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The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803

THE first great period of Highland emigration ended in 1775¹ with the outbreak of the American War of Independence. Then followed a perceptible pause, not broken until the Treaty of Versailles, which formed the starting-point of a fresh movement.

The emigration proceeded, not in a steady unbroken stream, but in waves, separated from each other by intervals of comparative inactivity. It was extraordinarily active between 1786 and 1790; it slackened² again during the early years of the Wars of the Revolution, which provided a temporary alternative for the discontented, or, as one contemporary put it, 'changed the coat of those who emigrated'; while it reached a fever heat during the opening years of the new century.

The new phase differs in many respects from that which preceded the American War, most noticeably in the different social status of the bulk of the emigrants. This difference can of course be over-emphasised. Tacksmen, the instigators of the movement of the seventies, still existed in many parts of the Highlands and Islands, and some certainly emigrated after 1783 for reasons similar to those moving their fellows before 1775. So also, the independent emigration of the lower classes, the characteristic mark of the new period, had its parallels earlier in

¹ See *Scottish Historical Review* xvi, p. 280, 'The Highland Emigration of 1770.'

² *Caledonian Mercury*, March 15th, 1792. Walker, *Econ. History of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland*, 1808.

the century. Still, in the main, it is true to say that before 1775 the chief impulse to emigrate came from above, and the people most affected were the semi-aristocratic holders of large farms; after 1783 the impulse was from beneath, and it was the peasant class whose diminished numbers marked the force of the new movement.

As in the previous phase of emigration, it is neither easy nor possible to get precise figures. The *Old Statistical Account* mentions definitely the departure of four thousand persons between 1785 and 1793, but it also abounds in vague references to emigration from parishes for which no exact details are given. Additional data supplied by the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Scots Magazine* of the corresponding years brings the total nearer six thousand.

For the first three years of the nineteenth century some exact figures are given by Robert Brown,¹ Sheriff Substitute of Western Inverness-shire. According to his statement, between 1801 and 1803 twenty-three ships left for America with Highland emigrants, carrying altogether five thousand, three hundred and ninety-one persons on board. Of these vessels all but one sailed from Highland or Island ports.

Brown's figures are corroborated by the engineer Telford writing in the *Scots Magazine* of May 1803, and there seems no reason to doubt their substantial reliability. Allowing then for some emigration during the early part of the war, the total number of Highland emigrants between 1782 and 1803 cannot have been less than twelve thousand, and may have considerably exceeded it.

To turn now to the causes of this upheaval, the suggestions made by contemporaries resolve themselves into attempts to explain two different things. The impulse to emigrate is the product of two factors—the desire or necessity of the emigrant to leave the home-land, and his willingness to go to the new one. The restlessness of the late eighteenth century Highlanders naturally supplies an essential condition for the movement of population, but the restlessness might, quite well, have taken other forms than that of emigration to America. There are thus two things to be explained, the causes that lay at the root of the Highland discontent and the special reasons that led to the drift of population westwards.

¹ Brown's *Strictures and Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland*, 1806.

In this last sense the emigration of the late eighteenth century is not particularly difficult to explain. Two powerful forces were at work, the growing familiarity with the New World, and the increasing commercial importance of the trade in emigrants.

To the poorer Highlander of the first half of the eighteenth century, America had been hardly even a name; to the Highlander of the eighties and nineties it had become a land of promise, a place above all capable of satisfying the land hunger for which Scotland itself had failed to provide a remedy. This changed attitude was the natural outcome of direct channels of communication being opened up between the Highlands and the colonies, the three chief contributory agencies being the Highland regiments, the Jacobite exiles, and the small tenants who had followed their tacksmen masters in the emigration of the seventies. *Agnes Scahill?*

Highland soldiers who had served in the Canadian operations, or the Hudson campaigns of 1757, were generally given the option of taking up land in America. Some did, and formed the nucleus of future Highland settlements. Others returned home, and familiarised their own people with the possibilities of the land beyond the seas. The Jacobite refugees and the pioneers of 1760 and 1770 acted in a similar way. Many of them kept up an active correspondence with their native places, and thus America came to be a household word in even the remotest of Highland glens. The parish ministers writing in the *Old Statistical Account* continually mention the letters from abroad as being one of the strong inducements to further emigration.

Probably the best illustration of the importance of this factor is to be found in the consistency with which emigrants from the same district in the Highlands sought the same part in America. The war affected but did not destroy this tendency. Many of the Highlanders established in America were loyalists, and hence subsequently refugees, a fact which diverted their stream of followers from the Carolinas and the banks of the Hudson to the St. Lawrence and Nova Scotia. In general it is rare to find the Highland emigrants departing from the orthodox routes opened up by their former neighbours.

Thus we learn from the *Old Statistical Account* that S. Uist and Barra had from 1772 onwards, a continuous connection with Prince Edward Island. Some of the Hebrides had their goal upon Cape Breton;¹ Lochaber, Keppoch and Glengarry sent their emigrants to the district of Canada that took the name

¹ J. MacGregor, *Observations on Emigration to British America*, 1829.

of the last; the Arran exiles found a new home in Megantic County; while Skye, Sutherland, Ross and Argyllshire found their way to the Carolinas; and then after 1782 to various destinations in Canada, of which Pictou appears to have been the favourite. Possibly the settlement of the 82nd Highlanders at Pictou, after their disbandment in 1783, helped to turn attention in this direction.

Undoubtedly the clannish instinct was a powerful contributory force in promoting emigration, and a force which appeared to gain increased strength with the departure of each fresh batch of emigrants.

The persuasive powers of the emigration agents did a similar work for those districts which had hitherto been unaffected by contact with America. All contemporaries were agreed that their influence was enormous. The Highland Society,¹ in particular, thought it so important that it declared the most effective method of stopping emigration, would be to cut down the profits of the agents and shipping companies, by strict government regulations in the interest of the passengers; and, indeed, the condition of the emigrant ships was such that it might well be wondered why people were induced to go.

In essentials, the trade in emigrants was not new. The eighteenth century emigration agents had their seventeenth century prototypes in the captains of such notorious ships as the 'Ewe and Lamb' and the 'Speedwell.' To the seventeenth century skipper no one had come amiss; sturdy vagabonds, religious refugees, political offenders, voluntary emigrants, prisoners from the Tolbooth or unconvicted criminals, all were accepted, mingled together, and any deficiency in numbers made up by persons kidnapped for the purpose. In the eighteenth century the agent had to rely less on force and more on persuasion, but it is doubtful if the emigrants gained much by the apparent march of civilisation. Though the hardest indictment of the emigrant ships never quite reached the appalling grimness of Woodrow's picture of the New Jersey passage, the fact remains that their death-roll was a challenge even to the West African slavers of the same period.

But however horrible the ships, and however unscrupulous the agents, they are essential links in the chain of emigration. Previous emigrants might represent America as a place of refuge, but it was the agents that supplied the means of getting there.

¹ *Highland Society Transactions*, 1803.

Together, they brought emigration into the mental and physical horizon of the class which, earlier in the century, had found its only outlet in migration to Ireland, or to the manufacturing towns of Western Scotland.

But these suggested causes of emigration only explain half the truth. They explain why part of the Highland population preferred to remove to America, rather than anywhere else; they do not explain why a people so notoriously conservative and attached to their native soil should have chosen to move at all. Here we are dealing with causes of quite a different kind, some of which were very general in their operation, and some of minor importance, affecting only small areas, or special years.

Amongst the particular causes, the periodic famines stand out with special prominence. A typical example was the terrible year of dearth which occurred just at the beginning of our period, when the bad harvest of 1782 spread distress of a painful kind throughout the north and west of Scotland.

Trail, the Sheriff of Caithness and Sutherland, writing in April 1783, said that the condition of northern Scotland was lamentable, and in Ross-shire people were dying in great numbers for want of food. Macpherson of Badenoch gave similar evidence for his district. Everywhere the fields were waste, the rents were unpaid, and even substantial farmers went begging their bread.¹ During the crisis most of the greater landlords appear to have behaved with generosity, many supporting the whole of their tenantry throughout the difficult time, but the smaller proprietors were themselves too hardly hit to be able to do much to help the farmers.

The distress of 1782 and 1783 undoubtedly helped the revival of emigration. In a letter appearing in the *Caledonian Mercury* of November 29th, 1784, a Halifax correspondent described the arrival of thousands of emigrants as a result of the famine. It is true that many of these were drawn from the Lowland districts of Banff and Aberdeenshire, and do not therefore come within the scope of this enquiry, but it seems probable that the affected Highland areas also contributed their share.

Another local cause of rather a novel kind was suggested by Sheriff-Substitute Brown of Inverness-shire. Brown attributed the emigration from certain areas to a movement which took its rise along the valley of the Caledonian Canal, and ultimately

¹ *Report on Distress in Scotland presented to the House of Commons, May 1783, printed May 1846.*

formed an interesting and unusual blend of religious revival and French Revolutionary propaganda.

‘The late flame of emigration first began to be kindled along the tract of the Caledonian Canal, by certain religious itinerants who addressed the people by interpreters, and distributed numerous pamphlets, calculated, as they said, to excite a serious soul concern. The consequence was that men who could not read began to preach, and to inflame the people against their lawful pastors, whom they never had suspected of misleading them. They next adopted a notion that all who were superior to them in wealth and rank were oppressors whom they would enjoy the consolation of seeing damned. Lastly, many of them took into their heads that all labour not necessary for the support of existence was sinful. When the fumes of discontent had thus been prepared, through the medium of fanaticism, to which, it is known, the Highlanders are strongly attached; at last those levelling principles which had long been fermenting in the south made their way among them, and excited an ardent desire of going to a country where they supposed all men were equal, and fondly flattered themselves they might live without labour.’¹

This passage sheds a rather new light upon the psychology of the Highland emigrant, but there is unfortunately not sufficient evidence from other sources to enlarge upon it. Still, Brown was a contemporary, living practically on the spot he was describing, and it seems reasonable therefore to suppose that his statements were not made without some foundation.

Interesting, however, as these local causes of emigration may be, it is obvious that we must go further afield to account for the general restlessness of the Highland people during the twenty years in question.

Both then and since the three most popular explanations put forward have been rack-renting, the union of farms, and the displacement of cattle and tillage by sheep, all three being generally regarded as symptoms of the greed and tyranny of the landholding class.

Viewed more closely the three suggested causes tend to merge into each other. In the late eighteenth century it was not usual to find Highland farms being united except for the purpose of adapting them better to sheep-runs. Hence the second and third causes of emigration are hardly distinguishable. The question of

¹ Brown, *Strictures*, 1806.

the rise of rents is more complex, but is still closely associated with the introduction of sheep.

To start with, it may be granted that rents in the Highlands did rise throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. That rise can be attributed to various circumstances: to the special conditions created by the French Wars, to the substitution of commercial rents for the nominal ones hitherto paid by the tacksmen, to the abnormal competition for farms caused by the rapid growth of population, and sometimes to pure greed and stupidity on the part of the proprietors.

But in many cases it will be found that the rise in rents accompanied the introduction of sheep, and the charge of rackrenting against the landlord is simply the charge of sheep substitution put in another form, the truth being that the proprietor could get, without difficulty, rents from the sheep farmers that would certainly appear as rackrents if applied to ordinary tenants.

Telford, the engineer, said that the sheep farmer could pay with ease three times the rent normally given, and Sir George Mackenzie¹ gave an example from the Balnagown estate which bears out Telford's statement.

Three small farms were let about 1760 to nine tenants at a total rent of £9, *i.e.* £1 per head, the farms including a hundred acres of meadow, a big stretch of hill and heath, and a tract of moss and moor providing coarse pasture. As time went on the rent was gradually increased until the total for the three farms stood at £30, which some of the tenants thought so excessive that they gave up their holdings. At the time Mackenzie was writing the farms had been turned into one sheep-run, the tenant of which considered a rental of £100 as a moderate valuation of his farm.

It is true that some of the sheep farmers were unable to pay the rents they had light-heartedly offered, a fact which Mackenzie attributed to want of skill, knowledge and capital on the part of the native farmer. In any case, it was inevitable that as more land passed from cultivation into pasture the abnormal profits of the sheep farmer must decline, and he might find himself at the end of his lease quite unable to pay the rent he had willingly offered at the beginning.

In general, however, the landlord was not accused of rackrenting the sheep farmers, since it was plain that most of them prospered notwithstanding the high rents. But it may be admitted that what were fair rents to the big sheep farmers

¹ Mackenzie, *Agricultural Report of Ross and Cromarty*, 1813.

would certainly be excessive when applied to the small cattle farmer or cultivator. The outcry of the philanthropist against the rise in rents was thus in essence a protest against the proprietor revaluing his estate on a basis of sheep, instead of tillage or cattle farming.

The most common view then of the general causes producing this phase of emigration tends to resolve itself into these three propositions—that emigration was chiefly the result of the creation of sheep runs ; that the introduction of sheep was due solely to the greed of the landowner, and his callous indifference to the interests of his original tenants ; that the landlord, therefore, is to be held primarily responsible for the great exodus of population from the Highlands westwards.

To take these points in order, there certainly exists a certain amount of evidence pointing to sheep farming as the cause of emigration. The following contemporary writers all give some support to this view : Sir John Sinclair,¹ James Anderson,² the Rev. Mr. Singers,³ Sir George Mackenzie,⁴ Telford,⁵ Captain Henderson,⁶ as well as several ministers in the *Old Statistical Account*. The value of these particular authorities lies chiefly in the fact that most of them were not unfriendly disposed towards the landowners, while both Sinclair and Mackenzie were supporters of the introduction of sheep, and hence not likely to prejudice their case by exaggerating its effects upon depopulation. Further, it must be added that some of the authors were speaking from first-hand knowledge ; the minister of Loch Broom was drawing his conclusions from his own parish ; while Captain Henderson gave from his experience two authenticated cases in 1806 of small tenants evicted to make way for sheep, one in Strathnaver and one in Edderachylis.

Admittedly, then, some emigration must have resulted from the introduction of sheep, but the extent of such emigration is an extremely debateable point. The majority of the writers who favoured sheep farming as the sole, or even the main cause of

¹ Sir John Sinclair, *General View of Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland*, 1795.

² James Anderson, LL.D., *Present State of the Hebrides and West Coasts of Scotland*, 1785.

³ Singers, *Highland Society Transactions*, vol. iii. 1807.

⁴ Mackenzie, *Agricultural Report of Ross and Cromarty*, 1813.

⁵ Telford, *Scots Magazine*, May, 1803.

⁶ Henderson, *Agricultural Report of Sutherland*, 1812.

emigration based their case, not on definite examples, but on general principles.

Sheep-farming, they argued, compelled the enlargement of farms, and must therefore have led to the eviction of small tenants. Sheep-farming raised rents, and the small farmers who were unable to pay must have been weeded out. Sheep-farming required less labour than cattle or tillage, and by diminishing employment must have caused depopulation. Finally, sheep were introduced in large numbers into the Highlands during the eighteenth century, and simultaneously emigration from the Highlands took place on a large scale, hence the one must have been the cause of the other.

