. *Wit.* John Irving in Over Craige and William Irving yr.
- May 9. The sd. day Besse Armstrong *d.* to Lansolat Armstrong in Whichsheels. *Wit.* William fforsyths in Longholme and Thomas Atchison yr.
15. The sd. day William Gilaspie *s.* to John Gilaspie in the P. of Applegirth. *Wit.*
16. The sd. day William Glendñning *s.* to William Glendñning at Castle. *Wit.* John Cranston at Castle and Thomas Glend. yr.
25. The sd. day John Scot *s.* to ffrancis Scot of Davingtoun. *Wit.*
- June 17. The sd. day Robert *s.* to Thomas Aitchison in Longhol. *Wit.* Mr. Walter Maxwell and John Maxwell of Broomholme.
27. The sd. day Janet *d. naturall* to Matthew Lyttle in Bombie. *Wit.* John Hope in Longholme and Robert Pasley yr.
30. The sd. day John *s.* to Matthew Lyttle in Mid-dowgland. *Wit.* Walter Bettie in Over-dowgland and John Bettie yr.
30. The sd. day likewise Grissel *d.* to John Bettie in Over-dowgland. *Wit.* the foresd. persons.
- July 13. The sd. day Jean Lyttle *d.* to Christopher Lyttle in Mikleholme in the P. of Wauchope.
- Aug. 21. The sd. day John Fisher *s.* to John Fisher in the P. of Cavers. *Wit.* Robert Purdom, in the sd. P. and
- Sept. 1. The sd. day Janet Lyttle *d.* to John Lyttle in Longh. *Wit.* William fforsythes in Longh. and Thomas Sinclair yr.

- Oct. 3. The sd. day Jean Byres *d.* to James Byres in Hole. *Wit.*
 7. The sd. day Jean *d.* to John Glendfining at Castle. *Wit.* John Chranston at Castle and Thomas Glendfining yr.
 7. The sd. day likewise George Armstrong *s.* to John Armst. in Longh. *Wit.* Robert Pasley in Longh. and John Pasley yr.
 7. The sd. day also Janet Bell *d.* to Francis Bell in Longh. *Wit.* John Wright in Longholme and Thomas Atchison yr.
 17. The sd. day Elizabeth *d.* to Thomas Byres in Longh. *Wit.* James Johnston in Longh. and James Oliver yr.
 28. The sd. day George Wright *s.* to Andrew Wright in Long. *Wit.* Alexander Allen in Long. and David Reid yr.
 Nov. 10. The sd. day Mary *d.* to John Scot in Long. *Wit.* Walter Maxwell in Longh. and John Wright yr.
 Dec. 20. The sd. day Janet Lyttle *d.* to Archbald Lyttle in the P. of Wawchope. *Wit.* John Scott in Mikleholme and Will Bell yr.
 21. The sd. day Margaret *d.* to George Thomson in Longh. *Wit.* Walter Maxwell in Longh. and Alexander Allen yr.

1681.

