Scottish Geographical Magazine

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rsgj19>

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Published online: 27 Feb 2008.

To cite this article: James Cossar M.A. (1910) The distribution of the towns and villages of Scotland, Scottish Geographical Magazine, 26:6, 298-318, DOI: [10.1080/00369221008734014](https://doi.org/10.1080/00369221008734014)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00369221008734014>

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deeper, and reaching the sea subterraneously. Benefit accrues from what is evaporated, but of the third which flows to the sea less than one per cent. is utilised by the community. In arid regions about 10 per cent. is used for irrigation purposes, and it is estimated that 5 per cent. is used for navigation and 5 per cent. for power, the water used for navigation and for power being in many cases the same. More than 85 per cent. of the surface water flows unused to the sea. The waste and loss to the country, from this state of matters, is obvious. It would be interesting and instructive to learn how the matter stands in the United Kingdom.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF SCOTLAND.

By JAMES COSSAR, M.A.

(Continued from page 191.)

2. HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION.

IN his papers dealing with the distribution of the towns and villages of England, Mr. Chisholm has pointed out that the origin of several of the present centres of population can be traced to Roman times. The Roman conquest of the country lying to the north of the Tweed was clearly of a much less permanent nature, for no Scottish town or village can with absolute certainty be said to have taken its rise as a Roman settlement. It has been possible to trace the course of one or two roads which were probably made by the early invaders; and the position of Antonine's wall shows that they fully appreciated the valuable line of defence afforded by the geographical conditions of this part of the country. Roman remains have been unearthed at Birrens, in Dumfriesshire, at Newstead, near Melrose, at Ardoch and Inchtuthill in Perthshire, some of which seem to mark the site of ancient military settlements. Inveresk may have been a Roman station, and the bridge at Musselburgh is generally credited with a Roman origin. Cramond and Dumbarton are supposed to occupy the sites of Roman seaports, while another may have existed on Carron Water near the present Camelon. But with the scanty material at our disposal it is not yet possible to determine either the extent of the Roman invasion or its effect upon the development of the peoples north of the Tweed, and the entire absence of Roman place-names in the country would seem to indicate that the influence of their occupation was less enduring and pervasive than in the southern part of the kingdom. Nor can it be said that we have much more definite information about the condition and distribution of the population for several centuries after the final withdrawal of the Roman forces. The attempt to locate the scenes of the Arthurian romance in our own country is interesting, but scarcely of importance for our present purpose.

We know with greater certainty that Dumbarton had become the capital of the Brythonic Celts early in the sixth century, while the Scots who crossed over from Ireland selected Dunadd, in Argyllshire, as their chief seat. Two centuries later, probably on account of its central position in relation to the two divisions of the people, Scone had become the administrative centre of the Picts. The frequent incursions of the northern peoples into the territory of Lothian made a fortified position on the southern side of the Forth of the utmost importance, and long before the ninth century a community had settled on the eastern slope of the fortified rock round which the future metropolis of the country was to take its rise. Dunbar, also, seems to have played an important part in the history of these early centuries on account of its defensive situation, and it was one of the strongholds against which Kenneth MacAlpin directed his attack when he invaded Lothian in the middle of the ninth century. In the reign of Constantine I., Dunkeld had been chosen as the ecclesiastical capital of the country, and Dunblane was also an important religious centre about the same period. It is not unlikely that a monastery was established at St. Andrews in the course of the same century.

Dunfermline, which could easily be reached from the southern part of the country by the narrow passage over the Forth at Queensferry, but which at the same time occupied a very strong position against any possible attack, became the capital of the country in Malcolm Canmore's reign; and although his son, Edgar, seems to have made Edinburgh his headquarters, Dunfermline continued for many years to enjoy considerable importance as a royal residence. From a charter belonging to the first quarter of the twelfth century it appears that the leading towns of the country at that time were Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen. Of all the places already referred to, however, little can be said except that they seem to have taken their rise either as places of defence or as religious centres, which not infrequently were planted in positions capable of being easily fortified. It was not until the various and diverse elements that went to the making of the Scottish nation were firmly welded together, and not indeed for many years after Scotland had extended her boundaries to the Tweed and the Solway, not until more peaceful conditions and the greater security of property were established by means of settled government, that the steady growth of centres of population became possible. Thus it is not till the epoch-making reign of David I. that we find the most convenient starting-point for our present inquiry. "Of all the reigns of Scottish kings," writes Professor Hume Brown, "that of David is undoubtedly the most memorable in every aspect of the life of the people. In its radical breach with the past it had its only parallel in the sixteenth century when a new religion changed the destinies of the nation. But in the extent of its civic, political, and ecclesiastical changes it surpasses in importance the religious revolution which gave the country to Protestantism."

Not only did the internal conditions of the country at this time favour the development of thriving communities, the affairs of foreign

nations also contributed to the commercial expansion of the country, for while England was divided by the fierce struggle of the rival claimants to her throne, and while the King of the French was fighting to preserve his crown against nobles as powerful as himself, Scotland "enjoyed a peace and prosperity which made her the refuge for exiles and a mart for foreign commerce." Two facts of David's reign have an important bearing upon the present discussion. The first is his policy of completing the subjugation of his kingdom and maintaining it in peace by establishing plantations of foreigners, men of Norman, Saxon, or Danish origin, in different parts of the country; and while Norman place-names are few in number it cannot be doubted that many of our towns and villages first took their rise under the shadow of the baronial castle.

No less important was David's attitude towards the Church. For several centuries before this time the Church had exerted a most beneficent influence in harmonising the heterogeneous elements within the country. Moreover, the early Columban monastery was little more than a small village in which the chief occupation of the inhabitants was the performance of religious rites, and some of these centres no doubt formed the nuclei round which modern towns have developed. In the ecclesiastical body of his time David found an ally by whose aid he hoped to complete the process of consolidating his kingdom and of establishing order and good government throughout his dominions. Accordingly, in the words of the old chronicler,

"he illumynyd in his dayis
His landys with kyrkys and with abbayis."

