

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1950-51.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXIX.

EDITOR
R. C. REID

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Members working on local Natural History and Archæological subjects should communicate with the Honorary Secretary. Papers may be submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

The first article in this volume is a long-overdue and much-needed Index of Subjects and Authors in the first volumes of this series. Its contents do not figure in the General Index of this volume.

The Editor does not hold himself responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical, or personal information. Each contributor has seen a proof of his own paper.

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ARTICLE 1.

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ARTICLE 2.

The Brigantian Problem, and the First Roman Contact with Scotland

By ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

My starting point, in a somewhat complicated discussion, must be a passage in the Greek writer Pausanias, often quoted but not always in its correct context:¹ Antoninus Pius "took away from the Brigantes in Britain the greater part of their territory, because they, too,² had made an armed attack on the Genunian district, whose inhabitants were Roman subjects." The following points must be noted: the Genunian district is not otherwise attested, and the extent of Brigantian territory, before or after the time of Pius, can only be deduced by a careful study of scanty and fragmentary evidence. But before we turn to such a study it will be necessary to consider the context of Pausanias's statement.

Pausanias wrote what may well be termed the prototype of Baedeker's guides, an account of Greece intended for travellers with an interest in the history, antiquities, and works of art of that country. It was issued in parts, over a period of several years, and chance references show that book V. was written in A.D. 174 and book X. three or four years later; the passage with which we are concerned may therefore be dated fairly closely to the last few years of Marcus Aurelius. Pausanias has reached Pallantium in Arcadia, and sets out to explain why Antoninus Pius had changed it in status from village to city, giving it self-government and immunity from taxation; and from that it is an easy transition to a brief summary of what Pausanias conceives to have been the main features of that emperor's reign (138-161). First of all, he never of his own volition went to war against anyone—but he did deal with the unprovoked aggression of

¹ *Description of Greece*, book VIII., chapter 43 (in the Loeb edition, vol. iv., p. 119).

² Like the Moors, of whose unprovoked attack on Mauretania Pausanias has just been writing.

the Moors and the Brigantes. In this context it is impossible to avoid equating the episode of the Brigantian raid on the Genunian district, and the punitive action taken by Pius, with the campaign of Lollius Urbicus which led to the re-occupation of Scotland and the construction of the Antonine Wall: for that was the only war in the whole reign for which Pius accepted a salutation as *imperator* (in 142, as we learn from inscriptions and coins), itself the official claim of a major victory. For that reason alone it is impossible to accept the ingenious argument, first put forward almost 50 years ago by Haverfield,³ and generally accepted since his day, that Pausanias was referring to a later period, and specifically to the events of the governorship of Julius Verus.

Haverfield's argument may be summarised as follows. Julius Verus is attested as governor of Britain by inscriptions from Brough in Derbyshire, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Birrens in Dumfriesshire—each place in, or nearly in, the territory of the Brigantes; and the inscription from Birrens, assignable to A.D. 158, gives the period of his governorship, in the closing years of the reign. The work of Lollius Urbicus, Haverfield pointed out, was "as far as we know, confined to the region of" the Antonine Wall, "and lay wholly outside the territory of the Brigantes. A war against the Brigantes must have been something quite distinct." At first sight this is an impressive argument; and an attractive trimming was added by R. G. Collingwood, who suggested⁴ that it was under Julius Verus that the colony at York was established, its territory being found by the confiscation of the richest Brigantian lands, in the Vale of York. But it is impossible that Pausanias should have ignored the one real major victory of the reign, even if it were not reasonably clear that he regarded the Brigantes as external aggressors, not a subject people in revolt. We must suppose, therefore, that he was in fact referring to the campaign of

³ PSAScot., xxxviii., 1904, 454-459.

⁴ *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford History of England, vol. i., 2nd ed., 1937), p. 171 (cf. also p. 149, where Haverfield's argument is accepted without question).

Lollius Urbicus, and it remains to consider how that can have been connected with the Brigantes.

It might seem simplest, perhaps, to conclude that he used the name of the Brigantes loosely, because they were the best known and in the past the most troublesome of all the states of northern Britain: much as the Roman writers Seneca and Juvenal had done or (to take an analogous case) in the way that *Rutupiæ* (Richborough) was used by later writers as a synonym for Britain, because it was the main port of entry into the island. But the specific mention of the Genunian district shows that Pausanias was using a well-informed source, and we must accept it that his source did refer to the Brigantes themselves and not (for example) to the *Brittones*—the term commonly used for Britons generally, whatever the native states to which they belonged.

What, then, were the limits of Brigantian territory? Here we come at once to the problem of our sources. Briefly, there are three groups of evidence: Brigantian coins, Roman inscriptions to the goddess Brigantia, and the geographical writers. The evidence has been discussed in sufficient detail, a dozen years ago, by Dr. Robert Pedley⁵ and by Miss Mary Kitson Clark (now Mrs Chitty);⁶ it will therefore be unnecessary for me to do more than summarise it. The pre-Roman coinage of the Brigantes has not been found outside the West Riding of Yorkshire, which may thus be regarded as the original nucleus of that state. But inscriptions to Brigantia have been found well to the north of that area, at South Shields in County Durham, at Corbridge in Northumberland, near Brampton in Cumberland, and at Birrens; and though none of the inscriptions is earlier than the time of Pius, and those from Birrens and from Cumberland belong, indeed, to the early years of the third century, they may be taken with some reason to show that the places at which they were set up were regarded as being in Brigantian territory, though we cannot be sure whether it was territory

⁵ *Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, viii., 1937, 27-42.

⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxxiv., 1938, 80-87.

still subject to the authority of the Roman canton of the Brigantes. That canton had its capital at *Isurium Brigantum*, now Aldborough near Boroughbridge in the North Riding of Yorkshire, as is shown by the Antonine Itinerary: the cantonal name, in the genitive plural, provides decisive evidence (as Haverfield pointed out) for the status of the place as the centre of Brigantian administration. When we look at the remaining geographical evidence, it consists (apart from passing references by Tacitus, of which more presently) of the details which the geographer Ptolemy of Alexandria included in his monograph.

It is convenient to call Ptolemy a geographer, and his great work a Geography; but it will be as well for us to bear in mind that his real interest was in astronomy, and that the main purpose of his book was to demonstrate the value of astronomy as an aid to geographers; he showed them how to calculate the latitude and longitude of any given place, and how by accurate observations of the sun it was possible to obtain fixed points in the preparation of a map. It was obviously convenient to give a practical demonstration of the system, and that is why he proceeded to compile the material basis for a map of the known world. That basis consisted of long lists, province by province, of geographical data, fixed points such as towns or river-mouths, each provided with a note of its latitude and longitude; occasionally he reports that these details had been secured by direct observation of the sun at the place under reference, but in most cases it had no doubt been by calculation from one of the fixed points that they had been deduced. What is most important to note is that Ptolemy himself had not made any of the direct observations, nor had he been to any great trouble to obtain exhaustive or up-to-date geographical information; he had collected together such materials as came most readily to hand, using as his basis the Geography of a certain Marinus of Tyre, but demonstrably adding, here and there, information from other and more recent sources. Ptolemy himself was a contemporary of Pausanias; his home was at Alexandria in Egypt, where he can be shown to have been living and writing

in the period *circa* 130-170. The precise date of his main source, Marinus of Tyre, is uncertain: some scholars have placed his *floruit* in the early years of the second century, but I am prepared to argue that the time of Nero is a more likely period; yet it is clear, in any case, that Marinus himself had not set out to provide an up-to-date and accurate reflection, in his book, of the geography of his own day—thus, it has been shown by Professor Ulrich Kahrstedt that the sections on Germany east of the Rhine, which Ptolemy has demonstrably taken straight from Marinus's work, represent the situation that held good up to about 25 B.C. but no later; and there are plenty of other cases where it is plain that the source-materials were of widely varying dates.

As far as Britain is concerned, the one item which can be shown to be reasonably up-to-date is at York, where Ptolemy notes that its garrison was the legion *VI Victrix*: for that legion only came to Britain in A.D. 122, when it was transferred thither from Lower Germany. It is clear that Ptolemy went to a little trouble to include details of legionary stations in his work, but that the amount of trouble was not very great; the Austrian scholar Kubitschek pointed out, forty years ago,⁷ that his information in this respect must have been provided by a military man, who happened to know many but not all of them by name—thus, surprisingly enough, most of the eastern legions are not mentioned at all, and as far as the legions actually included are concerned, some surprising mistakes are made in their location: the clearest case is that of *II Augusta* in Britain, which Ptolemy places at *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter) instead of at *Isca* in the territory of the *Silures* (Caerleon on Usk in Monmouthshire). Presumably his informant had mentioned that *II Augusta* was stationed at Isca in Britain, and the only Isca which Ptolemy's main source recorded was the cantonal capital of the *Dumnonii* (if his main source was Marinus, its disregard of Caerleon would not be surprising, for excavation has made it clear that that legionary fortress was founded by Frontinus in the period 74-78). The references to legions,

⁷ Jahrbuch f. Altertumskunde, vi., 1913, 205 f.

then, are late insertions into the text, made by Ptolemy himself.

The main body of his British section, clearly taken over from the work of Marinus, falls into two distinct portions. The first is derived from a Handbook for Mariners, and gives a coastwise itinerary round the shores of Britain; here the mouths of rivers, an occasional port or roadstead and prominent headlands, are the items included. The second portion gives a list of the principal states of Britain,⁸ listing them from north to south and mentioning, under each state, such "towns" within its territory as had details of latitude and longitude recorded of them in Ptolemy's source. By "towns" it will be best to suppose that Ptolemy understood "places," without specifically considering what sort of place any given one might be; in some cases there is reason to suppose that a native hill-fort might be intended, in others a Roman fort. But what is more important to note is that Ptolemy was not claiming to include a complete list of the principal towns of Britain, any more than of any other province; he was merely aiming at including enough places to provide a map-maker with a fairly adequate basic framework for a more detailed map of the Roman world as a whole or of a particular province.

As far as the Brigantes are concerned, the places which Ptolemy assigns to their territory reach as far north as Binchester in County Durham, but do not come as far north as South Shields, Corbridge, Brampton, and Birrens (the line which inscriptions have given us); but it seems clear that the three states that bordered on the Brigantes to the north (Novantæ, Selgovæ, and Votadini) covered the Scottish Lowlands from Galloway to Berwickshire and north Northumberland, and there is nothing in Ptolemy to forbid the assumption that the northern limit of Brigantian territory came more or less on the line which Hadrian adopted in 122 for the construction of his Wall. Indeed, if we accept the

⁸ I prefer the term "states" to "tribes," since the latter word might suggest savages, such as were not to be found in the greater part of Britain.

inscription from Birrens as indicating that, in the west, Brigantian territory spilt over a little to the north of that line, it may well be that the establishment of outlying forts, as part of the Hadrianic scheme, represents the result of a compromise: we may suppose that the general intention was that the new frontier should shut off the Brigantes from their northern neighbours, but because the geography of the Tyne-Solway line was so exceptionally suitable for the Wall, Hadrian decided to leave a small fraction of the Brigantes outside it—yet they would need to be controlled, if not protected, and so forts were established at Bewcastle, Netherby, and Birrens.

We have worked back from the time of Pius to that of Hadrian. One of the most striking results of recent study of Hadrian's Wall has been the emergence of evidence for a remarkable succession of changes in its structure and, by clear inference, in the methods of its control. The first simple scheme, which Hadrian or his new governor, Aulus Platorius Nepos, laid down in 122, was for a Wall manned solely by gendarmerie (as we may conveniently describe them)—the garrisons of the milecastles and turrets. But before long it was found necessary to build forts, for infantry battalions and cavalry regiments, on the line of the Wall itself; and the structural relationship of the cavalry forts to the Wall proves beyond doubt that their garrisons were intended to be used mainly against a northern enemy. The system was soon extended by a series of forts, connected by mile-fortlets and watch-towers, along the Cumberland coast; on the Wall itself, additional forts were inserted, as if to close inconvenient gaps in the series of military key-points, from time to time up to the last year or two of Hadrian's reign. Here we have all the indications of a period of increasing military pressure on a frontier which, in its original form, had been devised to suit normally peaceful conditions; the simple pass-port and customs line had been converted into the base-line for an expeditionary force, if not to a defensive barrier.

When we turn to the history of the period, scanty as it is, we have substantial supporting evidence. The coinage of

Hadrian's reign⁹ includes two distinct series of issues in commemoration of warfare in Britain; the first can be assigned without question to the opening years of the reign, terminating well before the building of the Wall; but the second belongs to the last four or five years, being assigned on what seem adequate grounds to the period 134-138. That fact, taken in conjunction with the structural evidence that we have been considering, is strongly suggestive of a hitherto unsuspected second major war in Britain in Hadrian's reign; and there are other pointers still to be noted. First, two inscriptions¹⁰ record the careers of equestrian officers who took part in a British expedition in the time of Hadrian. In each case it has been customary to interpret the expedition as that which followed quickly after Hadrian's accession in August, 117, when the Augustan History records that there was war in Britain; but in neither case can so early a dating stand: I hope to discuss the evidence in detail on another occasion, but at present it will be sufficient to note that both careers are best compatible with the expedition in question coming after rather than before 130. That will explain two further points. In 132 the last of the great Jewish risings made Hadrian concentrate the whole of his energies on Judæa; as Cassius Dio puts it,¹¹ he sent the ablest of his generals against the Jews, and the first of these generals was Julius Severus, then governor of Britain. What (we may ask) was the ablest of Hadrian's generals doing in Britain, if the military situation in that province was not a strained one? Then, the orator Cornelius Fronto, writing shortly after 161, to console Lucius Verus on the reverses recently sustained in the Parthian war, and quoting former cases of Roman defeats in the early stages of a campaign, reminded Verus how, in Hadrian's day, great casualties had been suffered by the Romans in Judæa and in Britain.¹² On a per-

⁹ Cf. now Gilbert Askew's posthumous work, *The Coinage of Roman Britain* (1951), pp. 9-11.

¹⁰ Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 2726, 2735.

¹¹ Book lxix., 13 (Loeb edition, vol. viii., p. 449).

¹² Fronto, Loeb edition, vol. ii., p. 23.

spective view of Hadrian's reign, the main occasion for Roman casualties in Judæa was in 132 and the next year or two; Fronto's order seems to indicate that the trouble in Britain came later—when, as we have seen, there is coin evidence for warfare in progress. We may therefore be justified in reconstructing the sequence of events in Britain, under Hadrian, somewhat as follows:

(a) On his accession in 117 there was trouble in the island, but it had been dealt with well before 122, when Hadrian himself inaugurated a new frontier, the purpose of which was to separate the subject Brigantian state from the states further north, direct control of which Rome no longer chose to maintain.

(b) The new frontier, as originally planned, proved unsuccessful: the northern states reacted to it sharply, and increasing military action was required to maintain it; hence the series of new forts, the gradual concentration of the army of Britain on or close to the frontier, and the despatch to Britain of Julius Severus (which can be dated fairly closely to 130). As long as he remained on the spot, we may suppose, the situation was kept in hand; but once he left for Judæa, and a less able commander took his place, the trouble came to a head with active campaigning, serious casualties, and the need for substantial reinforcements such as those brought from Upper Germany by Pontius Sabinus, one of the two equestrian officers to whom reference has been made.

(c) Hadrian died in February, 138. Within a year a new governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, was preparing for decisive action,¹³ and in 142 his victory over the northern states led to the acceptance by Pius of that salutation as *imperator*; the Antonine Wall was built, and Hadrian's frontier-system given up (once more, this is a contribution made by archæology in recent years, still not as well known as it deserves to be). To judge by the coin evidence, there

¹³ As an inscription found at Corbridge in Northumberland tells us, he was having building of some kind done there in 139.

was a lull between the trouble which followed the departure of Julius Severus and the offensive conducted by Lollius Urbicus; and what brought that lull to an end must have been the Brigantian raid on the Genunian district, of which Pausanias has preserved the record.

That brings us back to Haverfield's problem. What connection can there have been between a campaign which carried the Romans back to the Forth-Clyde line (and beyond), and the Brigantian state, all but a fraction of which lay to the south of Hadrian's Wall? And how can the annexation of the territory between the two Walls be regarded as depriving the *Brigantes* of a great part of their territory? That is the riddle which we must set ourselves to answer if we can.

To answer it, we must move backward into the first century. Tacitus is our main authority for the relationship between Rome and the Brigantes from the Claudian conquest to the governorship of Petillius Cerialis (71-74). But his evidence, in its surviving form, is fragmentary, and needs to be pieced together with care. In the *Agricola*,¹⁴ he records how Cerialis attacked the Brigantian state, accounted the most populous one in all Britain; he fought many battles (in some of which Agricola himself, then commander of the twentieth legion, took a distinguished part), and succeeded in conquering or at least in fighting over a great part of Brigantian territory. In the *Histories*,¹⁵ under the year 69, Tacitus tells how active warfare broke out again between the Romans and the Brigantes under the leadership of Venutius; and reference to the *Annals*¹⁶ shows that that was merely the recrudescence of trouble which had begun in the governorship of Didius Gallus, in 51 or 52. Both in the *Annals* and in the *Histories* Tacitus refers specifically to the domestic trouble between Cartimandua and Venutius (which was the prelude to Roman intervention) in such terms as to make it

¹⁴ Chapter 17.

¹⁵ Book iii., 45.

¹⁶ Book xii., 40.

plain that Venutius was supported not only by an important fraction of the Brigantes themselves, but also by warriors from elsewhere: in the *Annals* he speaks of Venutius's picked force invading Cartimandua's kingdom, and in the *Histories* he puts it that Venutius summoned allies, and was joined by Brigantian rebels. Now as far as we can judge the southern frontier of the Brigantes, at that period, marched with the northern frontier of the Claudian province; the allies whom Venutius summoned to his support must surely have come from further north. That, in its turn, will presumably mean that when the time came, in the governorship of Cerialis, for closing the account with Venutius and his supporters, it would not be sufficient to confine operations to the territory of what we may call Brigantia proper: his northern allies would still have to be dealt with, even if he himself was not able to fall back upon them in face of the advancing Romans.

Nearly forty years ago Mr J. P. Bushe-Fox pointed out, in a stimulating paper,¹⁷ that the figured samian brought to light when foundations were being dug for the extension of Tullie House in Carlisle, included so high a proportion of early pieces as to suggest the possibility that the first Roman occupation of Carlisle should be assigned to Cerialis rather than Agricola. His view did not win universal acceptance; Haverfield, in particular, received it with scepticism. But the more one learns of the figured samian which the army of Britain was using under the intervening governor, Julius Frontinus (74-78)—as a long succession of excavations in Wales has in recent years enabled us to do—the earlier that Carlisle material looks; and I do not think that any serious question remains, that Mr Bushe-Fox was right in his inference. And when one bears in mind the position of Carlisle, almost at the limit of Brigantian territory proper, it is not perhaps an unduly rash inference that it was one of the most important of the military objectives of Cerialis to occupy it, to plant a strong garrison there, and thus to shut off those northern allies from further intervention in Brigantian affairs.

¹⁷ *Archæologia*, lxiv., 1913, 295f.

