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Mere "submergence" seems inadequate to account for these facts. And we venture to say that to assume, first, a submergence of over 500 feet, then a re-elevation to about the old level, with a return of glacial conditions, much the same as before, is to hang an immense series of changes upon the (as regards interpretation) more or less doubtful evidence before us.

Our observations have convinced us, generally, that no such submergence, nor any at all approaching to it, took place in any part of the British Isles during the Glacial epoch.

On the other hand, we freely admit that the extent of the shelly clay in this instance and the perfectness of many of the contained shells do weigh against the supposition that the deposit, as a whole, owes its transport, or at least its present form, to land-ice. The objection from the comparatively perfect condition of the shells is perhaps the most important. Whether, in view of the known instances in which even delicate shells have been transported uninjured by ice, this objection be insuperable, must be left to the judgment of others. Our own feeling is that if the case depends mainly on this point it is impossible to pronounce upon it with confidence.

On the whole, our opinion, with all deference, is that we have not yet reached a solution of the difficulties connected with the Clava deposit.

D. B.
P. F. K.

Errata:—Page 317, third line, "4½ lb. in all" should be 4¼ lb. in all. Page 320, line 8 from foot, "N. 52° E" should be N. 41° E.

DORNOCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

6TH FEBRUARY 1894.

At the meeting on this date, the Rev. Donald Grant, parish minister of Dornoch, read a paper on the subject of Dornoch in the 18th century. Sir Henry C. Macandrew, President of the Club, was in the chair. An interesting discussion followed the reading of the paper, and Mr Grant was cordially thanked for making such a useful contribution to local history. The paper is as follows:—

The history of Dornoch has yet to be written. The materials for such a history are, unfortunately, scanty. It is, indeed, surprising how very little is known of Dornoch and its surroundings during the period of its ecclesiastical greatness from

the beginning (1222) of the 13th to the middle of the 17th century. As the Cathedral town of the diocese, it was a place of considerable importance, and must have witnessed many a scene of more than passing interest. If any church records of the period are extant, they probably lie in some charter chest to which the ordinary reader has no access. Sir Robert Gordon, by whose "credet and meanes," as he himself expresses it, "this town was laterlie erected into a burgh royall," is the only authority of any importance on the history of the period in question. His book—"A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland"—is the great quarry which has supplied recent writers with material for such articles on Dornoch as we possess in newspapers, gazetteers, and clan histories. Side lights are here and there thrown on our history from other sources, such as state papers and family records, and these side lights are yearly becoming more numerous; but there is still little known of the history of Dornoch in the Middle Ages, except what Sir Robert Gordon has told us. Sir Robert's History, with the continuation of the same by Gilbert Gordon of Sallagh, ends about the middle of the 17th century. The remaining half of that century was an important one for Scotland. The time was stirring and troublous—the time of the Commonwealth, the Restoration, and the Revolution; and doubtless something of the political and ecclesiastical strife which raged further south must have reached even Dornoch, but there was no Sir Robert Gordon to narrate the events of the day, and our parish history during that period is almost a blank. With the final establishment of Presbyterianism after the Revolution in 1690, Presbytery and Session Records came gradually into existence, and these give us a fairly good view of the parish life since then. My subject this evening is "Dornoch in last Century," and, where necessary, I shall mention the sources of my information as I go along.

I begin with the ecclesiastical, or church, life of the parish. The ministers in last century were—Archibald Bowie or Buy, Robert Kirk, John Sutherland, and John Bethune. Mr Buy was present at a meeting of Presbytery in 1707. His induction must have taken place about 1702, for in a representation of grievances submitted to the Presbytery in 1708, he stated that he had been nearly six years settled in Dornoch. This representation of grievances is an interesting document; so interesting, indeed, that I must quote it pretty fully. With regard to the church and manse, Mr Bowie writes—"I have had no church to preach in during the whole of that tyme. Though there be something of a meeting-house (scarce deserving the name), yet so it is, it can no way be a fitt

place to preach in. (1) It cannot accommodate the one-half of the paroch. (2) It's such a confused place that the third part of such as come to ordinances cannot see the minister, nor he them, which is the cause of great disorder in the time of Divine worship, those whom the minister does not see, some of them sleeping out the whole time of Divine worship, others talking and conversing one with another as if they were in a tavern; so that the most of such as come to hear the word rather profane than sanctify the Sabbath; (3) It's not watertight, severals in time of rain being obliged to remove from their seats, and the minister many a time wett from top to toe. (4) Sometymes, by reason of under water coming in to the said meeting, it's with great difficulty that either minister or people can come in into it to hear the word preacht. (5) Tho' the heritors engaged to pay fourteen pounds Scots per annum for the said meeting-house to the owner thereof, yet these several years bygone, nothing of it hath been payed, and that which makes the thing more grievous is, the rent of the said meeting-house is a good part, if not the whole, of the livelihood of a poor widow and her orphant. . . . Though I have something like unto a manse, yet it's no way fitt for living in. (1) It's no way watertight; (2) It wants partitiones and divisions, without which none can live comfortably in it." . . . "I have no office houses of either one kind or another. . . . No sufficient gleib; (1) It's the worst land of any in or about the town; (2) It's no such as is required by law." . . . "The inhabitants of the town have made a common road through the very midst of it, by the which in the summer and harvest tyme they bring home their foggage, so this occasions the destroying the best part of my corns." . . . "In short, upon the matter I get little as noe good of it."