When he ascended the throne St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Moray were the only bishoprics in existence, but during his reign he created the sees of Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin. Still more striking and significant is the number of abbeys that owe their foundation to his munificence. Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, Jedburgh, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood, and Kynloss all date from this time, although it is possible that in some cases a religious edifice had previously existed in the vicinity. Now, while these facts may seem but commonplace events of ecclesiastical history, they are of the utmost importance from our point of view, for it was under the care of the monasteries that many industries were first established, and the promotion of industry and the encouragement of agriculture were inevitably followed by the development of towns and villages.

It is noticeable that with the exception of Kynloss, near the mouth of the Findhorn, the abbeys founded by David are situated in the southern part of the kingdom, while four are to be found in the valley of the Tweed. At this period the basin of the Tweed seems to have been the most important and the most prosperous part of the whole kingdom. Although the area often suffered by the inroads of the "auld enemy," it was also the first region to reap the benefit of the many civilising influences that flowed from the southern part of the island. The steady development of the pastoral and agricultural resources of the valley gave rise to many little communities along the banks of the Tweed, especially

at those points of its course where a passage could be easily effected. In the middle of the twelfth century a Cistercian priory had been erected at the lowest crossing point of the Tweed of any importance, near which Coldstream took its rise. A few miles farther up the stream could again be forded, and here arose the village of Birgham, which, though now quite an insignificant place, was of sufficient importance towards the end of the twelfth century to be chosen as the meeting-place of the King of Scotland with a royal envoy from the English court, and also of the Convention of Estates a century later. Kelso grew up at another crossing point of the Tweed, and was eventually to surpass and supersede the royal and ancient Roxburgh. Melrose Abbey was established at a place called Fordel, the name of which sufficiently indicates at least one important advantage which made it a suitable site for a great religious house. Peebles, on the right bank of Eddleston Water, where it joins the main stream, possessed a mill and a brewery in the twelfth century, and seems to have been a centre of considerable activity even in those early days. Traquair, though now a very small hamlet, was also a place of great importance about this time. With the rise of so many communities throughout the Tweed valley Berwick became an important seaport and early established trade relations with the countries lying beyond the North Sea. Indeed, if we are to credit the story told by Torfaeus of the merchant of Berwick who was able to command the services of no fewer than fourteen ships to take part in the pursuit of the pirate jarl who had captured one of his vessels, Berwick must have been the home of several merchant princes long before King David's reign. Of the subsequent prosperity and importance of the town at the mouth of the Tweed there can be no doubt, and for a long period it remained the leading commercial centre of the country. Easily accessible from the Continent, it seems to have become the headquarters of a number of merchants and tradesmen from the Low Countries who did much to further its development. When St. Andrews became a royal burgh it was a Flemish merchant, resident in Berwick, who was chosen by the king to be its first provost.

In addition to assigning grants of land to Norman vassals at whose gates dependent communities gradually arose, and besides founding religious houses in different parts of the kingdom, David did much to further the interests of the towns already in existence. From a reference in a charter granted by William the Lyon to Aberdeen it appears that even before David ascended the throne a federation of several of the towns north of the Grampians had already been established. In the southern part of the kingdom Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling were created royal burghs previous to his accession. But by the security to life and property which his firm government assured, and by the direct encouragement he gave to commerce, David did more than any of his predecessors and than some of his successors to develop the natural resources of the country, and to promote the rise of trading communities. In the following reign charters were granted to Rutherglen, Aberdeen, Perth, Inverness, and Ayr. At a later date Lanark and Linlithgow took the place of Roxburgh and Berwick, which were probably too liable to have their prosperity interrupted by the attentions of

southern invaders. These royal burghs played an important part in the development of the country during several centuries, and enjoyed, among other privileges, the monopoly of the trade within a wide area (in the case of Edinburgh, for example, the monopoly extended over the area stretching from Edgebucklin Brae on the east to the river Almond on the west), and freedom from most of the duties imposed on the internal trade of the country.

The charters of William's reign show that at various times he resided at Selkirk, Melrose, Traquair, Roxburgh, Lanark, Rutherglen, Stirling, Linlithgow, Clackmannan, Edinburgh, Haddington, Dunfermline, St. Andrews, Kinghorn, Forfar, Aberdeen, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness. It seems a reasonable inference that these places were centres of some importance as early as the end of the twelfth century. Certainly most of them were visited by Edward I. when he made his famous itinerary of Scotland towards the end of the following century, and yet having travelled no farther westwards than Stirling, the invader considered that he had "conquerid and serchid the kingdom of Scotland." Although there were several important centres in the west of Scotland, for example, Dumbarton, Glasgow, and the royal burgh of Ayr, it was the eastern half of the kingdom that had made, and for some centuries continued to make, the greatest advance, and there the great part of the population was concentrated. This part of the country contained a larger number of fertile tracts, it was less mountainous, it had a larger number of useful waterways leading to the interior, it possessed a greater number of seaports, and, most important of all, it was nearer the continent of Europe than the western side of the kingdom. The proximity of the eastern seaboard to the Continental markets, and the readiness with which foreign influences could penetrate this part of the country, are the dominating factors in the commercial expansion of the region, and of the development of the towns. Reference has already been made to the presence of Flemish merchants in Berwick; in the opening years of the twelfth century the merchants of Perth had been enterprising enough to establish a Baltic trade. The predominance of the towns on the eastern side of the country is borne out by an examination of the amounts paid to the Chamberlain by the different communities in 1369. Edinburgh had by this time become the leading burgh in the country, while the others in order were Linlithgow, Aberdeen, Haddington, Dundee, Perth, Montrose, St. Andrews, Dunbar, Stirling, Elgin, Inverness, and Ayr.

Although the fifteenth century was in many ways a troubled period in the history of Scotland, yet the struggles of rival lords and the raids of Border reavers, the events of "the Black Dinner," and the rise and fall of kings were not sufficient to prevent national development. The creation of a vernacular literature, unrivalled perhaps even by that of Italy, the rise of the universities, the attempt to restrict the expenditure of different sections of the community on articles of dress, and the foundation of a naval as well as of a mercantile marine, all serve in different ways to indicate the increasing material prosperity of the nation. It is evident from Hardyng's chronicle that some attention was being

paid to the communications of the country, and a considerable part of the bog that existed in the vicinity of Bannockburn in 1314 had been drained some time before the chronicler visited Scotland in the second quarter of the fifteenth century; at the latter date the district between Monteith and Falkirk was without moss or mire, and a "fayre ready waye" stretched as far as Dysart. Dundee had now become "the pryncypall burgh by northe the Scotysche see," while Aberdeen is described by Hardyng as

"a goodly citee,
A merchaunt toune and universytee."