There is a certain amount of truth at the back of all these assertions, but the case for the causal connection of sheep and emigration is far from complete, and there were not wanting writers even in the eighteenth century to show flaws in the arguments. They also in many cases, like the minister of Kilninver and Kilmelfort, were writing from direct observation of the effects of sheep introduction in their own parishes. The opponents of the sheep-farming thesis were far from being agreed in matters of detail, but collectively they produced the following counter-assertions.

They denied that sheep-farming, in most cases, displaced cultivation or even cattle-farming, much of the land brought under sheep having hitherto been entirely waste. They denied that such displacement, where it did take place, necessarily produced emigration. They denied that cattle-farming, as practised in the Highlands, gave much more genuine employment than sheep-farming. Finally, they suggested alternative causes for the emigration of the period.

Some of the facts offered in support of these statements are worth giving in detail.

As against the depopulation theory there was the argument from statistics. The *Farmers' Magazine* of 1800, basing its figures on Webster and the *Old Statistical Account*, stated that in 1755 the population of Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, and Ross-shire was 170,440; by the *Old Statistical Account* (1792-8) it was 200,226, a substantial increase for an area in which there were no expanding towns of any size, and in which sheep-farming was developing rapidly.

Secondly, there is the significant fact that Argyllshire, which took strongly to sheep-farming, provided comparatively few of

the late eighteenth century emigrants, while the Hebrides, which were much less affected by sheep-farming, provided many.

Again, a writer in the *Caledonian Mercury*, of December 1781, pointed out that at the last tryst at Falkirk the number of black cattle presented exceeded all previous records, despite the fact that they were drawn from districts into which sheep had been largely introduced. His statement is borne out by the *Agricultural Report of Perthshire*, 1799, and the conclusion seems reasonable that the sheep were an addition to and not a substitute for the original stock. The following passage from Duncan Forbes might be quoted in the same connection :

‘Of this large tract of land [from Perth to Inverness] no part is in any degree cultivated, except some spots here and there in Straths and Glens, by the sides of Rivers, brooks, or lakes, and on the Sea Coast and Western Islands. The grounds that are cultivated yield small quantities of mean Corns, not sufficient to feed the inhabitants, who depend for their nourishment on milk, butter, cheese, etc., the product of their Cattle. Their constant residence during the harvest, winter and spring is at their small farms, in houses made of turf; the roof, which is thatched, supported by timber. In the summer season they drive their flocks and herds many miles higher among the mountains, where they have long ranges of coarse pasture. The whole family follow the Cattle; the men to guard them, and to prevent their straying; the women to milk them and to look after the butter and cheese, etc. The places in which they reside when thus employed they call shielings, and their habitations are the most miserable huts that ever were seen.’¹

Apparently it was possible to introduce sheep to some extent without disturbing anything but the summer pastures, and such a disturbance was not entirely a matter for regret, since the existence of these pastures generally tempted the Highland farmer to overstock his farm, with disastrous results during the winter months.²

So far then, sheep-farming did fill a blank in Highland estate economy, and involved no necessary displacement of population. This, however, was not invariably the case. The high rents offered by the sheep farmers were a strong temptation to the landlord to turn into sheep walks not only the vacant high

¹ Culloden Papers, *Thoughts Concerning the State of the Highlands of Scotland*, by Duncan Forbes, probably 1746.

² O.S.A. *Kilninver and Kilmelfort*.

ground, but also the occupied and partly cultivated lower slopes, and in any case the sheep-farmer needed some low ground for crops and enclosures. Displacement of population in these cases undoubtedly took place, but it must be noted that the displacement did not necessarily lead to emigration, or even to migration to a distance.

Captain Henderson, for example, admits that the tenants evicted from Strathnaver and Edderachylis were given the option of taking farms on lower ground nearer the sea, though most of them refused the offer, and preferred to emigrate. So also the minister of Criech in Sutherland (O.S.A.), in describing the farms being conjoined and turned into sheep walks, added the information that the evicted tenants were simply transferred from one part of the parish to the other. A similar case was that of Alness in Ross-shire. In that parish so many farms had been united to make sheep runs that riots had occurred, and public attention had been excited; yet the minister makes it clear that here also the evicted tenants had been offered other farms, either on the same estate, or on neighbouring properties.

The general conclusion we draw from the evidence on both sides is that sheep-farming did displace population; and hence did cause a certain amount of emigration, but that the extent of the displacement has been exaggerated, and where emigration occurred it was not inevitable, but was largely the result of the inability or unwillingness of the native farmer to adapt himself to the new conditions.

These facts also form a partial answer to the second proposition, that the introduction of sheep was evidence of the callous and selfish attitude of the Highland landlord towards his tenants. That the self-interest of the proprietors was the chief motive power in the change seems undeniable, but it must be remembered that the temptation to convert the Highlands into sheep runs was extraordinarily strong. The superiority of the rents offered has been already noted. As Knox said:

‘It need be no matter for surprise if gentlemen should embrace the tempting offers from sheep-farmers. One man will occupy the land that *starved* fifty or more families; he gives a double or treble rent, and is punctual to the day of payment.’¹

We have emphasized the word ‘starved’ since it calls attention to a point continually touched upon by all eighteenth century travellers through the Highlands. All were agreed that the

¹ Knox, *Tour through the Highlands*, 1786.

climate was entirely unsuited to tillage, especially in cases where the farmer was too poor to tide over the effects of several disastrous seasons in succession. The frequency of the bad years was for ever threatening ruin both to the farmer and the owner, and there seemed no hope of betterment while they continued to place their dependence upon grain crops. This fact had been brought prominently before the eyes of the landlords by the great famine of 1782. One estate then dropped no less than £4000 in arrears of rent, and it was typical of many. No proprietor could reasonably be expected to view this state of things with enthusiasm or even with acquiescence. The Highland landlord was in general neither more brutal nor more disinterested than the rest of mankind, and he lived in days before the social and ethical problems involved in private landownership had become matters of common discussion. He saw, or could see if he were sufficiently intelligent, that the existing system brought neither profit to himself nor prosperity to his tenants.¹ The alternative had its painful side, though emigration seems on the whole a lesser evil than hopeless poverty, but at all events it offered certain tangible benefits to the owner, to the farmer and to the community.

The landlord got higher rents and more security for their payment. The new type of tenant could pay the increased rent and yet enjoy a prosperity unknown to his predecessors.² The community gained by the development of natural resources hitherto untouched, and by the increase of its food supply at a time when the latter was urgently necessary.³ It seems scarcely fair to charge the proprietors with abnormal greed

¹ 'But indolence was almost the only comfort which they enjoyed. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or rather to which they were not obliged to submit. They often felt what it was to want food; the scanty crops which they raised were consumed by their cattle in winter and in spring; for a great part of the year they lived wholly on milk, and even that in the end of spring and the beginning of winter was very scarce' (*O.S.A. Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich*).

² 'A farmer can pasture a large extent of inaccessible grass, not safe for black cattle; that he can maintain a stock, with less danger of heavy losses by famine in winter and spring; and that sheep as a stock are managed at less expense and are more marketable than any other' (Rev. Mr. Singers, *Transactions of Highland Society*, vol. iii. 1807).

³ 'The produce of this parish since sheep have become the principal commodity is at least double the intrinsic value of what it was formerly, so that half the number of hands produce more than double the quantity of provisions for the support of our large towns' (*O.S.A. Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich*).

because they yielded to these arguments. No doubt the first weighed most heavily with most of them, but the most advanced opinion of their own day was with them.

Men like Sir John Sinclair who were eager advocates of sheep-farming may have been entirely wrong in their opinions; they were certainly partly influenced by economic theories which can no longer be accepted as absolute. Yet they stood for public spirit and enlightenment in their own time, and their freedom from purely personal and sordid considerations was above dispute. It is not unreasonable then to suppose that other motives mingled with self-interest in the promotion of sheep-farming, and we have already given evidence to show that many landlords made an honest effort, as in the cases of Creich and Alness, to prevent the inevitable hardships of the transition period from falling too heavily upon their original tenants.

Some proprietors there were who went further, and in spite of all inducements refused to introduce sheep walks, deliberately sacrificing their own interests and the economic development of their estates to the immediate needs of their tenants.¹ It was an action which compels admiration, but it also brings us to the answer to the third proposition, and, in fact, to the crux of the whole question. Suppose all Highland landowners had followed the example of these self-sacrificing Hebridean gentlemen, would the tide of late eighteenth century emigration have been held back, and would the tenants have received any permanent advantage from this self-denial?

Our answer to both questions is no.

The real cause of Highland distress and Highland emigration in the late eighteenth century is to be found in circumstances which the landlord did not create, and which were entirely apart from the introduction of sheep. Briefly, the Highland population was over-running its resources, and, unless positive preventive measures were taken, emigration or migration on a fairly large scale was inevitable.

No one, of course, can lay down an arbitrary limit to the number of persons the Highlands were capable of supporting. Had all the resources of civilisation, even eighteenth century civilisation, been applied to the problem no doubt the limit might have been considerably extended. But the fact remains that as things were, a large and increasing number of the Highland

¹ Anderson, *Present State of the Highlands*, 1785; MacDonald, *Agricultural Report of the Hebrides*, 1811; O.S.A. *Ardochattan and Muckairn*.

inhabitants were superfluous, that is, there was not enough work for them to do, nor enough food for them to eat.

To come to the evidence, there are, in the first place, the rather remarkable population figures supplied by Sinclair's *Analysis of the Statistical Account*, 1825, and by MacDonald's *Agricultural Report of the Hebrides*, 1811 :

		POPULATION.	
		Cir. 1755	Cir. 1795
Sutherlandshire, -	-	20,774	22,961
Inverness-shire, -	-	64,656	73,979
Argyllshire, -	-	63,291	76,101

The Hebridean figures are more sensational :

		CHURCH RECORD.	
		1750	1808-9
Total population of Hebrides,		49,485	91,049

The particular parishes show this remarkable increase in detail :

		1750	1808-9
Coll and Tiree, -	-	2,704	4,390
N. Uist, -	-	1,836	4,012
S. Uist, -	-	1,958	5,500
Duirinish, -	-	2,685	4,100
Gigha, -	-	463	850
Harris, -	-	1,993	3,420
Kilfinichen, -	-	1,616	3,500

These figures are sufficiently striking by themselves ; they are more so when we remember that they leave out of account the remarkable emigrations of our own period which removed part of the surplus. Keeping in mind what the Hebrides were like, their natural limits under the best of cultivation and their want of all expanding manufactures, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the greater part of the increase must have been nothing but a dead weight upon the scanty resources of the islands, and a means of lowering the general standard of living of all the inhabitants.

The problem of unemployment is of course one which necessarily arises in any rural area where land is the sole or almost the sole means of support. The aggravated character which it assumes in the Highlands, and especially in the Hebrides, is due partly to the temperamental peculiarities of the Highlander, and partly to the geographical isolation in which he lived.

In the Lowlands, a person who found himself without work moved off to the town to look for it, and the problem, therefore, never developed to an extent that attracted public attention. In the Highlands the people were to start with more prolific; the tie of kinship was sufficiently strong to allow an able-bodied man to live for some time on the charity of others, without any feeling of shame;¹ while his attachment to the soil, and his remoteness from the manufacturing areas, increased the moral effort required of the Highlander who would leave his home in search of work. Some did make the effort, but it is obvious from the population figures that many did not, or at least not until things had come to such a pass that only emigration in numbers would relieve the situation.

Most eighteenth century writers were agreed that the rapid increase of population in the Highlands was a comparatively new phenomenon, not dating back much before the opening of their own century. The time of its appearance is not difficult to explain; the removal, or partial disappearance, of such checks to population as private war and the small-pox scourge did so much; the introduction of the potato, and the natural fecundity of the Highlander did the rest.

One of the earliest allusions to it comes in Martin's *Western Islands*, published in 1703.² He describes the population as having the utmost difficulty in subsisting, though then it only numbered some forty thousand as against MacDonald's ninety-one.

By 1747 the *Scots Magazine* was appealing vigorously for the establishment of manufactures in the Highlands that would give work to the unoccupied inhabitants, while twenty years later Pennant,³ who was never a sympathiser with the landlords, found himself unable to refrain from commenting upon the abnormal number of idle able-bodied adults to be found in many Highland households.

References of this kind multiply as the problem itself becomes more acute.

'There is no doubt,' wrote Anderson, 'that one-tenth part of the present inhabitants (of the Highlands) would be sufficient to perform all the operations there, were their industry properly exerted.'⁴

¹ MacDonald's *Agricultural Report of Hebrides*, 1811.

² Martin, *History of the Western Islands*, 1703.

³ Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*. Pt. I., 1772.

⁴ Anderson, 1785.

An article appearing in the *Caledonian Mercury* of October 21st, 1791, for the purpose of *denouncing* those responsible for the emigrations, included the sentence, 'It must at the same time be admitted that with the best management pasturage and agriculture alone can never find subsistence for Highland fecundity.'

In the *Old Statistical Account* the ministers of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich, of Glenelg, of Duirinish, of Bracadale, of Lochalsh, of Jura and Colonsay, of Tiry, and of Kilniver and Kilmelfort, all testify to the growth of their parishioners beyond the resources of their parishes.

To quote at random from their accounts: 'Emigrations to America have proved once and again a drain to this island, but in the present mode of management it may be said to be still overstocked with inhabitants' (Jura and Colonsay); 'they must go somewhere for relief unless manufactures be introduced to employ them' (Tiry).

'A principal cause of this emigration was that the country was overstocked with people, arising from frequent early marriages; of course, the lands were able to supply them but scantily with the necessaries of life.' (Small Isles.)

'The inhabitants are now become so crowded that some relief of this sort [emigration] in one shape or another seems absolutely necessary.' (Lismore and Appin.)

These quotations seem to make the connection of the redundancy of population with emigration fairly evident, but we might add two more, the one from Mr. Kemp, who, after a prolonged tour through the Highlands, drew up a careful analysis of the causes of emigration for the *Scots Magazine* of 1792; the other written ten years later by the Minister of Rannoch, also as the results of personal observation.

Kemp concluded as follows:

'An attentive and general observation of the present state of the Highlands and Islands, it is imagined, will warrant the assertion that the great and most universally operating cause of emigration is that, in comparison with the means of subsistence which they afford, these countries are greatly overstocked with inhabitants.'¹

The same general idea was expressed by Irvine of Rannoch in 1803 with rather more forcibleness.