It would take too long to argue the point now, but it seems a reasonable inference that before Dere Street was built, to carry the main Roman trunk line from York into Scotland, the principal northward route followed by early man was over Stainmore, across the Cumberland plain and so into Dumfriesshire; and that is the line of the Roman road from York to Carlisle, Birrens and beyond. We may be justified, I suspect, in supposing that the Votadini of Northumberland and the eastern Lowlands were either pro-Roman or neutral, and that the main force of Venutius's supporters was found among the Selgovæ and Novantæ in the centre and the west; and it would be logical, in that case, for Cerialis to aim first at securing Carlisle, and then perhaps to mop up all the centres of Venutian resistance to south of it. But we can hardly exclude the possibility that his campaigns continued northwards into Scotland; for when we turn to examine what Tacitus has to say about the governorship of Agricola, it is most remarkable that, for all the superficial impression of active operations in his narrative, it is not until the fifth season of his governorship that Tacitus is able to credit Agricola with meeting tribes previously unknown, and his advance to the Tay was not accompanied by any fighting that Tacitus could record.¹⁸ That surely indicates that the back of resistance had been well and truly broken, far beyond the northern frontier of Brigantia proper; and we should not be surprised to find that it was Cerialis and not Agricola who was the first Roman governor to lead the army of Britain into Scotland. That need not mean that we must abandon the use of the term "Agricolan" for the Flavian forts which have been identified, and in many cases excavated, in Scotland. For it is clear that much of the time and the energies of Cerialis must have been devoted to active operations in the field, which do not provide many occasions for the construction of permanent forts; the forts and the roads belong to a later stage in the establishment of Roman control—and it is precisely such a stage that the governorship of

¹⁸ Cf. my paper, *Britain under the Flavians: Agricola and his Predecessors* (Durham University Journal, June 1946, pp. 79-84).

Agricola, as recorded by Tacitus, must be read as describing. Agricola led his armies in person, but it was over territory that had already been explored; he selected the sites for forts—but that is enough to show that the period of active campaigning was over, and the time for planting the framework of permanent control had been reached. One day, perhaps, we shall find clear traces of Cerialis in Scotland; but it will not be in the forts that the evidence will come to light.¹⁹ Rather should we expect to find it in some of the temporary camps, such as those which Dr. St. Joseph's recent air photographs have revealed so fantastically clearly, that one could almost go straight to the rubbish pits from which datable material may one day be dug up.

Before I try to carry Roman contact with Scotland any further back, it will be as well to attempt a further clarification of the situations with which Hadrian and Antoninus Pius had to deal, in the light of the picture of Venutius and his northern allies which has been emerging in the foregoing paragraphs. It is a commonplace that much of the territory which Agricola had planned to include in the province of Britain, and in which he had established forts and roads, had been given up long before Hadrian built his Wall. Fifteen years or so ago, Dr. Davies Pryce and I argued that the withdrawal took effect before the close of the first century; Sir George Macdonald rejected our arguments, and urged that the credit (if that is the right word) should be given to Trajan rather than Domitian; but the point is happily immaterial in the present context.²⁰ What does seem fairly clear is that Hadrian's new linear frontier was intended to shut off the Brigantes from further contact with their northern allies—to allow the philo-Roman section of the state to

¹⁹ I except Annandale which, as I have indicated, seems assignable to the northernmost territory of the Brigantes; Mr John Clarke has already made out a strong case for assigning to Cerialis the earliest Roman fort at Milton (Tassiesholm), which might perhaps be regarded as an outpost of that governor's strong-point at Carlisle.

²⁰ For the details of the argument cf. *Journal of Roman Studies*, ix. 111f., xxv. 59f. and 187f., xxvii. 93f., xxviii. 141f. and xxix. 5f.

establish its ascendancy (we may think), and to make sure that there was no recurrence of a situation such as that which had led to all the trouble in the days of Didius Gallus. But in the eyes of the army of Britain it might well seem that those northern allies were really part of the Brigantian problem—had they not provided Venutius with the hard core of his supporters? And the history of those structural changes on Hadrian's Wall, to which I have already referred more than once, seems to suggest that the problem became more and more aggravated as Hadrian's reign continued. It was not merely that the people to the north of the Wall needed more and more troops based on the Wall to keep them under control; the construction of the Vallum surely shows that there was trouble of some kind to the south of the Wall as well. Whatever its precise planned purpose, the Vallum (as we now know) was constructed after the first stage of building the Wall itself, and its effect was to protect the rear of the Wall at least from "broken men from tribes the Romans had defeated" (as R. S. Ferguson put it, more than sixty years ago). I suggest that one of its chief functions was to prevent anti-Roman Brigantians from crossing the frontier and joining their one-time allies to the north of the Wall.

But the sequel suggests that many of them must have succeeded, and it will help us to interpret the statement of Pausanias if we may go a little beyond our direct evidence, and suppose that there was gradually growing up, to the north of the Wall, what may reasonably to-day be described as a "Free Brigantian movement," beyond the reach of Roman authority. We do not in fact need to think only of modern times, and of the corresponding situations in many parts of the world during World War II. Something of the same kind had occurred in Gaul and Britain between Caesar's day and the Claudian invasion: discontent with Roman rule in Gaul led many Gallic notables and their supporters to cross the Channel, and as time went on, so anti-Roman feeling in Britain received more and more support, and the expedition which Claudius successfully mounted in A.D. 43 was the logical consequence of the whole series of events. It was not

in fact described by contemporary writers as that emperor's conquest of *Gaul*; but by British archæologists, who have learnt to talk of *Belgic* Britain as one of their dearest commonplaces, the point will be well taken, I hope.

We may therefore, if I am right, interpret the passage in Pausanias, which has prompted this discussion, as referring to action by Pius, through his governor Lollius Urbicus—not against the Brigantian canton south of Hadrian's Wall, with its capital at Aldborough in safe proximity to the legionary fortress at York: its nobles were no doubt for the most part the sons or grandsons of the Cartimanduan faction, loyal subjects of the Empire, who had learnt the benefits of education and comfort, baths and all—but against the untamed people of Free Brigantia, whose hard core of northern tribesmen had now been reinforced by all the malcontents of the canton. The Genunian district still eludes our precise grasp; but on this view it will be somewhere close to the Wall, and beyond it rather than to the south—otherwise, the raid of which Pausanias wrote would have involved aggression against the Romans themselves; and if I am right about the philo-Roman sympathies of the Votadini, it was perhaps a portion of their territory against which the Free Brigantes vented their spleen.

At all events, there is no doubt at all as to the area in which Lollius Urbicus and his forces operated. From Hadrian's Wall he advanced on a broad front into Scotland, presently establishing a new frontier line from Forth to Clyde, and controlling the territory between there and the former frontier by a network of roads, with forts at key points (such as that at Carzield, four miles north of Dumfries, excavated by this Society in 1939), and fortlets like those which Mr Clarke has examined at Durisdeer and Tassiesholm elsewhere in the Society's territory. And it was no doubt from the area which he thus restored to Roman control that Lollius Urbicus obtained the young men of military age whom he exported to Upper Germany, where they turn up in 145 and the following years, organised in *numeri Brittonum*, complete with officers drawn from the army of Britain (as Friedrich Drexel convincingly showed, by an

analysis of the distinctive style of the inscriptions and sculptures which these units set up in their new province.)²¹

In the course of his operations, before ever the time came for building the Antonine Wall or the network of roads and forts to the south of it, Urbicus had at least one major battle to fight: otherwise there would have been no occasion for the salutation of Pius as *imperator*, an honour reserved to commemorate an important victory. It seems possible that that battle took place not far from this district, in the heart of Selgovian territory.

Just under twenty years ago the late James Curle published his inventory of objects of Roman and provincial Roman origin found on sites in Scotland not definitely associated with Roman constructions.²² Perhaps the most remarkable object of all was the marble head, "dug up in the eighteenth century near the site of an old chapel near Hawkshaw, in the Peeblesshire parish of Tweedsmuir." Of its Roman origin there is no question; its dating is not so certain. Competent authorities have assigned it to the time of Trajan, though that cannot be regarded as more than a *terminus ante quem non*, to judge by the observations of I. A. Richmond and Raymond Lantier, which Dr. Curle quoted; the closing years of Trajan seem to be the earliest date on stylistic grounds, and at that period it is difficult to suppose that the Romans still occupied territory so far north as Hawkshaw. It would seem, therefore, that its dating may have to be pushed on to the early years of Pius; and that brings me to an even more exciting point about the statue to which the head must originally have belonged. The point is one which I owe to Professor Richmond, though I am not sure to what extent he would be prepared to follow me in my application of it. He suggests that the statue was set up, not in a Roman fort (Dr. Curle tentatively suggested that it might have been brought from Lyne, the nearest known Roman fort, but that is a long way for the

²¹ *Germania* 6, 1922, 31-37.

²² *PSAScot.* lxvi., 1932, 277-397.

marble head to be carried, and it was not the sort of booty that it would be profitable for a looter to carry off with him into the hills), but on some monumental structure, *ex hypothesi* set up not far from the find-spot of the head, which can hardly have been anything other than the memorial of a great victory. That is to say, we have in the Hawkshaw head at least the suggestion that the parish of Tweedsmuir was the scene of a major Roman victory, which it may seem easiest to connect with that won by Lollius Urbicus against the last of the Free Brigantes. Professor Lantier regarded the head as a portrait, but not one of Trajan or any other emperor; can it be that it is a portrait of Lollius Urbicus himself? That might perhaps explain the somewhat archaic style of the hair-dressing (as dating it to the time of Pius would apparently require us to describe it): for Lollius Urbicus was not by birth and upbringing a Roman of Italy—his home was in North Africa; and it is a commonplace that old styles and old fashions linger longest in distant colonies, when they are already outmoded in the metropolis.

There we must leave the Hawkshaw head, hoping perhaps that before long a happy chance (if not a methodical search) may bring to light the remains of the monument itself. But if it commemorates the victory won by Lollius Urbicus, there is a further piece of evidence for a Roman victory, in an earlier period, somewhere in the same part of Scotland. Just over a year ago Professor Richmond and Mr O. G. S. Crawford published their long-awaited study of the British section of the *Ravenna Cosmography*²³—a seventh-century compilation, which derives its long lists of names of countries, towns and rivers from a road-map such as that which has survived, from the ancient world, as the so-called “Peutinger Table.” Among a sequence of place-names which they show convincingly to have been in the South-West of Scotland, the place next before *Trimuntium* (Newstead) is called, apparently in the locative case, *Venutio*. It is difficult to avoid connecting

²³ *Archæologia*, xciii., 1949, 1-50.

it with the name of Venutius, once husband and later enemy of Cartimandua, and for twenty years the leading opponent of the Roman arms in Britain. We have seen that the allies, on whom he called to support him against his former wife, came from the Lowlands; does this place-name preserve the memory of the unrecorded battle in which he made his last stand?

But it will be well to recall that we do not know when that last battle was fought. Venutius was still active in 69, as we have seen; and it is perhaps simplest to suppose that he was still the leader of the Brigantes when Cerialis led the army of Britain against them, and fought the hard battles to which we have passing references in the *Agricola*. No doubt the missing books of the *Histories*, if they had only survived, would have given us the story in detail. But it is worth noting that the poet Statius credits the predecessor of Cerialis, Vettius Bolanus, with having dedicated trophies won in battle from a British king—and though Tacitus suggests that Bolanus was inactive against the enemy, that statement applies strictly to 69, when the civil wars of the Year of the Four Emperors were still in progress: there is still time for the first actions against Venutius and his supporters to have taken place in 70, and for the king defeated by Bolanus to have been Venutius himself. I have spoken with some confidence of Cerialis penetrating to Carlisle, and operating in the Lowlands of Scotland; in view of what Statius has to tell us, the possibility cannot be excluded, for all that Tacitus has to say about Bolanus, that it was the latter who set the ball rolling.

But in considering the first Roman contact with Scotland, I do not think that we can be justified in regarding either Cerialis or Bolanus as necessarily the first governor of Britain to send troops into that country, if not to enter it in person. I have mentioned already that the first conflict between Venutius and Cartimandua broke out in 51 or 52; and Tacitus records, in the *Annals*, that after Venutius had invaded the queen's kingdom, Roman cohorts were sent to her support, and presently a legion too (no doubt, the Ninth,

from Lincoln) was sent; where these Roman troops operated, in support of the Brigantian loyalists, cannot be known: but the possibility is not excluded that a flying column, with a less senior officer in charge of it, might have penetrated into Annandale in the fifties, long before Vespasian had been thought of as a candidate for the throne. And even such an officer might have had a predecessor on the same route.

Tacitus in the *Annals* devoted three sections to describing events in Britain. The first section, covering the Claudian invasion and the whole of the governorship of Aulus Plautius, is lost, and all that we have to indicate its scope is a tantalising reference back, in the second one, when Venutius is brought on to the scene.²⁴ After the capture of Caratacus, Tacitus writes, Venutius the Brigantian was the outstanding general (of the Britons), "as I have noted above," long faithful to the Romans and defended by their arms while he was the husband of Cartimandua. This can only mean that within the four years when Plautius was in Britain (43-47), there were Roman troops operating in Brigantian territory, in support of its ruling house; and as Professor Momigliano has recently pointed out,²⁵ some of his contemporaries credited Vespasian, who commanded *II Augusta* under Plautius, with penetrating into Caledonia in that period. When we remember that later writers claim that Claudius received the submission of Thule (a claim that Tacitus was at pains, in the *Agricola*, to give his father-in-law the nearest approach to credit for), it will not seem out of the question that some Romans may have made their way, if only on reconnaissance with Brigantian guides, into Scotland before ever Plautius left Britain or the trouble between Cartimandua and Venutius came to a head. But that brings me into speculative fields, into which it would be beyond my brief to venture; my main purpose will have been served if I have been able to convey some idea of the fluidity which must have prevailed on the northern frontier of the Roman province, for a generation

²⁴ Book xii., 40.

²⁵ *Journal of Roman Studies*, xl. 41f.

after the Claudian invasion, and of the extent to which the Roman advances under Vespasian and again in the governorship of Lollius Urbicus must have been conditioned by the alliance between Venutius and his northern supporters. As for Ptolemy's source, or rather the source on which Marinus of Tyre relied, it may well have been Claudian in date, for all that some of the place-names in Scotland can only have been added after Roman armies had fought there and Agricola's forts had been built.

ARTICLE 3.

The Heraldry of Douglas of Morton.¹

By Sir THOMAS INNES of Learney,
Lord Lyon King of Arms.

1. In his massive volume, *A History of the Douglas Family of Morton (Dumfriesshire)* Mr Percy Adams has made out the descent of the family through James Douglas, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Scots Foot Guards, from Patrick Douglas, Bailie of Morton, and that the said Bailie of Morton was a son, or recognised to be son, I am afraid under the operation of 16th century law eventually technically illegitimate, of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig. The sasines recorded on 17th November, 1726 (Adams, p. 185), and 9th August, 1742 (*ib.*) when compared with that of 25th January, 1714 (*ib.*, p. 175), make it clear that the father of Archibald Douglas of Morton was the Colonel of Foot Guards who was son of William Douglas of Morton, and the same person as James Douglas, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Scots Foot Guards for whom arms were matriculated on 14th March, 1696, in the *Public Register of All Arms and Bearing in Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 290. I am, however, far from satisfied that Lieutenant-Colonel James Douglas of the Regiment of Scots Foot Guards of 14th March, 1696, who, so far as I can see, continues to be so described, was the same person as James Douglas, Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel in the Scots Brigade in Holland and from 1709 Brigadier in the said Scots Brigade. This James Douglas, who was a Captain elevated to Lieutenant-Colonel at Cockleburg on 1st July, 1667 (Adams, p. 166), seems to be a different person from the Colonel of Foot Guards, and at no point in the narrative do they seem to me equated. It seems

¹ This article consists of the substance of the note accompanying the Interlocutor of 1st March, 1951, by the Lord Lyon on a Petition by James A. T. Douglas, paying for matriculation of the correct arms to which he may be entitled seeing that his forebears had been awarded conflicting coats of arms in 1696 and 1773.

unlikely that the Lieutenant-Colonel sold his commission in the Guards, took a captaincy in the Scots Brigade in Holland and was suing for a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, all within fourteen months, and that in 1714 he was being described as "Colonel in the Foot Guards," when apparently until 1717 he was still a Brigadier on the Continent.

My former Note was based on observation of the foregoing, but at that stage I was under the impression that there was a clear descent through the Brigadier. It is now evident, for the above reason, that the clear descent is through the Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot Guards from Douglas of Morton, and, so far as I can judge, Brigadier James Douglas fades out of the picture.

2. I am satisfied that Patrick Douglas, the Bailie of Morton, is shown to have been the son (styled "my son") of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, 1513-1578, but it appears to me that any surmises as to his possible legitimacy are futile, and assuming he had been a child of Sir James by his first wife, Lady Margaret Douglas of the House of Angus, it is, in the words of Mr Adams, p. 40, "obvious that any children there may have been of this marriage must have been held to have been illegitimate." Of course I agree with the statement at p. 38 that in Scotland, as on the Continent, illegitimacy did not involve any stigma and that socially it was the pedigree that mattered, and the illegitimate children were treated like their legitimate brothers and sisters. The only distinction was that illegitimate ones were not entitled to heritable succession.

Supposing, still, that Patrick was the son of Sir James's first marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas, his illegitimacy and incompetency to succeed is made abundantly clear by the terms of the charters cited in the *Scots Peerage*, wherein William Douglas, the son of Sir James's second marriage, is described as his "*filius et heredi apparenti*." In the charter of the Barony of Hawick and Tibberis, 14th April, 1547 (*Great Seal*, print No. 91), see also *Great Seal*, charter of 20th February, 1540-41, of the Barony of Drumlanrig itself, the destination is to Christian Montgomerie in liferent and to

her spouse James Douglas of Drumlanrig *et heredibus eius*, that is the heirs of him, not even the heirs procreated of the marriage (*Great Seal*, print No. 2287). Since William, the issue of the marriage, is the heir apparent and also inherited the Barony of Drumlanrig as the heir of Sir James his father, it is evident that any son of the first marriage, if such there was, fell under the illegitimation consequent on the divorce, the pre-Reformation "divorce," i.e. annulment of marriage, as admitted by Mr Adams.

I would refer to Sir James's Will of 4th September, 1550 (15th Report of the Historic Manuscripts' Commission, p. 21, No. 33), in which he appoints Patrick Douglas his son one of the substitute Tutors to William Douglas his son and apparent heir in the event of the re-marriage of Dame Christian Montgomerie, Sir James's spouse. This corroborates that Patrick was considerably older than the apparent heir, and thus presumably son of the first marriage, but equally certainly not the heir at law, as we have seen from the preceding documents. One duly observes that Patrick is called "my son," whereas the daughters, Janet, Alison, and Agnes are described as "bastard daughters," and there is a reference to a legacy to John Douglas, his bastard. In my view the proper distinction between these terms would be that a child begotten in some former connection, such as an annulled marriage of such-like, was regarded socially as in a somewhat better position than the complete bastard, though of course this did not obtain in regard to strict law, and accordingly they are all described as "bastard sons natural" in the Privy Seal Letters of Legitimation, 16th August, 1546, in which it is to be noticed that Patrick is the first-mentioned son. One deduces, therefore, since Patrick was obviously older than the heir-apparent, that he was (as the bordure company in the matriculation of 1696 also bears out) the Patrick Douglas, Bailie of Morton, ancestor of the family with which we are concerned.

As regards Letters of Legitimation, it is right to quote Erskine's "Principles of the Law of Scotland," Book III.-10-3:

“ Letters of Legitimation, let their cases be ever so strong, could not enable his father to succeed to his natural father to the exclusion of lawful heirs, for the King could not by any Prerogative cut off the private right of third parties.”