The western and south-western part of the kingdom seems also to have been in a flourishing condition at this time, and the chronicler's remarks about the fertility of the country and its capacity for supplying the needs of an invading army are in striking contrast to those made by Froissart in the preceding century. The general prosperity and progress of the kingdom at this time, and especially during the reign of James IV., is also referred to by Pedro de Ayala, who rightly attributes much of the national development and the prosperous condition of the towns to the presence of foreigners in the country. It is certain that a better understanding with the countries of the Continent had led to a considerable expansion of the foreign trade of Scotland, and so important did her commercial interests on the Continent become, that it was found expedient to appoint a "conservator of the privileges of the Scotch nation" in Flanders. Again, it was the seaports on the eastern seaboard that gained most from the expansion of the foreign trade, and the loyal citizens of Aberdeen had found the Continental trade such a lucrative one, that in 1475 they were able to defray the cost of fitting out three ships for the service of their king. With the growth of foreign trade and the creation of a navy, shipbuilding became an important industry at many of the ports. Aberdeen, Inverness, and several places along the Fife coast, at all of which plentiful supplies of timber could be furnished by the neighbouring forests, acquired considerable importance in connection with this industry. In the opening years of the sixteenth century "ane verie monstrous great schip called the Michael" was launched at Newhaven, where a royal dockyard had been established.

Contemporary documents furnish abundant evidence that during the sixteenth century almost every part of Scotland enjoyed great prosperity, and that the resources of the country were being steadily developed. Major, Boece, Leslie, Munro, and George Buchanan all testify to the progress being made throughout the country in their day. The western part of the kingdom was still far behind the more favourably placed east in importance, but even at this date the growing commerce of the region was seeking an outlet by the nearest ports. At Ayr, says one traveller, "strange natiouns oft arrayves and their landes, the port is sa commodious," and George Buchanan remarks that the comparative poverty of the soil in this district tended to encourage the industrial activities of the inhabitants who were chiefly dependent for their means of livelihood upon their own labours. The banks of the Irvine and the

Stinchar were already skirted with pleasant villages, for the great fertility of this district and the abundance of fish produced along the coast enabled the various communities not only to supply their own needs but also the wants of their neighbours. Lanark and Glasgow were the leading centres of population in Clydesdale at this time, and Paisley was also of some importance, although its increasing prosperity was not very favourably regarded by the neighbouring burgh of Renfrew. In addition to many thriving fishing villages on the Clyde, Govan was, in Bishop Leslie's time, "a gret and ane large village," which had become known throughout the whole land for its manufacture of ale.

During this century the presence of several minerals in the country was recognised, although it was not till two centuries later that their extent and importance were fully realised. Even at this time, however, lead ore formed an item in the export trade of the country, and according to Boece there were lead and iron mines in Lochar and Argyllshire. Gold was also sought for at Meggetland in Peeblesshire, Crawford Muir, and in the vicinity of Wanlockhead; while in Fife, says the traveller just referred to, "ar won black stanis, quhilk hes sa intollerable heit, quhen they ar kendillit, that they resolve and meltis irne, and ar thairfore richt profittable for operation of smithis."

More significant than any mining that was carried on during this period was the gradual development of manufacturing centres. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Dundee contained "mony virtewus and lauborius pepill" who carried on the manufacture of cloth. The weavers of Glasgow followed the example of the Edinburgh craftsmen and became incorporated in 1527. Bishop Leslie describes Dumfries as "a toune nather base nor of simple digrie," and famous for its manufacture of fine cloth, which even half a century before this was greatly sought after by "the merchandis of uncouth realmes." Woollen manufactures were actively carried on at Tillicoultry in the reign of Queen Mary, and before the death of James VI. the linen industry had taken root in different parts of the kingdom. Much of the industrial advance made by the nation in this century is to be ascribed to foreign influence, and the foreign policy of the period was of the utmost importance from the commercial as well as the political point of view. Not only were several legislative efforts made to expand the foreign trade of the country, but direct encouragement was given to foreign craftsmen to settle within its borders and instruct the natives in the arts of manufacture. In 1588 the Town Council of Edinburgh devoted a sum of £68, 6s. 8d. for the purpose of importing a number of Flemish weavers, dyers, and fullers into the city; in the opening years of the following century several foreigners were carrying on the manufacture of woollen cloth in the capital.

It is practically impossible to obtain any details as to the size of the towns in the sixteenth century. All the places of the kingdom were small, according to Estienne Perlin, who visited the country in 1551, and even a hundred years later the burgh towns were the only places in the country deserving any other appellation than that of village. But of the pre-eminence of Edinburgh at this period there can be no doubt. Its population probably did not exceed 30,000 inhabitants, yet, says

Henri, Duc de Rohan, who travelled in Scotland in the closing years of the century, "the buildings are so stocked with inmates that there can hardly be another town so populous for its size. It is by far the busiest commercial town in the country. Indeed it would be against all reason were not this the case. For, in the first place, it is situated in the most fertile district of Scotland, as is proved by the fact that more than a hundred country seats are to be found within a radius of two leagues of the town, it being the ordinary residence of the Court. The second and better reason is that one of the best harbours in all Scotland is within less than half a league." The importance of the capital had been still further added to during the reign of James v., when, partly because it was already the chief royal residence and the military headquarters of the country, but partly also because of its central situation in the most populous part of the kingdom, it became the permanent seat of the civil authority. The political events of the century greatly increased the importance of Leith; it formed the most convenient landing-place for the armies that came to the help of one or other of the contending parties in the country, and its population seems to have increased rapidly during this period, for "when Monsieur Dessy, a Frenchman, did fortifie Lethe for the strength of Edenborow, it began of a bare village to grow to a tounne." So important had Leith become by the middle of the century that it was the intention of the Queen Regent to make the town a royal burgh, but, perhaps fortunately for the capital, the proposal was never carried out.