'In some valleys the population is so excessive that it is a question with many discerning people how the one half of the

¹ Kemp, *Tour to the Highlands* (S.P.C.K.); *Scots Magazine*, Feb. 1792.

inhabitants could subsist though they should have the land for nothing. Those who would be tenants are so numerous, and the land fit for cultivation so scanty, that all cannot be satisfied. The disappointed person, feeling himself injured, condemns the landlord and seeks a happy relief in America.’¹

The cumulative effect of this evidence seems fairly obvious. The late eighteenth century emigration was not primarily due to any changes in Highland estate economy. The introduction of sheep, and the other factors already mentioned, no doubt helped to bring matters to a head, but even had there been no change from cattle and tillage to sheep, emigration must still have taken place, and taken place on a large scale.²

It is possible, of course, to argue, as many have done, that the landlords ought to have been able to think of preventive measures that would have held back the tide. In point of fact many did make an effort, and some, as MacDonald testified, sacrificed a considerable amount of rent in their attempts to cope with the problem. But the generous feeling which allowed tenants to partition their little farms to provide for their families, until the sub-divisions became so small that the holder could neither live on his produce nor pay any rent, could only end by aggravating the situation.

If it is essential to bring a charge against the average eighteenth century landlord for what he did or left undone in connection with this phase of emigration, it can mostly be resolved into the admission that he possessed neither the capital nor the brains to solve a problem which, in a rather different form, is still perplexing the statesmen of the twentieth century.

MARGARET I. ADAM.

¹ Alex. Irvine, Minister of Rannoch, *Scots Magazine*, Feb. 1803.

² ‘Every candid observer of things will admit that from the Highlands, even under the old system, emigration must have taken place to a certain extent, unless the growing population had been reduced by worse causes than the one complained of—by the sword, the small-pox, or other destructive maladies.’—*Highland Society Transactions*, 1807.

Old Edinburgh

TWO books have recently been published dealing with the history of the Scottish capital.¹ One is the history of the Burgh Muir, compiled from the Records by Dr. Moir Bryce, and it is a pathetic circumstance that the learned author lived only just long enough to see the publication of his book, but not long enough to be able to appreciate the welcome which it received. The other volume is the outcome of that interesting exhibition of old maps of Edinburgh, which was held under the auspices of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society at Edinburgh in the summer of 1919. To all lovers of Edinburgh and students of its ancient history these maps will shed an illuminating light on obscure questions of locality.

Mr Moir Bryce's book is, as might be expected from the author, a very thorough piece of work from the archivist's point of view. In it we can trace the succession in the various lands which were included in the Burgh Muir, and in those properties which, though within its boundaries, were yet in a sense outside of it. The whole book is really concerned with the progress of titles, and these are detailed with meticulous care. The entire area under discussion is clearly displayed in a map setting forth the boundaries of the Muir and the sites of the different places mentioned in relation to the streets and buildings of to-day. If any exception can be taken to it, it is that the limits both of the Muir itself and the separate properties within it are all indicated by red lines; it would have been preferable if some other colours had been used to show the extent of the lands lying within the Muir, such as Bruntsfield, Whitehouse and the Grange of

¹ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club for the years 1917 and 1918*, vol. x.: the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh from the Record. By William Moir Bryce, LL.D., President of the Club. Pp. xiv, 278, 37. With 4 Plans and 3 Illustrations. 4to. Edinburgh, printed for the Old Edinburgh Club, 1918 (issued 1919). *The Origin and Growth of the City of Edinburgh, and the History of its Cartography*, with 11 Maps and 21 Illustrations. Royal 8vo. Edinburgh: The Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1919.

St. Giles. These did not form part of the great gift of David I. to the city of Edinburgh, which is believed to have been made in the twelfth century.

The Grange of St. Giles was not indeed in King David's power to grant, as it had in all probability been assigned by his predecessor Alexander I. to his new church of St. Giles, which he seems to have founded about 1120. But by 1151 the lands of the Grange had come into possession of the monks of Holm Cultram, a Cistercian convent in Northumberland, founded by David's eldest son Henry, Earl of Northumberland. These English monks, however, fell out of favour, and in David II.'s time were turned out of their possessions, and the lands were annexed by the Crown, and ultimately formed part of the lands belonging to the Principality of Scotland. In 1390 Andrew Wardlaw had a charter of Grange on a blench holding, the reddendo being a pair of gloves delivered annually in the Church of St. Giles. It is interesting to note that the pair of gloves has been commuted for a sum of five shillings, which is now payable by the proprietors of the Grange Cemetery, a most inadequate equivalent in these days.

The Wardlaws held the lands till 1506, and then it went to a family of Cant, and in 1632 to Sir William Dick, Provost of Edinburgh, whose tragic story is well known, and has been related in detail by the author of *The Grange of St. Giles* and other writers. The daughter of the last Dick laird of the Grange married Sir Andrew Lauder, the fifth Baronet of Fountainhall, and in their descendants, the Dick Lauders, the property still remains.

The lands of Bruntsfield were originally an appanage of an official called the King's Sergeant. In 1381, one Richard Browne, in whom the office was both heritable and hereditary, parted with it and the lands to the Lauders, the progenitors of the Lauders of Hatton, but the property continued to be called by the name Brounesfield or Bruntsfield. In 1603 Sir Alexander Lauder sold the place to John Fairlie, a burghess of Edinburgh, who added to the mansion-house, where his initials and those of his wife, Elizabeth Weston, may still be seen over the windows. In 1695 Bruntsfield was purchased from the Fairlies by George Warrender, afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in the possession of whose family it still is. In connection with this Mr. Moir Bryce deserves credit for exploding, once and for all, the extraordinary story related by Grant, in his *Old and New Edinburgh*, that

Warrender, probably from his civic influence, 'got it as a free gift from the magistrates.'

Coming to the Muir proper, there is good reason for supposing that it was gifted to the Burgh by David I., and that the forest of Drumselch, which then covered it, lost its distinction as a royal hunting place. One of the most interesting traditions connected with the locality is the terms by which the lairds of Penicuik held, and still hold, these lands. This was to blow three blasts of a horn on the common muir of Edinburgh; where these blasts were blown is somewhat doubtful; it may have been at the Buckstane on the Old Braid Road, but as this is outside the limits of the Muir, our author thinks it more likely to have been at the Harestane, now placed in the wall close to Morningside Church, and called the Borestone from a tradition that the King's standard was placed on it when his army assembled for the march which ended at Flodden. But this story is, as Mr. Moir Bryce clearly shows, without foundation.

What historic scenes the old Muir has witnessed. It heard the tramp of the serried ranks of the army of Edward I. as it swept onwards towards victory at Falkirk. It saw a Scottish triumph in 1335, when the Earl of Moray and the Earl of March defeated the foreign mercenaries under Guy, Comte de Namur. Half a century later a Scottish army of thirty thousand horsemen assembled on the Muir preparatory to a raid into England, and a century after that James III. headed a large army which started from the same place for a similar purpose; but it did not get further than Lauder, where an insurrection among the nobles resulted in the disbandment of the army and the hanging of the ill-fated favourites of the King over the bridge. But brighter and gayer scenes than the mere panoply of armed men were enacted on the Muir. Under the umbrageous shelter which its trees afforded, rode the girl Princess Margaret Tudor when, surrounded by a glittering escort, she came to Edinburgh as the bride of James IV., and her reception was worthy of her suitor. Little did the young Princess think that the last time her gallant husband would set foot on the Burgh Muir would be at the head of his army as they set forward to the fatal field of Flodden.

With Flodden much of the romance associated with the Muir disappears. In 1508 the King had granted a feu charter of it to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and had given them jurisdiction over it. This, no doubt, was felt to be necessary in view of the many rogues and vagabonds who found shelter amidst its leafy

glades. We can hardly blame the municipality for neglecting the chance of securing for the burgh such an admirable place of recreation for the inhabitants. Such ideas had not permeated the minds of sixteenth century councillors. Far from preserving the Muir in all the glory of its magnificent foliage, the first thing they did was to begin to cut down the trees to such an extent that there was a very glut of wood in the Edinburgh market. It could not, indeed, be used in an ordinary way, so we are told by a local historian that the magistrates gave leave to the burgesses to build wooden fronts to their stone houses in the High Street, with a projection of seven feet, so that the width of that highway was reduced fourteen feet. They also excavated parts of the ground in search of sandstone for building material. And the cutting up of the Muir into small feus, on which were 'dwelling-houses, malt-barns, and cow-hills,' tended to obliterate any former picturesqueness it may have possessed.

But one or two ancient features survived the passing of the Muir into comparative modernity. In 1513 Sir John Crauford, a prebendary of St. Giles and one of the earliest of the town's feuars, erected on the west side of what is now Causewayside a little chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It was served by himself, and he presented to it a breviary according to the Sarum use, a book which is now one of the most treasured possessions of the University Library. He also appointed a hermit who was to live at the chapel, keep it clean, and generally to assist the chaplain in the services. He was to be vested in a white robe with a picture of the head of St. John the Baptist on his breast, and to have an acre of land with a house for his support. But this foundation did not last long; within four or five years the chapel was acquired by certain Dominican Sisters as an adjunct of a nunnery of the Order, which was erected not far off on the grounds of the Grange. Here the Sisters lived in peace but in strict seclusion till they were temporarily dispossessed by the damage done to the convent during the invasion of Hertford. Shortly after, however, they were back again, and continued their placid and uneventful life till the great storm burst upon them in 1559. At the time of the Reformation there were only eighteen of them, 'the maist part thereof aigit and decrepit.' It must have been a sad breaking up for them, but they were warned in time, and were able to fly before any personal harm could reach them. They faded away into obscurity, and the last of them, Sister Beatrix Blacater, seems to have died in 1580. The further

history of their lands is traced in minute detail, and it is curious to note that part of them is now held by the Church of Scotland.

One other ecclesiastical edifice on the Burgh Muir deserves notice. The little chapel of St. Roque was erected by the Town Council in a remote but beautiful part of the Muir sometime in the early years of the sixteenth century for the benefit of the sufferers from 'the pest' who were segregated outside the city walls. It has not much of a history, and the Reformation brought destruction upon it, though its ruined walls were still standing in Grose's time, who sketched them in 1788. He says that about thirty years before, some men who had been employed to pull down the walls were killed by the collapse of a scaffold, and that since then no workmen could be induced to continue its demolition. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that 'the whole of this interesting and venerable ruin was swept away as an unsightly encumbrance to the estate of a retired tradesman.' The adjoining lands now go by the name of Canaan, and it is thought that that and other scriptural names in the district may have been introduced by Puritan or Covenanter, but Little Egypt, also in the vicinity, appears so early as 1585.

The Western and Eastern Muirs are next discussed, but they need not detain us. The chapter on 'The Fellowship and Society of Ale and Beer Brewers of the Burgh of Edinburgh,' however, is worthy of special note. It was established by charter from the Town Council in 1598, and was the first commercial public company to be incorporated in Scotland. The Brewers were granted extensive privileges over the Burgh Loch, now represented by the Meadows, from which they drew their main supply of water for brewing, Bruntsfield Links and part of the South Muir. Disputes, however, soon arose between the Society and the Magistrates, and in 1619 it was dissolved. But it had done some good work in the way of draining the Meadows and other undertakings, so that the City magnates felt justified in paying over to it the not inconsiderable sum of upwards of £26,000 Scots. Its memory still lingers in the name of 'Society,' a part of the town which was the scene of its principal operations, but which, we are told, is now 'a sad, unsavoury slum.'

Enough has been said to show how replete with interest this volume is. It is an *edition définitive*, and must be the last word on its special subject. It is, too, the work of a great local antiquary, and has been written with loving care. If it errs in

anything it is in superabundance of detail, and some of the matter which is more or less irrelevant to the actual history might without great loss have been omitted.

The other book to which attention has been directed is a very different one. Instead of an intensive study of a small portion of the liberties of Edinburgh, it takes cognisance of the whole city through all its known life. To those interested in maps and town planning this slim volume, which owes its origin to the public spirit of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, will be more than welcome. Both articles and maps are full of suggestion. We have, in the first place, a characteristic paper dealing with a survey of Edinburgh and the civic eugenics connected therewith, from the capable pen of Professor Patrick Geddes. It is not always quite easy reading, but what Professor Geddes does not know about town planning is not worth knowing, and if he had been our municipal aedile when greater Edinburgh was beginning to expand we would have been spared many of the atrocities which now offend our eye and taste. For one thing, we should not have had the railway brought through the most beautiful part of the town, and it is certain that we should not have had that accumulation of rubbish called 'The Mound' tilted into one of the most beautiful valleys in Scotland. A true lover of his native town, the late Lord Justice Clerk Macdonald once called up to the eye of the writer the unparalleled chance we had, ere the railways and Mound came into existence, of having a great drive, fringed with umbrageous trees, beginning at the west end of Princes Street, passing below the hoary Castle rock, along the margin of a purified and ornamented Nor' Loch, and ending at Holyrood with its majestic background of Arthur's Seat. But it is useless to cry over spilt milk, and we must adapt ourselves to conditions as we now find them.

But Professor Geddes is not merely aesthetic, he is quite utilitarian as well. He does not wish Edinburgh to be merely a city of lawyers and parsons, doctors and professors. Much industrial development may be carried out without doing any real damage to the residential and academic aspects of the town, if only it is gone about in a proper way. What that way is Professor Geddes expounds in some detail, and, whether we agree with him or not, we are bound to get some practical good from his lofty ideals. We sincerely hope he is right in believing 'that the municipal policy and the civic statesmanship of Edinburgh may increasingly rise beyond such present promise as that of concealment under

tramway wires and adornment by their poles : and even beyond its suburban industrial developments.'

'Primitive Edinburgh' is the subject of an able paper by Captain F. C. Mears, who deals with the very beginning of the city and with times even before that. He discusses minutely the topography of the district and the system of roads or tracks in relation to the contours of the country. While there are many evidences of elaborate ancient earth works on the south-eastern slopes of Arthur's Seat and even on the south side of the Old Town ridge, the author does not think that there is any indication of a large peaceful settlement close to the fort (which is undoubtedly more ancient) before the twelfth century. This is a later date than most historians give it, and it is hardly likely that King Malcolm III. brought his wife, the saintly Margaret, to live in a primitive fortress in the midst of a lonely waste. Even as a matter of getting protection through the vicinity of the castle, it is more probable that the eastern spine was at all events to some extent peopled in Queen Margaret's day.