Then Mr Bowie complains that he has no elders, and cannot find men suitable for the office. "Profanity and vice does so much abound in this place." And lastly, the heritors never paid him one stipend without a grudge and trouble.

Every effort was made to induce the heritors to repair a part of the Cathedral for a church, but the work, being a great and an expensive undertaking, was delayed from time to time. In 1708 the Presbytery ordered the "church to be erected upon the ground commonly called *Templebar*, as being judged the most convenient place." Specifications were prepared and rough estimates taken, but for several years no progress was made towards repairing the manse or building a church. Mr Bowie became quite dissatisfied with the parish, and left it in 1710, being translated to Monzie. The picture which Mr Bowie gives

us of the parish is not a pleasing one. The parish is poor, the heritors are failing in their duty, the people are irreverent in time of worship, and profanity and vice abound. There are no Session records of Mr Bowie's incumbency, and we must take his general statement as to the morals of the parish, but that his statement was well founded becomes quite apparent as we read the Session and Presbytery records later on in the century.

The parish ministry was vacant from December 1710 to September 1713, when Mr Robert Kirk was ordained and admitted minister. Mr Kirk was licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington early that year (22nd April), and sent to serve in the Northern bounds by order of the General Assembly. He found the parish very much as Mr Bowie had left it—still without a church and a sufficient manse. By-and-bye things got into better working order, not, however, without a threat on Mr Kirk's part to leave the parish, as his predecessor had done, unless a suitable church was provided without delay. In a year or two part of the old Cathedral was repaired, and from time to time lofts were erected for the principal families, above their burying-ground, within the church. There must have been several doors—probably six—giving entrance to the part of the Cathedral used as a Church. Heritors like Strathnaver, Skibo, and Embo were allowed to open a door to their lofts. The church, as restored at the beginning of Mr Kirk's ministry, continued very much in the same condition, with slight alteration in the arrangement of the different lofts and sittings generally, until the Cathedral was restored and re-edified by the Duchess Countess in the present century. There were, of course, occasional repairs from time to time, but no great change was made.

In 1718 for the first time there was a regularly constituted Session, and from that time onwards the Kirk Session was undoubtedly the most important body in the parish. In Mr Kirk's time the Session met as a rule once a week—every Monday. In harvest, when the elders were busy, and at Assembly time, when the minister was in Edinburgh, there were long vacations; but with these exceptions, the Session met frequently and supervised the morals of the parish, with a zeal and strictness which, if advisable, would be impossible in the present day. The duties of the Session were manifold. In addition to what are known at the present day as cases of Church discipline, the Session had to take cognizance of every conceivable crime or offence committed within the parish, and as they had to exact fines and occasionally commit offenders to prison, they had sitting with them a *Baillie* with magisterial powers. Usually one of the magistrates was an

elder, and then he was the Session Baillie, who had authority to impose civil as well as ecclesiastical fines. In 1736, the Session, through the removal of one of their number from the magistracy, found it necessary to apply to the Earl of Sutherland, Sheriff Principal of the county, and Provost of the burgh, for a commission to their Baillie, Andrew M'Culloch. In fact, the Session Baillie was a sort of Honorary Sheriff-Substitute, and it can be easily imagined what importance would be attached to a court having such power as the Kirk Sessions of those days had.

The following is the Session minute:—

"October 18.—The Session considering that since Baillie Andrew Macculloch's removal from his Baillieship at last election they had no Session Baillie at present aptd., that Mr Kirk, Modr., should wait on the Right Honourable the Earl of Sutherland, Sheriff-Princl. of this County and Provost of this Burgh, in order to obtain a commission from his Lordship to Andrew Macculloch, late Baillie, for exercising said office of Session Baillie during his Lop's pleasure."