From a consideration of the sums contributed to the national expenditure by the individual burghs in the middle of the sixteenth century some idea may be obtained of their relative importance. Edinburgh, of course, occupies the first place with a contribution of £2250; Dundee is evidently the second town in the country at this time (and the attention paid to it by General Monk a century later would seem to bear out the great importance of the place); its share of the national burdens amounted to £1265. The other towns in order were Aberdeen, Perth, St. Andrews, Cupar-Fife, Montrose, Stirling, Ayr, Glasgow (with a contribution of £202), Dumfries, Inverness, Linlithgow and Haddington. By their favourable position in relation to the markets of the Continent the towns on or within easy reach of the eastern seaboard still far outstripped in importance any of the centres of population on the other side of the country. From the statement of Fynes Morison it appears that the foreign trade of the country was chiefly carried on at four places—at Camphire in Zetland, at Bordeaux in France, at several ports on the Baltic Sea, and in England. Before the close of the century the goods of the Scottish weavers were beginning to take a more prominent place in the export trade, and according to a document recently discovered in the chest of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, between the years 1611-1614 the exports of "commadities maid and wrocht in the countrie" amounted to £169,000 annually, consisting mainly of "claythe and plading," "lynning yairne," "lynning claythe," "prick hoise," and "gluiffis" (for the manufacture of which Perth seems to have been the most important seat). A considerable entrepôt trade appears to have been established

even at this early date, and during the years to which the document refers the foreign goods re-exported formed about five per cent. of the total export trade. But the most important items in the foreign trade were skins and fish; the exports of the latter commodity, during the three years 1611-1614, being of the annual value of £153,354. In the course of the seventeenth century Dunbar became the most important fishing centre in the country, and its prosperity was considerably increased after the construction of a harbour, for which Cromwell made a grant of £300. So famous did the place become that, according to one traveller, as many as twenty thousand people used to congregate at Dunbar during certain seasons of the year.

The trade in hides and in fish also gave a very great impetus to the manufacture of salt, and this article became a very important item in the export trade of the country. The manufacture, which formed one of the staple industries of the nation at this period, was chiefly concentrated along the shores of the Firth of Forth, where the absence of any muddy rivers depositing sediment along this coast, and, of still greater importance, the presence of coal in the vicinity, were the chief factors that favoured its development in this area. That the industry had become of national importance was clearly proved at the time when a proposal was put forward in the reign of Charles I. to limit the sale of salt in Scotland. A letter was immediately addressed to His Majesty by the Privy Council protesting against the proposed legislation. It was pointed out that not only would grievous injury be done to the salt industry which alone provided employment for 10,000 people, but the coal-mining industry of the country would also be seriously crippled and the shipping trade of many of the burghs would be entirely ruined, since coal and salt formed by far the most important items of the carrying trade upon which much of their prosperity depended.

Prestonpans was for a long time the chief seat of the salt industry, but salt pans were to be found for thirty miles along both sides of the Forth as far as Stirling. The rise both of the salt and coal-mining industries in the vicinity of Prestonpans seems to have been due to the efforts of the monks of Newbattle. A small community engaged in making salt existed at Prestonpans as long ago as the twelfth century, and about the same time Sey de Quinci granted a coal mine to the monks of the neighbouring abbey; in 1526 they erected a harbour at Morison's Haven from which to export the produce of the mines and the works.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the industrial development of the basin of the Forth must have been very marked; De Rocheford, writing at the time of the Restoration, refers to "the many good harbours and large towns along this gulf, with mines yielding tin, lead, and sea coal, in such quantities that the Flemish, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and even the French are served from hence. Moreover, in this same gulf they prepare salt which the Dutch purchase to cure the fish caught in the Scotch seas. . . ." Of these good harbours Leith and Bo'ness were the most important on the southern side of the Firth. Defoe spoke of Bo'ness early in the following

century as "a town that has been, and still is, of the greatest trade to Holland and France of any in Scotland after Leith." For this degree of prosperity there were several geographical reasons. Bo'ness had by this time superseded Blackness as the port of Linlithgow, of which the situation had given it a very prominent part in the national affairs at various times; as a royal burgh it had secured the monopoly of trade all along the coast between the Almond and the Avon. Moreover, owing to the fact that large boats could not proceed much farther upstream on account of the shallow and tortuous nature of the river, the bulk of the trade of Stirling, another very important royal burgh commanding the entrance to the Highlands, passed through Bo'ness, where the necessary change of transport could be easily effected. The importance of the port was also materially increased by the development of the western side of the kingdom, where in addition to Glasgow and various other burghs several thriving communities were seeking the nearest outlet for their trade on the eastern seaboard.

On the northern side of the Forth Alloa was an important river port early in the seventeenth century, and carried on a large trade in coal with Holland. Culross, like Prestonpans, owed much of its importance to the activities of the neighbouring abbey. So extensive was its trade in salt and coal that sometimes as many as a hundred and seventy ships were to be found at anchor outside the harbour, waiting to carry away the products of the salt works and coal heughs of Culross. Torryburn, now an insignificant village, was in the seventeenth century a flourishing port, possessing three ships with a total tonnage of 280 tons. Along the Fife coast a considerable trade was carried on at Inverkeithing, Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, Wemyss, Dysart, Leven, Elie, St. Monance, Pittenweem, Anstruther, and Crail, most of which, although "pitiful small towns," possessed several boats, while some of them attained importance as naval stations. Grain also formed a very important item in the export trade of many of the ports along both sides of the Firth; indeed so rapid was the agricultural development of the Lothians that, according to the statement of Taylor the Water-Poet, who says he was well informed in the matter, 80,000 boles, or 320,000 bushels, of wheat, oats, and barley were shipped from the port of Leith within a single year.

Leith, Bo'ness, and Burntisland were three of the six head ports along the east coast to which Thomas Tucker makes reference in his report, published in 1655. Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness completed the list; but, in addition, a considerable coastal trade was also carried on at several of the smaller ports, at Montrose, Arbroath, Perth; at Fraserburgh, Peterhead, and Banff; and also at Cromarty, standing on a bay where the greatest ships of burden might ride in safety; at Tain, and, still farther north, at Dunrobin, Thurso, and Wick.