It is not, however, the articles, important and interesting though they be, contributed to this special number of the Geographical Society's magazine that will make the principal appeal to most readers. It is rather the wonderful series of maps dealing with the town that will form the chief attraction. The earliest authentic representation of Edinburgh is believed to be from the pencil of an officer attached to Hertford's army in his invasion of 1544. In the foreground we see three bodies of troops marching up the northern slopes of the Calton Hill bearing amongst them eight standards, while two other bodies are drawn up as supports in the rear. In the middle distance three regiments are seen advancing to the Watergate at the foot of the Canongate, near Holyrood. The city itself is clearly represented with the spacious High Street, stretching from the Castle to the Nether Port, which is shown as an imposing gateway flanked by two towers. Beyond this lies the Canongate, with its semi-rural houses and gardens on each side. To the south, parallel with the High Street, is the Cowgate ; a church on the east with a pointed steeple may be that of the Dominicans or Blackfriars, while a large building on the sky-line may be either the Kirk o' Field or the monastery of the Greyfriars. The contours of Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags are unmistakable ; we can see St. Anthony's Chapel nestling on the slopes of the former, overlooking the palace and abbey of Holyrood. Justice is hardly done to the Castle, which is repre-

sented as a rather slim fortress perched on the extreme east end of the rock, but to make up for that an enormous cannon is placed in front of the gate ready to rake the High Street from end to end, which, as a matter of fact, it did. In the original map all the houses within the walls have red or tiled roofs, while those in the Canongate have a covering of dark grey, probably indicating that they were thatched. This is a very valuable map, and it is not for a century after that we get anything like such a faithful delineation of the town. The one next in order to that of Hertford's officer was 'made in Germany,' and appeared in Münster's *Cosmographia*, dated 1550. It may have been drawn from a description, but it is difficult to believe that it is anything else than a creation of the artist's brain. No indication of any street is given, and the whole town is covered with spires and towers, the names of some of which are noted. But we cannot put faith in a map which places St. Giles immediately to the north of the Castle, with St. Cuthbert's close beside it. The fairly well-known picture of the murder of Darnley can hardly be called a map, but it has been included on the ground that while its topography is far from accurate it shows the general style of houses of the period with their crow-stepped gables and occasionally outside stairs. The next map is really an attempt to give a bird's-eye view of the town with its streets and houses in detail; it is from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and is believed to represent the siege of the Castle when held for Queen Mary by Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange in 1573. It is certainly full of incidents and entertainment. One thing only can be mentioned here: in the middle of the High Street, at the Tron, we see an immense pair of scales into which two men are preparing to put some goods with the utmost nonchalance, notwithstanding that the streets are full of armed men and that they themselves are in the direct line of fire from the Castle. This map is evidently the source from which the next two are taken, one from the Dutch *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and the other from an unknown German source. The former was published about 1580, and it is not till nearly seventy years after that that we get the first satisfactory perspective views of Edinburgh, those of Gordon of Rothiemay drawn in 1647. They consist of two sketches of the town, one from the north and another from the south, showing the line of the street running from the Castle to Holyrood. The scale is so small that much detail cannot be made out, but we see all the steeples towering at disproportionate height above the

roofs of the houses. Another view from the south by Holler, published in 1670 but probably executed a good deal earlier, is much superior, and we can clearly see the façade of Holyrood and its courtyard and the fine large gardens of the Canongate houses sloping down to the valley. A picture of Edinburgh published in Paris in the eighteenth century is about as fanciful as the one produced two hundred years earlier, and as valueless as regards any information which may be got from it.

From these tentative representations of Edinburgh we arrive at last on a really good bird's-eye view of the town, drawn by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647, and engraved in Holland by De Wit; it has been thrice reproduced since. The scale is sufficiently large to give plenty of detail, and it is interesting to note that, crowded though the town undoubtedly was, there are still many spacious pieces of ground unbuilt on. There are some delightful gardens in the middle of a cluster of houses to the east of the West Bow, and the Parliament House stands very free in a large courtyard. The fronts of the long row of houses on the north side of the High Street show their crow-stepped gables fronting the street and breaking the skyline in a most effective manner; how public taste ever came to change so much as to transform this simple and picturesque style into the hideous straight-lined monotony of the present day is difficult to understand. Occasionally, too, it seems as if the ground flats of the houses were arcaded, which would add to the variety and charm of the scene.

Two maps, or rather two editions of the same map, were published by Edgar, one in 1742 and the other in 1765. Little change is observed during that period, but by the latter year the project of extending the town to the north was 'in the air.' In the next map, that of Ainslie in 1780, we find not only George's Square, Brown Square, and Argyle Square to the south, then all quite new acquisitions to the town, but we have the North Bridge, the Register House, and practically all the new town from Princes Street to Queen Street, and from St. Andrews Square to its sister square at the other end of George Street, which was to be called St. George's Square, either built or in the process of building. But too much faith cannot be put in this map as indicating the actual completion of the buildings and streets shown. The Register House was begun in 1774, but it was not until 1789 that the national archives were deposited in it. The American War interfered much with the progress of building at this time.

Part of another map of Ainslie's, of date 1804, deals with the Leith Walk portion of the town. Fine streets which still remain show that it was originally the intention to make the east end into a good residential locality, but Edinburgh ultimately succumbed to the inevitable tendency of most towns to extend to the west. Ainslie, therefore, must not be trusted in his lay-out of this part of the town, *e.g.*, the fine elm tree avenue which stretched from Pilrig House to Leith Walk, and which many yet alive can remember, is not indicated, and in its place is Balfour Street, which did not come to be built for two generations later. It is curious to note the names of several small streets running across Pilrig Street. They were to have been named St. Cuthbert Street, probably because the lands of Pilrig were in that parish, Whyte Street and Melville Street, evidently after the laird's wife, who was a Whyte-Melville of Strathkinness. Even in Lothian's map of 1825 these hypothetical names are still retained. But all these merry misleadings of the cartographer can be checked by the ingenuous reader himself if he will turn to Dr. Bartholomew's excellent chronological map prefixed to the volume, where he will find not only an exact survey of the City but a clear scheme in colour showing the date at which each part of the town was built, and also, in the case of most of the streets, the exact dates at which they were erected.

To all who like maps, to all who love Edinburgh, to the historian, the antiquary, and the practical town-planner, this interesting production of the Geographical Society can be cordially recommended.

JAMES BALFOUR PAUL.

Scottish Middle Templars

1604-1869

ALTHOUGH the history of the four Inns of Court does not show any special relation with Scotland, as there was with Ireland,¹ the list of Scotsmen admitted to the Middle Temple is of interest. The record of admissions to the Inn begins early in the sixteenth century, but it is not until 1604 that there occurs the name of a Scotsman. On 26th October, 1604, Robert Fowlis was admitted to membership as the third son of James Fowlis of Colinton, Lothian. Sir David Foulis, who was a favourite of James VI., is generally described as the third son,² and probably the Middle Templar was his younger brother.

At that period the Readers' Feasts were an important feature in the life of the Inn.³ The Reader was the Master of the Bench responsible for the education of the students. The 'reading' consisted of a dissertation upon some statute, and was made the occasion for a series of festivities during which the Reader invited distinguished men as his guests, and, if he desired to do them especial favour, was allowed by the customs of the Inn to invite them to become members *honoris causa*. In that way, during the reading of 'Mr. Wrightington,' were admitted on 27th Feb., 1604-5, Sir Robert Stewart,⁴ brother of the Earl of Orkney, and Sir John Skene,⁵ Clerk Register at the same time as Peregrine Bertie, Sir Thomas Edmondes (one of the Clerks of the Privy Council), Sir John Gilbert and Sir Roger Jones, Sheriff of London. A copy of Sir John Skene's famous codification of *The Laws and Acts of Parliament* is in the Middle Temple Library and two

¹ See *Irishmen at the Inns of Court*, by the present writer; *Law Magazine and Review*, vol. 37, pp. 268 *et seq.*

² See *Dictionary of National Biography* and Douglas, *Baronage*, p. 87.

³ For a full account of Sir James Whitelocke's Reading in 1619 see his *Liber Famelicus*, p. 70, published by the Camden Society.

⁴ See *Scots Peerage*, vol. vi. p. 574.

See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

copies of his *Regiam Majestatem*, of which one bears the signature of Fabian Philipps on the title-page.

In 1608 King James granted a patent, dated August 13th, to the Inner and Middle Temples, which is the only formal document concerning the relations between the Crown and the Inns. In it they are said to have been 'for a long time dedicated to the use of the students and professors of the law, to which, as to the best seminaries of learning and education, very many young men, eminent for rank of family and their endowments of mind and body, have daily resorted from all parts of this realm, and from which many men in our own times, as well as in the times of our progenitors, have by reason of their very great merits been advanced to discharge the public and arduous functions as well of the State as of Justice, in which they have exhibited great examples of prudence and integrity, to the no small honour of the said profession and adornment of this realm and good of the whole Commonwealth.'¹

No doubt the admission of a number of the king's Scottish friends was connected with this event, and there is a strong presumption that the king accompanied them. One of the number was the Duke of Lennox,² Gentleman of the Bedchamber and holder of many high offices of State, who had been made a Master of Arts at Oxford when the king went there in 1605. David Murray,³ who occupied a similar domestic relationship to Prince Henry, was admitted at the same time, together with Sir James Kennedy and Sir James Hamilton,⁴ afterwards Viscount Claneboye, who was entrusted with several confidential missions.

In course of time, however, these Readers' Feasts became so elaborate and extravagant⁵ that the four Inns, at the suggestion of the king, limited the expenditure to £300.⁶ They seem, however, to have been continued on a considerable scale, as when the Duke of Hamilton became a member in 1683 there accompanied him the Duke of Ormonde and his grandson, the Duke of

¹ See Appendix 'B' to the *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the arrangements in the Inns of Court and of Chancery for promoting the study of the law and jurisprudence*, 1855, p. 207.

² Cokayne's *Peerage*, p. 66 *sub tit.*; see also *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵ See, for example, the account of Francis North's Reading Feast in *Lives of the Norths*, vol. i. p. 97. Bohn.

⁶ *Middle Temple Records*, vol. iii. p. 1312.

Somerset, the Earls of Carlingford and Radnor and the Marquess of Halifax.

Occasionally ecclesiastics were admitted to membership of the Inn, and in 1612 the name of the Dean of Salisbury, John Gordon,¹ as a guest of the Reader, John Lowe, is recorded in the minutes.

Probably Alexander Blair, who was admitted on 14th August, 1671, was the first Scotsman to come to the Inn to study law, and Archibald Johnstone was the first to be called to the Bar—‘by reason he is Master of Arts of Edenborough’—23rd Nov., 1711.

Under date 16th May, 1740, there is an Order in the minutes of Parliament of the Inn authorising the call to the Bar of a Scottish advocate simply upon a certificate of his admission and practice at the Scottish Bar. It is as follows :

At the Parliament holden the 16th day of May, 1740.

Ordered that Mr. Lookup J. having produced a certificate dated at London the 9th of February, 1739 signed by James Erskine, Esq. late one of the Lords of Session in North Britain and by Charles Areskine, Esq., Lord Advocate for North Britain certifying that the said Mr. Lookup had for several years been at the Barr in Scotland and was orderly admitted Advocate by the Lords of Session, and having also produced another certificate dated at Edinburgh March 28th 1740, signed by John Pringle, Esq. now one of the Lords of Session in North Britain certifying that the said Mr. Lookup served at the Bar of the Lords of Session in the station of Advocate for the space of six years or thereby and that he was neither suspended nor deposed from his employment and service before the Court of Session, and producing an affidavit of James Hutchinson, clerk to the said Charles Areskine, sworn the third of May one thousand seven hundred and forty before Francis Eld Esq., one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery, proving the subscriptions of the said Charles Areskine and James Erskine for the said first mentioned certificate and producing his own affidavit sworn the sixteenth of May one thousand seven hundred and forty before the said Mr. Eld proving likewise the subscription of the said James Erskine to the same certificate, and also proving the subscription of the said John Pringle to the last mentioned certificate be called to the degree of the Utter Barr.

There does not appear to be another example, and, in fact, Scottish advocates have not enjoyed the right of admission to the English Bar. There is no reciprocal arrangement, owing, no doubt, to the fact that the Scottish system of law differs so widely from the English that a knowledge of it is not necessarily an

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

equipment for practising in England. It is easier, for example, for a New South Wales barrister to practise in the English Courts of Justice than it is for a Scottish advocate. Nevertheless, Scottish advocates have come to the English Bar and attained eminence in the profession.

The list may be closed suitably with the name of Lord Young, who, just fifty years ago, on 24th Nov., 1869, was called to the Bar while holding the office of Lord Advocate without any of the customary formalities, with a view to forming a link between the Bars of the two kingdoms, which is continued at the present time by Lord Dunedin and Lord Shaw as honorary Benchers of the Inn.

C. E. A. BEDWELL.

LIST OF SCOTTISH MIDDLE TEMPLARS

The Editor has to thank Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms; Professor R. K. Hannay, Mr. George Neilson, Mr. A. Francis Steuart, the Hon. Robert E. Boyle, Miss Haldane, Mr. David Baird Smith, Mr. J. M. Bulloch and others for additional information, printed in small type after the names in the following list, which has been compiled by Mr. Bedwell in the course of preparing for publication the Admission Registers of the Middle Temple.

1604. 26 Oct. Robert Fowlis, third son of James F. of Colinton, co. Louthian, Scotland.

Advocate 1606. Douglas (*Baronage*, p. 87) says David was the third son, and being in great favour with King James VI. accompanied him to England in 1603, created a Baronet 1619. Ancestor of the family of Ingleby in Yorkshire. The fourth son is not named.

1604-5. 27 Feb. Robert Stewart, Knight, brother of the Earl of [Orkney].

See *Scots in Poland* and *Scots Peerage* (Orkney).

John Skeene, Knight, Master of the Rolls in Scotland.

Advocate 1575. Sir John Skene, Lord Clerk Register.

1608-9. 16 Mar. Louis, Lord Lenox, Knight of the Garter and member of His Majesty's Privy Council.

Murray, David, Gentleman of the Chamber to Prince Henry.

Son of Robert Murray and brother of William Murray of Abercairny.

Kenedy, James, Knight.

Hamilton, James, King's Serjeant.

1612. 13 Aug. Lord John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury.
Lord of Longarmes in France. Son of Alexander Gordon, Archbishop of Athens and bishop-elect of Galloway.
1615. 10 Aug. John, Earl of Cassilis.
1671. 14 Aug. Alexander Blair, third son of Robert Blair of St. Andrews, decd.
- 1682-3. 9 Feb. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, son and heir of William, Duke of Hamilton.
1707. 17 May. Archibald Johnstone, son and heir of Patrick J. of Edinburgh, Knight.
Called 'by reason he is Master of Arts of Edenborough,' 23rd November, 1711.
1708. 9 Nov. John Cuming, son and heir of John C. of Edinburgh, North Britain, merchant.
Called 15th May, 1713.
1709. 1 Dec. George Montgomerie, son and heir of John M. of the City of Edenborough.
1713. 13 Apr. David Cannedy, second son of Archibald C. of Edinburgh, North Britain, Knight and Baronet.
Kennedy of Culzean. Advocate 1704.
1716. 12 May. Alexander Cumming, son and heir of Alexander C., Baronet of Cultyr, Mar, Scotland.
Advocate 1714. Chief of Cherokee Indians.
- 7 Aug. Hugh Dalrimple, second son of the Rt. Hon. David D., Lord Advocate of Scotland, Baronet.
Advocate 25th February, 1718. Afterwards H. D. Murray-Kynnynmond of Melgund and Kynnynmond. Died 1741.
1718. 21 Nov. Patrick Haldane of Edinburgh.
Of Gleneagles. Advocate 1715. Professor, University of St. Andrews. M.P. for St. Andrews Burghs and Solicitor-General.
- 1720-1. 7 Feb. William Grant, second son of Francis G. of Cullen, Aberdeen, Baronet.
Advocate 1722. Lord Prestongrange 1754.
1721. 6 Nov. Patrick Turnbull, second son of James T. of Newhall, Teviotdale, Scotland.
Advocate 1702. Called 26th November, 1725.
- 1722-3. 2 Jan. Lewis Gordon, second son of Robert G. of Gordon's Town, Moray, Scotland, Baronet.
Called 31st May, 1728.