The regular cases before the Session were of course cases of immorality. These were punished with money fines, varying from £5 to £20 Scots money—£10 is a common fine—and with Church censure by having to stand in the face of the congregation for one or more Sabbaths, according to the nature of the offence. Adulterers had to satisfy discipline for a year and upwards, and that *in sacco* "in sackcloth." In 1729 "it was represented by a worthy member of the Session that there was no stool of repentance in this kirk, and that there was much need of it. The Session therefore called for Robert Lithgow, wright there, and desired him to build a stool of repentance in the north H'le of the church of Dornoch, close by the west pillar, upon his own charges, but not to be worth above twenty-two shillings sterling, nor yet below that summe. . . . with this inscription—'This is the place of publick repentance.'" It may be remarked that the builder of the stool of repentance was shortly afterwards under Church discipline himself. Such is the irony of fate.

Cases of Sabbath desecration were common, and severely punished—"Pulling nails out of a piece of a broken ship," "carrying in water in two large water stoups," "shearing," "cutting kail," "selling snuff," "stealing corn," "absenting from church and drinking," "pulling dills," "harrying nests," "fishing," "baking bread," "repairing to the shore for diversion and gathering dulce after divine worship," "skinning a dead horse," "carrying a bundle on the Lord's day," "going in

quest of ane ox taken of the grass which is agravated by his pointing of a sick woman at the point of death of her very bel clothes upon suspicion of the ox being taken away by her husband." These are samples of Sabbath breaches which were not allowed to go unpunished. Occasionally the Sabbath breach was aggravated by circumstances, as for example, in a case where parties "after receiving the benefit of baptism to their child upon the Sabbath day were guilty of profaning the same by drinking to excess in the house of _____, indweller in Dornoch." The innkeeper confessed that "he gave them (the baptism party) so much drink as intoxicated them to that degree that they maltreated himself because he would give them no more drink. But the Session upon enquire found that the reason he would give no more was because they had no more money. The Session considering the same do and hereby did appoint the said Andrew to stand in the Joggs next Lord's Day, and the pint stoup about his neck from the second bell until the minister come in."

Other offences had to be disposed of, such as cases of theft, defamation of character, witchcraft, wife-beating, dancing and drinking at "Lykewates," drunkenness and night walking, "atheistical cursing," "Repeating ane odious and anti-christian rhyme," "praying to the Devil," and general breaches of the peace. Witchcraft appeared to have been very common, and our town has the unenviable notoriety of being the scene of the last burning of a witch in Scotland. "Casting hearts in lead," "practising charms," "using horrid oaths and imprecations," "taking away the substance of the milk," "swearing on the Bible and on iron," "divining by sieve, shears, and comb," were practices which the Session and Presbytery were determined to put an end to; and in a famous case of divination by sieve, shears, and comb, at Makle, in the parish of Creich, the Presbytery passed the extreme sentence of excommunication on the guilty persons, and that summarily, in order "to give a publick testimony against such practices," which had become frequent and dangerous.

This was in 1718, and probably a few years afterwards the public mind was sufficiently inflamed against witchcraft as to account for the Dornoch witch burning in 1722. Curiously enough, there is no reference to that event in the Session records. There was, however, no meeting of Session held from September 17th, 1722, to February 12th, 1723, and there is this note inserted at the beginning of the minute in February 1723—"The reason why there was no Session this long time agoe is that the minister of this parish has been at Edinburgh." It was not a common

thing for a minister to go to Edinburgh in those days except at Assembly time, and one is curious to know why Mr Kirk went south at such a season of the year. The common tradition is that the burning took place in 1722, and recently that date has been engraven upon a stone which is supposed to indicate the very spot of the tragedy. But in "Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland," written about 1726-27, occurs the following account of the event:—"In the beginning of the year 1727, two poor Highland women (mother and daughter) in the shire of Sutherland, were accused of witchcraft, tried and condemned to be burnt. This proceeding was in a court held by the Deputy-Sheriff. The young one made her escape out of prison, but the old woman suffered that cruel death in a pitch barrel, in June following, at Dornoch, the head burgh of that county." Burt's account is very specific, and as he wrote about the year 1727, in which he says the woman was burned, that date seems a more likely one than the traditional 1722. You are doubtless, many of you at least, aware of the tradition as to the mode in which the woman's alleged Satanic power was proved. She was asked to say the Lord's prayer, and on the words being repeated for her "Our Father which art in heaven," she persisted in saying "Our Father which wast in heaven," from which the inference was drawn that she referred to the Devil as her Father—he being once in heaven and expelled therefrom.

* "Ar n-Athair a bha" instead of "a ta."