But the most valuable part of Tucker's report for our present purpose lies in the evidence it affords of the progress of the western part of the country. Ayr and Glasgow were the only head ports along the west coast, but in explanation of this small number it is to be remembered that the character of the hinterland of much of the western half of Scotland prevented that wide distribution of important seaports to be

found on the eastern seaboard ; moreover, almost the whole commerce of the country was in possession of the ports nearest the Continent, Ireland being practically the only market to which the merchants of the west had ready access.

When Tucker made his report Ayr had fallen upon evil times ; owing to the silting up of its harbour it had lost much of its commerce, nor did its fortunes revive with the restoration of the monarchy, for in the last twenty or thirty years of the century Ayr lost no fewer than "fourty sail of ship." In the south-west Portpatrick, owing to its proximity to Ireland, had become a busy port. Between Ayr and Portpatrick there were a number of fishing villages, each with five or six boats and "not many more houses."

The chief interest, however, centres round the development of Glasgow. It owes its foundation, says Professor Gregory, to its situation on the rich soils of the Clyde valley and its relation to the agricultural and pastoral districts of the surrounding counties. But no less important was the fact that at this point the Clyde could be easily crossed, and the place thus formed a favourable site for the development of a trading community. We have already remarked that as early as the twelfth century an annual fair was held in the town ; in Bishop Leslie's day it had become "the maist renowned market in all the west" ; and in the same century several manufactures added to its importance. By the middle of the following century its internal trade had reached such dimensions as to make Glasgow "one of the most considerable burghs of Scotland," both in structure and commerce. While its external trade was chiefly carried on with Ireland, some of its merchants had succeeded in establishing a connection with the Continent, and a few more daring and ambitious spirits, eager for a share in the lucrative colonial trade that was enriching the merchants of other countries, had endeavoured, but without immediate success, to find a market in the Barbadoes. A temporary stimulus was given to the commercial development of Glasgow at the time of the Commonwealth when freedom of trade was established with the sister kingdom. This privilege, however, was withdrawn at the Restoration, and it was not for another half century that the most prosperous period in the history of Glasgow began. Great as the place was destined to become, it was not because it stood upon one of Nature's great waterways ; on the contrary, the condition of the Clyde at that time threatened to become a serious stumbling-block to the progress of the town. It is a remarkable fact that Glasgow was an important commercial centre and the residence of merchant princes long before it possessed either a harbour or ships of its own. Tucker reports that on account of the shallowness of the river "no vessels of any burden can come up nearer than within fourteen miles, where they must unlaid and send up their timber and Norway trade in rafts and floats, and all other commodities by three or four tons of goods at a time, in small cobbles of three, four, five, and none above six tons a boat." The unloading was carried out at Newark where, after a vain attempt on the part of the merchants of Glasgow to acquire land, first at Troon and then at Dumbarton, for the purpose of building a harbour to

accommodate their rapidly expanding commerce, docks were constructed in 1670 at which Port Glasgow has since taken its rise.

Thus not only had Glasgow become a very important centre of exchange in the course of the seventeenth century, but it also shared in the great industrial development that marked the period. It was not, however, till the union of the Parliaments was effected that the extraordinary development which has characterised the last two centuries of Glasgow's history became possible. Whenever the colonial markets were thrown open the enterprising merchants of Glasgow soon laid the foundations of a very prosperous trade, and so successful were their efforts that within a very few years they had secured the monopoly of the tobacco trade of the kingdom; scarcely less important was the trade they established with the sugar-planters of the West Indies. The expansion of their commerce as well as the jealousy of the merchants and shipowners who acted as their carriers made it desirable that the merchants of Glasgow should acquire a mercantile marine of their own; in 1718 the first ship belonging to Glasgow owners crossed the Atlantic, and some years later that improvement in the navigation of the Clyde was begun which is one of the most enduring monuments to the enterprise and intelligence of the merchants of the commercial metropolis of the country. In addition to opening up new markets for Scottish commerce, the Act of Union gave a great impetus to the development of manufactures at home. The linen industry was among the first to benefit by the removal of certain duties upon it. In 1725 the manufacture of linen was established in Glasgow, and so rapid was its progress that within sixty years three thousand looms were to be found in the burgh of Barony alone. When the manufacture of cotton superseded the making of linen as the staple industry in the west of Scotland, Glasgow enjoyed a very advantageous position in relation to the supply of raw material from beyond the Atlantic.

At the time of the Union Glasgow had become the second town in the country; its population at that date was probably about twelve thousand inhabitants, and it was called upon to contribute the sum of £3633 to the national exchequer, while the capital made a payment of £8455. The other towns in order at this time were Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Kirkcaldy, Dumfries, Montrose, Inverness, Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Elgin and Ayr. Important as many of the burghs were at this date, there is abundant evidence from the burgh records of the time that, in spite of an antiquated economic conception according to which each article possessed an intrinsic just price, which made unimpeded trade impossible, and in spite of the privileges bestowed upon certain burghs and denied to other communities, there had arisen in the course of the sixteenth century a large number of prosperous communities that threatened to usurp the privileges of trade bestowed upon the royal burghs, and even to surpass them in wealth and importance. Within the precincts of the burgh of Glasgow at the time of the Union Hamilton, Paisley, and Greenock were all in possession of a thriving commerce which was particularly prejudicial, so it was complained, to the interests of the burgh.

Kilmarnock, Kilmaurs, Newmilns, Stewarton, Beith, and Largs were all flourishing communities within the precincts of Irvine, and they were so prosperous that their houses were in many cases superior to those of some royal burghs. But the plight of the royal burgh of Haddington at this time was the most pitiful. At one time it had been one of the most important burghs in the country, but chiefly owing to political causes it had fallen on evil times, until in 1707 Tranent, Prestonpans, Prestoun, Port Seton, Ormiston, Dirleton, Auldstocks, Stenton, Gifford Hall, Penston, and other places had become burghs of Barony in the vicinity of Haddington, which, according to the statements in the burgh records, "are now more frequented, and there is more buying and selling of goods therein than in Haddington, and by which places the mercat and trade of Haddington was upholden, which decay of trade therein and publick burdens imposed therupon has occasioned the decay and ruine of the town. . . ."