The principal juridical benefit of Letters of Legitimation was the power to make settlements which cut off the King's right as heir if the bastard died without issue. No doubt the very words “ Letters of Legitimation ” also carried a good deal of weight socially outside professional legal circles, but the point is that since Patrick was illegitimate by reason of the decree of nullity, he was not entitled to succeed to any form of honour, nor was he in remainder in common law to his father's heritage. We indeed see that his son was, in a later tailzie, brought in after some other heirs as an heir of tailzie, but the very fact that he was a postponed heir of tailzie corroborates that he was not an heir at law, and that the said tailzied destination was not the setting forth of a common or a male order of succession.

3. That the line of Douglas of Morton was illegitimate is also evident from the matriculation of 14th March, 1696, giving him a bordure compony, because, at any rate by that period and indeed for a considerable time anterior, the bordure compony had in Scotland become a certain and definite sign of illegitimacy and is invariably so applied in the differencing of arms pursuant to the provisions of the Statute 1672, cap. 47. It was the bordure applied to the Scottish armorial achievement of the illegitimate son of the Duke of Lennox, natural son of Charles II., and that applied under the Royal Warrant of 27th October, 1679, for the Honourable John Lundin of Lundin, formerly, as the Honourable John Drummond, a legitimate scion of the House of Perth (who obtained *jure uxoris* a Royal Warrant of bastardised Royal Arms in respect of his wife's descent from a natural son of William the Lion differenced by a bordure compony—see *Lyon Register*, Vol. I., p. 180, and Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, Vol. I., p. 66)—which was given with the highest authority and assigned as the mark of illegitimacy (*Notes and Queries*, 22nd November, 1940).

The purpose of marks of cadency is to distinguish from the Chief the subsidiary members of the family and to illustrate, so far as Heraldry can, their position in the family, and accordingly their place in the normal order of succession.

The purpose of marks of bastardy is not only to distinguish members of illegitimate lines from the Chief, but to make it evident that they are not in the normal line of succession. For that reason it has been regarded as necessary that the marks of bastardy should be quite definite and distinct, and if more than one has been used, that is explained by Gerard Legh in his "Accidens of Armoury," where he says that there are, or were, twelve varieties of illegitimacy which the heralds endeavoured to distinguish by different brisurs. I doubt if they ever achieved such precision, but in my view there did come to be a distinction between the riband and baton sinister, indicative of complete bastardy, and the bordure compony, which, although since 1672 almost invariably used for all bastards, was in its earlier stage applied to those who were the issue of handfast and such-like left-handed unions, which by social custom existed longer in Scotland, probably by derivation from the practice of Celtic law. The bordure compony had been quite a legitimate difference down to the end of the 14th century. Its appearance as a mark of illegitimacy commences with its assignment to the adulterine bastards of the Beaufort family deriving from John of Gaunt's third wife, and Nisbet pointedly observes that at this juncture the Duke of Gloucester, who had been assigned such a bordure, had a bordure Argent substituted. The Beauforts were legitimated by Act of Parliament, apparently without restriction, but this was not the intention of the Crown, which, by a Warrant purporting to confirm the Act, excluded succession to the Crown, and thus the bordure compony came to be identified with a heraldic status of a person not entitled to succeed to the undifferenced arms so bastardised. With Queen Joan Beaufort, in and subsequent to 1420, this must have become pointedly marked in Scottish heraldry. Accordingly, with the few exceptions in which, for special reasons, the riband

sinister and baton continued to be assigned, the bordure compony was, as from the 15th century, the normal mark of illegitimacy.

It would be futile to argue the contrary, assuredly regarding matriculations differenced under the Act 1672, cap. 47, because to say it were not a mark of illegitimacy would be to import legitimacy to Charles II.'s bastards and to stultify the Royal Warrant in Lundin of Lundin, where the bordure was assigned on express ground of illegitimate descent, and was most solemnly and carefully carried through (Notes and Queries, 22nd November, 1940, *Heraldic Legitimation*). In these circumstances it appears to be there is no doubt that Patrick Douglas, Bailie of Morton, was adjudged by Lyon Court to be an illegitimate son of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig in the proceedings relative to the matriculation of 14th March, 1696.

The crescent chequy in the centre of the shield and in the crest referred, moreover, to the subsistence of a senior line descending from Patrick's eldest son, James, and confirms Mr Adams' supposition that Triamor, the second son, died young or had, at all events, no issue.

4. I next come to the matriculation of 30th May, 1772, at the instance of Archibald Douglas of Morton, which Mr Adams suggests was obtained without any evidence whatever. On p. 535 he refers to the information about a descent from Douglas of Morton, "having been accepted by the Heralds in 1772 without any apparent proofs and so entered in their books in spite of the fact that Archibald's father, Brig. Douglas of Morton, had matriculated the Drumlanrig arms," which he thinks "had been overlooked by the Heralds and unknown to Archibald." Again, he says, "the Heralds of 1851, no doubt believing that Archibald's information to be correct, naturally concluded that the Reverend Henry Douglas was descended also from the Lords of Dalkeith." He says again on p. 183 that Archibald Douglas the surgeon "consented to the Lyon Office describing his ancestry (as from Dalkeith) when that office allowed him, without any proof whatever, to matriculate the same arms as those used by the Whittinghame branch."

I have already pointed out that the processes of 1772 are missing, and we are not in a position to say what proof was led. It is understood that on the death on 22nd January, 1793, of the contemporary Lyon Clerk, James Cuming, who was also Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, there was great difficulty in recovering many of the documents of both the Lyon Office and of the Society of Antiquaries, which were at that date kept in the Lyon Clerk's house. It is, however, unjustifiable to say that no proof whatever was produced.

Moreover, Mr Adams has evidently not acquainted himself with Lyon Court procedure, or he would not be referring to what "the heralds" did or what was recorded in "the heralds' books" in either 1772 or 1851, and he would realise that what took place cannot be disregarded in the offhand manner he imagines. What actually took place was the hearing of a petition by Archibald Douglas in Lyon Court before the Lyon Depute, Robert Boswell, W.S., a well-known lawyer and cousin of Lord Auchinleck, the judge, and pursuant to a decree of Lyon Court, matriculation followed in the *Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland*. Similarly in 1850 the operative writ was a Warrant to Lyon Depute Fraser-Tytler, though in that case the writ was not a matriculation but Letters Patent, which one notes refers to "proofs having been adduced in 1772" though unfortunately we are not told of what these proofs were. Indeed the details were presumably not extant in 1851, for the reason above-mentioned. The Heralds had nothing to do with the matter, and it was not recorded in "the heralds' books."

Arms, moreover, were not exactly those of the House of Whittinghame, for which various coats are given in the older heraldic manuscripts, some of them with a field Ermine.

5. It occurred to me to consult the old 18th century cash ledger, which I find contains the following interesting entry:

1772, May 30th. The arms of Archibald Douglas of Morton, Esquire, son and heir of Colonel James Douglas in the Scots Foot Guards, whose arms are already recorded,

were, on account of particular circumstances, matriculated without fees.

At that period the Lord Lyon, Lyon Depute, Lyon Clerk, and Lyon Clerk Depute all, as in the English practice, got proportionate divisions of the fees of honour forming the profits of the Court, and there were additional charges for sealing, painting, etc. The Court at that date and down to 1867, when all fees became payable to the Treasury, was remunerated by the profits of the Court. It is evident that something very peculiar happened in May, 1772. The College of Arms in London and "heralds" in general are all too often criticised by thoughtless writers for venality and so forth, but any institution remunerated by profit arrests attention when it does something for which fees would ordinarily be exigible without charging any fees at all. A well-known lawyer sitting in judgment upon an application by an apparently impecunious country surgeon, who had been having unsuccessful legal proceedings against a peer, the Duke of Queensberry, and whose arms, after his matriculation of arms had already been on record on a warrant of Lord Lyon Erskine of Cambo, was hardly likely to give a gratuitous rematriculation "on account of particular circumstances" unless the circumstances adduced had been somewhat remarkable and convincing. The entry disposes of the supposition upon which both Mr Adams at p. 184 of his book and I myself had been proceeding, namely, that the matriculation of 1696 might have been overlooked or unknown to Archibald. On the contrary, we see it was very much in the knowledge of both the petitioner and Lyon Court, and the arms which had been matriculated for Archibald's father, Lt.-Col. James Douglas of the Scots Foot Guards, were, as Mr Adams states at p. 173, quite correct arms to matriculate. What, then, are we to assume were "the particular circumstances" which induced the Court to alter the arms, consistorial status and pedigree of the petitioner's family? My impression is that some sort of "proof," to which, indeed, the proceedings in 1852 Letters Patent incidentally allude, must have been adduced, and

looking to the step by step proofs of the descent, which agree perfectly in every respect with the 1696 matriculation, these proofs, I think, must have been of what we might call a very peculiar nature. I have been turning over in my mind the various possibilities which might reconcile these strange occurrences.

Since Archibald is now shown to have been quite aware of his father's matriculation (and even if he was not, as I think he must have been aware of its import, he would have been very quickly told about it when he came to the Lyon Office), it would seem that there was an impression in the family that he was somehow, and in the male line, really a descendant of the Dalkeith/Whittinghame line. I do not think the seal at p. 66 can really be regarded as of early 17th century date; it looks to me much more like mid-18th century work, and the date must, I think, be something other than 1611, perhaps 1721, though I should have thought it was later. I do not think, however, that these seals lead us anywhere, except that the arms with the motto SPERO are those of neither the Dalkeith nor the Drumlanrig Douglasses, and I think they are something supplied by a seal engraver. My impression is that Archibald must have come across some document, part of a document or allusion in an Inventory, record or process bearing on 16th century transactions, of which we otherwise know nothing, in relation to Patrick Douglas, the Bailie of Morton.

6. In this connection I examined Mr Adams' allusion to the name Patrick having come from his mother's family, the Douglasses of Angus, but an examination of the "Scots Peerage" does not, so far as I can see, provide an instance that could bear on the matter. On the other hand, the tree at p. 96 of Mr Adams' book certainly shows Patrick and Hugh as names in the house of Douglas of Borgue, descending from the second Laird of Dalkeith, and therefore names present in the Dalkeith pedigree, a point which we shall presently see has an almost sinister significance. A Patrick Douglas of Whittinghame in 1566 is referred to in M'Gibbon & Ross, *Castellated & Domestic Architecture*, but I have not yet traced him on record.

7. Reverting to the matrimonial affairs of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, Mr Adams at p. 28 deduces that Patrick Douglas, the Bailie of Morton, was born about 1527, which is noticeably about three years prior to 1530 (p. 40 *op. cit.*) when Lady Margaret had left her husband and he was trying to induce her to return (*Scots Peerage*, Vol. VII., p. 125). Since it was unnecessary, as in post-Reformation divorce cases, to take steps to get a spouse to return, we must assume that in 1530 Sir James was fond of his wife and was genuinely anxious to get her back. Looking to this, the Notarial Instrument of 20th December, 1530 (15th Report, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appx. VIII., p. 15, No. 15), regarding the Laird of Drumlanrig's efforts to get Lady Margaret to return to Drumlanrig is illuminating. Where, in order "to require her earnestly" to return, did he and the notary have to go in order to get "to the personal presence" of Lady Margaret? It was to "the dwelling house of Hugh Douglas, Burgess of Edinburgh." Looking to my previous observation about the names Patrick and Hugh being noticeably in the Dalkeith family, it is startling to find the absconding Lady Margaret being sought for in the dwelling house of a Hugh Douglas. I find from the Edinburgh Burgess Register that a Hugo Douglas was admitted burgess in 1515 in respect of Marion Broune, then his wife, and, whilst that may not necessarily be the Hugh Douglas, Burgess, of 1530, it is at least suggestive that Hugo was not himself of a burgess family and therefore possibly a scion of the Dalkeith family, though, of course, the whole history of Hugo and Hugh Douglas and documents regarding the subsequent life of Lady Margaret should be sought for, and would probably be found in some of the protocol books of Edinburgh or such-like, where Hugh presumably had a number of transactions recorded. If, however, as seems only too probable, it was to the company of Hugh Douglas, a member of the Dalkeith family, that Lady Margaret betook herself on leaving her husband, it may well be that she began asserting the fact or possibility that Patrick was not Drumlanrig's son but Hugh Douglas's, and certainly the fact that a Hugh

appears amongst Patrick's children suggests that he was brought up in friendship with some of the Dalkeith family, in which we find that name, indeed this is almost certain from his having been in infancy at the time Lady Margaret left her husband, and it seems betook herself to the dwelling house of Hugh Douglas. There may have been litigation or other documents by which she endeavoured to acquire a right in Hugh's fortune for the youthful Patrick, and if any documents of that sort, either in the Register of Deeds, Acts and Decrees of Council and Session, or Commissary Court of Edinburgh, came to the knowledge of Archibald Douglas, they may well have been the foundation of what was adduced to Lyon Depute Boswell in 1772 and what led him to give the new matriculation in the "particular circumstances" referred to, upon which no one seems to have been very anxious to condescend. Doubtless it was an unpleasant business, but, as we now see, there is at all events the possibility that something of that sort was at the root of what took place.

We cannot disregard the possibility that after the divorce (really annulment) of 1539, Lady Margaret may have married Hugh Douglas. In that case she may have thought it in Patrick's interest to put up some sort of claim that he was Hugh's son and not Sir James's. The doctrine of legitimation *per subsequens matrimonium* was then in its early and undefined stages, and one can see that she might have been endeavouring, subsequent to the annulment, to plead that Patrick should be received as the legitimated son of Hugh, though, as we observe, Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig maintained that he was Patrick's father. One can, however, see that in the circumstances there was room for legal altercation of the kind I have indicated, if Lady Margaret's intention was to endeavour to secure the Burgess's fortune for the child, who the annulment had deprived of succession to the Drumlanrig estates.

It is significant that a pedigree from the papers of Arundel of Barjarg was produced in support of what I call the Salwarpe petition of 1851 and set forth Patrick the Bailie as the son of Sir William Douglas, the progenitor of

Whittinghame, 1464-1474. I take it the Salwarpes had no access to Archibald Douglas the surgeon's papers, as they simply refer to his matriculation and resort to the Barjarg paper. Chronologically that cannot be right, because one or two generations would require to have intervened between William and Patrick. One wonders if the Barjarg pedigree was consecutive, or if it shows any hiatus. Any hiatus there was would have been just about the time of Sir James, Lady Margaret, and Hugh the burgess.

8. The next question is what are we now to believe, and, of course, questions like that occur even in modern jurisprudence, and there have been instances of such problems in current life, before Lyon Court, within the past twenty years. Nowadays a measure of certainty is obtainable with blood tests, but in earlier ages people had to proceed upon legal presumptions. It appears to me that Sir James stood out vigorously for possession of Patrick, and, however he may have been brought up, had got him back into the Drumlanrig fold by 1546-50, by which time, of course, he was of an age to be recovered from his mother.

Looking to what followed and that Lord Lyon Erskine in 1696 was in a position to have knowledge from old people comparatively near the date of the parties concerned, I feel we may take it that the implications of the matriculation of 1696 are correct and that Patrick was the son of Sir James, by his first marriage, and illegitimate by reason of its annulment, but that his paternity asserted by his father and acted upon by Lyon Court is such as admitted of no question.

We are, however, faced with the subsequent matriculation of 1772 which now appears to have behind it at least a perceivable ground in conduct and proceedings about which no doubt little was said or believed until Archibald Douglas for some reason raised the matter in 1772. I believe that the cause may well have been indignation with the Duke of Queensberry and the loss of the Morton estate, and that if Archibald came across any document bearing on claims about Dalkeith ancestry he might have been only too glad to seize the opportunity of believing this and using it to cut himself off from the Queensberry line. At all events the whole matter seems

now wrapt in a somewhat astonishingly sensational mystery connected with Lady Margaret Douglas's conduct.

9. The real problem at the moment is what should now be done in regard to matriculation of arms. The matriculation of 1696, which on the face of all the available evidence must, I think, be regarded as genealogically sound, has not been recalled, though beyond it has been superimposed the matriculation of 1772 with a different pedigree upon grounds which we can now perceive may not have been without a distressing sub-stratum of allegation. The grant to the Salwarpe line is a Letters Patent of 23rd March, 1852, with destination to descendants, and upon that patent, accordingly, little or nothing hangs. The vital question is whether the present petitioner, James Douglas, is to found upon the matriculation of 1772 or that of 1696, which indeed has been followed by Lord Lyon Grant in the latest instance, Mrs Hopper, holding that the descent is from an illegitimate line of Drumlanrig, and such illegitimacy is, as I have pointed out, regarded as of no social account in Scotland, where there are any number of highly placed families in that position. In Scottish society one is concerned with the illustriousness of ancestry far more than with the question of such legitimacy or illegitimacy, which was largely a matter of technical interpretation in the Middle Ages.

Lyon Depute Boswell, W.S., was a qualified lawyer, and his decisions are well-regarded, but I would rate decisions of Lord Lyon Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo much higher. He was one of the ablest Lyons, and in light of what now transpires, with its significant aura of mystery and sensation, I feel that his award of 1696 is that in which one feels a confidence of correctness. In the light of circumstances I think that matriculation ought to be followed, but I think the petitioner should now consider the matter in light of the interesting points which have emerged since 3rd November.

It may assist the members of the family concerned to assess the value of the different armorial bearings if I point out that in Scotland, as indeed accords with the views of the old English armorial writers, a grant of arms is an incorporeal *fief-annoblissant* and an ensign of nobility. It is particularly

related to the family as an institution, but the family itself is in most countries of Western Europe as a noble institution something arising out of or related to the tenure of *terre noble*. In different countries the family, and the noble family in particular, is differently constituted and has a different ambit. In England, I believe, the illegitimate sons and daughters are recorded as no part of the family and are given arms by Letters Patent upon Royal Licence. The very fact that a Royal Licence is introduced and that the arms bear to be those of the family seems to me to refute the modern doctrine of *filius nullius*.²

In Scotland the situation is completely different; the illegitimate child is regarded as a member of the family, and the purpose of the marks of illegitimacy is, as I have said, to indicate that such a branch is not in remainder to the Chiefship, estates or undifferenced arms, and it is important, where illegitimacy exists, that the proper mark should be included in the coat-of-arms, otherwise the evidential value of Heraldry in matters of succession, i.e., tombstones, stained glass windows, etc., would be weakened, if not rendered completely valueless.

In Scotland, however, and, moreover, in France, the illegitimate child was not treated as *filius nullius*, indeed quite a different form of arms was employed in the early Middle Ages for the bastard child of a noble woman or the child of a noble woman by a non-armigerous husband. Even the name "bastard," later on used as a description of all illegitimate children, whether *fili bastardi* or *fili naturali*,³

² *Filius nullius*. If there has been no marriage there is no legal presumption of paternity at all, and a bastard is therefore regarded in England as the son of no father.

³ *Filius naturalis*. The suggestion put forward here is that the "natural" son, in the sense of illegitimate, was probably in many cases the issue of a hand-fast or other union unrecognised by Canon or Lowland law, whereas the bastard son was completely illegitimate under both Canon and Lowland law, and also under Celtic custom. This custom was struck at in 1609 by what are termed the Statutes of Iona, but it continued for at least two more centuries amongst the local inhabitants. The practice formerly extended much further east.

was not regarded as opprobrious, and one finds in old Scottish family histories, such as those of the Leslies, that the sub-cadet houses derived from illegitimate sons are described as first, second, third, and fourth bastard of this or that great house. Similarly the word was used both in Scotland and on the Continent almost as a courtesy title, e.g., "Bastard of Foix" (son of the Count of Foix) and the "Grand Bastard of Burgundy," who was a very important political personage. One has to recollect that there was no stigma attached to the position.