Irregular attendance at Church was not so much tolerated then as now. Two elders had to perambulate the town in time of public service to watch the people who absented themselves from Church, or who left at the end of the Irish (Gaelic) service, or who frequented alehouses. The elders had to take this work in turn. Later on in the century, in 1746—the year of Culloden—Observers or Inspectors of Morals were appointed in the several corners of the parish, whose duty it was "to admonish any whom they might find guilty of any immoral practice condemned by the law of God, and condescended on the said Acts of Parliament (against vice and immorality), and to delate the obstinate to this Session the first Monday of every quarter, that they may be prosecute in terms of law; and further, the Session, in order to strengthen their hands, have made choice of several gentlemen for their assistants in judging of all matters that should come before them by complaint or information from any of the observers." About 50 observers were appointed, and the following assistants:—The Magistrates of Dornoch, Sir John

Gordon of Embo, Major Hugh Mackay, David Sutherland of Cambusavy, Hugh Huiston, at Cuthill; John Gordon, in *Easter Skelbo*; Gilbert Gray, in *Fourpenny*; and Patrick Dunbar, in *Dornoch*. With these observers, "men of good repute and fair character," and their assistants, the parish must have been thoroughly well inspected. Our modern police supervision is nothing in comparison with this. We must bear in mind, however, that this supervision was partly political, and that in a few years it died a natural death, as the excitement of '45 died away. It may be here mentioned that in the Session accounts for 1746, there is an item—"Taken away by the rebels, 15s," which shows that some rebels entered the town, notwithstanding the strength of the loyalists in the county.

In 1745 loyalist troops were quartered in and around the town by Loudon, who thought he was secure in territory considered friendly, and with *Dornoch Firth* between him and the rebels. The Duke of Perth crossed over, under cover of a thick fog, without being discovered, and, advancing upon *Dornoch*, encountered a party of about 200 men, who instantly fled, and Loudon left *Dornoch*.

The Session Bailie was an important functionary, and so was the Kirk Officer. Sometimes there were two officers, the work being too much for one. But there was still another officer whose duties were occasionally required in a modified form—I refer to the Hangman. We have *Cnoc-na-Croic* as a memorial of the time when the Earls of Sutherland had the power of "pit and gallows." But we connect the exercise of such a power with the dim distant past, and are not prepared to meet a resolution like the following in the Session Records, under date February 12, 1723:—"Therefore the Session having called her (a woman who had no testificate), ordered that forthwith she procure a testificate from the Session of Tain, in whose bounds she was last, against their next meeting, under the pains of being banished the place by the hand of the Hangman and [at] the desire and command of the Civil Magistrate, to whom they are to apply to the said effect."

Mr Kirk died on the 27th day of February 1758, and his successor, Mr John Sutherland, formerly minister of *Kilmalie*, in the Presbytery of *Abertarf*, was admitted on the 22nd of February 1759. He laboured in the parish for 16 years, and died on the 10th of September 1777. In September of the following year, Mr John Bethune, afterwards Dr Bethune, was translated from *Harris*, in *Uist*, to *Dornoch*, where he ministered until his death, in October 1816. The Kirk Session seems to have been at the

height of its power during the incumbency of Mr Kirk. Towards the end of the century it was gradually deprived of many of its civil functions, but it was still, and even well on in this century, a court which was more or less a terror to evil doers, if not the praise of such as do well.

We now leave the Session as a court of discipline and justice, and view it in conjunction with the heritors as the parochial guardians of the poor. Although technically and as a matter of privilege or right the heritors were associated with the elders in the administration of the poor's money, yet, in practice, the elders and minister had to undertake all the duties. There was, as you are aware, no assessment for the maintenance of the poor until about the middle of this century. For some time previous the need of such an assessment was strongly felt, in consequence chiefly of the non-residence of heritors and the apathy of the wealthy; and the Disruption of 1843 hastened on the passing of the present Poor Law Act. In last century the sources from whence the poor's money came were:—(1) Church collections; (2) fines imposed upon delinquents; (3) dues for the use of the *mort-cloths*. The *mort-cloth* was a draped covering for coffins, and it was compulsory to use it at every funeral. Two *mort-cloths* were left in legacy by Alex. Murray, merchant in London, and brought to *Dornoch* in 1718 for the use of the poor of the parish. The Session, being of an economic turn of mind, found that they could make four out of the two cloths, and accordingly this was done; but apparently two were of velvet and two of less valuable material, for on dividing the cloths they enacted "that the two velvet *mort-cloths* be let out at eight pounds Scots money each time, excluding that of the ringing of the big bell when called for; item, they enacted that the cloth ones be set also at twenty shillings each time required." The poor benefited chiefly by the dues derived from the use of the *mortcloths*. These were considerable, although it was at times difficult to collect them, and at times equally difficult to get the dues out of the hands of the collector. In 1733 the cloths were let for a lease of seven years at £3 sterling per annum to Hugh MacCulloch, burghess, *Dornoch*. It was found that the cloths suffered more damage when used outside the burgh, and accordingly the charge for the use of them in the parish was greater than when used in the burgh.

The amount of fines varied considerably. These were also badly paid. Bills were accepted, which not infrequently were not worth the paper on which they were written. Still this

source of income was considerable, amounting to several pounds in a year.