1727. 1 June. Robert Haldane, fourth son of John H. of Gleneagles, Perth, decd.
Purchased Gleneagles from his half-brother Patrick. M.P. Of Airthrey.
- 23 Oct. James More, only son of James M. of Earnslaw, Berwick, N. Britain, decd.
1728. 15 July. Gilbert Campbell, sixth son of Archibald C. of Nairn, N. Britain, Knight.
- 1732-3. 9 Jan. George Morison, only son (by his wife Aminta) of William M. of Preston Grange, North Britain.
Of Little Chalfield, Co. Wilts, and thereafter of Sundridge, Kent. Died 1788.
1733. 24 Aug. Charles Erskine, son and heir of Charles E., Solicitor General for Scotland. (Admitted Lincoln's Inn 22 June, 1743.)
Called 26th October, 1739. M.P. for Ayr Burgh, 1747-9. Born 1716. Died unmarried 1749.
- 1733-4. 19 Jan. Andrew Mitchell, only son of the Rev. William M. of Edinburgh, clerk, decd.
Advocate 1736. Called 12th May, 1738. Sir Andrew Mitchell. M.P. for Aberdeenshire and for the Elgin Burghs. Ambassador to Prussia 1756.
1735. 6 May. John Dalrymple, alias Hamilton, second son of Robert D. of Castleton, Haddington, N.B., Knight, decd.
Of Bargany. M.P. Advocate 1735.
- 15 Dec. Gilbert Buchanan, son and heir of Gilbert B. of Glasgow, merchant, decd.
Called 25th April, 1740.
1739. 11 Oct. John Lookup, son and heir of Rev. John L. of Med-caldar, Midlothian.
Advocate 1731. Called 16th May, 1740.
- 12 Nov. William Baird, son and heir of William B. of Auch-medden, Banff.
Called 20th May, 1748. Died 1750.
1740. 24 Apr. Thomas Finlay, son and heir of James Finlay of Balchnystie, Fife.
1742. 5 Nov. James Brebner, son and heir of James B. of Towie de Clatt, Aberdeen, N.B.
Called 28th November, 1746.

1744. 8 Aug. David Dalrymple, son and heir of James D. of Hales, Haddington, N.B., Baronet.
Sir David. Born 1726. Advocate 28th February, 1748. On the Bench as Lord Hailes 6th March, 1766. Died 1792.
- 1750-1. 9 Jan. The Hon. Lockhart Gordon, son of the Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Aboyne, Scotland.
See *Gordons under Arms* (New Spalding Club), No. 1103. Called 22nd November, 1754. Judge Advocate, Bengal.
1752. 7 Jan. James Douglass, second son of John D. of Killhead, Annandale, Scotland, Baronet.
Called 25th November, 1757. Collector of Customs, Jamaica.
1757. 25 Jan. Hon. James Lyon, second son of Rt. Hon. Thomas, late Earl of Strathmore.
H.E.I.C.S. Murdered.
1759. 17 May. Hugh Dalrymple, eldest son of Robert D. of Edinburgh.
Advocate 1752. Called 8th February, 1771. Attorney-General, Bahamas.
1771. 3 May. William Alexander, son and heir of William A. of Edinburgh.
20 May. James Stephen, third son of James S. of Aberdeen, decd.
4 June. Edward Maxwell, eldest son of Robert M. of Dumfries.
1772. 1 Feb. James Trail, third son of Rev. William T. of Fife, North Britain, clergyman.
Called 8th February, 1782. M.P.
1773. 1 Apr. The Hon. Charles Cranstoun, fourth son of the Rt. Hon. James, Lord C. of Cranstoun, Scotland.
1774. 11 June. Charles Dundas, second son of Thomas D. of Fin-gask, N.B.
Called 13th June, 1777. Created Lord Amesbury, 1832.
1775. 14 Nov. John Richardson, third son of George R. of Edinburgh.
Called 26th January, 1781.
18 Dec. Thomas Durham, second son of James D. of Largo, Fife, N.B.
Afterwards Calderwood of Polton.
1776. 8 June. John Cuming Ramsay, eldest son of William R. of Temple Hall, Angus, N.B., LL.D.
Advocate 1768.

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1777. 11 July. John Melvill, only son of Rev. Thomas M. of Scoonie, Fife, clerk, decd.
- 14 Nov. James Johnston, eldest son of Robert J. of Irvine, N.B. Called 30th May, 1783.
1778. 9 Nov. Robert Waddell, eldest son of Robert W. of Crawhill, Linlithgow, decd.
1782. 2 Mar. Archibald Cullin, youngest son of William C. of Edinburgh, doctor of medicine. Called 27th April, 1787.
- 8 Apr. Thomas Beath, only son of Patrick B. of Edinburgh, decd. Called 8th June, 1787.
- 15 June. Stuart Kyd, eldest son of Harie K. of Arbroath, Angus. Called 22nd June, 1787. Politician and legal writer. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 4 Nov. Kenneth Francis Mackenzie, only son of Colin M. of Kirkcudbright.
- 12 Nov. William Graham, second son of William G. of Edinburgh, N. Britain.
1783. 1 Feb. Charles Alexander Macrae, second son of James M. of Houston, Renfrew, decd.
- 18 June. John Lewis, third son of John L. of Merchiston, Midlothian, N.B.
- 2 July. Philip Callard Ainslie, second son of Philip A. of Edinburgh, Kt. Called 22nd June, 1792.
1784. 5 Nov. William Barkley, eldest son of James B. of Cromarty, Ross.
- 15 Nov. David Finlayson, eldest son of William F. of Edinburgh.
- 11 Dec. James Gordon, third son of Harry G. of Gordonfield, Aberdeen.
Keeper of the Middle Temple Library. See *Gordons under Arms* (New Spalding Club), No. 615.
1786. 9 Jan. Alexander Stephens, eldest son of Thomas S. of Elgin, Murray.
- 24 June. William Anderson, second son of James A. of Edinburgh.
- 25 Oct. Henry Kyd, youngest son of Henry K. of Arbroath, Angus.

1788. 10 Apr. Andrew Alpine, third son of Alexander A. of Airth, Stirling, N.B., decd.
1789. 5 Feb. Charles Maitland Bushby, second son of John B. of Dumfries, N.B.
1792. 29 Nov. William Johnstone, eldest son of Archibald J. of Dumfries.
Called 27th November, 1812.
1793. 30 Apr. William Moncreiff, eldest son of Harry Moncreiff Wellwood, of Tullybole, Kinross, Baronet.
Called 7th February, 1800, King's Advocate, Admiralty Court, Malta.
1794. 26 June. Andrew Cassels (admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 14 Aug., 1787), second son of Andrew C. of Edinburgh, merchant.
Called 11th November, 1796. Judge of Admiralty Court, Cape of Good Hope, 1809.
1798. 8 May. Robert Morehead, third son of William M. of Herbertshire, Stirling, N.B.
1804. 6 Nov. David Robertson, eldest son of the Rev. John R. of Jedburgh, Roxburgh.
1806. 8 July. Alexander Harper, only son of James H. of Aberdeen, decd.
1811. 13 July. James Robertson, eldest son of James R. of Elgin, Forres.
1813. 14 June. Joseph Douglas, youngest son of the Rev. George D. of Tain, Ross, Esq.
Called 6th November, 1818.
- 7 July. Samson Sober Wood, eldest son of Samson Tickle W. of Edinburgh.
1814. 28 June. James Dewar, second son of David D. of Gilston House, Fife, army instructor.
Called 6th July, 1821.
1816. 29 June. James Traill, second son of James T. of Hebister, near Thurso, Caithness.
Called 24th November, 1820. Succeeded to Rather and Hobbister 1821. Was a Metropolitan Police Magistrate. Born 1794. Died 1873.
1819. 19 Nov. Thomas Dunbar, second son of George D. of Mochrum, Wigton, Knight baronet, decd.
Died 1831.

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1822. 11 June. William Hugh Scott, second son of Hugh S. of Harden, Roxburgh.
Called 23rd November, 1827. Prebendary.
1824. 7 May. James Colquhoun, eldest son of Frederic C. of Edinburgh.
Called 3rd July, 1829.
- 2 July. Charles Hope Maclean, sixth son of Alexander M. of Ardgour, Argyle.
Called 3rd July, 1829.
- 19 Nov. Hugh Campbell, eldest son of Archibald C., Kenzean-cleugh, Ayr.
- 27 Nov. George Gordon, third son of Alexander G. of Newton, Aberdeen.
Entered Scots Greys as Cornet 1830. Lieut. 1835.
1825. 5 May. Thomas Spears, only son of Robert Spears of Edinburgh.
- 18 June. John Farley Leith, eldest son of James Urquhart Murray L. of Barrack, Aberdeen, decd.
Called 25th June, 1830.
1827. 17 Feb. Ronald Macdonald, fourth son of Alexander M. of Carvabeg in the parish of Laggen, Inverness.
1828. 21 July. Francis Scott, fourth son of Hugh S. of Harden, Roxburgh.
Called 15th June, 1832. M.P. for Roxburgh and Berwickshires.
1831. 21 Apr. John Manson, eldest son of John M. of Edinburgh.
- 23 Nov. Hugh Fraser, second son of Alexander F. of Morven, Argyle.
- 19 Dec. George Birrell, eldest son of George B. of Albany Street, Edinburgh, decd.
Writer to the Signet 1824. Attorney-General, Bahamas.
1833. 15 May. Alexander Cumine, fourth son of Adam C. of Aberdeen.
Advocate 1836.
- 13 Nov. Charles Arnott, second son of James A. of Arbickie, N.B.
1834. 13 May. William Dunlop, third son of George D. of Edinburgh.
1837. 24 Feb. John Drummond, third son of James D. of Comrie, Perth, decd.
Advocate 1831.

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1838. 26 Jan. John Hosack, third son of John H. of Glengaber, Dumfries, decd.
Called 29th January, 1841. Police Magistrate, Clerkenwell. Author of *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 3 May. James Whigham (admitted to Lincoln's Inn 10 May, 1825), fourth son of Robert W. of Halliday Hill, Dumfries.
Judge of County Courts.
- 3 Nov. Alan Ker, eldest son of Robert Dow K. of Greenock.
Called 25th November, 1842.
- 16 Nov. James Logan, third son of George L. of Edrom, Scotland, lieutenant.
Advocate 1837. Called 28th January, 1842. Died in Jamaica 1844.
1839. 17 Apr. George Robinson (admitted to Lincoln's Inn 7 May, 1835), only son surviving of George Garden R. of Banff.
Advocate 1823. Called 3rd May, 1839.
- 19 Apr. James Anderson, eldest son of David A. of Bellfield, near Edinburgh. (Admitted to Lincoln's Inn 20 April, 1835.)
Called 7th June, 1839. Q.C. Examiner in Court of Chancery. See *Middle Temple Bench Book*, p. 304.
- 25 May. William Campbell Gillan, second son of the Rev. Robert G. of Edinburgh, decd.
Called 3rd May, 1853.
1840. 15 Jan. Alexander Duguid Johnston, second son of James J. of Glasgow.
Called 27th January, 1843.
- 2 Mar. William Weir, only son of Oswald W. of Mount Hamilton, Ayr, Scotland.
Advocate 1827.
1841. 16 Apr. Charles Forsyth, second son of Robert F. of Royal Circus, Edinburgh, advocate.
Advocate 1837. Called 7th May, 1841.
- 12 June. Titus Hibbert Ware, eldest son of Samuel Hibbert W. of Edinburgh, doctor of medicine.
Called 11th June, 1844.
- 6 Nov. Henry Riddell, eldest son of the Rev. Henry R. of Longformacus, Berwick, Scotland.
Called 22nd November, 1844.

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1842. 25 Apr. Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd, eldest son of the Rev. James B. of Ochiltree, Ayr, clerk.
D.D., LL.D., Minister of St. Andrews, Fife.
- 21 May. William Gowan, only surviving son of William G. of Leith, merchant.
Advocate 1831. Called 10th June, 1842.
- 21 Dec. Alexander James Johnston, eldest son of James J. of Wood Hill, Kinellar, Aberdeen, Esq. (admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 12th November, 1838).
Called 27th January, 1843. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.
1843. 10 Nov. David Cato Macrae, legitimated son of Ivie M. of Ayr.
Called 20th November, 1846.
1844. 28 May. Archibald Campbell Barclay, sixth son of the Rev. Peter B. of Kettle, Fife, D.D.
Called 11th June, 1847.
- 2 Nov. James Brown, only son of Neil B. of Greenock, Scotland.
Called 19th November, 1847.
- 16 Nov. John David Bell, fourth son of George Joseph B. of Edinburgh Academy, Scotland.
Called 12th May, 1848.
1845. 9 Apr. Edmund Drummond, third son of Viscount Strathallan of Strathallan Castle, Perth.
Called 12th May, 1848. K.C.I.E. Lieut.-Governor North-West Provinces, India.
- 19 Apr. John George Tollemache Sinclair, eldest son of George S. of Ulbster, Caithness, Baronet.
Third Baronet. M.P. for Caithness.
1846. 9 Nov. James Stewart Thorburne, youngest son of the Rev. William T. of Troqueer, Kirkcudbright.
Called 23rd November, 1849.
1848. 7 Sept. John Cameron Macdonald (admitted to Inner Temple 9 Nov., 1841), eldest son of Thomas M. of Fort William, Inverness.
1849. 24 Feb. Gilbert Mitchell Innes, youngest son of William Mitchell I. of Parson's Green, Edinburgh.
- 23 Apr. John James Lowndes (admitted to Inner Temple 22nd November, 1833), eldest son of John L. of Arthurlie House, Renfrewshire, decd.
Murdoch Robertson McIver, sixth son of Lewis McI. of Gress, Island of Lewis, Scotland, decd.