The prosperity of many of these unfree towns was due to the widespread development of manufactures to which reference has been made. The linen industry, for example, was for a time successfully carried on at such distant places as Edinburgh, Ayr, Berwick, Melrose, Ecclefechan, and Wigtown. The manufacture of linen thread was established at Paisley early in the century. The story of James Blake and the rise of the linen manufacture in Dunfermline, or of Lady Fletcher and her successful attempt to establish the industry in Saltoun cannot be told here. Reference, however, must be made to the great development of the linen manufacture in the Highlands, chiefly owing to the efforts of the Board of Manufactures which was created in 1727. All the northern counties shared to some extent in the development of the industry, but the trade was carried on with greatest success in Inverness, where employment was given to no fewer than ten thousand people throughout the villages of the county. Much of the flax was cultivated locally, but the ease with which the raw material from the Baltic could be imported either at Inverness or Avoch, and the facility with which a great part of the manufactured article could be exported to the West Indies, where it was in great demand on the cotton plantations, were important factors in developing the industry in this district. The making of linen was also successfully carried on at various towns and villages along the Moray Firth and the coast of Aberdeen and Forfar, whither the raw material could easily be carried from Narva or Riga. The woollen industry also seems to have prospered over a wide area. It was established wherever the raw material and an adequate water-power were available; accordingly many little industrial communities sprang up along the banks of the chief streams of the country. Thus when Loch wrote his treatise on the industries of the country, the village of Galashiels contained thirty looms and three waulkmills; Melrose had a hundred and forty looms; Hawick had sixty-five, while Kelso and Peebles each had forty. In the western part of the Southern Uplands, Moffat, Sanquhar and Dumfries participated in the woollen industry, which was also in a flourishing condition at Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith and Musselburgh. In Loch's time Stirling had become an important centre and possessed a

hundred and sixty looms, besides stocking and carpet frames; the woollen industry of Alloa gave employment to about five hundred people at that time. Perth, Aberdeen, and Inverness also had some share in the same trade.

Important as was the industrial development that took place throughout the country during the first half of the eighteenth century, it was quite overshadowed by the phenomenal expansion that occurred after 1750. Several factors contributed to bring about this development. By far the most important was the exploitation of the vast mineral resources of the country; then came the application of coal to the production of steam power, "the greatest town-forming influence" in our history; and finally there was the great improvement effected in the means of communication, both internal and external—the construction of well made roads, the building of canals, the development of railways, the improvement and extension of shipbuilding.

One of the most epoch-making events in the industrial history of the nation was the erection of the Carron Iron Works in 1760, the first to be erected on any large scale, although spasmodic attempts to establish the industry had been made before this date. The site of the works was originally determined by the abundant water supply furnished by the river Carron, and so rapid was the development of the concern that within a century of its foundation five villages had sprung up in the immediate neighbourhood of the works. The discovery of the economic value of the strata composing a great part of the Midland Valley led to a phenomenal development throughout this area. Within a few years collieries were opened up, and furnaces were erected on every hand; peaceful agricultural villages were suddenly transformed into smoky industrial towns; bleak and infertile tracts of land that had seemed economically worthless acquired an extraordinary value when found to overlie stores of minerals, and they soon became the scene of busy industrial communities. So great indeed was the demand for labour that the native supply proved inadequate, and an alien population established itself in several of the mining districts. An important factor in the development of the Midland Valley, and the rapid expansion of its metallurgical industries, was the close proximity of coal and iron to one another; at Gartsherrie Works, in Coatbridge, about the middle of last century a thousand tons of coal were consumed every twenty-four hours, and of this immense quantity nineteen-twentieths were mined within half a mile of the works.

Among the chief causes which led to the rapid development of the mining industries of the country towards the close of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century was the great demand created by the substitution of iron for wood in shipbuilding, the construction of railways, and the widespread application of machinery to the textile industries. To this development many of the chief centres of population owe their rise, and it accounts for the great density of population throughout the Midland Valley.

Coatbridge, which from its position in the centre of the most valuable mineral field in the country may be regarded as the capital of

has made Methil a place of some importance for several centuries, but even as late as 1850 its population did not exceed 500. Within recent years, however, its growth has been very rapid, and during the last few years it has ranked as the leading port in Scotland for the export of coal; in 1909 nearly two and a half million tons were shipped from its docks. The development of the mineral resources of the neighbourhood has also added very considerably to the importance of Burntisland, from which port coal to the value of over £1,000,000 was sent out in 1909. Kirkcaldy, Dysart, and West Wemyss have also participated in the same export trade.

On the opposite side of the Forth the ports have received a similar impetus to their trade by the opening up of the valuable mineral fields that form part of their hinterland. Coal and manufactures of iron and steel are among the most valuable items of the export trade of Leith, Bo'ness, and Grangemouth. On the Midlothian coalfield Gorebridge, numbering 1379 inhabitants at the last census, Loanhead (3011), Newtongrange (2406), Bonnyrigg (2924), Rosewell (1425), and New Craighall (1633) are among the places which owe their existence and development to the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the district. The opening up of several collieries farther east is not only attracting considerable numbers of people to the vicinity, but may eventually restore to Prestonpans something of the importance it enjoyed before the passing of the Stamp Act.

It was in the middle of last century also that the economic value of the Lothian shale fields was first realised. In 1857 not one of these oil shales was being worked; to-day Broxburn (with 7099 inhabitants in 1901), Uphall (with nearly 1000), East Calder (1094), Midcalder (703), West Calder (2652), Pumpherston (1462), Addiewell (1591), Oakbank (933), Philipstoun (644), and Dalmeny are entirely dependent upon the mines and oilworks for their support. In the south and south-west of Linlithgowshire large tracts of barren land have within the last fifty years become the scene of great industrial activity, and many centres of population have grown up in this area; among them are Bathgate, Armadale, Whitburn, and Fauldhouse, with a combined population at the last census of over 15,000. The development of the Stirlingshire coalfield has not only given rise to considerable centres of population in the vicinity of Falkirk, at Slamannan, Avonbridge, Polmont, and in the neighbourhood of Bannockburn, but has also greatly contributed to the growth of Grangemouth. In 1861 the quantity of coal sent out from this port was 64,000 tons; in 1909, in addition to large exports of metals and machinery, over one and three quarter million tons of coal were shipped. Coal forms nearly 90 per cent. of the export trade of Bo'ness, while on the opposite side of the Forth Alloa is almost entirely dependent for its outgoing trade upon the output of the pits of the Clackmannan coalfields.