The church door collections may roughly be estimated at about from £7 to £20 sterling per annum. The number of paupers on the roll varied from 30 to 50—40 being about the average during the first half of the century. In the time of Dr Bethune the number is stated at 80 to 100. Then the collections amounted to scarcely £7. As the paupers increased the collections decreased. The poor were paid once a year in the month of August, the allowance to each being from 6s to 12s a year. Of course it must be borne in mind that money had a higher relative value then than now, and that farmers were expected to be liberal in giving meal to such of the poor as resided in the neighbourhood. The money allowance is not therefore a fair index of the manner in which the poor were provided for; still there can be no doubt that, notwithstanding the frequent allusion nowadays to the good old times—as times of prosperity—the poor of to-day are much better off than were the poor of a hundred years ago. The amount of poverty in the parish during last century was indeed very great. The frequent allusion to instances of extreme poverty, to great scarcity of bread, to years of famine, such as in 1737, 1741, 1782, and to the distribution of charity oats in time of great need, point to a state of matters with which happily we are not now familiar. “Nowhere,” writes Dr Bethune, “can the poor be in a worse footing than here. The principal heritors do not reside in the parish, and therefore contribute nothing towards their support. Wandering from one parish and from one county to another, the most needy are often overlooked from ignorance of their real circumstances, while on the other hand impostors and sturdy beggars abuse the generosity and credulity of the public. It is to be wished that the poor were universally confined to their own parishes; that by assessments upon heritors, tenants, and others in proportion to their several interests, holdings, and circumstances, a certain provision was made for subsistence; and that employment were furnished them suitable to the measures of strength and ability which they may be found to possess.” Dr Bethune was evidently in advance of his time. He wisely foresaw what must sooner or later come to pass if the poor were to be decently cared for. About fifty years after he wrote these words a statutory provision was made for the poor almost on the very identical lines marked out by him.

I now pass on to the education of the parish in last century.

In 1616 an Act of Privy Council was issued for the establishment of schools in every county and in every parish where convenient. This Act was ratified by statute in 1633, but notwithstanding these and other provisions, various parishes continued without schools until after the final establishment of Presbyterianism in the end of the 17th century. By the Act of 1696 legal provision was made for at least one school in every parish. It took some time to get parochial schools established in Sutherland. In 1715 we find the Presbytery of Dornoch taking active steps to enforce the heritors to settle a school in every parish. The S.P.C.K. had for several years been pressing upon ministers the necessity of placing Society Schools where legal schools could not be established, and accordingly a special meeting of the Commissioners of Supply was convened by Lord Strathnaver at Dunrobin on the 22nd October 1718, “in order to establish legal schools where they were wanting, according to Acts of Parliament.” This was 22 years after the date at which they ought to have been established. Mr Kirk, minister of Dornoch, was instructed to appear in the name of the Presbytery, with power, in case of the heritors refusing to erect schools, “to protest in the hands of a notary public for their not obtempering Acts of Parliament.” The meeting was properly convened. Mr Kirk attended, but “My Lord Strathnaver found it convenient to be out of the country, and consequently no meeting was held.” This is a fair specimen of the manner in which the educational interests of the county were attended to for years. The Presbytery, to their credit, did their utmost to get schools established. There is mention of a grammar school being in Dornoch as far back as 1585. The first teacher in Dornoch in last century, of whom I find any record, was a Mr Keith, who left in 1716. He was precentor and session-clerk, and was succeeded in all his offices by James Williamson, who had been recommended as “an excellent humanist.” He proved a failure. In 1717—the year after his appointment—he was libelled by the Session “(1) for not making the children progress; (2) for beating them with his staff and feet; (3) for having such a piteous low voice that he is not heard when singing in the large church; and (4) for starving the children in the very fundamentals of grammar.”

An unsuccessful attempt was made to fill Mr Williamson's place by a teacher already deposed—William Gordon, from Lairg. One of the first Society Schools was at Lairg, and the teacher was William Gordon. For a time things went well with Mr Gordon, but in consequence of a scandal current about him, he was deposed by the Society. It would appear, however, that Lord

Strathnaver had faith in Mr Gordon, even after his deposition, for he presented him to the School of Dornoch in a somewhat high-handed fashion, as the following letter, written to Mr Kirk, shows:—

“ Reverend Sir,

“ Dunrobin, June ye 2nd 1718.

“ The School of Dornoch being now vacant, I resolve to bestow it upon Mr William Gordon, late schoolmaster at Lairg. I being the only heritor that pays any of his salary, your interest as minister of Dornoch I expect, else you must resolve if any oyr. be pitched upon, I'll pay no sallarie.

“ I am, Rev. and dear sir,

“ Your assured friend and servant,

(*Sic Subscribitur*) “ STRATHNAVER.”