1849. 26 Apr. James Graham, youngest son of Alexander G. of Limekills, Lanark.
Called 17th November, 1865.
- 28 Apr. William Peddie, third son of James P. of Edinburgh.
Son of James Peddie, Writer to the Signet. Advocate 1851.
- 5 Nov. David Maclachlan, youngest son of James McL. of Dundee.
Called 7th June, 1852.
1850. 18 Apr. John Stuart Glennie, fourth son of Alexander G. of May Bank, Aberdeen.
Called 17th November, 1853.
- 4 May. John Dickie, only son of John D. of Glasgow, decd.
Called 26th January, 1856.
- 8 June. John Robson, third son of John R. of Kelso, Roxburgh.
Called 3rd May, 1853.
- 7 Nov. Fitzgerald Lockhart Ross Murray, youngest son of William Hugh M. of Pitcazean, Ross, decd.
Called 30th April, 1855.
1851. 9 Apr. Henry Arkley Eglinton, second son of Robert E. of Castle House, Dunoon, Argyleshire, merchant.
Called 9th June, 1854.
- 12 Apr. George Campbell, eldest son of George C., Knight, of Edenwood, Fife.
M.P. Kirkcaldy. Judge Supreme Court, Calcutta. K.C.S.I.
1856. 31 Oct. Robert Greenoak, 7 Bellevue Terrace, Edinburgh (20), only son of Robert G. of Edinburgh, aforesaid, Esq.
Called 10th June, 1859.
1859. 31 Oct. Charles Grey Wotherspoon of 8 Great Stuart Street, Edinburgh (22), youngest son of William W. of Hill Side, Fife, Solicitor, Supreme Court.
Advocate 1861. Called 11th June, 1862.
- 16 Nov. Charles Noel Welman Begbie of Edinburgh (26), fourth son of James B. of Edinburgh, physician.
Called 11th June, 1862.
1861. 16 Apr. Alexander John Robertson of Portobello, Member of Edinburgh University Council (20), second son of John R. of Edinburgh, solicitor.

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1861. 10 May. Robert Mitchell of Glasgow University and of New Galloway, Kirkcudbright, Scotland, second son of John M. of Ayr.
- 14 Oct. John Macrae Moir, M.A., Aberdeen, 6 Torriano Avenue, Camden Road (35), third son of David M. of Thornton, Kincardine, decd.
Called 6th June, 1864.
- 21 Oct. John Andrew Shand, 24 Royal Circus, Edinburgh (18), second son of John S. of Edinburgh, Midlothian, writer to the signet.
Called 6th June, 1864.
- 2 Nov. George Kennedy Webster of the University of Edinburgh and of Burnside House, Forfar (20), third son of George W. of Burnside House, Forfar, Sheriff and Commissary Clerk of the said County.
Called 17th November, 1863.
- 18 Nov. Donald Grant Nicolson (admitted to Inner Temple 24 Jan., 1860), Member of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh (35), second son of the late Malcolm N. of Glendale, Inverness, J.P.
Called 11th June, 1862.
1862. 8 Jan. Robert Baird, 51 London Street, Fitzroy Square, Middlesex (23), eldest son of Robert B. of the City of Glasgow, Lanark, decd., solicitor.
Called 17th November, 1864. Judge of District Court, Jamaica.
- 8 Jan. Alexander Kennedy Isbister, M.A. Edinburgh University, of Bolt Court, Fleet Street (37), eldest son of the late Thomas I. of Hudson's Bay, N. America, gent.
Called 17th November, 1864.
- 25 Apr. Alexander Muirhead Aitken, Edinburgh University (39), eldest son of William A. of Ward, Torphichen, Linlithgow, proprietor and farmer.
Called 26th January, 1865.
- 12 May. Lauchlan Mackinnon of Billany House, Mill Hill, Middlesex (44), second son of the late Rev. John M. of Strath, Isle of Skye, Inverness.
Of Duisdale, Skye. Went to Melbourne.

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1862. 4 Oct. Henry James Sumner Maine of Calcutta and of the University of Cambridge, LL.D. (40), eldest son of James M. of Kelso, Roxburgh, physician, M.D. (Admitted Lincoln's Inn 4 June, 1847.)
D.C.L., K.C.S.I. Professor of Civil Law, Cambridge.
- 4 Nov. Henry Seton, B.A. Cambridge, and of 15 Lower Berkeley Street (22), third son of Sir William S. of Pitmedden, Aberdeen, Baronet.
In Holy Orders.
1863. 2 Jan. George Watson Coutts of London (30), fourth son of the late John C. of Fraserburgh, Aberdeen, surgeon.
- 14 Jan. Henry Graham Lawson of Wadham College, Oxford, M.A. (27), fourth son of the Rt. Hon. Charles L. of Borthwick Hall, Edinburgh, Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh. (Admitted Inner Temple 29 April, 1859.)
Called 26th January, 1863.
- 5 May. Lord William Montague Hay of 100 Eaton Place (37), third son of the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale of Yester House, Haddington.
Tenth Marquess of Tweeddale.
- 30 Oct. Alexander Gerard of Rochsoles, Lanarkshire (18), third son of Archibald G. of Rochsoles, Lanark.
Called 18th November, 1867. Died 1890.
- 2 Nov. George Smeaton of the University of Edinburgh, first son of the Rev. George S. of Edinburgh, Midlothian, professor of divinity.
- 3 Nov. William Baxter of the University of Edinburgh, youngest son of the late James B. of Clockserie, Perth, distiller.
1864. 31 Oct. William Scott Forman of the University of Glasgow, eldest son of James F. of Drummond Place, Edinburgh, advocate.
In Indian Civil Service. District Judge, Bombay.
- 8 Nov. John George Charles, Trinity College, Dublin, and of Kirkcowan, Wigtonshire (21), third son of the Rev. James C. of Kirkcowan, Wigtown, Scotland, D.D.

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1865. 28 Jan. Robert Bannatyne Finlay, Edinburgh University (23), eldest son of William F. of Cherrybank, near Newhaven, Edinburgh, M.D.
Called 18th November, 1867. Viscount Finlay. Lord Chancellor.
- 20 Apr. William Alexander Hunter, University of Aberdeen, M.A. (20), eldest son of James H. of Aberdeen, granite polisher.
Called 18th November, 1867. Professor of Roman Law, University of London.
- 6 June. John Cameron Macgregor of Wiltshire House, Angell Road, Brixton (19), youngest son of James M. of Fort William, Inverness, banker.
Called 30th April, 1868. Receiver of High Court, Calcutta.
- 4 Nov. Donald Ninian Nicol, Queen's College, Oxford (22), only son of John N. of Ardmarnock, Argyll.
Called 26th January, 1870. M.P. Argyllshire.
- 20 Nov. Colin Campbell Grant, member of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh, and of 18 Great King Street, Edinburgh (35), second son of the Rev. James G., D.D., D.C.L., of the City of Edinburgh, Midlothian, Scotland, minister of St. Mary's church and parish, Edinburgh.
Writer to the Signet 1860. Called 17th November, 1868.
- 22 Nov. James Moffatt, Glasgow University, of Calderbank, Airdrie (21), sixth son of William M. of Calderbank, Airdrie, Lanark, merchant.
Called 6th June, 1868.
1866. 20 Apr. Andrew Duncan, 7 Great College Street, London (21), second son of Andrew D., of Glasgow, Scotland.
Called 26th January, 1870.
- 20 Apr. Archibald Morrison, M.A., LL.D., of Glasgow (44), eldest son of Alexander M., of Dunblane, Perth, decd.
Called 26th January, 1869.
- 7 Nov. James Stoddart Porteous, formerly of Edinburgh (37), only son of James P., of Kilmarnock, Ayr, Esq.
Called 26th January, 1870.

1866. 7 Nov. John Richard Davidson, M.A., Edinburgh University, Member of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, and of 32 Rutland Square, Edinburgh (30), second son of the late Charles Forbes D., Esq., of Edinburgh, Writer to the Signet.
Called 30th April, 1870.
1867. 28 Jan. Andrew Jackson, M.A., University of Edinburgh, and 42 West Square, Southwark (28), fourth son of Thomas J., of Edinburgh, Midlothian, decd.
- 17 Apr. Henry Forester Leighton (late H.M. Indian Army), of St. Andrews, Fife (25), only son of Henry John L., late of Calcutta, merchant.
Called 26th January, 1870.
- 26 June. David Sutherland, of Calcutta (39), seventh son of the late Patrick S., of Scotland, and late of Calcutta, Unconvenanted Service of Government.
Called 17th November, 1870.
- 9 Nov. Fendall Lewis Charles of Kirkcowan, Wigtonshire, Scotland (19), selected Candidate for the Civil Service of India, youngest son of James C., D.D., of Kirkcowan, Wigton, N.B., Minister of the Established Church of Scotland.
1868. 13 Jan. John Hutton Balfour Browne, of 5 James Place, Leith (22), second son of William Alexander Francis B., of Broomlands, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, M.P. and one of H.M. Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland.
Called 10th June, 1870.
- 6 June William John Cuninghame, 9 Chester Street, Edinburgh (19), sixth son of Alexander C., of Edinburgh, Writer to the Signet.
- 9 Nov. Gavin Parker Ness, of Aberdeen University (20), tenth son of Robert N., senr., of Aberdeen, carriage manufacturer.
Called 6th June, 1871.
- 19 Nov. John Brown Thomson, of Edinburgh University and of 4 Jamaica Street, North Leith (19), eldest son of the Rev. John T., of 4 Jamaica Street, North Leith, Edinburgh, clergyman of the Free Church of Scotland.
1869. 3 May. Patrick Blair, member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, now District Judge in Jamaica (39), second son of Patrick B., of Irvine, Ayr, banker.

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1869. 6 May. James Crommelin Brown, of Edinburgh University (20), only son of John Campbell B., of 16 Carlton Street, Edinburgh, Midlothian, Bengal Medical Service.
Called 7th June, 1873.
- 18 Nov. Julius Wood Muir, M.A., Edinburgh, of Dumfries, Scotland (20), younger son of Robert M., of Dumfries, Scotland, Solicitor.
Called 10th May, 1876.
- 19 Nov. Alexander Henry Grant, M.A., Aberdeen, and of 58 Bartholomew Road (36), younger son of David G., of 58 Bartholomew Road, Middlesex, and of the Marsh, Long Sutton, gent.
- 24 Nov. The Rt. Hon. George Young, of Edinburgh (50), only son of Alexander Y., of Rosefield, Kirkcudbright.
Called 24th November, 1869. Lord Young. Edinburgh.

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‘Knowledge is the treasure of the soul’

1834-1842

THE Editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* has to thank Mr. Hugh Fulton, Pollokshields, Glasgow, for the opportunity to print the following crisp, concise and racy record of winter-night debates in the village of Fenwick, in Ayrshire, in the years between the Reform Act and the repeal of the Corn Laws. The minute book of the little debating Society of young men in Fenwick belongs to Mr. Fulton, and its significance was indicated to the writer of this note by Mr. William Gemmill, Writer, Glasgow, who shares with Mr. Fulton a keen ancestral interest in Fenwick and its Reform debates. Accordingly there is now printed *verbatim et literatim* the text of the curious little minute book. It is six inches by four inches, in several hand-writings, often ill spelt, and worse punctuated, but always brisk and entertaining, instructively disclosing a decisive and robust mentality among the young artisans of the Ayrshire village, situated about four miles from Kilmarnock. The parish, eight miles in extreme length, and from two to five miles broad, had, in 1831, a population of 2018. The almost coterminous villages of Fenwick and Low Fenwick, best known as Laigh Fenwick from which probably the membership of ‘The Fenwick Improvement of Knowledge Society’ was mainly recruited, can hardly have contained more than 500 inhabitants, whose prevalent industry was weaving.

It is perhaps not surprising that, in the generation which followed Burns, we should find in an Ayrshire village, sympathy alike with liberty and literature, yet the intensity of feeling manifest throughout, argues the existence of dominating inspirations in the minds of the leaders of the coterie which,

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from 1834 until 1842, discuss so many attractive and important themes. The minutes are a remarkable interpretation of their time, and could hardly have better conveyed than they have done, what these village politicians and social critics thought and said and sang.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE following persons meet in the house of Hugh Thomson on the 16th Decr 1834 and agreed to form themselves into a Society to be called the Fenwick Improvement of Knowledge Society, when they agreed to the following articles

Andrew Gemmell	Robert Howit
John Kirkland	Alexander Armour
James Taylor	Alexander Fulton
John Gemmell	William Morton
Daniel Love	John Fowlds
John Anderson	

Article 1st. The Club shall meet at Fenwick every second Friday night when a Question on any subject shall be proposed (Doctrines of Religion excepted) which Question is to be discussed in the Club each member taking whatever side he thinks proper.

2nd. The Society being meet the one who presides being chosen the night previous opens the meeting by stating the subject formerly given out for discussion, those haveing written Essays shall have the precedance.

3d. When the President reads from the Society's Book the Question to be discussed the Member next the preses on the right hand shall speak first then the Member next on the other side shall reply and so on till all the Members shall have given there opinions and when a smaller number shall be on one side than another the first speaker on the last side shall be allowed to reply and so on untill all the opposite side shall have spoken and are answered no person allowed to speak out of his order without leave from the precess.

4th. In the time of a debate one only shall be heard at once and not above fiveteen minutes at a time when he shall give place to another and so on untill it is finished¹ any majority shall determine what side has the merit of the Question.

5th. When the discussions of the Meeting are finished for night the business of the meeting shall be to choose a President for next meeting when the President or any other Member shall

¹ See Supplement.

be at liberty to propose any member he thinks fit : if more than one is proposed the one who has the majority of votes will be considered elected.

6th. That all private conversation during the debate shall be strictly prohibited—and all profane and obscene & abusive language shall be reproved by the president and if persevered in shall exclude the offender from the Membership of the Society.

7th. That no person shall be allowed to make known any of the Society's debates for the purpose of ridicule or jest out of the Society on pain of exclusion.

8th. Any person applying for Membership will be admitted only by consent only of three fourths of the Society : those having objections to admittance of any individual as a member are not required to give his reasons for so doing.

9th. Every person alternately may propose any subject he chooses for the next discussion, which shall be adopted provided his motion meet the approbation of the meeting.

10th. Any Member absenting himself from the Meeting for one night forfeits one halfpenny ; for two nights, one penny ; for three nights, two pence ; four nights, exclusion from the Society without giving a reasonable excuse.

Abrogated.

11th. That at the close of the debate if any Member have anything valueable to communicate connected with the object of the Society will be at liberty so to do.

12th. No Member who has an Essay the property of the Society for perusal shall be at liberty to give it in loan or otherwise shew it to any person who is not a member of the Society.

13th. That no fundamentall article of the Society can be altered or abrogated, nor any of the Society's funds disposed of for any purpose whatever, without a majority of votes agreeing thereto and passed for two successive nights of regular meeting, nor any new article adopted.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLES.

Supp. to Art. 4. Number of votes on each side of any question to be entered in the minute of meeting and no decision to be given when they are on a par.

Supp. to Art. 5th. The President shall have a vote along with the other members, and on a par shall have the casting vote : this applies to all cases except what comes under Article 4th.

A STATEMENT OF THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED BY
THE SOCIETY.