In Scotland, where, owing to the practice of handfast marriage for a year and a day, there was a very considerable amount of technical illegitimacy, there are a number of county and peerage families with bastardised arms. Nobody thinks anything about it, and in a number of cases they are, from the nature of the decorative bordure compony, some of the best-looking coats in Scottish Heraldry. The importance in Scotland, as I have already pointed out, attaches to the illustriousness of the lineage, not to whether it was legitimate.

The Lord Lyon assigned for difference a bordure parted per pale, dexter compony Gules and Argent, sinister Ermine charged with three cross-crosslets fitchee Sable and two mullets Gules alternately.

ARTICLE 4.

The Burghs of Dumfriesshire and Galloway: Their Origin and Status.

By G. S. PRYDE.

From first to last we have evidence of 48 burghs in the south-western region of Scotland, and their location, as is the case with other parts of the kingdom, was determined by a wide variety of factors — geographic, strategic, political, economic, and even, latterly, demographic.

In the early period, stretching from the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century, the military element is dominant, for ten of the eleven burghs (that is, excluding only the one ecclesiastical burgh) were closely associated with castles, under whose protective shadow, so to speak, they began and developed; other considerations, such as the fostering of commerce or administrative convenience, were present, but seem to have been incidental and secondary.

During the middle period of some 300 years, lasting from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, the proximity of a castle is a matter of diminishing significance, and it may be said to disappear with the Reformation. Instead, baronial ambition and the spirit of emulation become leading motives in the foundation of the 30 burghs of the period; sometimes, but by no means invariably, the aims of the founders and superiors are allied with, or prompted by, ideas about a convenient seaport or a promising marketing centre. Questions of tenure and status, carrying with them distinctive privileges, are now of paramount importance to the burghs.

In modern times, say, during the past two hundred years, the emergence of seven new burghs, and the survival of twelve of the older foundations, have been due very largely to economic causes in the widest sense — including the desirability of a substantial residential population to serve as the human basis for a viable municipality.

Throughout recorded history the geography of the region has imposed a pattern on the burghal, as on every other, aspect of the life of the people. In particular the valleys of the greater rivers have always, and naturally, attracted settlements, and this has left the intervening moors and hills sparsely peopled; and, whether considered as lines of communication or as barriers to traffic that must somehow be crossed, the rivers themselves have governed the location of most castles, monasteries, market towns and burghs.

The nature of the evidence for the foundation or existence of the burghs varies likewise from time to time. Among the early burghs, only Whithorn can point to a surviving charter of erection; our first notice of the other ten is derived from casual references in charters preserved in the ecclesiastical chartularies, in parliamentary records, in Exchequer rolls, in English archives, or elsewhere. This kind of evidence, though it is limited in that several unlucky burghs may have escaped the passing reference accorded to others, is of considerable value, for its very casualness is a guarantee of authenticity; there is here no suspicion of ulterior motives, no possibility of empty legal verbiage.

In the middle period our basic sources are the charters of erection of new burghs, printed in the *Great Seal Register*, the *Acts of Parliament*, and other collections, but, from the seventeenth century, these can be both checked and supplemented by not only the old type of incidental reference, but also by a new category of evidence. This is the geographical description, which, deriving from the revived study of cartography on the Continent in the sixteenth century, was to culminate in Scotland in the compilation of the *Old Statistical Account* (1790-98). It is fortunate that such checks are available, for it is worth remembering that the grant by charter of defined privileges may be permissive rather than mandatory, that a quest for baronial prestige rather than a desire to meet economic needs may underlie a nominal "erection," and that not all planning, or even inoperative planning, belongs to the twentieth century.

For modern times, and especially since 1790, our materials are detailed, comprehensive and reliable.

Dumfries.

Appropriately, indeed almost inevitably, the first burgh of the south-west is Dumfries, with its castle, its sea-port, its river crossing, and with fertile Nithsdale behind it. The foundation of the burgh is clearly part of the advance during William's reign of the characteristic feudal device of linked castle, burgh and sheriffdom; Lanark having been secured, probably at an earlier date,¹ the royal power moved forward to Dumfries and Ayr as strongholds planned to "contain" the turbulent region of Galloway, then stretching north to include Carrick.² Gilbert, lord of Galloway, having died in 1185 and been succeeded by Roland, son of Uchtred, the king's castle³ and burgh⁴ of Dumfries appear almost at once in the records; and, from the witness clauses of charters of the 1180's and from chronicle evidence, George Neilson, in a masterly essay which might serve as a model for local historical research, showed that the emergence of the burgh of Dumfries can be confidently assigned to July or August, 1186.⁵

The burgh's later history is well documented. We hear of the market in a charter of 1194 x 1214,⁶ of the first

¹ Though it is true that William's charter to Melrose (1188 x 1199) first uses the words *in burgo meo de Lanarc* (*Lib. de Melros*, i., 68), that king also confirmed to Kelso, as gifts of David I., tofts in Jedburgh and Lanark, as well as in five other towns, each of which certainly was (though none is described as) a "king's burgh": *Lib. de Calchou*, i., 13.

² Cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia* (1824), iii., 452; Sir H. Maxwell, *Dumfries and Galloway* (1896), 56; D. Murray, *Early Burgh Organisation* (1924-32), ii., 340.

³ J. Barbour, "The Castle of Dumfries," in *D. and G. Trans.*, xviii. (1905-06), 48-93; G. Neilson, "On Some Burghal Origins," in *Jurid. Rev.*, xiv., 129-40.

⁴ The words *in ipso burgo* occur in a grant of 1178 x 1188: *Lib. de Calchou*, ii., 317; and cf. *ib.*, i., 11, 15; ii., 260. Cf. J. Cairns, "Some Old Documents relating to Dumfries," in *D. and G. Trans.*, ix. (1892-93), 99-107.

⁵ "Dumfries: Its Burghal Origin," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., ii. (1913-14), 157-76.

⁶ Fraser, *Annandale Family Book* (1894), i., p. 2.

named burghess in 1215,⁷ and of the local court of justice during Alexander III.'s reign, when the trial of Richard for the slaughter of Adam the miller was held in the castle before the king's bailies, with a mixed assize or jury of barons and burghesses.⁸ Alone of the mediæval burghs of the south-west, Dumfries was from the start, and remained throughout, a king's burgh and much the largest and most important town of the region. Included among the 17 burghs which, in General Council at Edinburgh, appointed commissioners to treat with the English Council anent David's ransom (26 September, 1357),⁹ and taxed for the *contribucio* for that purpose in the years 1366-74,¹⁰ it obtained, as *burgus noster*, a feu-ferme charter from Robert III. on 28 April, 1395, undertaking to pay £20 *per annum* and holding its privileges and properties *sicut aliquis burgus infra regnum nostrum*.¹¹ Its first recorded appearance in full Parliament dates to 1469,¹² it figures in the first complete stent-roll of the burghs (1535),¹³ and its commissioner (the only one from the south-west) was present at the first regularly minuted meeting of the Convention of Royal Burghs, in 1552.¹⁴

⁷ He was Henry de Wytwele: *Lib. de Calchou*, ii., 266. For the *firma burgi* in Alexander III.'s reign, see *Rotuli Scot.*, i., 13, and for the burgh in 1288, *Exch. Rolls*, i., 35.

⁸ *A.P.S.*, i., 97-8; Lord Cooper, *Select Scottish Cases of the Thirteenth Century* (1944), no. 42. W. McDowall, *Hist. of Dumfries* (1867), 49-50, wrongly attributes this case to the reign of Malcolm IV.

⁹ *A.P.S.*, i., 517.

¹⁰ *Exch. Rolls*, ii., 257, 342, 354, 432; Dumfries at this time ranked from 13th to 18th out of 28-39 burghs.

¹¹ *R.M.S.*, i., App. i., 153. An imperfect copy of the charter is printed in McDowall, *Hist. of Dumfries*, 140-1.

¹² *A.P.S.*, ii., 93.

¹³ Out of 42 burghs, Dumfries was at this time ranked twelfth—well ahead of the three other south-western burghs that contributed (Kirkcudbright, Wigtown and Whithorn): *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, i., 514-15. By 1683, Dumfries stood eleventh out of 65 burghs: *ib.*, iv., 40; cf. *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 329. In 1705, it was actually sixth, and from 1718 seventh, on the stent-roll: *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, iv., 371; v., 196-7.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, i., 1.

Urr.

It is surprising in the light of later developments that the second burgh of the south-west should be, not one of the remaining county towns, but Urr, in Kirkcudbrightshire. And yet, in its proper historical context, this development is entirely natural. The mote of Urr, one of the largest known, and enjoying an "almost unique" defensive site as "an island surrounded by the river on all sides,"¹⁵ is perhaps the most striking witness to the impact of Anglo-Norman military organisation on Galloway. Mr R. C. Reid has shown that its builder was in all probability Walter de Berkeley, chamberlain of Scotland during the early part of William the Lion's reign, and that it passed from him, through a daughter married to Ingelram de Baliol, to Eustace de Baliol, who owned it in the middle years of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Now, on 2 September, 1262, Eustace de Baliol confirmed to Holyrood Uchtred of Galloway's grant to the canons of two churches in Urr parish, and the charter was witnessed by Adam Clerk and Hugo Sprot, described as *burgenses de Hur*.¹⁷ Though two local writers¹⁸ have noticed in passing the name of the second burgess, no one has drawn attention to the major fact, that Urr presents a perfect example of the early baronial burgh linked to a powerful castle of the Norman type.

It may be surmised that the ancient burgh stood at the nearby farm known in later days as Town of Urr, on the west bank of the modern channel of the river. Unfortunately, however, we have only this one tantalising reference to the burgh; the barony can be traced through Baliols and Percys, Randolphs and Buttergasks, Umfravilles and Mowbrays, to its

¹⁵ R. C. Reid, "Mote of Urr," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xi. (1923-24), 204. P. H. McKerlie, *Lands and their Owners in Galloway* (1870-79), v., 331, gives a sketch of the Mote and cites Grose's opinion that it was "the largest of the kind in Scotland." Grose's engraving is in D. Frew, *Parish of Urr* (1909), facing p. 6.

¹⁶ "Mote of Urr," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xxi. (1936-38), 11-19.

¹⁷ *Lib. S. Crucis*, 69-70. For Uchtred's original grant, *ib.*, 19; and for confirmations, *ib.*, 41-2, 55, 58-62, 68.

¹⁸ McKerlie, *op. cit.*, v., 286, 332; Frew, *op. cit.*, 211.

Herries-Maxwell destination,¹⁹ but the silence as to the burgh is complete. It must have lapsed at an early date, to become one of the many "ghost towns" of mediæval Scotland.

Wigtown.

The emergence of Wigtown conforms to the normal pattern of linked castle, burgh and sheriffdom. Its little castle,²⁰ probably built of stone,²¹ was, along with those of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, in English hands by 1291.²² The sheriffdom of Wigtown appears at the time of the Largs campaign,²³ and it was recognised as such by Edward I. in 1296.²⁴ In 1292, also, Edward I. ordered the delivery to King John of letters from the burgesses of 18 burghs quitting the Crown of any debts owed to themselves *ad certum tempus in litteris contentum*, and the inclusion of Wigtown proves that it was a burgh holding from the Crown prior to 1292.²⁵ The *prepositi* of the burgh accounted in Exchequer for the burgh ferme of £20 in 1330-31, and the royal or great custom, collected there for the same period, is the first such payment recorded for the south-west.²⁶

Ten years later Wigtown became one of the numerous²⁷ burghs of the Crown "mediatised" (to use the English

¹⁹ R. C. Reid, in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xxi. (1936-38), 19-26. For the farm of Town of Urr, see McKerlie, *op. cit.*, v., 328-9.

²⁰ G. Neilson, in *Jurid. Review*, xiv., 137.

²¹ R. C. Reid, "Some Notes on Pre-Reformation Wigtown," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xii. (1924-25), 241-2.

²² Cf. W. Mackenzie, *Hist. of Galloway* (1841), i., 194. For the expenses of the English *custodes* during this and the following years, see J. Stevenson, *Documents illustrative of Hist. of Scot.* (1870), i., nos. cliv., clxxii., clxxxi., ccviii., ccxiii., ccxvii.; cf. McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iv., 165-6; Maxwell, *Dumfries and Galloway*, 101. The surrender of the castles to King John was ordered in November, 1292: *Rotuli Scot.*, i., 11-12.

²³ *Sheriff Court Book of Fife* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), 362.

²⁴ *Rotuli Scot.*, i., 25.

²⁵ *A.P.S.*, i., 115-16.

²⁶ *Exch. Rolls*, i., 303, 316.

²⁷ Fourteen in all—Renfrew, Haddington, Crail, Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, Jedburgh, Dingwall, Cromarty, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and Fyvie.

term) to a subject superior, apparently without loss of status or privilege. In 1341 David II. gave Sir Malcolm Fleming, in free earldom and regality, all the Crown lands in Wigtownshire *et totum burgum nostrum de Wigtoun*; the condition attached to the grant is highly significant — *quod burgenses sui de Wigtoun easdem libertates in omnibus nostrorum regum Scotie*.²⁸ The transaction offers no difficulty of itself, though historians have gratuitously created them by transporting into this context the anachronistic terms of "royal burgh" and "burgh of regality." The burgesses lost nothing by the change.

In February, 1371-2, the second Fleming earl sold his whole rights in the earldom to Archibald Douglas, who, as lord of Galloway, was already in possession of Upper Galloway (beyond the Cree), and the sale was confirmed by Parliament in October of the same year.²⁹ Meanwhile, in April of this year, Sir James de Lyndesay, the king's nephew, got a royal charter of the lands of the lordship of Wigtown, *una cum burgo ejusdem*,³⁰ thus either the Douglas purchase embraced only the title and not actual possession of the lands,³¹ or it was with Douglas's consent that the grant was made to Lyndesay. In the long run, earldom, lands and burgh all came to the Douglasses, for in 1451 the earldom was confirmed to William, earl of Douglas, *cum turre et burgo de Wigtone*, as freely as they had been held by the fourth and fifth earls (1400-39).³² There is doubt as to whether Douglas, faced by the rising power of the Agnews in the sheriffdom, was

²⁸ *R.M.S.*, i., App. i., 119; *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no. 3 (where the date of a transumpt is erroneously given as 1343); R. C. Reid, "Some Notes on Pre-Reformation Wigtown," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xii. (1924-25), 240.

²⁹ *Douglas Book*, iii., no. 327, pp. 396-7; *Wigtown Charter Chest*, nos. 7, 30; *A.P.S.*, i., 560-1; *Scots Peerage*, viii., 523; Maxwell, *Dumfries and Galloway*, 117-18.

³⁰ *R.M.S.*, i., 414, 527.

³¹ As is suggested by Mr Reid, *loc. cit.*, 241.

³² *R.M.S.*, ii., 503; *A.P.S.*, ii., 72.

able to make good his claim to the earldom at this time,³³ but the forfeiture of 1455 settled the matter by bringing the burgh back to dependence on the Crown, to which, from 1456, it was again accounting for its burgh ferme.³⁴ A royal charter of 1457 regularised its status,³⁵ and it was represented in Parliament from 1469³⁶ and in Convention of Royal Burghs from 1575.³⁷

Annan and Lochmaben.

The two chief towns of Annandale, each sheltering under its castle, emerge as burghs in 1296, when their rents were due to the Bruces.³⁸ The question whether, after 1306, they are to be regarded as royal burghs³⁹ does not arise, since there were no such institutions at this time. What is certain is that the two burghs passed, some time after 1314, with Annandale in regality to Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray.⁴⁰ From soon after the renewal of war in 1332, however, the English were in control of the whole region,⁴¹ and its recovery in 1385 by Archibald the Grim⁴² leaves us guessing about

³³ Dr. Dunlop has adduced evidence to show that the earldom was not in fact restored: A. I. Dunlop, *Life and Times of James Kennedy* (1950), 131-2, 142-3.

³⁴ *Exch. Rolls*, vi., 195; from 1457-58 the burgh fermes by feu-charter amounted to £20 per annum: *ib.*, 405.

³⁵ *Munic. Corp. Comm. Loc. Repts.*, ii., 439.

³⁶ *A.P.S.*, ii., 93.

³⁷ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, i., 37, 41.

³⁸ Bain, *Cal. of Docs.*, ii., 826.

³⁹ As is asserted in McDowall, *Hist. of Dumfries*, 47-8.

⁴⁰ G. Neilson, "The Burghs of Annandale," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., iii. (1914-15), 57-76. In an earlier work—*Annandale under the Bruces* (1887), 26—Neilson had written that Annan in the thirteenth century possessed a town clerk and constable; but this curious statement must be treated as a youthful error that was not repeated by this careful writer in his more mature work.

⁴¹ Cf. G. Neilson, "Old Annan," in *D. and G. Trans.*, xi. (1894-95), 169-70, and references to Bain's documents there cited. Lochmaben Castle (*pelum*) and Annandale were obtained by Henry de Percy in 1333 (from Edward Baliol) and resigned to Edward III. in exchange for Jedburgh in 1334: *Percy Chartulary* (Surtees Soc., 1911), nos. mlxv., mlxix., mlxx., pp. 448-51.

⁴² Neilson, "Old Annan," *loc. cit.*, 170.

the burghs, though it seems likely that for over fifty years they were Douglas burghs. In 1411, it is recorded, Archibald, earl of Douglas, lord of Galloway and Annandale, held the justice ayre of Annandale "at the toun of Louchmabane."⁴³

After the Black Dinner in 1440 the fief of Annandale fell into the hands of the Crown, and before long it was the king's justiciar, not Douglas, who was holding a justice court at Lochmaben.⁴⁴ The new status of this burgh is clearly established by the fact that it was paying its burgh ferme in Exchequer by 1447,⁴⁵ so that its elevation may fairly be dated to 1440. We read of the bailie of the burgh giving sasine in 1456,⁴⁶ and before very long there is mention of the market cross,⁴⁷ of the community and its seal,⁴⁸ and of the Tolbooth.⁴⁹

Annan's recovery was slower, perhaps because of its greater exposure to English attack and the destruction of its castle. Its earliest surviving charter is of 1 March, 1538-9, when, to make good the loss of its ancient muniments by war and fire, the King of new granted Annan *in burgum liberum* to the burgesses and inhabitants, with all the now usual privileges of a royal burgh;⁵⁰ but in 1914 George Neilson cited a private document as proof that the town was a royal burgh by 1532.⁵¹ The two Annandale burghs sought admis-

⁴³ *Douglas Book*, iii., no. 363, pp. 409-10; *Drumlanrig MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm., 15th Report, part viii., 1897), no. 110, p. 56; cf. R. C. Reid, "Some Early Dumfriesshire Charters," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xxii. (1938-39), 86.

⁴⁴ Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 143 n. l., 152.

⁴⁵ *Exch. Rolls*, ix., 660.

⁴⁶ *Annandale MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm., 15th Rept., pt. ix., 1897), no. 4, p. 10.

⁴⁷ In 1486 and again in 1545: *ib.*, nos. 8, 26, pp. 12, 19-20.

⁴⁸ In 1534: *ib.*, no. 18, p. 15; cf. no. 102, p. 44.

⁴⁹ Twice in 1563: *Drumlanrig MSS.*, no. 125, p. 62.