Mr Gordon, by the order of his Patron, and “ with the assistance of several gentlemen in the shire, intruded himself upon the school,” but Mr Kirk and the Presbytery resolutely refused to recognise him as a teacher, and ordered him to leave the school at once. The action of Lord Strathnaver in this case is unaccountable because usually he was the best friend of the ministers and acted in concert with them, being a ruling elder and frequently present at Presbytery meetings.

In 1720, a Mr Sheriff was session-clerk, but I can find no evidence that he was schoolmaster. In June 1721, William Mackenzie was appointed teacher, and two years afterwards was succeeded by John Henderson, who continued in office until 1730. In that year, Alexander Pope was chosen schoolmaster, and appointed session-clerk and precentor. He was an excellent clerk, and so conscientious was he that he engrossed the scroll minutes of his predecessors with the greatest care in the Session Records. His father, Hector Pope or Paip, was the last Episcopal Incumbent at Loth, and an ancestor—William Pope—was Sir Robert Gordon's teacher in Dornoch about 1590. Alexander Pope afterwards became minister of Reay in 1734. According to Mr Sage, he “ was an accomplished classical scholar, an intelligent antiquary, and was intimately conversant with science.” He visited his namesake, the English Poet, from whom he received a copy of his poems.

Alexander Sutherland succeeded Mr Pope in the school of Dornoch. He remained schoolmaster for three years, and

managed to embezzle a considerable part of the parish funds. During the next ten years (1737-47), William Sutherland, Daniel Mackintosh, and James Cruickshank were schoolmasters in succession. From the frequent changes in the office, one thing is very apparent—either that the teachers were of an inferior class, or that the community treated them badly. The fact is, there was no ample provision for the maintenance and encouragement of good schoolmasters. The community began to realise this in 1766, for in that year it was agreed by the Town Council that, “ for the encouragement of a proper and fitt schoolmaster,” fees should be charged. Hitherto, apparently, no fees had been charged. The following is the table of fees adopted:—

For teaching English in the <i>new</i> method,	2s 0d	stg.	per	qr.
Do. English and writing ...	2s 6d	do.		
Do. English, Arithmetic, and				
Writing ...	2s 6d	do.		
Do. Latin and Writing ...	2s 6d	do.		

It is significant that teachers appointed after the adoption of this table of fees remained longer in office.

The Town Council was not altogether the *sinicure* Corporation that it has been during the greater part of the present century. Their authority was exercised in various ways. They managed the revenues of the burgh, regulated trade within the same, and generally looked after the interest of the “ Indwellers,” as they were called. The burgh has always been poor, and during all last century the Council seem to have had great difficulty in keeping out of debt. The Customs, yearly roup'd at the Head Michaelmas Court, usually held in October, yielded from £11 to £26. The latter sum was realised in 1733, when the burgh seems to have been at the height of its prosperity. There is a marked gradual decline in trade onwards to the end of the century. In addition to the Customs, the bell, the Stone Quarry (let in 1731 for £5), the graves, shell lime mill, were all sources of revenue. In 1754 there is an important resolution of Council regarding the roup'ing of the fishings upon and about the shores of Dornoch, along with the Customs, but unfortunately during these years there are no minutes of the roup'ing to show what amount was paid for the fishings.

About 1750 the decay of trade is frequently referred to. The Rebellion of '45 had generally paralysed trade and impoverished the Highlands. In 1744, the Council funds were in a very unsatisfactory state, arising from two causes—poverty and corrupt practices by the intrumitters of the Public Fund.

The Council met specially to consider the abuses, and to devise means to prevent them, and extricate the burgh out of its financial difficulties. The Earl of Sutherland came to the rescue. He paid all arrears, and in consideration of this the Council conveyed to him the Burgh Customs and other debts due to the burgh. These were for some years afterwards collected by the Earl's factor. Something similar may have happened in the beginning of this century, when Loanmore passed out of the hands of the town.

Pigs running about the streets caused considerable annoyance. In those days the pigs of Dornoch enjoyed the same freedom as the pigs of Embo do in the present day. The following extract minute, of date 17th April 1761, is interesting:—"Thereafter it was represented to the Council present by the Reverend Mr John Sutherland, minister of the Gospel at Dornoch, that there are daily such number of swine kept within this burgh, and have access to the churchyard (which is unfenced) and digg up the graves and bones of the defuncts, which of itself is shocking to nature and dissonant to good policy: Therefore craved that the Council would be pleased to remedy this grievance in such way and manner as they shall think proper." The Council agreed to take active measures against the swine, and accordingly made public intimation that "swine found in the said churchyard from and after the foresaid day, shall be shot and given to the poor of the burgh or parish of Dornoch without any payment, and for shooting of the said swine, the Council nominate, appoint, and authorize William Ross, alias M'Finlay, in Dornoch, to shoot such swine, and ordain him so to do upon information, as he shall be answerable at his peril." This, however, did not put an end to the swine nuisance. Twenty years later, in 1781, the Council ordered "That any sow or swine that are from this date seen to run loose through this burgh, or limits thereof, shall be instantly seized on by the officers of this burgh, and killed and disposed off to the poor within the burgh, as also that the proprietor or proprietors of such sow shall, in virtue of this act, be instantly apprehended and incarcerated within the Town-house of Dornoch, there to remain on his own proper charges for twenty-four hours after the time of his incarceration."