It is, however, in the phenomenal expansion of Glasgow and its neighbourhood since the middle of the eighteenth century that the full effect of the development of the mineral resources of the country, and of the industrial revolution which followed it, is best exemplified. Its

central position in relation to the mining centres of Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and Stirlingshire greatly increased the importance of Glasgow, and led to a very rapid expansion of its population, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century numbered about 77,000 persons. Within half a century its population had grown to over 300,000, and had far outstripped that of the capital. The introduction of machinery into the textile industries, the substitution of iron for wood in building the ships required for an ever-extending commerce, as well as for purposes of defence, gave an immense impetus to the development of engineering on the banks of the Clyde, and to-day Glasgow is the chief seat of the metallurgical industries of the country. Along both banks of the river small fishing villages were rapidly transformed into busy industrial centres, engaged in various branches of the engineering and shipbuilding industries. Large centres of population have thus been developed at Yoker, Clydebank, Dalmuir, Old Kilpatrick, Bowling, and Dumbarton on the north bank of the Clyde, while, on the opposite side, Govan, Port Glasgow, and Greenock have become important towns. If the commercial development of the Clyde basin was hampered for several centuries on account of its distance from the Continental markets, adequate compensation has been forthcoming during the last century and a half, and the Clyde now finds itself in touch with the greatest commercial highways in the world.

Besides giving rise to many new industries, the economic changes that marked the close of the eighteenth and the whole course of the nineteenth centuries entirely revolutionised the conditions and distribution of the industries already in existence. Before the industrial revolution the industries of the country were essentially home industries, and it was almost true to say that every cottage had its loom. The introduction of machinery rendered that no longer possible. The capital involved in carrying on the industries under the new methods tended to concentrate the manufacturing centres in the most favourable situation, where there was an adequate supply of power to be obtained, where the raw material could be acquired most readily and cheaply, and where there was easy access to suitable markets. It was such conditions as these that favoured the development of the cotton industry on the western side of the country, where it was first established at Rothesay in 1778. It was the presence of an abundant water supply that led David Dale in 1783 to select a piece of marsh land on the banks of the Clyde as a site for his cotton factory; fifty years later New Lanark had a population of over 1900 inhabitants. Although the manufacture of cotton ultimately declined, except at Paisley, in the middle of the century there were as many as 149 factories distributed over the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr, affording employment to over 31,000 persons. The linen industry, on the other hand, gradually became concentrated in the eastern counties, the proximity to the source of supply round the Baltic being the most important geographical factor in attracting the industry towards the eastern seaboard. Thus while the manufacture was practically abandoned in most of the small villages throughout the country where it had been formerly carried on, such places as Dunfer-

line, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose rose in importance as manufacturing centres. Dundee became the leading port for the importation of the raw material, and for many years it enjoyed a monopoly of the jute trade of the world. In 1838 1136 tons of jute entered the Tay port; thirty years later the imports exceeded 58,000 tons, and although Calcutta has become a very keen rival, Dundee in 1908 received jute to the value of over three and a half million pounds.

The woollen industry also has given rise to many centres of population within the last century and a half, and has infused industrial activity into a number of places which otherwise would probably have remained sleepy hamlets. The population of Tillycoultry did not exceed 900 inhabitants about the close of the eighteenth century; but owing to the erection of several mills during the next fifty years its population rose to more than 3000, and to-day stands at a little over 4000. In 1855 a mill was erected on the banks of the Tweed where the Walker Burn enters the main stream. At that date there was not even a village on the spot, but, within six years, a community numbering over 300 people had sprung up in the vicinity of the mill; twenty-five years later Walkerburn contained nearly 1300 inhabitants. In 1795 Alva was nothing more than a mere village, but within the next fifty years eight woollen mills were established in the neighbourhood, and in 1841 its population exceeded 2000; to-day it almost reaches 5000 inhabitants.

Before, however, the widespread development of the national resources could be carried out, a great improvement had to be effected in the means of communication throughout the country. Referring to the county of Haddington, the writer in the *New Statistical Account* makes the statement that long after the middle of the eighteenth century scarcely a mile of continuous hard road was to be found throughout the district except between Douglas and Ravenshaugh. An act passed in 1751 resulted in a great improvement being effected on the roads throughout the country, and "before many years passed by, the public roads became smooth and easy; produce was conveyed to markets at a tenth of the former cost, and in a tenth of the former time; and a complete revolution was made . . . in the whole economical condition of the land."

As long ago as the reign of Charles II. a proposal was made to connect the Forth and Clyde by means of a canal, but the scheme did not take practical shape until 1768; five years later the first section was opened between Kirkintilloch and the Forth; in 1790 through communication was established between the east and west coasts. A port was established at the eastern end of the canal, and, chiefly on account of its superior harbour accommodation, Grangemouth has eventually surpassed its ancient neighbour Bo'ness.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the depopulation of the Highlands was going on at such an alarming rate that, partly in order to check the tide of emigration, but also with the more permanent object of opening up the country and providing an alternative route to the stormy and dangerous Pentland Firth, the construction of a canal through Glenmore was begun. It was completed in 1823, and for a time

Inverness, at its head, probably did derive some little benefit from it, but it cannot be said that the Caledonian Canal has realised the anticipations of its promoters. Neither has it become a great commercial highway, nor has it attracted to its banks the industrial enterprises that were looked for. For purposes of commercial navigation the canal is now practically obsolete, though still employed at certain seasons of the year for the passage of fishing boats and of small tourist steamers from sea to sea. For the comparative uselessness of the canal there are various reasons, connected with its dimensions, its lockage system, and its administration, but more important than any of these is the simple geographical fact that there is no prosperous industrial centre immediately to the south of the canal, for which it might form a connecting link with the northern part of the kingdom.