⁵⁰ *R.M.S.*, iii., 1919. A translation of the Latin abstract is given by E. J. Chinnock, "Charters granted to Annan," in *D. and G. Trans.*, xx. (1907-08), 177-8.

⁵¹ In "The Burghs of Annandale," (*ut cit.*), 66.

sion to the Convention in 1604,⁵² and were duly enrolled in the following year;⁵³ their first recorded appearance in Parliament was in 1612.⁵⁴

Staplegorton.

The next burgh in the record takes us to the eastern extremity of the region. In 1320 Robert I. granted Sir James Douglas the barony of Staplegorton, in Eskdale, in *adeo liberum burgum sicut temporibus predecessorum nostrorum regum Scocie haberi consuevit et in liberam baroniam*.⁵⁵ The barony had been resigned by John de Lyndesay, canon of Glasgow,⁵⁶ whose grandfather, Sir John de Lyndesay, chamberlain of Scotland, had received it from Alexander III., apparently in 1285;⁵⁷ and, since a confirmation of the Douglas grant given in 1321 applies to Staplegorton the words *prout teneri solebant tempore bone memorie regis Alexandri ultimo defuncti*,⁵⁸ it may well be that the burgh too should be dated back to 1285. Later (presumably in David II.'s reign) Hugh de Douglas, brother of the good Sir James, gave the barony of Staplegorton to William de Douglas of Lothian *cum libero burgo tallagio et custuma*.⁵⁹ Much later there is one further and fleeting reference to the ancient burgh. On 27 July, 1532, there were apprised and sold to Robert, lord Maxwell, wide tracts of land in Eskdale, including rents of 20 shillings *integri burgi de Stabiltgortoun*, formerly belonging to John Armstrang and John Glendinwin

⁵² The magistrates of Annan explained that they had hitherto been unable to keep Conventions "because of the grit reiffis and oppressions," but now, under the Union of the Crowns, "thay hoipit in quyetnes to posses thair said brugh with all liberteis belanging to ane fre brugh": *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, ii., 178.

⁵³ *Ib.*, 199, 205-6. The charter produced by Annan in support of its claim was that of 1539.

⁵⁴ *A.P.S.*, iv., 467.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Hon. de Morton* (Bannatyne Club, 1853), ii., nos. 25, 26, pp. 18-19; *Douglas Book*, iii., no. 12, p. 10.

⁵⁶ *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, ii., no. 24, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁷ J. and R. Hyslop, *Langholm as it was* (1912), 194, 202, 257.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, ii., no. 28, p. 21.

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, ii., no. 115, pp. 90-1.

of Belholme.⁶⁰ Thereafter, the burgh disappears from view.

Staplegorton, sheltering under the castle of Barntalloch, conforms to the type of feudal burgh, but has attracted very little notice. George Chalmers, writing, of course, long before the Morton Register was available, nevertheless, like the sound antiquary that he was, had something to contribute to the subject. He notes that the burgh, with its yearly fair, rose near the castle, and that a nearby tract of land still bore "the name of *the borough roods of Staplegorton*."⁶¹ The old parish of Staplegorton was suppressed in 1703, part going to Westerkirk, part to the new parish of Langholm;⁶² but, though Langholm has its local historians, the voluminous work of the Hyslops does no more for Staplegorton than to repeat Chalmers's information,⁶³ while other writers are silent on this point.

Buittle.

Yet another ghost town makes its appearance on 24 February, 1324-5, when Robert I. granted Sir James Douglas, his greatly favoured captain, most of the lands or parish of Buittle *in liberam . . . baroniam . . . cum . . . libertate burgi, wrecko maris cum ancoragiis portuum et libertatibus eisdem pertinentibus*.⁶⁴ Buittle castle stood on the west bank of the Urr, some two miles below Mote of Urr,⁶⁵ and the words of the charter prove that the burgh was a river-port.

Mr Reid has shown that the probable builder of the castle was John de Baliol (at some date between 1234 and

⁶⁰ *R.M.S.*, iii., 1199.

⁶¹ Chalmers derived "Staple" from the fair, as being "the usual mart of the district": *Caledonia*, iii., 200 and note (v.).

⁶² Hyslops, *op. cit.*, 455.

⁶³ *Ib.*, 192, 195.

⁶⁴ *Douglas Book*, iii., no. 15, pp. 12-13. Slightly different versions of the charter are printed in *R.M.S.*, i., App. i., 37 (which has *wreckis maris*), and in *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, ii., no. 32, pp. 23-5 (which has *Vrecko maris*).

⁶⁵ *N.S.A. Kirkcudbright*, 203; McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iii., 239.

1269), that he may have resided there, that his widow, Devorguilla, certainly did, that it was "levelled to the ground" in 1313, that the Douglasses could not have long enjoyed their gift, for the real lord of Galloway from 1332 until 1363 was Edward Baliol, and that effective Douglas rule did not begin again until 1369.⁶⁶ In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the nominal Douglas burgh, alongside the old ruined "family seat" of the Baliols,⁶⁷ did not survive; later Douglas deeds mention the barony, the lands, even the demolished *castellum*, of Buittle, but not the burgh.⁶⁸

Whithorn.

The first of the two ecclesiastical burghs of the region (both in Wigtownshire) appears in the record on 20 May, 1325, when Robert I. granted and confirmed to the prior and convent of Candida Casa the Clachan of Whithorn in *liberum burgum . . . cum die fori singulis septimanis et die nundinarum semel in anno*.⁶⁹ The Commissioners of 1835, who were often strangely ill-informed on the antecedents of the burghs on which they reported, wrote that Whithorn appears to have been erected a royal burgh by Robert I.,⁷⁰ and this double error recurs among local historians, including McKerlie, who certainly ought to have known better.⁷¹ Its status as an ecclesiastical burgh until 1511 is clear beyond dispute, but there is a matter of contingent interest that is less obvious. Nine of the thirteen episcopal sees were based on mediæval burghs; and to seven of these Scottish usage in the middle ages accorded the title of "city"—to St.

⁶⁶ R. C. Reid, "Buittle Castle," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xi. (1923-24), 197-204.

⁶⁷ Cf. Mackenzie, *Hist. of Galloway*, i., 300.

⁶⁸ For deeds of 1367 and 1407 relating to Buittle, see *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, ii., no. 83, p. 64, and nos. 215, 216, pp. 203-5. The *castellum* was still *capitale messuagium . . . terrarum de Butill* in 1441: *ib.*, no. 220, p. 210.

⁶⁹ *R.M.S.*, i., App. i., 20.

⁷⁰ *Munic. Corp. Comm. Local Repts.*, ii., 429.

⁷¹ *Lands and Owners*, i., 472-3. The statement is implicitly refuted by McKerlie himself in his later citation of the 1325 charter: *ib.*, ii., 420.

Andrews and Glasgow from the twelfth century, and to Dunblane, Dunkeld, Brechin, Old Aberdeen, and Kirkwall rather later. Now, each of these seven was a bishop's burgh, and the denial of the title to the other two is in all probability due to the fact that Whithorn held from the prior and Elgin from the king.⁷²

Kirkcudbright.

Although the royal castle of Kirkcudbright is noticed in 1288, when John Comyn, sheriff of Wigtown, was its *custos*,⁷³ the first record of the burgh comes with the accounting in Exchequer for the burgh fermes of the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, 1330.⁷⁴ In 1369, over two years before his acquisition of rights over Wigtownshire, or Lower Galloway, Archibald Douglas had already secured Upper Galloway, between Cree and Dee,⁷⁵ and was accordingly denominated lord of Galloway. Though no charter evidence survives on the point, it seems certain that Kirkcudbright became and remained a Douglas burgh until the forfeiture of 1455; there is, however, no need to follow Chalmers (as do most local writers) in applying to it the anachronistic term of "burgh of regality."⁷⁶ On 26 October, 1455, a royal charter conveyed to Kirkcudbright the distinctive privileges of "ane free burgh,"⁷⁷ and it was represented in Parliament in 1469⁷⁸ and in the Convention in 1574.⁷⁹

⁷² See the writer's "The City of Glasgow," in *College Courant*, vol. ii., no. 3 (Martinmas, 1949), 26-33.

⁷³ *Exch. Rolls*, i., 39.

⁷⁴ *Ib.*, 303.

⁷⁵ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 242, 268; McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iv., 166.

⁷⁶ *Caledonia*, iii., 275; Mackenzie, *Hist. of Galloway*, i., 385-6; Maxwell, *Dumfries and Galloway*, 141; G. O. Elder, *Kirkcudbright* (1898), 13-14. See also G. Burnett, in *Exch. Rolls*, vi., cx.-cxi.

⁷⁷ It was confirmed by a charter of 20 July, 1633, which conveyed the burgh "in frie burghes royall" and was in turn ratified by an Act of 1641: *A.P.S.*, v., 437-8. For the 1455 grant, cf. *Munic. Corp. Comm. Local Repts.*, ii., 167, and *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Rept. (1874), 539.

⁷⁸ *A.P.S.*, ii., 93.

⁷⁹ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, i., 25.

Sanquhar.

The barony of Sanquhar in Upper Nithsdale was confirmed by Robert I., between 1315 and 1321, half to Richard Edgar (with the *capitale manerium*), half to William de Crechton;⁸⁰ the silence of this deed as to any burgh there makes it hard to accept the tradition, favoured and repeated by local writers, that its founder was Bruce,⁸¹ and naturally makes utterly implausible the mere surmise that it owed its privileges to William the Lion.⁸² It is, however, beyond doubt that Sanquhar was a baronial burgh by 1335, already, in all probability, depending upon its historic superiors, the Crichtons, lairds of Sanquhar; for Eustace de Makeswelle, Edward III.'s sheriff of Dumfries, in presenting his accounts for the year from October, 1335, entered nothing for William de Creghton's half of the barony of Sanquhar and for Thomas Dikeson's five burgages in that town, both being in the king's hands through forfeiture (i.e., for adherence to the Scottish cause), but both holdings also being waste.⁸³ This is the only glimpse we get of the burgh prior to the charter of 1484, but it is sufficient to establish its existence and status as a fourteenth century baronial burgh.

Innermessan.

For the next of the truly ancient burghs we must go to the opposite end of the region and wait for nearly a century: the pause is due simply to the vagaries of the survival of evidence. Above the south-eastern shore of Loch Ryan stood an earthen mound or mote, identified as the site of

⁸⁰ *R.M.S.*, i., 27; cf. *Scots Peerage*, iii., 53.

⁸¹ J. Brown, *Hist. of Sanquhar* (1891), 155; W. McMillan, "Arms of the Royal Burgh of Sanquhar," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., iii. (1914-15), 78-9, 81.

⁸² T. Wilson, "Notes upon the History of Sanquhar," in *Dumf. and Gall. Notes and Queries*, i. (1911-12), 184.

⁸³ Bain, *Cal. of Docs.*, iii., p. 318. Attention was drawn to this evidence by the Rev. W. McMillan, *loc. cit.*, 80, where, however, the sense of the passage is obscured through the misprinting of "fine" for "five."

the Roman settlement of Rerigonium,⁸⁴ and possessed "beyond all memory of man," in the words of the family historian, by the Agnews of Lochnaw.⁸⁵ Under the walls of the Agnew fortalice arose a town or village, which was, says Andrew Symson, writing in 1684, "of old the most considerable place in the rinds of Galloway, and the greatest town there about, till Stranrauer was built."⁸⁶ We are apprised of the existence of the burgh by a deed dated 14 October, 1426, confirmed by a Great Seal charter of 1 February, 1430-1, by which two burgesses conveyed to Andrew Agnew their right to the mill of Innermessan, with its toft and croft; the seals appended included that of Sir Alexander Cambel, laird of Corswall and provost of the burgh.⁸⁷ Again, this is our only scrap of evidence for the mediæval burgh, though, as we shall see, Innermessan, unlike the other ghost towns, survived into the seventeenth century.

The Ancient Burghs.

If we pause to consider the eleven ancient burghs of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, it is noteworthy that the three in Wigtownshire occupied sites convenient to the sea, whereas the other eight were all located in river valleys; in both respects these were human responses to the geographical character of the areas involved. Again, only one, Dumfries, was throughout the period a Crown burgh, and another, Whithorn, an ecclesiastical burgh; five were baronial (Urr, Staplegorton, Buittle, Sanquhar, and Innermessan); and the remaining four (Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Annan, and Lochmaben) occupied an intermediate position between Crown and baronage, moving freely from one tenure to another in an age when tenure did not determine burghal privilege.

⁸⁴ *N.S.A.*, *Wigtown*, 86-7.

⁸⁵ Sir A. Agnew, *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway* (1893 edn.), i., 241; cf. J. Fergusson, "Galloway and her Feudal Sheriffs," in *Scottish Review*, xxii. (1893), 115-20.

⁸⁶ "Large Description of Galloway," in *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), ii., 92; cf. McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, i., 134.

⁸⁷ *R.M.S.*, ii., 185; Agnew, *op. cit.*, i., 242; ii., 243.

Royal Burghs and Burghs of Barony.

This state of affairs was gradually altered with the introduction of new distinctions and classifications, marked by the use of new terms, in the fifteenth century. The first Scottish document referring to *burgus regalis* or "royal burgh" is the charter of 1401 to Rothesay.⁸⁸ Very slowly the older forms, *burgus domini regis*, *burgus infra regnum Scocie*, and others, gave way, and only with the erection in 1517 of Auchtermuchty⁸⁹ do the charters of erection or novodamus regularly use the new term. The second category of burgh was taking shape and definition at the same time. A charter of 1401 erected Dalkeith *in liberum burgum baronie*, though it is noteworthy that the same deed speaks of *burgi baronum*;⁹⁰ in 1445 Nairn, Forres, and Elgin, then held by the earls of Ross and Moray, are called by the king *burgi baroniarum vestrarum seu regalitatum* (in contradistinction to *burgi nostri*);⁹¹ and in 1446 an inquest at Prestwick uses the form *burgus infra baroniam* in a generic sense.⁹² In 1450 there begins, with the charter to Strathaven,⁹³ the very large number of erections *in liberum burgum in baronia*.⁹⁴

The charters to the royal burghs gave the burgesses and inhabitants the right to hold the burgh from the Crown and to elect their own magistrates, as well as economic privileges; even more distinctive, however, were the gains which they, together with a few of the older and larger Church burghs, were making in the constitutional and commercial spheres. From 1357, and more especially from 1424, these burghs had the right and duty of representation in Parliament, and, by

⁸⁸ *S.H.R.*, xxix., 68-9; also a poor print in J. E. Reid, *Hist. of County of Bute* (1864), 257-8.

⁸⁹ *R.M.S.*, iii., 168.

⁹⁰ *Reg. Hon. de Morton*, ii., no. 209, p. 198.

⁹¹ *Reg. Episc. Morav.* (Bann. Club, 1837), 220-1.

⁹² *Burgh Recs. of Prestwick* (Mait. Club, 1834), 114.

⁹³ *R.M.S.*, ii., 340.

⁹⁴ *Burgus in baronia* gradually gave way, from the years 1588-1600, to *burgus baronie*; A. Ballard, "Theory of the Scottish Burgh," in *S.H.R.*, xiii., 21.

a series of advances that culminated in a statute dated as late as 1633,⁹⁵ they obtained the monopoly of foreign trade. By contrast, the burghs of barony, through their overlords (to whom the Crown grants were made), secured limited and very nearly uniform⁹⁶ chartered rights—those of buying and selling wine, wax, cloth, and other merchandise within the burgh, of having baxters, brewers, fleshers, and other artificers, of having burgesses, of electing bailies and other necessary officers (often with consent of, or on nomination by, the superior), of having a market cross and a weekly market, and of holding an annual fair or fairs, with the customary tolls; the later charters (from 1509) usually add a clause permitting the feuing of burgh lands by the overlord.

Burghal Promotions.

Most of the older burghs were affected by the new definitions. In turn, as we have seen, Lochmaben, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, and Annan became royal burghs in the period 1440-1532. Following a preliminary charter to the prior and convent of Whithorn, dated 1 July, 1451, which merely confirmed their town *in liberum burgum* and ratified their right to the tolls of the port,⁹⁷ James II. on 14 July, 1459, granted Whithorn to the monastery *in liberum burgum in baronia*.⁹⁸ On 1 May, 1511, James IV. again erected the town *in liberum burgum*; and, though the burgesses were to choose their magistrates *cum avisamento dicti prioris*, the other clauses of the charter, particularly the provision *quod burgenses forent liberi sicut alii burgenses liberorum burgorum*,⁹⁹ show that this is to be regarded as promotion to "royal burgh"—for it should be borne in mind that that term was still novel and unfamiliar. Whithorn's new status

⁹⁵ *A.P.S.*, v., 42.

⁹⁶ Cf. Ballard, *loc. cit.*, 20-1.

⁹⁷ *R.M.S.*, ii., 461. Both Ballard (*S.H.R.*, xiii., 27) and Dr. Weinbaum (*Brit. Borough Charters, 1307-1660*, 190) erroneously make this grant an erection as a burgh in barony.

⁹⁸ *R.M.S.*, ii., 733.

⁹⁹ *Ib.*, ii., 3569.

and rights were not allowed to pass unchallenged. Several documents dated between 1513 and 1533 show Wigtown attempting to enforce her traditional trading monopoly within the sheriffdom. She sought to have foreign trade prohibited at the Isle of Whithorn, where wine, wax, iron, great salt, and other foreign merchandise were being sold to Englishmen, Manxmen, and Irishmen, to prevent traffic in wool, skins, hides, cloth, and other staple wares (to the loss of both great and petty customs), and to put an end to the diversion of French wine ships and others to the Isle "and uthiris unfree placis" from all parts between the Irish Sea and the river Cree, "quhilkis ar the boundis of the said burgh" [of Wigtown].¹⁰⁰ This opposition seems to have been ineffective, for Whithorn was included in the stent-roll of 1535¹⁰¹ and was represented in the Convention by 1574,¹⁰² though not in Parliament until 1641.¹⁰³

Sanquhar's progress was not dissimilar. Because of the destruction of its earlier charters, James III. on 20 October, 1484, at the instance of Robert Crichton of Sanquhar (soon to be lord Crichton), re-erected Sanquhar as *liberum burgum in baronia*.¹⁰⁴ Dr. Donaldson has recently shown us the burgh's superior, in 1508, receiving resignation and granting sasine of certain burghal lands and rents.¹⁰⁵ The charter of erection as a royal burgh was dated 18 August, 1598;¹⁰⁶ it was enrolled by Convention in 1600,¹⁰⁷ and was in Parliament by 1621.¹⁰⁸

Innermessan, too, though no charter of novodamus sur-

¹⁰⁰ *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (ed. R. K. Hannay, 1932), lxvii., 127, 142, 397-8.

¹⁰¹ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, i., 514.

¹⁰² *Ib.*, 36.

¹⁰³ *A.P.S.*, v., 306.

¹⁰⁴ *R.M.S.*, ii., 1606.

¹⁰⁵ G. Donaldson, "The Burgh of Sanquhar in 1508," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xxvi. (1947-48), 119-20.

¹⁰⁶ Translation in Brown, *Hist of Sanquhar*, 155-7. (Not engrossed in Great Seal Register).

¹⁰⁷ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs.*, ii., 84.

¹⁰⁸ *A.P.S.*, iv., 594.

vives, is described in the seventeenth century as a burgh of barony,¹⁰⁹ and as late as 1668 the retour of an inquest mentions rents, lands, and tenements *prope burgum de Innermessan*, or *in dicto burgo*, or *in libertate dicti burgi*.¹¹⁰

New Burghs in Barony.