It is generally supposed that it was in the time of the restoration of the Cathedral by the Duchess Countess that the proposal first originated of closing a part of the old burying-ground. It is not so. As far back as the year 1783 the Magistrates and Council declared the old burying-ground to be a public nuisance, and prohibited parties from burying in it. "The Magistrates

and Council considering that the present use or custome of burying in the centre of the burgh, and covering with gravestones a great part of what should be the public market place and change, is very inconvenient and a public nuisance, and that in order to remove and take away that nuisance, a very convenient spot of ground for a burial place has been already marked out by the heritors, Magistrates, and Council in the Links adjacent to the burgh. They, therefore, resolved, and hereby do resolve, that the said spot of ground marked out in the said Links shall in all time coming, from and after the period exprest, be the ground for burying all such persons as have been heretofore in use to be buried in the said buriall place within the burgh, and ordained and appointed, and hereby ordain and appoint, that burialls shall begin and commence in the said new burying-ground as on the first day of November next to come, and prohibited and discharged, and hereby prohibit and discharge, any to be buried in the said old buriall place after the last day of October next, and ordained, and hereby ordain, the whole gravestones to be removed by those concerned from the burying place within the burgh to the said new burying-ground betwixt and the first day of November next."

One reads with amazement an order like this. It is enough to take the breath away. Only one month's notice of such a radical change, and the removal of the very gravestones from the spot where they were of any use as marking the resting place of the departed! This alone, apart from the common prejudice against any interference with the dead, was enough to rouse a spirit of determined opposition, which, of course, it did. Such, indeed, was the popular indignation at this violent attempt to close the old burying-ground that the people ever afterwards resented the slightest interference with it. Even the planting of trees in the church-yard, which would have added so much to the beauty and health of the town, was objected to. I question if the old feeling is still dead after an interval of upwards of 100 years.

Trades and customs, now unknown in our small community, have still an antiquarian interest. There were a wigmaker and a gunsmith. There were five markets—St Barr's Fair, St Ander's Fair, Callen's Fair, Margaret's Fair, and Wemyss's Fair—appointed in 1739, each lasting three days, and held, I presume, in the old Church-yard, where we have yet the Standard Scottish yard or ell, on what may have also served for a gravestone. Burgh privileges were thrown open to all traders during market days, and hence the importance of markets in those times. These privileges were occasionally abused by selling ales

and other liquors, &c., in the burgh on mercat and other public occasions, and accordingly, in 1743, the Council, in order to correct abuses by persons who were not burgesses, and who did not reside within the burgh for eight months in the year, enacted that burgesses so using the privileges of the burgh shall find sufficient caution that they will reside in the burgh for eight months; and that those who are not burgesses shall, "before the 1st day of August next, procure themselves admitted burgesses, and find caution in terms above mentioned, with certification to such as shall fail herein that their ale and liquors shall become a forfeiture to the public use; and they themselves, or others in their name, selling or vending such liquors, shall be expelled the burgh, and deprived of the liberties and privileges belonging thereto in all time coming." By a former enactment (1732), "Brewers and retailers of ale and spirits and other liquors within the burgh, not being burgesses or free-traders," were liable for a cess or tax of one merk Scots for each broust of ale.

Every burges on admission had to pay a fee of £16 Scots, or £1 6s 8d sterling, in addition to other fees, according to use and wont. So far as I could find from the records, the Council, during the whole of last century, *minuted* the admission of only one burges. In 1741 (19th May) the following entry occurs:—"For the love and favour which the Town Council and Guildry have and bear to the Hon. Brigadier-General James Sinclair of Rossline, and for the favours and services done by him to the burgh, they unanimously admitted him Burges and Guild Brother of the said burgh, and hereby entitle him to all the privileges, benefites, and immunitys of a free Burges and Guild Brother, and ordain the Clerk to make out and deliver to him a Burges Act or Ticket accordingly." Bishop Poccocke, who visited Sutherland in 1760, says that he was made a burges of Dornoch, but there is no reference to him in the minutes. Doubtless many others were elected burgesses of whom no record has been kept. It would be of importance to find an old burges ticket with an impression of the burgh seal, as evidence of the antiquity of the present seal is needed in order to prove the coat of arms of the burgh. There is no record in the Lyon Office of what the correct arms are. The burgh is entitled to bear arms, but unfortunately it failed to register the arms when called upon to do so in 1672, and they must now be proved before registration. The seal is undoubtedly old, the style and workmanship pointing to the seventeenth century, but the authorities require further evidence to convince them of its antiquity, more especially as the charges on it are unheraldically arranged.