- 1st. The Utility of Societys for the Improvement of Knowledge.
- 2nd. That whither the greatest amount of happiness flows from Implicit belief or rational and enlightened Conviction.
- 3d. Whither Riches or genius are most desirable.
- 4th. Whither Religion supported by voluntary means or by a civil Establishment is best fitted to promote true Religion.
- This last subject was debated three successive Nights: decided in favour of voluntary means.
- 5th. Whither the death of Archbishop Sharp was Murder or Patriotism.
- Decided in favour of Patriotism.
- 6th. Whither Celibacy or a Conjugal life is best fitted to promote individual happiness.
- 7th. Whether Monarchial or Republican forms of Civil Government are best fitted for the People's Welfare.
- Decided in favour of Republicanism after two Nights Debate.
- 8th. What is the best method of Replacing Monarchial Governments by Republican and Whither by Moral or physical means.
- Decided in favor of moral means.
- 9th. On general Literature.
- 10th. Whither Open Voting or By Ballot gives the Purest Elections.
- After two nights debate decided in favour of Open Elections.
- 11th. A Contrast between America and Britain.
- 12th. Whither Abstinence or a Temperate use of Ardent Spirits is most productive of good.
- Decided in favor of Abstinence.
- 13th. Whither human Friendship or Love is most permant.
- Decided in favor of Love.
- 14th. Whither Improvement in Machinery would tend to promote the benefit of Mankind.
- Decided in favor of the Improvement of Machinery.
- 15th. The best Method of turning the Benefits of Machinery to the Interests of the Working Classes.
- Decided in favor of the Restrictive Laws being Repealed and Equality of Priviledge given to all.
- 16th. Octr 19th. On the motion of Jas Taylor Whither fictitious Writings has been beneficial or not in general.
- Decided that they have not.

17th. Nov 2nd 1835. On the Motion of Wm Morton Whither is a Town or Country Life Productive of Most Happiness. Decided in favour of a Towns Life.

18th. Novr 16th 1835. On the Motion of John Kirkland it was Agreed to hold a General Conversation on the State of Society. Thomas Fulton President.

19th. Nov 16th 1835. On the motion of Robert Howat that the Subject for discussion be for the 30th Novr That Whither Real or Imaginary Pleasure in Love and amusement affords most satisfaction, was agreed to.

Thomas Fulton reelected President for 30th Novr next night.

20th. 30th Novr Agreed by the Society that John Kirkland's motion relative to the preasant state of society be resumed on the 14th Dec. Thomas Fulton President.

21st. 14th December. On the motion of William Morton it was agreed that the subject of debate be Whether the Drunkard or the Miser is most miserable.

28th Dec. Alex Fulton President.

Decided that the Drunkard is Most Miserable.

22nd. 28th Decr 1835. On the Motion of James Taylor, agreed to take a Retrospective View of 1835, for Janr 11th 1836. Alex Fulton, President.

23rd. 11th Janr 1836. On the Motion of John Kirkland agreed that it be debated on the 25th of Janr Whether the once popular Doctrine of Ghosts and Witches have any claims on the beleif of Mankind.

Robt. Orr President.

Decided that they have none.

24th. 25th Janr 1836. On the Motion of John Kirkland agreed that it be debated on the 8th Febr Whether Poetry or Music has the strongest effect on the passions. Robt Orr President.

Decided that Poetry has the strongest effect.

25th. 8th Febr 1836. On the Motion of William Morton, agreed that the utility of Abstinent Societies from all ardent spirits be discused on the 22nd Febr. Alex Armour President.

Decided to be of great utility.

26th. 22nd Febr 1836. On the Motion of James Taylor agreed that it be debated on the 7th March whether Tobacco so extensively used as at preasant be beneficial to the Community. Alex Fulton President.

Decided that it is highly prejudicial.

27th. 7th March 1836 On the Motion of John Brown agreed that it be debated on the 21st March What denomination of Christians is most scriptural and best suited for the benefit of mankind in government and discipline. Alex Fulton President.

Decided in favour of Presbyterianism.

28th. 21st March 1836. On the Motion of William Morton agreed that it be debated on the 4th April Whether a public speaker possessed of great oratorical powers with common talents or one possessed of great talents but destitute of oratory is most beneficial to his hearers. John Brown President.

Decided in favour of the one possessed of great talent.

29th. 4th April. On the Motion of James Taylor agreed that it be debated on the 18th April Whether is generally the most successful in Life the Modest or the Impudent Man.

John Brown President.

Decided in favour of Modesty.

29th. 18th April. On the Motion of John Brown, Agreed that it be debated on the 2d of May 1836 Would it be Beneficial to Britian to extend the Franchise and to what extent.

John Kirkland President.

Decided that household Suffrage in present exigences is most expedient but universal every man's right and most Beneficial.

30th. 2d May. On the Motion of Robt Howat 2nd May agreed that it be debated on the 16th May 1836 Whether the loss of love or the loss of Riches is the worst to bear.

James Taylor President.

Decided that the loss of Love is worst to bear.

31st. On the Motion of James Taylor 16th May, agreed that it be debated on the 30th May 1836 How does missfortune generally operate upon Mankind? whether does it increase or diminish the energy of the soul?

Thomas Fulton President.

Decided that it generally diminishes the energy of the soul.

32nd. 30th May. On the Motion of John Gemmell agreed that it be debated on the 13th June 1836 Whether the feeling that the cultivation of natural science is inimicall to the interests of religion be a prejudice or a well-founded opinion?

Alexr Armour President.

Decided that it is a prejudice.

33d. 13th June. On the Motion of John Kirkland agreed that it be debated on the 27th June 1836 Whether the brightness of the rising morn or the calm serenity of closing day are

best calculated to awake contemplation and excite the finest and most pleasing sensations and enjoyments.

Alexr Armour President.

Division Equall.

34th. 27th June 1836. On the motion of Danniell Love agreed that it be debated on the 11th July Whether generall Sociality or general Solitude is productive of most happiness to Man. Decided in favour of general Solitude.

35th. 11th July. On the Motion of Wm Morton agreed that it be debated on the 25th July 1836 Whether trades Unions as at present existing in this Country be advantages or inimicall to the Interests of trade. Alexr Armour President.

Decided that they are inimicall.

36th. 25th July 1836. On the Motion of Andrew Gemmell, agreed that it be debated on the 8th Agust Whether Marriage ought to be a Lay or a Clericall ceremony.

Alex Fulton President.

This subject postponed till the 22nd Agust was decided to be a civil Ceremony.

37th. 22nd Agust 1836. On the Motion of William Morton agreed that it be debated on the 5th Sept Whether Mankind will use the greatest exertions to obtain good or avoid evil. Alexr Armour President.

Not Decided.

38th. 5th Sept. On the Motion of James Taylor Agreed that it be discussed on the 19th Sept 1836 Whether War or Intemperence has been most hurtful to the Human Race for the last hundred years. Alexander Armour President.

This discussion was left over till the 3d of October.

Decided that Intemperance has been most hurtfull to the human race for 100 years past.

Octr 3. Oweing to want of accomodation the Society agreed to postpone all Discussion untill proper accomodation is secured.

39th. 31st Octr. On the Motion of James Taylor Agreed that it be debated on the 14th Novr Whether Superstition or Enthusiasm are most to be dreaded in Society.

Robert Howat President.

Decided that Superstition is most to be dreaded.

40th. Nov. 14th. On the Motion of James Taylor to be debated Whether it would be most beneficial to Britian to dispense with the house of Peers or with Ireland, on the 28th of Nov. William Fulton Chairman.

Novr 28th. Discussion postponed till Decr 12.

Decr 12th. Further postponement till the 26th.

41. Dec 26th. The Society took into consideration their present languishing condition when after hearing various suggestions for a revival it was agreed to resume the subject on Janry 9 1837 Janry 9.

42. Janry 9. In pursuance of the recomendation of last meeting the society again took up the subject of a revival, when it was decided that in future each member should have a particular department of science or literature on which he should speak or write as convenience might dictate.

43. Janry 23rd. The society met when an essay on the seasons was read by James Taylor.

Robert Orr President.

44. February 6. The society met when an essay on the effects of litterature on society was read by Andw Gemmell William Morton President.

45. February 20. The motion of John Kirkland that the society resume the practice of having a specific subject of discussion was carried for a first time.

46. Also on the motion of James Taylor agreed that on March 6 it be discussed what is the best method of dealing with opinions based only on prejudice.

Robert Howat President.

Decided in favour of sound argument properly expressed.

47. March 6th. The society met and finally carried John Kirklands motion, at the same time resolving to hear any essays though not connected with the subject of discussion.

On the motion of William Morton agreed that on the 20th March the lawfulness and propriety of blood-eating be discussed.

Robert Orr President.

Decided that as far as the subject is at present understood, it is lawful.

48. March 20th. Agreed that on April 3 the society shall hear whatever miscellaneous essays may be brought forward. James Taylor President.

William Fulton to be next President.

49. April 3rd. The society heard an extract from an essay on the moral state of London, read by Willian Morton. Also a discourse on Astronomy by Thomas Fulton and agreed that he resume the subject on April 17 William Fulton President.

Robert Howat to be next President.

50. April 17th. Thomas Fultons discourse postponed and an essay read by Andw Gemmell on the influence of litterature in the formation of character.

On the motion of John Gemmell agreed to discuss on May 1st the comparative advantages of a metallic or a paper currency. William Fulton to be President.

51. May 1st. Decided in favour of a paper currency, so regulated, that the fabrication and issue would be confined to the government.

Agreed that on May 15th Thos Fulton resume his discourse on Astronomy William Fulton to be Presid.

May 15. No meeting.

52. May 29. Heard an essay by Andw Gemmell on the influence of early habits and associations in the formation of character.

Agreed to hear on June 12th specimens of poetry from any or all of the tory poets read by Jas Taylor with an equal number of equal merit from L——d Byron alone to be read by Andw Gemmell. Willm Clark to be President.

53. June 12. After hearing extracts from Coleridge on the part of the tories decided in favour of L——d Byron.

On the motion of Alexr Fulton agreed to discuss on June 26th the propriety of legislation for the Sabbath. Willm Clark to be Presid.

54. June 26th. Decided that all civil interference with the sabbath is improper, but unanimously reject the absurd notion that there is no moral obligation for its observance.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed to discuss on July 10th whether love is productive of most pain or pleasure John Kirkland to be President.

55. July 10th. No decision numbers being equal.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed to discuss on July 24th the utility of having all the land public property. Matthew Fulton to be President.

56. July 24th. No decision but adjourned the discussion till August 21st.

On the motion of Willm Morton agreed to discuss on August 7th whether the fashionable amusements of the present day are entitled to the appellation of innocent and whether they are strictly moral in their nature and tendencies and how far they are so.

John Gemmell Junr to be President.

57. August 7th. Unanimously adopted the following resolution : That some amusements are not entitled to the appellation

of either innocent or moral but that many are so, in so far as they are conducive to mental or physical health and do not encroach upon the time which should be devoted to religion ; or business.

Agreed in pursuance of the adjournment from July 24th to resume the subject of that night's discussion on August 21st Robert Howat to be President.

58. August 21. Decided for the negative by 4 against 2, one not voting present 7.

On the motion of Robert Howat agreed to discuss whether the greatest amount of pleasure is afforded by the eye or the ear William Fulton to be President.

This discussion to be on Sept 4.

59. Unanimous that the eye affords most pleasure ; present 8.

September 4. On the motion of John Gemmell Senr agreed to discuss on Sept 18 whether (with religion excepted) the European discovery of America has been beneficial or prejudicial to be the aborigenes of that continent. John Gemmell Junr to be President.

60. Sept 18 : 7 voted that it has been prejudicial ; 2 did not vote ; present 9.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed to discuss on Oct. 2 what effect the present embarrassments in Britain may have upon the peoples morals. John Kirkland to be President.

61. Oct. 2. Decided unanimously that temporary embarrassment may have a good tendency, but if long continued will invariably produce immorality.

On the motion of Willm Morton agreed to discuss on Oct 16 that subject formerly treated No 3 whether riches or genius are most desirable Robert Howat to be President.

62. Oct. 16. Unanimous in favour of genius.

On the motion of Alexr Fulton agreed that the subject of discussion for Oct. 30 be Who has the right to determine when a people are fitted for the full possession of their political rights. Thomas Fulton to be President.

63. Oct. 30. Unanimous that the people themselves are the only judges.

On the motion of James Taylor agreed to discuss on Nov 13 whether Worth—Beauty—or Riches is most likely to be an inducement to the mass of mankind in choosing a partner for life John Gemmell Junr to be President.

64. Nov. 13. Beauty 5, Riches 1, Worth 0 ! present 6.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed that Nov 27 be devoted to literary conversation Willm Fulton to be President.

65. Nov 27. After hearing several pieces in prose and verse, and discussing their merits; agreed on the motion of John Kirkland that the question for Decr 11 be what has been the moral effect of the poetry of the last 100 years Willm Fulton to be President.

66. Decr 11. Agreed that the subject be resumed on Decr 25 Willm Fulton to be President.

67. Decr 25. Decided that the moral effect of Poetry during the period specified has been upon the whole good.

No subject of discussion appointed for next meeting on Janry 8 1838.

1838

Janry 1st. The society in conjunction with the Fenwick vocal club met in John Kirkland's house and sat down to an excellent supper after which the following toasts were given and duly honoured.

From the chair: The sovereignty of the people. John Kirkland then gave The new year, prefaced by a talented original poem commemorative of the events of the past year and anticipating those of the ensuing, in a most graphic and poetical style, after which the Club sung the New Year: the chairman next called on John Kirkland to read an original poem on the late elections.

John Gemmell then gave universal suffrage prefaced by an essay intended to prove the peoples right to that privilege: the Club then sung an anthem on the 23rd psal.

William Taylor then sung the lass of Gowrie in fine style. James Taylor then read an essay on the question whether Worth, Beauty, or Riches is most likely to influence mankind in making matrimonial treatys. The Croupier then gave The speedy separation of Church and State.

The club next sung Fair Flora decks, &c Robert Howat then sung, How sair's my heart nae man shall ken.

An anthem from the 7th chap of Job was next sung by the Club.

James Taylor then gave success to the Canadians in their patriotic struggle for independence which he accompanied with a speech detailing their wrongs and proving their right to self-government. An essay was then read by Robert Howat drawing a paralel between the pleasures derived from the eye and the ear.

John Gemmell then gave the memory of Sir William Wallace the immortal defender of Scotland's independence accompanied by some remarks animadverting on the ungrateful conduct of Scotsmen in too much neglecting the memory of one, from whose patriotic sacrifices they derive all the political privileges they enjoy.

Alex Dunlop then sung in fine style Wallace's lament after the battle of Falkirk.

Willm Taylor then sung John Anderson my Jo, John.

Jas Taylor then read an essay from the pen of Willm Morton.

The Club next sung Conquest.

Willm Taylor then gave the health of Dr. Bowring, prefaced by a speech detailing the many services rendered to the country by that patriotic gentleman.