In addition to these three ancient burghs which thus had their status re-defined, there were six new creations of burghs in barony before the Reformation. On 3 December, 1473, a charter in favour of John, lord Torthorwald, erected the town of Torthorwald as a free burgh of barony, to be called the town of "Cairleill."¹¹¹ On 10 December, 1477, James III., for the services rendered by John Kennedy of Blairquhan, made his town of Myreton *liberum burgum in baronia*.¹¹² A charter dated 23 January, 1496-7 made Ballinlach, belonging to the abbot and monastery of Glenluce, the region's second and last ecclesiastical burgh.¹¹³ On 4 July, 1504, "for the convenience of lieges and strangers making pilgrimage to St. Ninian's at Whithorn,"¹¹⁴ the king erected the burgh of Merton in favour of Alexander Mak-

¹⁰⁹ By Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw and David Dumbar of Baldoon, in their "Description of Sheriffdom of Wigtown" (1638 x 1660): *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*, iii., 129.

¹¹⁰ *Incu's. Retorn. Abbrev.*, Wigtown, no. 150; cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 498. The retour also mentions lands *apud portum marinum*.

¹¹¹ *Drumlarriq MSS (Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Rep., pt. viii.), no. 88, p. 47. This charter is not engrossed in the Great Seal Register. Though it is mentioned by Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii., 145 note (g)), it was apparently unknown to the later writers who have compiled lists of the Scottish burghs—Sir James Marwick (*List of Markets and Fairs . . . in Scotland*, 1890), John, Marquess of Bute, J. H. Stevenson and H. W. Lonsdale (*Arms of the Baronial and Police Burghs of Scotland*, 1903), A. Ballard ("Theory of the Scottish Burgh," in *S.H.R.*, xiii., 27-9), and Dr. M. Weinbaum (*British Borough Charters, 1307-1660*, 1943).

¹¹² *R.M.S.*, ii., 1337. The charter is recited in full in *A.P.S.*, iii., 238.

¹¹³ *R.M.S.*, ii., 2336.

¹¹⁴ For a comment on this pious reason for founding a burgh, see G. Donaldson, "The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn," in *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd Ser., xxvii. (1948-49), 153.

culloch of Mertoun.¹¹⁵ The formation, on 15 February, 1507-8, of John Murray of Cokpule's barony of Cokpule, in southern Dumfriesshire, was accompanied by the grant of burghal status to his town of Ruvalc (Ruthwell).¹¹⁶ Finally Andrew lord Herys, on his own resignation, was re-granted the barony of Terregles or Herys on 18 April, 1510, the charter infefting *villam de Terreglis, jam nominatam Herys, in liberum burgum in baronia*.¹¹⁷

Though all six burghs had disappeared by the time of the *Old Statistical Account*,¹¹⁸ some of them prospered, or at least survived, for a time. Ruthwell is relatively well documented in the seventeenth century,¹¹⁹ and Ballinlach, or Barnhill, passed into lay hands, to be eventually replaced by Glenluce.¹²⁰ Less is known of Torthorwald, but returns to the Privy Council in the troublous times of 1684 (when the south-west was a suspect region to the administration) show that "Torthorall toun" was still a substantial village, with over a third of the population of the barony or parish resident in it.¹²¹ Terregles (for the new-fangled name of Herries never took root¹²²) must also have been for some time a real little town. As late as 1841 it was reported that a considerable village once stood on the farm of Terregles-toun, about a mile east of the kirk, that its population was said

¹¹⁵ *R.M.S.*, ii., 2794.

¹¹⁶ The full text is in the confirming statute of 1509, in *A.P.S.*, ii., 275, and an abstract in *R.M.S.*, ii., 3194.

¹¹⁷ *R.M.S.*, ii., 3446.

¹¹⁸ The only reference to earlier economic activities lies in the mention of the markets and fairs formerly held in the village of Ruthwell: *O.S.A.*, x., 221. Chalmers lists Torthorwald and Ruthwell among the lapsed burghs: *Caledonia*, iii., 145 and note (g).

¹¹⁹ For this burgh in 1605, see *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev., Dumf.*, no. 32, and *Kirk.*, no. 64, and *R.M.S.*, vi., 1574; and in 1673. *A.P.S.*, viii., 263. But cf. *infra*, p. 119, note 104.

¹²⁰ For Ballinlach in 1610, *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev., Wigt.*, no. 37; and for its supersession by Glenluce in 1707, *A.P.S.*, xi., 472; *App.*, 134.

¹²¹ The barony list of persons above 14 years of age shows 267 names, 100 of them in the "toun": *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., x., 281-4; cf. *ib.*, ix., 653-4.

¹²² Cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 336 note (e).

to have been about 300, that the street-paving was still to be seen, and that the Gallows-hill rose nearby.¹²³

Myreton and Merton.

The remaining two burghs (although Myreton's charter received parliamentary ratification as late as 1581)¹²⁴ have left no impress on local record or tradition, and must be classed as mere " parchment burghs "; yet they are of some interest, if only for the confusion they have caused to commentators.¹²⁵ In 1890 Sir James Marwick correctly identified Myreton as lying in Penningham parish,¹²⁶ but he placed Merton in the parish of that name, in Berwickshire¹²⁷—a not very convenient location either for its Wigtownshire overlords, the McCullochs, or for the pilgrims on the way to Whithorn! Dr. Weinbaum not only follows him by having Merton in Berwickshire, but also has Myreton either there or in Wigtownshire¹²⁸—he is content to leave the matter open. The usually reliable Bute volume¹²⁹ makes the two burghs, and indeed the two baronies, one and the same, implying that they had passed from Kennedy of Blairquhan to McCulloch of Myreton between 1477 and 1504.

As long ago as 1824 Chalmers placed the two burghs in their proper position—Kennedy of Blairquhan's burgh of 1477 in Penningham, and McCulloch of Merton's burgh of 1504 in Mochrum, far to the south in the direction of Whithorn.¹³⁰ McKerlie, too, had no difficulty in locating the two burghs.¹³¹ It must nevertheless be admitted that

¹²³ *N.S.A. Kirk.*, 233; cf. McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, v., 138.

¹²⁴ *A.P.S.*, iii., 238.

¹²⁵ Symson pointed out in 1684 that Speed had confused the two in his " lesser Map ": " Large Description," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii., 87.

¹²⁶ *List of Markets and Fairs . . . in Scotland*, 93.

¹²⁷ *Ib.*, 90.

¹²⁸ *Brit. Borough Charters, 1307-1660*, 182, 183.

¹²⁹ *Arms of the Baronial and Police Burghs of Scotland*, 403.

¹³⁰ *Caldonia*, iii., 358, 389, 409.

¹³¹ *Lands and Owners*, i., 318-21 (Myreton); 234-40, 251 (Merton).

confusion would arise easily, especially for strangers. Our forefathers seem to have seen no difference between the two names. Kennedy still held the barony of Myreton in 1508,¹³² but either this or a neighbouring barony was known from its owners or occupiers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Myreton-M'Kie and as Myreton-Herries;¹³³ alternatively, the name could be Mertoun, and it is now represented by Merton Hall, two miles south-west of Newton-Stewart. Symson, writing in 1684, tells us that the McCulloch residence in Mochrum parish is "Myreton pronounced Merton," and that it had been lately bought by Sir William Maxwell of Monreith from Sir Godfrey McCulloch.¹³⁴ To balance matters, the site of the old burgh of Merton now appears on our maps as Myreton castle, a ruined keep in Monreith Park.¹³⁵

Stranraer.

The century that elapsed between the Reformation and the Restoration produced, at least on paper or parchment, thirteen new burghs in the south-west—two of them royal burghs, eight simple burghs of barony, and three belonging to the new class of burghs of regality. (These are final rankings, for there was movement between the categories in some cases.)

We have already seen Sanquhar being promoted from burgh of barony to royal burgh in 1598, and not long after the same thing happened to the new burgh of Stranraer. On 12 November, 1595, the barony of Kinhilt was confirmed, on his own resignation, to Ninian Adair of Kinhilt, and the charter erected the Clachan of Stranraer *in liberum burgum*

¹³² In this year he founded the chapel at Cruives of Cree, in his barony of Myreton: *R.M.S.*, ii., 3245.

¹³³ For charters of the period 1500-07, see *R.M.S.*, ii., 2533, 3018, 3133, and for seventeenth century retours, *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev.*, *Wigtown*, nos. 25, 146, 178.

¹³⁴ "Large Description," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii., 86-7. See also *R.M.S.*, ii., 1134, 3385; *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev.*, *Wigtown*, nos. 138, 169.

¹³⁵ D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, v., 333.

baronie cum libero portu; Adair was authorised to exercise the usual burghal privileges, and also to have a tolbooth, to dispose the burgh lands, and to hold burgh courts three days a week.¹ Adair and Stranraer were thus favoured beyond the usual run of such charters, and a second charter, dated 30 March, 1596, amplifies the first grant. Since Stranraer, situated some 24 miles *a quovis burgo regni sui*, was populous and likely to be most convenient for trade, the King forbade the erection of any other burgh and port, or of any market, within four miles.²

The Convention took a less favourable view of the new venture. Understanding that certain barons, including "the Laird of Kinhilt for Stranawer," had "purchessit certane thair clachaneis and landward touns to be erectit in brughis of barronyis with the liberteis apertening to ane fre brugh," it declined, in 1599, to recognise such claims, forbade trading at these "vnfre touns vpoun the sey coist," and refused to accept them "quhill thai be inollet be the conventioun of burrowis in the rank of fre burrowis."³ This attitude was to become typical of the royal burghs' stand during the following century. As if in response to the Convention's hint, a charter of 24 July, 1617, on the resignation of William Adair of Kinhilt, *de novo* erected Stranraer, with its port, in *liberum burgum regalem*, with the usual ample and detailed privileges and also *cum dicta clausula de erectione alius burgi*.⁴

The new royal burgh was by no means clear of difficulties. Wigtown's opposition was fierce and sustained, both in Parliament⁵ and in Convention,⁶ and not till 1683 was Stran-

¹ *R.M.S.*, vi., 366.

² *Ib.*, 424.

³ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, ii., 54-5.

⁴ *R.M.S.*, vii., 1665. The reddendo included the burgh ferme of £3 6s 8d per year, the normal burghal service and the due administration of justice.

⁵ See its supplication of 1633 against the article for ratifying the 1617 charter: *A.P.S.*, v., 53.

⁶ For the prosecution of its case against Stranraer, Wigtown got support and help from Convention no fewer than six times in the years 1616-29: *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, iii., 32, 67, 70, 86-7, 94, 296-7.

raer enrolled and admitted by the latter,⁷ while its first appearance in Parliament came only in 1685.⁸

New Galloway.

If Stranraer by sheer natural advantages forced itself into the scarcely welcoming company of the royal burghs, the case is very different with New Galloway, designed almost in a fit of absent-mindedness and remaining as a pathetic little monument to the frailty of human plans.

On 15 January, 1629, there being only one royal burgh in the Stewartry, part of the barony of Erlistoun, lying above the water of Ken, some 16 miles from Kirkcudbright, and belonging to John Gordon of Lochinvar, was erected *in liberum burgum regalem, burgum de Galloway nuncupandum*. The usual privileges were granted, but the feu-duties were reserved to Gordon of Lochinvar.⁹ Later in the same year (on 8 May), when *burgus nondum constructus erat*, another charter offered encouragement to the *susceptores plantationis burgi* by prohibiting any burgh, market or fair within a wide area around the new burgh.¹⁰ The place intended for the honour was St. John's Clachan of Dalry,¹¹ the kirk-toun of the parish, and known in the seventeenth century as Old Galloway¹² or the Old Clachan.¹³ This was a good natural centre for a market town, since it lay on the main east-west highway through Galloway and was "a kind of half-way house,"¹⁴ and its ford over the Ken

⁷ *Ib.*, iv., 36, 39.

⁸ *A.P.S.*, viii., 453.

⁹ *R.M.S.*, viii., 1346. The reddendo was to be £6 13s 4d per year *nomine census burgalis*.

¹⁰ Between Castelfairne on the east, Clauchanepuk to the south, Blackfuird de Die on the west, and Hill of Larg to the north: *ib.*, 1407.

¹¹ Cf. Mackenzie, *Hist. of Galloway*, ii, 37-8; J. Barbour, "The Glenkens in the Olden Times," in *D. and G. Trans.*, xii. (1895-96), 141.

¹² See "Notes of Galloway" (undated, but *post* 1633), in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, iii., 96.

¹³ Symson's "Large Description," *ib.*, ii., 61.

¹⁴ W. Galloway, "The Church of St. John, Dalry," in *D. and G. Trans.*, xii (1895-96), 75.

was much used "as the line of road" to Ayrshire.¹⁵ We know that in 1684 it still belonged in part to the laird of Earlston.¹⁶

A supplication for enrolment by the Convention was presented on 11 July, 1629, on behalf of "the toun sum tyme callit Saint Johnnes Clachin and now callit the burgh of Galloway, laithlie erected be his Maiestie in ane frie burgh royall," but this was opposed by Kirkcudbright as an infringement of its liberties, and apparently no action was taken.¹⁷ Convention might well hesitate, for the original plan, sound enough in itself, was abandoned because the burgh planners were not content with the clause as to tenure from Gordon of Lochinvar, and he was willing *extradonare* more suitable land, to be held from the Crown *in libero burgagio*. The land of Roddings, in the barony of Kenmure, was therefore erected *in liberum burgum regalem de Galloway* and the liberties of the former charter were transferred to it, by new charter dated 19 November, 1630.¹⁸ The new site lay in Kells parish, not far from the church, on the opposite side of the Ken from the old and some two miles to the south of it.

Why has the burgh never prospered? John Maclellan, minister of Kirkcudbright from 1638 to 1650, and the author of the *Gallovidiæ Descriptio*, contributed to Blaeu's great Atlas, did not count it among the towns of the province, since—

. . . verum ea nihil fere urbis praeter urbis nomen habet, paucis ibi structis aedificiis; quippe Kenmuriæ Vicecomes, qui ibi oppidum condere decrevit, morte praeventus, opus inchoatum reliquerat.¹⁹

¹⁵ McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iii, 404.

¹⁶ Symson, *loc. cit.* For the connexion between Earlston and Dalry, cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 320.

¹⁷ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, iii., 298-9.

¹⁸ *R.M.S.*, viii., 1667. The charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament on 28 June, 1633: *A.P.S.*, v., 101. See also Mac-kenzie, *Hist. of Galloway*, ii., App., note S.

¹⁹ *Geographia Blaviana* (1662 edn.), vi., 55-6.

Commentators have accepted this explanation of the failure to carry out the ambitious plan: it was because of the death of Lord Kenmure that New Galloway,²⁰ in the words of the regional historian, "has never yet exceeded the dimensions of an upland village."²¹ Yet it is somewhat anomalous that the well-being, almost the very existence, of a royal burgh should depend on the life and work of a baronial patron, and we may suspect that the change of site, from a place that, as early as 1608, had aroused the hostility of Convention as an illegal trading centre,²² to a new and less convenient spot, had much to do with the unhappy outcome of the venture.

Despite its tiny size, New Galloway was represented in the Parliament of 1633²³ and was probably in Convention at about the same time.²⁴

New Burghs of Barony.

The erection of eight new burghs of barony is recorded within a period of thirty years. On 17 March, 1613, James VI's charter to Sir John Charteris of Amisfield erected the town of Amisfield as a free burgh of barony, with a Thursday market and a Michaelmas fair; this charter was confirmed in a re-grant of the barony and burgh to John Charteris, younger of Amisfield, on 15 December, 1634.²⁵ Not so much

²⁰ It was also called Newtoun, or Newtoun of Galloway: *Drumlanrig MSS.*, pp. 264, 267; Symson, "Large Description," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii., 62.

²¹ Maxwell, *Dumfries and Galloway*, 243. Cf. Mackenzie, *Hist. of Galloway*, ii., 38; Barbour, "The Glenkens" (*ut cit.*), 141.

²² Ayr burgesses were forbidden to sell merchandise there in the years 1608-10: *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, ii., 251, 274, 288; cf. Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs*, 40-1.

²³ *A.P.S.*, v., 9.

²⁴ There is a gap in the Convention records between 1631 and 1649, and the burgh was enrolled by 3 July, 1649, when they recommence: *Recs.*, iii., 331, 531.

²⁵ *R.M.S.*, ix., 248. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii., 145, note (g)) dates the erection to the 1634 charter. Marwick's and Ballard's lists omit it entirely, while the Bute volume (*Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 24) cites a charter by George II. in 1734.

is known of this burgh as of the fine little tower or castle of the name, built about 1600,²⁶ but it would be rash to deny it any real existence. It is perhaps not without significance that, in 1684, out of 53 deponents from Tinwald parish during the persecution, at least 34 appear to belong to "Amisfieldtoun:"²⁷ this suggests an effective little village community. In 1686, too, Sir John Dalzell of Glenae, to whom the succession had fallen, was retoured heir to the barony of Amisfield, including the town, *in liberum burgum baroniæ erectam, cum foris et nundinis*.²⁸ It seems likely that Amisfield enjoyed some form of municipal life during the seventeenth century.

Like the Old Clachan, Minnigaff, on the east bank of the Cree where east-west traffic converged, was a natural trading centre; indeed, it may have been the first non-burghal market to arouse the jealousy of the royal burghs, for an Act of Convention of October, 1575 (produced by Wigtown in 1599 and ratified by Convention), denounced the markets and fairs held at "the vnfre clauchan of Menygoldff and vtheris landwart kirkis thairabout."²⁹ There were further complaints in 1602 and several times between 1609 and 1615; on one occasion the illegal traffickers of Minnigaff were said to include burgesses of Ayr, Wigtown, and Dumfries.³⁰ The probability that this was a primitive country-market, long antedating the fashion of parliamentary grants of markets and fairs, is increased by the fact that the ancient mote was used as the village market place.³¹

²⁶ MacGibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, ii., 23.

²⁷ *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 216-18.

²⁸ *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev., Dumf.*, no. 316.

²⁹ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, ii., 52. From 1576 the Minnigaff customs and small customs (including regraters' fines) were set in annual tack, for sums varying between £5 and 50 merks, as part of the revenues of the burgh of Kirkcudbright: *Kirkcudbright Burgh Records, 1576-1604* (privately printed for the Marquess of Bute, 1939), 7, 14, 101, 211, 248, 254, 271.

³⁰ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, ii. 280-1; *cf. ib.*, 150, 293-4, 350, 357, 400-1; iii., 14; T. Pagan, *Convention of Royal Burghs*, 127-8.

³¹ McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iv., 400.

A charter of 2 February, 1619, confirmed to Sir Patrick M'Kie (or Makgie) of Larg his barony of Larg and erected his town of Minnigaff *in liberum burgum baronie*, the reddendo including *pro dicto burgo administrando justitiam*.³² It was a thriving little burgh, with a Saturday market much frequented by the "Moormen" of Carrick and the intervening lands for the meal and malt brought from south-eastern Wigtownshire.³³ The barony of Larg and the burgh seem to have passed for a time to the Gordons of Lochinvar,³⁴ but returned to the M'Kies by 1691.³⁵

A year later another flourishing burgh came into being, for Sir Hugh Montgomerie got a charter on 8 February, 1620, of lands in the parish of Inch resigned by Adair of Kinhilt, and now formed into the barony of Montgomerie; at the same time certain lands adjoining Portpatrick were erected as a burgh in barony, to be called Montgomerie, with its harbour re-named Port-Montgomerie.³⁶ Three months later the new parish of Portpatrick was disjoined from Inch,³⁷ and the new burgh, though never large,³⁸ performed a useful function as the ordinary port of disembarkation from Ireland.³⁹ As has frequently happened in similar cases, the old name of the town was preferred to the new, which did not take root.⁴⁰

³² *R.M.S.*, vii., 1974. The charter was confirmed by Parliament in 1633: *A.P.S.*, v., 131.