- Jan. 9. The sd. day Jean Lawson *d.* to William Lawson in Rushhill. *Wit.* John fforsythes in Longh. and Thomas Atchison yr.
 14. The sd. day William *s.* to Walter Dalgligh in Milnholme. *Wit.* John Armstrong in Nether-Craige and Thomas Nicol yr.
 Feb. 2. The sd. day Margaret *d.* to Thomas Waddell at Milntown. *Wit.* John Atchison at Milntown and William Scot at Castle.
 20. The sd. day Walter *s.* to James Oliver in Longh. *Wit.* James Pasley in Longh. and James Reid yr.
 Mar. 6. The sd. day Helen *d.* to William Scot at Castle. *Wit.* John Cranston at Castle and Thomas Gowenlocke yr.
 13. The sd. day William *s.* to Thomas Armstrong of Nether-Craige bapt. on on Sabbath-day. *Wit.* Thomas Armstrong of Over-Craig and John Armstrong yr.
 29. The sd. day Robert *s.* to William Scot in Longh. *Wit.* William fforsythes in Longh. and Thomas Sinclair yr.
 April 26. The sd. day Jean *d.* to Thomas Murray in Holmehead. *Wit.* John Hope in Holmehead and Archbald Lyttle yr.
 May 19. The sd. day James *s.* to John Cranston at Castle. *Wit.* Thomas Waddel at Miln-town and John Atchison there.
 July 10. The sd. day John ffletcher *s.* to Simon ffletcher in Longholme. *Wit.* James Miller in Longholme and David Reid yr.
 Aug. 7. The sd. day Andrew Hewetson *s.* to Robert Hewetson in Broomholme. *Wit.* Robert Pasley in Long. and James Oliver yr.
 7. The sd. day also Helen Bryden *d.* to Robert Bryden in Hole. *Wit.* John Irving in Over-Craige and William Irving, yr.
 12. The sd. day Helen Warroch *d.* to John Warroch in the P. of Wawchope. *Wit.* Mr. Thomas Allen in Walls and John Johnston yr.
 Sept. 11. The sd. day Andrew Hislope *s.* to Robert Hislope in Broomholme. *Wit.* John Scot, of Rennelburn and John Maxwell of Broomholme. The sd. day likewise Janet *d.* to John Armstrong in Broomeholme. *Wit.* James Johnston in Longholme and John Pasley yr.

Thursday December 8.

Dec. 8. The foresd. day Elizabeth Allen *d.* to Mr. Robert Allen Minister at Staplegortown Baptized in the foresd Kirk be Mr. David Layng Minister at Canobie, *Wit.* Mr. Thomas Henderson Minister at Gretney Mr. Patrick English Minister at Annan, Thomas Armstrong of Over-Craig John Armstrong, fiar yrof and severals others. She was born about five hours in the forenoon, on the Wednesday immediatly before, being the seventh of the sd. Month. ∞

The following notes, evidently made by the Rev. Robert Allan, minister of Staplegortoun, appear at the end of the Register:—

My second son was born at Staplegortown *alias* Pott-holme in Eskdale on Mund. the 24 of Oct. 1687 about 4 hours in the forenoon and was baptized Robert in the Kirk of Staplegortown on Thurs. the 27 of the foresd. month & that by Mr. John Brown minister at Westerkirk with Mr. Simon Merp* minister at Wauchope Mr. John Mahill† minister at Ewes Mr. Robert Pitcarn Robert Scot at Castle & severall others.

Item my third son was born at Staplegortown *alias* Pott-holme on Mund. Nov. 18 1689 about 10 hours in the fore-noon and bapt. Walter by Mr. John Home‡ minister at Westerkirk in the Kirk of Staplegortown on thurs. following being the 21 of the foresd. month Bap. *Wit.* John Scot in Stubholme David Dixson in Longholme and some others. My foresd. son Walter was weaned at Wauchope about the beginning of Jun. 1691, his mother most carefully & tenderly nurssing him (& all of them) at the foresd. time.

Then on Mund. March 13 1694 my third daughter was born the foresd. day about 9 hours in the forenoon in the manssion hous at Wauchope Walls and was bapt. in the meeting house yr on thurs. the 17 of the foresd. month by Mr. John Halyburton minister at Graitney and was named Margaret. She was weaned about the 13 of Sept. 1695 her mother nursing her just one year and a half.

Item at Overstub-holme on thurs. April 23 1696 my fourth son & seventh child was born about . . . hours in the forenoon of the foresd. day and was bapt. William at the foresd. place on Sat. the 2 day of June 1696 and yt by Mr. Robert Gardener, Curat. at Arthuret Kirk in the Kingdome of England the nat. minister before the sad & bad [?] revolution at Rerrick in the bishoprick and Sherifdome of Galloway in Scotland & before these witnesses Mr. Walter Gladstone messenger in Hawick Thomas Grahame Schoolm^r. in longholme Michael Tod in Pott-holme William Murray yr &c.

* See p. 459. The name there given is Wyld or Wool.

† The name in the Register on p. 474 is Clunie.

‡ The name in the Register on p. 477 is Browne.

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