The sanitary arrangements and the state of the streets and

roads of the town were capable of improvement. The Magistrates had frequently to order the removal of *middens* from the highways and causeways. The street to the west of the Dean's house was declared dangerous to those who ride or drive in *wheel carriages*; and in 1750 there was a general order to repair the peat road as follows:—"The Bailies and Council, taking to their consideration the disadvantages the burgh is at for highways or common tract ground for bringing peats to the burgh from the mosses employed by them, they therefore ordain that each reek within the burgh, furnish a servant or able-bodied men or women to amend the rods twixt the burgh and the moss for three different days." It was but fair that the number of *reeks* should be the basis of taxation of labour in this case.

In reading the records of last century, one comes across the very same names that are common in the parish still, and in many instances names associated with the same district as at the present day—an indication that there has been no material change in the native population. Those who bear the honoured name of Mackay are about twice as many as the Rosses and the Sutherlands, who come next in order, and are about equal in numbers. Next in their numerical strength come the Mathesons, the Murrays, the Grants, and the Munros. There was, however, a large mixture of foreign names in last century, such as Cant, Hossack, Caagach, Pharoah, Brog, Garve, Strode, Hood, Livell, Leig, Troup, Paplay, Serges, Lithgow, Bangor, Hogg, Barrald, Bolloch—names now unknown. With regard to place names, the same remarks hold good. Places have tenaciously retained their names, but there are a few exceptions. The following rather pretty names are not now in common use:—Toberintail, Feachlyb, Cubag, Dalvavy, Torbouy, Clashtobairvichael, Haughs, Tobberdale, Knockartoll, Achilean, Craigeilsy, Portnaculter, and Ferry of Unes (Yoons). It is particularly to be regretted that these two last names—Portnaculter and Unes—are now discontinued. It does seem rather strange that the two most prominent features in our surroundings—that the ferries which give so much character to our parish, and without which we should lack the genial climate we so highly prize—should be stripped of their grand old names, and now known by the prosaic Anglicised distinction, "Big Ferry" and "Little Ferry." It is an instance of the strong tendency prevalent in the end of last and the beginning of the present century to uncelticise everything, to be ashamed of the Gaelic and its surroundings as savouring of peat reek and poverty, and unfortunately that tendency is not yet extinct. There are forces at work, subtle and powerful, which will, if unchecked, destroy for ever the purely Highland or Celtic nationality.

At a meeting on 6th March—Provost Ross in the chair—Mr J. E. Horrigan, collector, I.R., read a paper on “Photography: Scientific, Artistic, and Otherwise.” Mr Horrigan pointed out the manner in which photography, while depending on chemistry and optics, largely benefited several other sciences, notably astronomy. To this science alone, its services had been of the first order. Interesting views of observatories at home and abroad, and of the solar and lunar surfaces, were projected on the screen. Reference was made to the advantages which the art of illustration has derived from the use of the camera, and to the efforts now being made in the direction of photographing in natural colours. The artistic claims of the subject were considered at length, and illustrated by a splendid series of slides, numbering over one hundred. A large proportion of these were from photographs taken by the lecturer when on holiday excursions. A suggestion advocating the formation of a photographic club in Inverness was warmly received. The lantern was under the management of Mr Ogston, chemist, Union Street.

The same evening Herr Heumann of the Inverness College read a paper on the “Humour of Languages.” His intimate knowledge of various tongues enabled the lecturer to prepare an exceedingly entertaining paper. He gave specimens of the curious blunders made by persons who try to express themselves in an unfamiliar tongue. Both lecturers were thanked for their papers.

PARISH RECORDS OF CROY FROM 1640 TO 1690.

27TH MARCH 1894.

At the meeting on this date—Mr Horrigan in the chair—Mr J. Wedderspoon, Croy, read the following paper, for which he received a hearty vote of thanks:—

The old Session Records of the parish of Croy consist of two volumes, the one embracing the period from 1640 to 1690, the other that from 1718 to 1776. It is from the former of these I have selected material for the following notes. The entries are for the most part bare records of cases of Church discipline, and are interesting only as being a fair index of the morality of the parish at that time, and as showing the enormous power then exercised by the Kirk-Session. Occasionally, however, there are entries referring to contemporaneous events now of historical interest; while the delinquencies punished by Church censure or