³³ Symson, "Large Description," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii., 69-70.

³⁴ *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev.*, *Kirk.*, 180, 210.

³⁵ *Ib.*, 368. Cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 277, note (q); he erred, however, in supposing the original erection to be in Lochinvar's favour.

³⁶ *R.M.S.*, vii., 2127.

³⁷ Charter of 10 May, 1620, confirmed by Parliament in 1633: *A.P.S.*, v., 132.

³⁸ The parish list of 1684 is defective, but has 268 names of persons over 12, including 81 in the town: *Parish Lists of Wigtownshire and Minnigaff, 1684* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1916), 52-3.

³⁹ Symson, "Large Description" (*ut cit.*), 116.

⁴⁰ Cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 408. There is no reason to suppose (as is done in *N.S.A. Wigt.*, 153) that the charter was a dead letter.

The barony of Corswall, near the north-western extremity of Wigtownshire in Kirkcolm parish, and formerly M'Dowall property, passed to Alexander, lord Stewart of Garlies, in 1622,⁴¹ and it was confirmed to him by charter of 17 July, 1623—just two months before he became earl of Galloway. Moreover, since the barony lay conveniently to the Irish sea and more than ten miles from the nearest royal burgh, the king erected a burgh of barony, to be called Stewartoun, *intra dictam baroniam ubi dicto Alexandro expediens videretur*.⁴² A charter of novodamus dated 14 July, 1662, confirmed the possessions of James, earl of Galloway, including the barony of Corswall, with the burgh of barony of Stuartoun.⁴³ Although there does seem to have been a village of Stewarton in Kirkcolm parish⁴⁴ (which is unknown to our modern map-makers), there is testimony, from two independent sources, that the once considerable house of Corswall was wholly ruinous in 1684⁴⁵ and that there was no such place as Stewarton in the parish at that time.⁴⁶ The burgh must be written off as one of the numerous dream-towns of the old Scots baronage.

The next burgh poses a similar problem in that it is attested by two charter grants. Sir Robert Greirson of Lag, on his own resignation, was re-granted the barony of Lag by a charter dated 31 July, 1635, which erected *villulam vocatam Tantallocholme adjacentem ecclesie parochiali vocate Scarsfernholme* as a burgh of barony, since it lay eight miles from any other burgh.⁴⁷ The parish is, of course, Carsphairn, the northernmost parish of the Stewartry,

⁴¹ McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, i., 122.

⁴² R.M.S., viii., 496. The charter was ratified by Parliament in 1633: A.P.S., v., 68.

⁴³ R.M.S., xi., 278.

⁴⁴ McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, ii., 196. The *Ordinance Gazetteer* (sub voc. Kirkcolm) says that the parish "is sometimes called Stewarton."

⁴⁵ Symson, "Large Description" (*loc. cit.*), 93. Cf. McKerlie, *op. cit.*, i., 125.

⁴⁶ *Parish Lists of Wigtownshire*, 19-23.

⁴⁷ R.M.S., ix., 374.

and the site of the intended burgh is the Holm of Daltallochan, lying on the water of Deugh about half a mile north-west of the church and village.⁴⁸ The burgh, variously styled Tantalloch-holme, Dalcalloche-holme, or simply Kirk-toun, was included in three retours, in favour of the Greirsons of Lag, to their barony, in the years 1654, 1659, and 1669,⁴⁹ and there was a re-grant of both barony and burgh on 26 May, 1671,⁵⁰ but the fairly full parish list of 1684 seems to exclude the possibility of any burgh having actually come into being "on the ground."⁵¹

On 4 July, 1636, considering that the town of Moniaive, belonging to the earl of Dumfries, lay at least twelve miles from any burgh, the king erected it as a burgh of barony with the customary privileges.⁵² Standing at a strategic point on the cross-road from Nithsdale into Galloway, Moniaive, or Minniehive in the old form, was another natural trading centre. The cross in the centre of the town was apparently erected soon after the charter was granted, and three annual fairs survived into the nineteenth century as a witness to the existence of the earlier burgh.⁵³

The burgh list of the period concludes with two erections even more shadowy than most of the earlier ones. On 14 July, 1638, Alexander, earl of Galloway, had his various possessions in Kirkcolm, Whithorn, Sorbie, and other parishes confirmed by charter, and he was given royal licence *edificandi super terras de . . . villam et oppidum vocandum Newburgh, cum domibus, pretorio et cruce forali* . . . ; and this town, on an unspecified site, was erected

⁴⁸ Cf. McKerlie, *op. cit.*, iii., 285, 299.

⁴⁹ *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev.*, *Dumf.*, 216, 238, 264.

⁵⁰ This charter was confirmed by Parliament in 1672: *A.P.S.*, viii., 159. Cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 321, note (t), and McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iii., 285.

⁵¹ The 305 names suggest a parish population of over 400, but neither Tantallochholm, nor Carsphairn, nor Kirkton, is in evidence: *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 576-9. The parish population in 1755, according to Dr. Webster's reckoning, was 609.

⁵² *R.M.S.*, ix., 526.

⁵³ *N.S.A. Dumf.*, 331, 334-5.

into a burgh of barony.⁵⁴ It is just possible that "Newburgh" (unknown to any geographer or annalist) was intended to coincide with the same nobleman's "Stewarton"; but, since neither had any real existence, the point is academic. So, too, with the charter of 9 August, 1642, to William Gordon of Craichlaw, whereby the king *erexit villam de Knockreavie, edificatam sive edificandam, in liberum burgum baronie*.⁵⁵ Knockreavie is known as a farm located in Kirkcowan parish,⁵⁶ but it is clear that the burgh never was built.

Burghs of Regality.

The three remaining burghs of the period (all of them in Dumfriesshire) introduce us to a late refinement in burgh classification—the sixteenth century (and largely post-Reformation) term of "burgh of regality."⁵⁷ The earliest charter of the south-western region containing the term is dated 7 July, 1636, and is in favour of William, earl of Queensberry. It is a gift and confirmation of the earldom, of the ancestral lordship of Drumlanrig, and "of the free burghes in barrony and regaltie . . . biggit or to be biggit . . . wpoun the ground of Dallgarnok, to be callit in all tyme comeing the burghes in barrony and regaltie of Dallgarnok."⁵⁸ The site of the burgh was almost certainly hard by the old church of Dalgarnock in Mid-Nithsdale, little over a mile south of Thornhill and about the same distance north-west of Closeburn. The church and village of "Dalgarno" decayed and became ruinous in the

⁵⁴ *R.M.S.*, ix., 833.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, 1204.

⁵⁶ McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, i., 222; ii., 253. There were 13 persons there in 1684: *Parish Lists of Wigtownshire*, 26.

⁵⁷ Dalkeith is called *liber burgus in baronia et regalitate* in 1540 (*R.M.S.*, iii., 2213); Queensferry is *burgus regalitatis* in 1576 (*Munic. Corp. Comm. Loc. Repts.*, ii., 349); and Kilrenny is styled *liber burgus regalitatis nostre* (or *sue*) in the archbishop of St Andrews' charter of 1578 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 2831; *A.P.S.*, iii., 168-9). These are the earliest uses of such terms known to the writer.

⁵⁸ The charter was confirmed by Parliament in 1641: *A.P.S.*, v., 562.

course of the seventeenth century, the parish being finally suppressed and annexed to Closeburn in 1697;⁵⁹ a century later there remained not a single house as evidence of this once "considerable village."⁶⁰ The inclusion, in the retour of 1695 of James, duke of Queensberry, of the words, *privilegio liberi burgi baroniae et regalitatis vocati Dalgarno*,⁶¹ must be regarded as referring to New Dalgarno, or Thornhill, to which the charter rights had before then⁶² been transferred.⁶³

The operative charter as regards Moffat is that of 28 January, 1648, whereby Charles I. granted James Johnstone of Corheid the lands of Moffatdale, then erected into a regality, *cum burgo baronie et regalitatis earundem*; it is further explained that these lands had been resigned on 16 June, 1642, by Walter Whytfurde, bishop of Brechin, who had them by charter of resignation dated 18 January, 1634, from William, earl of Morton.⁶⁴ Although the charter's terms, as summarised in the Great Seal Register, are cryptic to the point of obscurity, it would appear that the transfers of 1634 and 1642⁶⁵ affected the lands of Moffatdale, but not the burgh of Moffat, and that the erection both of the regality and of the burgh occurred only in 1648 (*tunc*); and this presumption is borne out by the fact that surviving grants of Moffatdale in 1624 and 1629 refer only to the *terras et baroniam*.⁶⁶ Our evidence accordingly enables us to ascribe Moffat as a burgh of regality to the year 1648. A new charter of 23 April, 1662, confirmed the regality and the burgh to James, earl of Annandale, and authorised pro-

⁵⁹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 145, note (g), 169.

⁶⁰ O.S.A., xiii., 233 (1794).

⁶¹ *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev., Dumf.*, 344.

⁶² But not, of course, as early as 1610, as is stated in a badly muddled passage in Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs*, 39.

⁶³ Cf. *infra.*, p. 123, note 120.

⁶⁴ R.M.S., ix., 1907.

⁶⁵ These two charters do not appear in the Register; but it is assumed in Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 393, that they included the burgh of regality.

⁶⁶ R.M.S., viii., 705, 1403.

clamations within the regality to be made at the market cross of the burgh.⁶⁷ The documentation of Moffat from 1648⁶⁸ onwards is reasonably full.

The third burgh of the period with some claim to the status of burgh of regality is Langholm, in Eskdale, not far from the site of the long defunct burgh of Staplegorton. The date 1610 is confidently asserted by most writers on the burghs to be that of the erection of the burgh,⁶⁹ and the local history (in which may be detected the work of two different authors) both makes the statement and expressly refutes it.⁷⁰ The claim is without substance. The charter of 15 January, 1610, granted to Sir William Cranstoun the barony of Langholm forfeited by John, lord Maxwell; it made no mention of any burgh.⁷¹ On 19 September, 1621, however, by which time the Maxwells had been restored to their estates, Robert, earl of Nithsdale, got a charter of his earldom, and the town of Langholm was erected as a free burgh of barony, with the usual rights.⁷²

The sequel is of much interest for the light it sheds on what had to be done after the granting of a charter of erection, to ensure the carrying out of its terms. The earl of Nithsdale, being "of mind . . . that the said burgh of baronie . . . shall be builded within the . . .

⁶⁷ This charter was ratified by Parliament in 1669: *A.P.S.*, vii., 643. A translation is given in W. R. Turnbull, *Hist. of Moffat* (1871), 84-8. This is the charter cited by Marwick as that of erection: *List of Markets and Fairs*, 90.

⁶⁸ Turnbull (*op. cit.*, 83-4) implies that the burgh was in existence in the years 1635-38, but adduces no evidence.

⁶⁹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 145; *N.S.A. Dumf.*, 418; Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs*, 81; Ballard, in *S.H.R.*, xiii., 29; Weinbaum, *Brit. Borough Charters*, 181 (citing Ballard).

⁷⁰ "In 1610 . . . Langholm was created a free Barony . . . Such a burgh was inferior in status . . .": J. and R. Hyslop, *Langholm as it was* (1912), 187. "Such a statement is wrong in each particular . . .": *ib.*, 391.

⁷¹ *R.M.S.*, vii., 214.

⁷² *Ib.*, viii., 228. The charters of 1610 and 1621 are reprinted (in abstract) from the Great Seal Register in Hyslops, *op. cit.*, 871-3 (with translation).

lands of Arkinholm," disposed these lands in feu, by contract dated 4 February, 1628,⁷³ to ten Maxwells, each of them receiving one merkland, undertaking to pay 25 merks yearly feu-duty, and obliging himself to become a burghess and to build a stone house, of specified dimensions and cost, fronting on the fore street of the burgh, "upon the most convenient part as they shall design within the bounds of the said lands of Arkinholm," the street to be left patent "to be the High Street of the said Burgh" and the Tolbooth to be built there.⁷⁴ This is a clear case of "town planning" and reminds us that charter grants may express hopes rather than facts, for, without economic advantages, or a resident population, or some such decisive measures as were taken at Langholm (or a combination of these factors), the deed of erection might well remain a dead letter.

A charter of 7 April, 1643, shows Francis, earl of Buccleuch, as the new lord of the barony and of the burgh,⁷⁵ and there are retours of 1653 and subsequent years in favour of the same family.⁷⁶ Another charter, dated 17 November, 1687, confirmed the possessions of Anna, duchess of Buccleuch, including the barony of Langholm, with its burgh of barony, "and by the said chartor the toune and burgh of barronie of Langholm appoynted to be the principall burgh of the said regality" (of Eskdale).⁷⁷ Thus Langholm, though still called a burgh of barony, is also designated the head burgh of a regality; a distinction that neatly enough illustrates the lack of any real difference between the two categories of burghs.

⁷³ Cf. *N.S.A. Dumf.*, 418, where the date is given as 1622 and the superior is called "Douglas of Nithsdale."

⁷⁴ For a slightly corrupt copy of the contract, see Hyslops, *op. cit.*, App. iv., 874-5. Cf. "Description of Parish of Langholm," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 389.

⁷⁵ *R.M.S.*, ix., 1341.

⁷⁶ *Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev.*, *Dumf.*, 212, 242, 266, 346, 350.

⁷⁷ This charter, along with a number of earlier ones relating to the lands held by the Scotts, was confirmed by Parliament on 15 June, 1693: *A.P.S.*, ix., 343-4.

Preston and Newton-Stewart.

We have seven further charters of erection between the Restoration and the Union, but five of these must in all probability be written off as inoperative; by way of compensation, however, we have evidence from different sources for the existence of four other burghs, whose charters have not survived.

Preston, in Kirkbean parish, south-east Kirkcudbrightshire, became a burgh of barony and regality in a charter of 3 August, 1663, to Robert, earl of Nithsdale, who also received authority to build a free port there.⁷⁸ The reality of the creation is attested by the fact that, though, in 1795, there were only three farmers in the village instead of, as formerly, 24, the stone cross, seven feet high, still stood as a symbol of lapsed privileges;⁷⁹ by McKerlie's time the village had quite disappeared, but the cross remained, with a protective wall built about 1832.⁸⁰

There emerged in 1677 what was perhaps the most successful of the consciously planned "new towns" of south-western history. On 1 July of that year William Stewart, fourth son of James, earl of Galloway, had the barony of Kilcreuchie, in Penningham parish, Wigtownshire, re-erected as his barony of Castlestewart, while the village hitherto called Fordhouse of Cree became the burgh of barony of Newton-Stewart, with its Friday market and fully detailed privileges; an Act of Parliament of 12 October, 1696, changed the market day to Wednesday, but otherwise confirmed the terms of the charter.⁸¹

The superior had built a few houses in the village, and the first feu-contract is said to have been granted in 1701.⁸²

⁷⁸ *R.M.S.*, xi., 481. Chalmers makes the burgh (instead of simply the barony) dependent on Regent Morton: *Caledonia*, iii., 278, note (s); cf. *R.M.S.*, v., 203, 269, 1674; *A.P.S.*, iii., 259-63.

⁷⁹ *O.S.A.*, xv., 127.

⁸⁰ *Lands and Owners*, iv., 140.

⁸¹ *A.P.S.*, x., 95-7; cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 410 and note (c); McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, i., 314.

⁸² *N.S.A.*, *Wigt.*, 187; McKerlie, *op. cit.*, i., 304.

The growth of the burgh thereafter was described in 1793 as having been "amazing."⁸³ It is clear that by 1704 it was a real force in the economy of the district, for in that year the Privy Council heard complaints by Heron of that Ilk and Castlestewart over the circumstance that (after several changes) Thursday was the market day for their rival burghs of Minnigaff and Newton-Stewart, on opposite sides of the Cree.⁸⁴ In 1778, when the barony and burgh had come into the hands of William Douglas (founder of the burgh of Castle-Douglas), the new master attempted to change the name of the town to Newton-Douglas, but the change, as in other such cases, did not take effect, and the old usage has persisted.⁸⁵

Five "Parchment Burghs."

In a space of less than eighteen years no fewer than five burghs of barony were chartered, and in the case of every one of them it is tolerably clear that the deed of erection did not take effect. On 30 March, 1688, Nethertoun of Kilquhendie,⁸⁶ lying near the Bridge of Urr in Kirkpatrick Durham parish, Kirkcudbrightshire, "1 large mile" from the parish church,⁸⁷ and forming an estate that had recently passed from the M'Naughts of Kilquhanity to the Gordons of Troquhen,⁸⁸ was made a burgh of barony

⁸³ O.S.A., iii., 341.

⁸⁴ The Earl of Galloway, nephew of Castlestewart, claimed that his uncle's right had been exercised ever since 1677, whereas Heron's market day had been changed from Saturday about ten years earlier: *Seafeld MSS.* (Hist MSS. Comm., 14th Rept., App. iii., 1894), no. 55, p. 219. The terms of the Act of 1696 show that this argument is classifiable as special pleading.

⁸⁵ McKerlie, *op. cit.*, i., 305; Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 419-20.

⁸⁶ Other forms are Kilquhanity, Kilquhanidie, Kilwhomaty, and Killiewhannidie.

⁸⁷ "Description of Parish" (ca. 1725), in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 396.

⁸⁸ Symson, "Large Description," *ib.*, ii., 54-5; McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iv., 298-300; W. A. Stark, *Book of Kirkpatrick-Durham* (1903), 18-23. The name of the Nether Kilquhanity property was changed to Croys after 1807: McKerlie, *op. cit.*, iv., 329.

under the name of Troquhen.⁸⁹ The charter was opposed by Convention in July of that year, on the ground that it professed to give a mere burgh of barony "all the priviledges in relation to trad that any royall burgh enjoys,"⁹⁰ and this stand may well have proved decisive, for, though (apart from the annual fair held at the parish church in March)⁹¹ a weekly market and two fairs were observed at Bridge of Urr in the 1720's,⁹² no burgh seems to have developed there.

The Herons, who had been connected with the estate of Kirrouchtrie, in Minnigaff parish, since the fifteenth century, eventually succeeded the M'Kies in the barony of Larg,⁹³ and on 1 March, 1698, Patrick Heron (soon to become Heron of that Ilk) had a charter erecting the burgh of barony of Heron;⁹⁴ but that, as McKerlie says, was "a name which has never taken in the district,"⁹⁵ whether for the real barony of Larg or the nominal burgh of Heron. Next, a charter of 1 April, 1701, in favour of Captain Andrew Agnew declared the toun of Cladahouse, in Inch parish, Wigtownshire, to be conveniently situated as a port and therefore erected it as the burgh of barony of Lochryan,⁹⁶ but there is no evidence of any settlement of the kind ever developing there.⁹⁷ By a charter some time after

⁸⁹ Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 510. Other forms are Troquhain, Trowhen, Trowhern, and Traquhen.

⁹⁰ *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs.*, iv., 76. The burgh is wrongly identified in the Index as Traquair (Peeblesshire).