But the most remarkable development in the means of communication and of transport did not begin till the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1812 a railway, worked by horse traction, was opened for traffic between Kilmarnock and Troon; in 1826 a line was inaugurated between Monkland and Kirkintilloch, and five years later the coalfields of Dalkeith were brought into communication with the capital by means of a railway which continued to be drawn by horses until 1845. In 1834 a company was formed for the purpose of running steam carriages over the turnpike roads of the country, but the first experiment, between Glasgow and Paisley, proving a failure owing to the bursting of a boiler, the scheme was abandoned. Within the next few years, however, twelve railway schemes were promoted, and all but one were successfully carried through; since that time the network of railways has been gradually extended so as to cover almost every part of the country. The effect upon the industrial development of the country of the introduction of railways can scarcely be exaggerated. Railway construction gave a very great impetus to the coal and iron trades, and therefore to the growth of mining communities in different localities; it established the engineering industry in various centres; it necessitated the erection of offices and works, as at Cowliars, Carstairs, and in the vicinity of the various termini throughout the country. No less important has been the influence of the railways upon the commerce of the country; they have opened up new markets and brought the seaports into immediate connection with their hinterlands.

Within the last quarter of a century the improved travelling facilities provided by the railway companies, the rapid and cheap means of transport made possible by the introduction of electric traction on the railway and tramway systems throughout the country, and, still more recently, the advent of the motor car, have all exercised a very important effect upon the development of the towns. In the first place, many of the rural villages and small country towns within easy reach of the great industrial centres have risen in importance as the residential quarters of the more prosperous section of the business or industrial community. Thus some of the watering-places in the vicinity of Glasgow have become exceedingly prosperous as the homes of many of the merchant princes of the metropolis. Broughty Ferry, Tayport, and the other

watering-places in the neighbourhood of Dundee owe their prosperity to similar circumstances. For the same reason Corstorphine, Liberton and Eskbank are fast becoming suburbs of Edinburgh, while Aberlady and North Berwick are rapidly growing in importance as the residential quarters of the more wealthy members of the professional and business classes of the capital.

On the other hand, the extension of the means of communication is having the effect of amalgamating neighbouring industrial centres. The magnificent tramway system of Glasgow has tended to link together many centres which but a few years ago were independent communities. The same process is at work in the neighbourhood of Kirkcaldy and Leven, while on the southern side of the Forth the construction of the tramway from Edinburgh through Portobello, Joppa, Musselburgh, Prestonpans to Cockenzie will eventually produce a continuous line of population throughout the whole extent of the route.

Another result of the extension of railway facilities throughout the country is to be noted in the rise of certain centres as fashionable summer resorts. Thus the tourist industry has brought prosperity to many of the Highland villages which before the advent of the railway to the neighbourhood were in a decaying condition. Most of the villages along the valley of the Spey and the Dee as well as the watering-places along the coast owe their importance to, and are dependent for their existence upon, the annual influx of visitors from the large cities and towns.

While it is inconceivable that there can be again any development of centres of population at all comparable to that which characterised the nineteenth century, yet even within comparatively recent years the introduction of new industries has given rise to new centres of population. Since the Singer Sewing Machine works were erected at Kilbowie in 1883 a thriving town has developed in the neighbourhood. The motor car industry, while it has given rise to no new centre of population, has added considerably to the importance of various towns where engineering was already being carried on, and where an adequate supply of skilled labour was at once forthcoming. A great amount of capital has been expended in the erection of motor works at Alexandria, Yoker, Scotstoun, at Granton and also at Dundee, where the "assembling" of motor cars has become an important industry. The increasing cost of fuel as well as the development of electricity as a motive power may in the immediate future give rise to thriving centres of industry in the deserted glens of the Highlands of the country. Indeed this process has already begun, for a rapidly growing village has sprung up at the Falls of Foyers, where "the most magnificent cataract in Britain" has been harnessed to supply power for the aluminium works established there in 1895. An even more important development is at present going on near Ballachulish, where a large village is in course of erection to accommodate the employees connected with the works belonging to the Loch Leven Water and Electric Power Company. These works will eventually furnish employment for at least twelve hundred people, and the new village will soon contain several thousand inhabitants. But perhaps the most interesting example

of town development in our own day is to be found at Rosyth. Between Limekilns and North Queensferry there was scarcely a house but a few years ago ; now operations are being rapidly pushed forward which must result in a large town springing up in this vicinity ; and the rise of a dense industrial population at this part of the coast will also have an important bearing upon the prosperity of the adjacent communities lying both to the east and the west of the naval base.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of Council held on the 6th May, the following ladies and gentlemen were elected Ordinary Members of the Society :—

Miss Alice Dalrymple.	E. Forsyth (Mexico).
Miss E. A. Suverkrop.	D. Hay Peffers.
Colonel John D. Young.	William R. Kermack.
Arthur Lee De Lisle.	

The following were elected Teacher Associate Members of the Society :

Miss B. B. Rogers.	T. S. S. Aiyar.
Miss M'Croben.	Miss A. L. M'Mullen.

DIPLOMA OF FELLOWSHIP.

The Ordinary Diploma of Fellowship was conferred on George M. Richmond, subject to his compliance with the prescribed conditions.

APPOINTMENT OF NEW SECRETARY.

Mr. George G. Chisholm, M.A., B.Sc., Lecturer in Geography at the University of Edinburgh, was unanimously appointed Secretary of the Society, in the place of Major W. Lachlan Forbes who has resigned.

LECTURES IN MAY.

Commander Robert E. Peary, C.E., U.S.N., lectured on his expedition to the North Pole, before the Edinburgh and Glasgow Centres, on the 24th and 25th May respectively.

Mr. George R. Gill, F.R.G.S., gave a demonstration on the practical method of teaching geography, on the 26th May.

ADDRESS TO THE KING.

The following address has been sent to His Majesty King George v. on behalf of the Society, condoling with him upon the death of his Royal