John Kirkland Senr being called on for a toast gave Health, Wealth, and Freedom, a freind at hand but seldom need him.

Alex Fulton then after an eloquent speech gave the health of R. Wallace Esqr M.P. for Greenock and Post office reform, followed by the song, the Greenock post in splendid style by Alexr Dunlop.

John Kirkland read an original poem on winter, which was received with enthusiastic applause.

Ayrshire lasses was next given by William Fulton, prefaced by an elegant speech every way worthy of the toast, followed by the song she says she loe's me best O' a' by Alexr Dunlop. In the absence of the fair sex R Howat made a most humourous, and at the same time most appropriate reply.

John Hamilton then proposed the health of Baillie H Craig Kilmarnock.

James Taylor proposed the healths of the Drs Black and Baillie Willm Craig of Glasgow.

James Kirkland proposed the health of Mr Robertson Writer Kilmarnock.

Alexr Dunlop then proposed the memories of the last Scottish martyrs for liberty Baird, Hardie, and Wilson.

Matth Fulton gave the memories of the Scottish reformers of 1793 and 4.

The healths of Mr Hume and the other radicals of the house of Commons was then given by Alexr Fulton.

Honest men and bonny lasses was then given from the chair.

James Taylor then gave the speedy adoption of republican principles throughout the world.

Robett Howat then proposed the health of the chairman and James Taylor that of the Croupier.

Thomas Fulton Chairman

Robert Orr Croupier

Robert Howat

Alexr Fulton

James Kirkland

John Hamilton

William Taylor

Matth. Fulton

Alexr Dunlop

John Kirkland Senr

John Kirkland Junr

John Gemmell

William Fulton

James Taylor

Andrew Fulton

1838

68th. January 8th. There being no subject for discussion Hazlett's Essay on the conversation of authors was read and highly approved.

On the motion of James Taylor agreed to discuss on Janry 22nd Whether man will sacrifice more for his country, or the object of his fondest affection.

William Fulton to be President.

69th. Janry 22. From the annual business of the society taking more time than was expected, the subject for discussion was postponed till Feb 5.

William Fulton to be President.

70th. Feb. 5th. The subject postponed from January 22 was taken up, when the numbers were, for the influence of Love being strongest 6, for Patriotism 3, present 9.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed that on Feb 19 the question for discussion be Whether selfishness in the rulers; or ignorance in the people has most retarded the progress of liberty.

John Anderson to be President

71st. Feb 19. For attaching blame to rulers 5, ignorance of the people 3, Neutral 1, present 9.

Agreed on the motion of William Morton that on March 5th the question for discussion be What is the * sphere which the female sex ought to occupy in society—Do they at present occupy it—And if not what will be the result upon the destinies of mankind when they shall do so. John Anderson to be President.

72. March 5th. That they enjoy all the political privileges to which they are entitled 5, that they do not 3, neutral 1, present 9.

* Word 'proper' has here been erased but is still legible.

Agreed that the meeting on March 19 be occupied by reading a portion of Hazlett's Plain Speaker. John Gemmell Junr to be President.

73. March 19. Read the 4th and 5th essays of the fore-mentioned work.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed to discuss on April 2nd whether in such times as the present; passive obedience or active resistance; is most a people's duty.

Matthew Fulton to be President.

74. April 2. Unanimous that the existing greivances of Great Britain fully justifies active resistance.

On the motion of John Gemmell Senr agreed to discuss on April 16th whether the works of Dr Smollett or those of Sir Walter Scott are most likely to raise a spirit of rational enterprise in the mind of reader. John Gemmell Junr to be President.

April 16th. Meeting postponed to the 30th.

75. April 30th. In consequence of other business regular discussion not entered into.

76. May 14th. No discussion. Agreed to present James Kirkland with a copy of the life and poems of Michael Bruce (by McKelvie) as a small token of gratitude for the accomodation he has given the society during the past year.

77. May 28th. The committee appointed to purchase the foresaid book reported their having done so and were reappointed to have it suitably inscribed and forwarded to its destination.

June 11th. No meeting.

78. June 25th. Discussed the question standing over since April 16th see minute of 74 meeting.

No decision.

Agreed on the motion of R. Howat that the question for discussion on July 9th be Whether the works of nature or art are best calculated to produce admiration. William Fulton to be Presid.

79. July 9th. After hearing one of Foster's essays, adjourned the discussion till July 23rd. Willm Fulton to be President.

80. July 23rd. Decided that the works of nature are best calculated to produce admiration, by 5, against 2, present 7.

On the motion of John Gemmell Senr agreed that on August 6th Howit's essay on the radical tendency of almost all the modern poetry of Great Britain, be read. John Gemmell Senr to be President.

August 6th. No meeting.

81. August 20th. Read the essay ordered by 80th meeting and unanimously found it to prove the position assumed.

On the motion of John Kirkland agreed to discuss on Sept. 3rd whether a high toned morality is most likely to be preserved in an agricultural ; or a manufacturing and commercial ; community. Willm Fulton to be President.

Sept 3rd. No meeting.

82. Sept 17. Discussed the subject ordered by 81st meeting and concluded that in a community where justice is done to all classes there will be very little difference.

Agreed that Octr 1st be devoted to a geological conversation and that all members bring forward whatever specimens of petrifications or other mineral productions they can procure as illustrative of the opinions they may propound (James Taylor to be Chairman).

83. Oct 1st. The society met for the geological discussion, when there was a splendid exhibition of petrifications, chiefly from the channel of the Fenwick rivulet with some very fine pebbles from various parts of Scotland. From want of time to read several scientific articles, it was agreed to resume the subject October 15th. James Taylor to Preside.

Oct 15th. No Meeting.

84. Oct 29th. The society met when an essay was read (from 'Chambers Journal' No 336 of date July 7th 1838) on travelled stones, or the probable means by which large fragments of rock were moved to places far remote from their original site, and became what are called boulders. There was also read extracts from the Edinburgh Journal of Natural History on the formation of sandstone.

Agreed that the subject be resumed November 12th. James Taylor to be President.

85. Nov 12th. The society met when the members in turn gave their opinion on several facts brought under notice in the Geological articles lately read in the meetings.

Agreed that on November 26th the Resolution of Oct 29th be brought into operation viz That every member bring forward, and read to the meeting some written article either original or copied. Peter Gemmell to be Chairman.

86. Nov 26. In consequence of the resolution referred to in minute of last meeting there was forward 9 papers, 8 copied, 1 original, attendance 9.

Agreed to discuss on Decr 10th the advantages likely to result

from frequent exercise in writing and original composition John Fulton to be Chairman.

87. Decr 10th. After hearing a good deal in favour of writing the members were unanimous in opinion that besides advantages too numerous to be specified it improved the style, promoted the concentration of ideas and altogether enabled an individual to reduce more readily to a system of principles, whatever knowledge he may have an opportunity of acquiring.

Agreed that on Decr 24th each member bring forward a piece of writing either original or copied John Blundell to be Chairman.

88. Decr 24th. Forward 9: papers, copied; attendance 11.

Made arrangements for a social meeting with a few friends, not members of the society on the night of Janry 1st.

1839

In conformity with the practice introduced at the commencement of 1838 of having an annual social meeting at the beginning of each year the Society along with a few friends met in the house of John Taylor Lower Fenwick when after an elegant supper the following toasts were given and duly honoured

From the chair, The sovereignty of the people, prefaced by a speech on the bad effects of governments being founded on any other basis.

Robert Howat then gave, The speedy adoption of a general and reformed system of National Education. Accompanied by a speech drawing a paralel between our present parochial system and that adopted by some of the continental states greatly to the advantage of the latter.

John Kirkland gave, The Messrs Chambers and their cheap publications, prefaced by a speech contrasting the advantages enjoyed by the mass of the people in the present time with those of the commonly called Augustan age of Addison, Swift, and Steele.

Recitation Eliza, by William Morton.

John Fulton Junr gave, The speedy diffusion of Scientific Knowledge among the body of the people. Introduced by a speech shewing the advantageous Revolution, moral, mental, and physical, to be expected from such diffusion.

Alexr Dunlop then gave, Elliot and the other living British Poets. Accompanied by a speech in which he shewed that though civilization has derived signal advantages from the cultivation of

poetry in every age, yet the poets of the present day are pre-eminent for a spirit of genuine liberty and pure morality and the great Elliot,—unlike many who have ‘heaped the shrine of luxury and pride with incense kindled at the muses flame’—has taken the sacred fire to blast and destroy those institutions which have been the means of holding in slavish subjection the major part of mankind to a domineering minority.

A song, by William Taylor.

Willm Morton gave the speedy triumph of the National movement, prefaced by a speech of which the following resolution is an epitome. Moved by W Morton, and carried unanimously to be entered in the societys book

Resolved, That we as a society formed for the improvement of knowledge hail with the most intense feelings of approbation, satisfaction, and delight the present movement characterised as the national movement, for universal suffrage &c which we believe to be founded upon the immutable principles of truth and Justice, calculated to promote—to an untold of extent, and in the most emphatic sense of the words—the improvement of knowledge, and destined to raise man to that state of freedom and dignity which his nature bespeaks him entitled to occupy.

A Song of Liberty by Alexr Dunlop.

Andrew Gemmell then gave the memory of Milton with the speedy adoption of Republican principles, accompanied by a luminous speech depicting the character of that great man and shewing him worthy of being the glory and boast of England; whether viewed as Poet, Prosaic author, Patriot, or Statesman, as also the good effects likely to ensue from the universal adoption of that form of government which is identified with his great name.

Song, Bruces address, by Alexr Dunlop.

John Gemmell Senr then gave, the memory of Sir William Wallace and the other martyrs for British liberty. Prefaced by a speech shewing that the benefits secured by this Prince of political martyrs extend to the most remote age and country, and that by him were the British islands freed from the chains then forging for them by the subversion of Scottish independence, nay even Europe, & America are in no very remote degree indebted to his splendid sacrifices for what liberty they possess. An attempt was also made to free the Revd Jas Renwick from the charge lately preferred by a popular writer of being rather a martyr to his own bigotry than to the cause of religious liberty.

Song, Wallace's lament, by Alexr Dunlop.

James Taylor gave, The speedy success of the Canadian struggle for emancipation from British thralldom, Introduced by a speech shewing the evil effect at all times of a people being subject to a foreign power and the governors no way responsible to the governed, but particularly when that power is directed by a faction who have trampled on every principle of Justice at home, and sent out such bloodhounds as Sir George Arthur & Sir John Colborne to subdue and govern what they are pleased to call an insurgent colony. After giving a vivid picture of the distresses of the people under such management he sat down, and the toast was most enthusiastically honoured.

Song The Tyrólese song of liberty, by A Dunlop.

Alexander Fulton gave Mr John R. Robertson of the Ayrshire Examiner, and the liberal press. Prefaced by a speech, shewing that writers on national affairs have had an influence over them at all times either malignant or benign, as they happened to be the friends or foes of rational liberty, but particularly since the invention of printing, the press has become a most powerful engine in leading a people either to the dungeons of despotism or the fresh green fields of freedom. And particularly the Ayrshire Examiner, deserved our warmest support from its adaptation for exposing tyranny and fraud in our own locality.

An original Poem, recited by John Kirkland.

¹ Andrew Gemmell gave the memory of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Poet.

Prefaced by a speech, in which the tory claim lately put forth by Dr Memes (that the republican bard was a tory) had its absurd fallacy exposed and ridiculed.

Song Bruce's address, by Alexr Dunlop.

James Kirkland gave the memory of

Lord Byron

In doing which, he took the opportunity to make some remarks on the nature and tendency of his writings, in which he shewed that though some parts were objectionable, yet taken, all in all, they were highly calculated to improve human nature, morally, intellectually, and physically.

Song The Arabian Maid, by Willm Taylor.

William Fulton Senr gave the speedy repeal of the Corn-laws.

In doing which he remarked, that besides the evils moral, and physical, entailed upon the country by our commercial system, it

¹ Andrew Gemmell proposed Byron & James Kirkland, Burns.

was very impolitic, as in the sacrifice of all other interests for the good of one, it also would fall.

Recitation by Andw Gemmell.

John Gemmell Junr gave The Revd Patrick Brewster and the other clergymen who have taken a part in the present movement In doing which he shewed that this little band deserved our esteem, from having come forward in the cause of liberty, when most of their order stood aloof, and that the gentleman named was the only endowed clergyman, that we were aware of, taking any part in the peoples cause.

William Taylor gave William Howat, and the downfal of Priestcraft ;

Introduced by a speech shewing the enormous evils inflicted on mankind in all ages by priestcraft, and the consequent obligation we lie under to the man, who having rent the veil of superstitious veneration, that enshrouded them, has laid bare their enormities and made it the peoples own fault ; if they are longer imposed on, by them.

Peter Gemmell gave, Dr Bowring and Universal philanthropy.

Prefaced by a speech, shewing what a paradise this world would become, were such a principle the prevailing motive of action, and proving from his services that the distinguished individual named has a claim to be ranked among the greatest pioneers in clearing away the barriers that oppose the introduction of such a felicitous era.

John Blundell gave, The prevalence of Harmony and Peace, throughout the world.

Prefaced by some pertinent remarks on the evils of War, and consequent happiness attending a state of universal peace.

James Taylor gave the memory of
Shakespeare.

Introduced by some critical remarks on the liberal tendency of his writings, for though he lived in a semi-barbarous age patronised by an imperious queen and in consequence had to be a flatterer of royalty, he has also been its satirist, shewing most of its representatives whom he has brought upon the stage as weak, foolish, or wicked ; and thus considering time and circumstances, deserves to stand in the same niche, with Milton, as a great and glorious emancipator of the human mind.

Matthew Fulton gave The health of Hugh Craig esqr the county delegate to the National Convention. Which he introduced by a speech shewing the importance of the present movement,

and the Convention to which it has given rise, with some remarks on the wisdom of the people of Ayrshire in choosing for their representative a man ever ready to promote not only this, but every movement likely to benefit the working classes.

The old man's address to the moon, recited by John Kirkland, Its Author.

Robert Howat gave the speedy elevation of the fair sex to their proper place in society.

Introduced by a speech depicting the evils resulting from female depression as exhibited in the savage state, and though they have not yet attained their proper place in civilised Christian society, yet what they have gained and the happy effects resulting therefrom prove that both christianity and civilization are in their favour, which certainly would with this society be decisive proof, that woman should be no longer held as inferior to her bearded compeer.

Recitation, The mothers address to her son on enlisting for a soldier by Andrew Gemmell.

John Taylor, John Fulton Senr, Andrew Fulton and Matthew Dunlop, who favoured the meeting with their company, gave each a toast but not being in the previous arrangement they cannot be got for insertion.

Thomas Fulton Chairman John Fulton Senr Croupier

It is thought unnecessary to add a list of the names as they are to be found in the report.

(To be continued.)