⁹¹ *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 399; Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs*, 79 and references there.

⁹² *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 400 (not listed by Marwick).

⁹³ *Ib.*, i., 404, 407; McKerlie, *op. cit.*, iv., 409-10, 420 *et seq.*

⁹⁴ Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 257.

⁹⁵ *Lands and Owners*, iv., 427. "So much for foreign names," he concludes, with obvious distaste for a family that waxed rich (from the cattle trade) late in the day.

⁹⁶ Bute, *op. cit.*, 354.

⁹⁷ Though Symson, in 1684, wrote that "ships may put to shore at the Claddow House in the parish of Inch, as also at the town of Stranraver" (*Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii., 116), the parish list of the same year shows only the Agnew family at Clada-house (*Parish Lists of Wigtownshire*, 18).

3 February, 1702,⁹⁸ to William Maxwell of Cardoness (who served in the early years of the century both as commissioner of supply and as member of Parliament for the Stewartry⁹⁹), "the Clachan of Anwith and Marquocher," together with certain adjacent lands, was erected into "the burgh of Cardiness," with a free port on the west side of the Fleet "where the same falls into the sea"; again, there is nothing to show that the plan ever matured. Finally, on 22 December, 1705, the town of Keltoun, in Kirkcudbrightshire, was made a burgh of barony, holding from Captain Robert Johnstone,¹⁰⁰ although the burgh remained insubstantial, a weekly market in the latter part of the year, and the June horse fair, "the largest, perhaps, of any in Scotland," were still being held in 1793 in the village of Rhonehouse or Keltonhill, some 1½ miles south-west of Castle-Douglas.¹⁰¹ These may well represent the limits to which the charter privileges were ever exercised in fact.

Non-Burghal Markets and Fairs.

The last point takes us close to the heart of Scotland's main economic problem in the second half of the seventeenth century. The number of burgh charters that remained dead letters proves that new burghs were not always what were needed in rural Scotland, while the successful establishment of markets and fairs at Bridge of Urr and Keltonhill, despite the failure of the burghal idea there, together with the earlier examples of non-burghal markets or fairs at Minnigaff (before its charter was obtained) and at Dalry (Old Clachan), shows that the country dwellers required shopping facilities rather than municipalities.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ That is the date of the warrant by signature of King William, on which was expedite Queen Anne's charter; the Parliamentary ratification is dated 14 September, 1705: *A.P.S.*, xi., 262-3; cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, 97.

⁹⁹ See *A.P.S.*, xi., 23, 30, 149, 405; and cf. McKerlie, *op. cit.*, iii., 26-8.

¹⁰⁰ Bute, *op. cit.*, 282.

¹⁰¹ *O.S.A.*, viii., 301-2.

¹⁰² On non-burghal fairs and markets in general, see A. Ballard, "Theory of the Scottish Burgh," in *S.H.R.*, xiii., 22-3, and W. M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs* (1949), 90-5.

Between 1660 and 1700 ten parliamentary grants to the nobles and lairds of the south-western counties authorised the establishment of fairs, two or more, in conjunction with weekly markets; the reason adduced was usually the convenience of the spot and its distance from the nearest burgh, and the tolls and dues went to the superior. The list includes:¹⁰³

Glenluce (Dalrymple of Stair, 1669);
 Milntown of Urr (Earl of Nithsdale, 1669);
 Ruthwell (Viscount Stormont, 1672¹⁰⁴);
 Closeburn (Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, 1681);
 Dornock (Earl of Queensberry, 1681¹⁰⁵);
 Applegarth (Jardine of Applegarth, 1685);
 Ecclefechan (Duke of Queensberry, 1685);
 Meikle Dalton (Carruthers of Holmains, 1686);
 Gretna (Johnston of Gretna, 1693);
 Dalry (Earl of Galloway, 1695¹⁰⁶).

In addition to these twelve market villages (including Bridge of Urr and Keltonhill), Symson tells us of a former market and a fair still held in 1684, both within the old parish of Kirkanders, lately absorbed by Borgue, in the Stewartry; and of a weekly market at Gatehouse of Fleet in the latter part of the year.¹⁰⁷ A little later there is record, as already mentioned, of the Kirkpatrick Durham fair, and there is good reason to believe that the fairs and markets noted in 1793 at Lockerbie should be dated to the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ The references to the *A.P.S.* will be found in Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs*, *sub voc.*

¹⁰⁴ This grant makes Ruthwell a "toun and village . . . remote from any royall burgh" and does not suggest its earlier burghal status; *A.P.S.*, viii., 77. Nevertheless, it was included in a re-grant of the barony in the following year (*ib.*, 263). The likeliest inference is that the chartered privileges of the burgh (despite their renewal) had now been laid aside, and that it is to be regarded as a non-burghal market-town.

¹⁰⁵ Exceptionally, this was a grant of two fairs only, without reference to a weekly market: *A.P.S.*, viii., 445.

¹⁰⁶ This must be taken as a ratification or regularisation of a traditional and long-established usage: *ib.*, ix., 500.

¹⁰⁷ "Large Description," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii, 65-6.

¹⁰⁸ *O.S.A.*, ix., 421-2; *cf. infra*, p. 124.

Other " Possible " Burghs.

It is clear that formal record, by way of charter or statute, does not give us the whole story as regards burghs and markets, but needs to be both checked and supplemented by other evidence; this, in turn, however, must be used with reserve and discretion. The process enables us, on the one hand, to eliminate many erections as mere " parchment burghs," and, on the other, to add a few real burghs in respect of which the official deed of creation is wanting. The first category has been dealt with *seriatim* as the cases occurred, and the second—the " possibles " among the burghs—now calls for consideration.

Chalmers, besides mentioning the lapsed privileges of Torthorwald, Ruthwell, Amisfield, and Dalgarno, lists, as the active burghs of Dumfriesshire, Langholm, Moffat, Lockerbie, Ecclesfechan, Thornhill, and Minniehive,¹⁰⁹ in the Stewartry, only Minnigaff and the former burghs of Preston and Terregles;¹¹⁰ and in Wigtownshire, Newton-Stewart and Portpatrick, along with the extinct burghs of Innermessan, Ballinclach, Myreton and Merton.¹¹¹ The list is suggestive, but no more, for Chalmers had not access to all the relevant records.

We have, next, the returns of the royal burghs to Convention in 1692, including their complaints about " unfree trade " exercised within their liberties by the burghs of regality and barony. Kirkcudbright and Wigtown both listed Minnigaff, and the former added Preston. Annan and Lochmaben each objected to Lockerbie, Ecclesfechan, Dalton, and Applegarth, and the latter also to Moffat, Riwan (almost certainly Ruthwell) and Durnoch (or Dornock). Stranraer's complaint was of Portpatrick.¹¹² The other royal burghs were not specific in their returns.

¹⁰⁹ *Caledonia*, iii., 145 and note (g).

¹¹⁰ *Ib.*, 277-8, where are also included, of course, the new burghs of the late eighteenth century.

¹¹¹ *Ib.*, 408-10.

¹¹² " State and Condition of Burghs of Scotland, 1692," in *Burgh Recs. Soc. Misc.*, 108, 109, 146, 148, 157.

The record of the Parliamentary negotiations in the years 1699 and 1700 for the "communication of trade" (or foreign trading rights) to the unfree burghs shows proposals for taxing the following communities of "unfree traders":

Dumfriesshire—Ecclefechan, Lockerbie, Moffat, and Thornhill;

Kirkcudbrightshire—Minnigaff and Old Clachan;

Wigtownshire—Glenluce and Portpatrick.¹¹³

What is abundantly clear about the lists of 1692 and 1699 is that they include both chartered burghs and towns or villages where fairs or markets were held. The royal burghs, always very superior in their references to "unfree" burghs and clachans, did not trouble to discriminate between them; they were concerned about the volume of business done at places within their "liberties" rather than about possibly abstract charter rights. Actual trading, under whatever auspices, was what mattered. This type of testimony can therefore be taken as corroborative of charter evidence, but hardly as having independent value; it can establish that a burgh, known to have been "erected," was really functioning, but not that a rival trading centre was indeed a burgh. It suggests lines of inquiry, but it does not yield conclusive results.

Glenluce.

Though the general lists of assessment for "Unfree Trade" drawn up in 1699 must be treated with caution, the record of the negotiations that followed gives us some hard facts. The Wigtownshire commissioners of supply met spokesmen for the burgh of regality of Glenluce and the burghs of barony of Portpatrick and Newton Stewart on 25 April, 1700, when, with others, Mr Andrew Ross, factor to Viscount Stair and having commission from the burgh of Glenluce, compeared and made an offer for the communication

¹¹³ *A.P.S.*, x., App., 118, 127, 131.

of trade.¹¹⁴ Now, Dalrymple of Stair had received, in 1669, the right to hold a weekly market and two annual fairs at the kirk of Glenluce, "ther being no toun nor mercat place" between the burghs of Wigtown and Stranraer,¹¹⁵ and a warrant to change the dates of the fairs, but otherwise confirming the earlier grant, was issued in 1681.¹¹⁶

It follows that some time between 1681 and 1700 Glenluce had been made a burgh, and this is confirmed by a charter of 14 September, 1705, granting John, earl of Stair, two additional fairs "to be kept at the burgh of barony of Glenluce . . . without prejudice of the other fairs formerly appointed to be kept at the said burgh,"¹¹⁷ and by yet another charter, dated 27 February, 1707, whereby "the toun of Glenluce is appointed the head burgh of the Regality therof in place of the burgh of Barnhill" (or Ballinlach, now become ruinous and deserted).¹¹⁸

Thornhill.

Chalmers's assertion that Thornhill had been a burgh of barony can be substantiated by contemporary evidence. The anonymous author of the "Brief Description of . . . Upper . . . Nithsdale" (composed sometime in the period 1684-89) states that, in the south of Morton parish, Dumfriesshire, "near to a little village called Thornhill, there is erected a Burgh of Regality called New Dalgarno, where there is a weekly Mercat & four Fairs in the year" and where the regality courts were held.¹¹⁹ This is confirmed in the most unmistakable manner by the Privy Council Register, for on 21 September, 1684, John Walker, kirk

¹¹⁴ *A.P.S.*, x., App., 142-3.

¹¹⁵ *Ib.*, vii., 557.

¹¹⁶ *Ib.*, viii., 442.

¹¹⁷ *Ib.*, xi., 276. The confusion of the terms "burgh of barony" and "burgh of regality" is noticeable in these charters.

¹¹⁸ This charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament on 21 March, 1707: *A.P.S.*, xi., 472, and App., 134. Cf. Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 234 (where only the 1707 grant is mentioned).

¹¹⁹ *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, iii., 207.

officer in Morton parish, lawfully intimated the Council's instructions "at the Tolbuth door of Thornhill"¹²⁰—the certain symbol of an active burgh.

Ecclefechan and Gretna.

The same kind of evidence attests the transformation of the market towns or villages of Ecclefechan and Gretna Green into burghs. In his "Description of Annandale" (1723), Mr William Garrioch tells us of "Ecclesfechan the head Burgh of Regality of that pairt of the Regality of New Dalgarnock which lies within Annandale, having a Tolbooth in the midle of the town,"¹²¹ and of the "pleasant and fine village called Gratnay Green, where Coll. Johnston has a fine house . . . the whole village with a tolbooth being lately built anew by him after a new modell."¹²² Another local statist of about the same epoch, the Rev. James Black, minister of Gretna, mentions that "Ecclefechan a Burgh of Regalitie lyes six miles to the northwest," and describes "Graitney green a Burgh of Barrony in which there is a steeple and courthouse. . . . It has also a weekly markat and two fairs in the year by Act of Parl. and lyes betwixt the new house of Graitney and the church."¹²³ Circumstantial testimony of this character, afforded by men with intimate local knowledge, is of course of the highest possible value, and establishes beyond a doubt that Ecclefechan had been made a burgh of regality between 1685 (the date of the market-grant) and 1723, and Gretna Green a burgh of barony between 1693 and 1723.

¹²⁰ *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 391. New Dalgarno, or Thornhill, in Morton parish, is not to be confused with the earlier burgh of Dalgarno, in the parish of that name, which had lately been united with that of Closeburn, described as "lying in the midst of Dalgarno": *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, iii., 208-10.

¹²¹ *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 369.

¹²² *Ib.*, 371.

¹²³ *Ib.*, 381. Mr Black adds that the new house of Gretna had been built by Col. James Ruthven *alias* Johnstone in 1710.

The Effective Burghs.

A cross-section of the reliable evidence available towards the close of the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth suggests that, apart from the nine royal burghs of the region, there were then (out of a total, from first to last, of 32 erections, real or nominal) no more than eleven functioning burghs of regality or barony—Langholm in Eskdale, Gretna Green and Preston on or near the Solway, Moffat and Ecclefechan in Annandale, Thornhill and Moniaive in Nithsdale, Minnigaff and Newton-Stewart in the valley of the Cree, Glenluce in that of the Luce, and Portpatrick on the Irish Sea. Among the market-towns that induced the watchful jealousy of the royal burghs were Dornock and Ruthwell on the Solway, Applegarth, Lockerbie and Dalton in Annandale, and, in the whole of Galloway, only Dalry or the Old Clachan.

It is noteworthy that Chalmers, without access to the sources published since his day, came close to being right about the burghs. The only major discrepancy is his classification of Lockerbie as a burgh, and he has been followed in this respect by several later writers. M'Dowall calls it "Bruce's ancient burgh,"¹²⁴ and forty-five years ago T. R. Henderson speculated about the origin of the burgh, though he was able to show only that the place-name occurs as early as 1198.¹²⁵ If there is any evidence for the existence of a burgh here before the adoption of the Police Act in 1863, it has escaped the present writer. That it was a market town or village of some importance is clear from the royal burghs' reports and negotiations, and from other contemporary evidence;¹²⁶ but Garrioch, who was careful to distinguish the

¹²⁴ *Hist. of Dumfries*, II.

¹²⁵ In *D. and G. Trans.*, xviii (1905-06), 155; cf. G. Neilson, *ib.*, xi. (1894-95), 152.

¹²⁶ In 1684 there were 76 persons (probably over 12 years of age) in "the toun of Lockerbie," out of 554 in the whole parish of Dryfesdale: *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 591-5. And it is noteworthy that, when an ingenious scheme was introduced in 1819 by the superior and the baron-bailie to improve the weekly market by offering bonuses to the most successful vendors and greatest purchasers, a special committee had to be "appointed to superintend the business": *E.W.M.*, "Lockerbie Market," in *Dumf. and Gall. Notes and Queries*, i. (1911-12), 140.

Annandale burghs in 1723, calls it "a country village."¹²⁷

Size of the Burghs.

It must be remembered that, in the days before the Industrial Revolution, most of the burghs were small places that would nowadays be reckoned mere villages. The only considerable town in the entire south-west was Dumfries, which had possibly 2800 inhabitants as late as 1727;¹²⁸ and Dumfries was ranked seventh among all the royal burghs of Scotland.¹²⁹ Next came Kirkcudbright, with perhaps 600 inhabitants in 1684,¹³⁰ and Wigtown, with a population of about 500 at the same time.¹³¹ Stranraer¹³² and Whit-horn¹³³ were slightly smaller; and the provost of Sanquhar testified, in a fenced court held on 6 August, 1684, for the convening of all the inhabitants "com to perfyte adge," that they numbered 167, "and non omittit"¹³⁴—which would indicate a total population of only about 300.

The burghs of regality and barony were comparable in size to the lesser royal burghs. The Portpatrick parish list of 1684 is perhaps defective, but not substantially so; and it indicates a population of under 400 in the parish¹³⁵ and 120 in the burgh.¹³⁶ The extensive parish of Minnigaff (largest in the whole region) had more than 1000 inhabitants in 1684, and of these some 240, including Bailies M'Kie and

¹²⁷ *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 368.

¹²⁸ There were then 2080 examinable persons (of 10 years and upwards) in the town: *O.S.A.*, v., 135.

¹²⁹ *Cf. supra*, p. 84, note 13.

¹³⁰ The town contained 408 persons of above 12 years of age at this date: *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 611-13.

¹³¹ The parish list shows 340 in the burgh and 271 to landward: *Parish Lists of Wigtownshire*, 68-70.

¹³² 300 names for burgh and parish (which were co-extensive): *ib.*, 61-3. Dr. Webster gave it 649 inhabitants in 1755.

¹³³ 279 persons over 12 in the burgh, 508 to landward: *ib.*, 5, 67.

¹³⁴ *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 257-9.

¹³⁵ The parish total in 1755 was 551; in 1790 there were 996 in the parish, including 512 in the town: *O.S.A.*, i., 45.

¹³⁶ *Cf. supra*, p. 108, note 38.

Heroun, resided in the burgh.¹³⁷ The lesser "touns" of Dumfriesshire, including market-towns like Applegarth,¹³⁸ Meikle Dalton,¹³⁹ and Ecclefechan (not yet a burgh),¹⁴⁰ and decayed or decaying burghs like Amisfield¹⁴¹ and Ruthwell,¹⁴² appear to have had fewer than 100 residents in 1684; exceptionally, Lockerbie¹⁴³ and Torthorwald¹⁴⁴ stood about or slightly over that figure.

By contrast with these minuscule communities, Moffat town had a population of about 270 at this time,¹⁴⁵ but the most striking figures come from the easternmost burgh of the region some forty years later. Langholm in 1726 was trading briskly with Carlisle, Dumfries, Annan, and Hawick, in meal, cheese, butter, wool, woollen yarn and skins; she had a weekly market, six annual fairs, and all manner of tradesmen; the regality court and J.P. court were held in the burgh, which was adorned with a new town-house and prison, a cross, an excise office and a post office; "all which," in the words of one who clearly was appraising a thriving burgh, "have so much improven it that at present there are above 430 examinable persons in it."¹⁴⁶ The context establishes that, in the early eighteenth century, a burgh of barony with

¹³⁷ *Parish Lists of Wigtownshire and Minnigaff*, 5, 40-3. The parish total of persons over 12 is 741, with 172 in the burgh. In 1755 there were 1209 in the parish, and in 1792, 1420: *O.S.A.*, vii., 52.

¹³⁸ 27 persons in the town, out of 226 in the whole parish: *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 560-1. (All these lists show names of persons of both sexes over 12 years of age.)

¹³⁹ 28 names—270 in the entire parish: *ib.*, 548-5.

¹⁴⁰ 47 persons in the town, 217 in the parish (still shown separately from Hoddam parish): *ib.*, 595-7.

¹⁴¹ No parish list; but out of 53 deponents from Tinwald parish on 3rd August, 1684, at least 34 were from Amisfieldtown: *ib.*, 216-18.

¹⁴² 56 names out of a parish total of 354: *ib.*, 643-6.

¹⁴³ *Supra*, p. 124, note 126.

¹⁴⁴ 51 named persons "deponed negative" from "Torthorall toune"; but a Barony list of persons over 14 years of age shows exactly 100 in "Torthorell": *R.P.C.*, 3rd Ser., ix., 653-4; x., 281-2.

¹⁴⁵ 193 persons in the town, out of 631 in the whole parish: *ib.*, ix., 399-403.

¹⁴⁶ "Description of Parish of Langholm," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, i., 389.

a population of 600 was to be reckoned a busy and prosperous town.¹⁴⁷

Meikle Dalton.

Before proceeding into modern times, we have one last example of the old type of foundation, for, on 24 February, 1755, the village of Meikle Dalton, in Dumfriesshire, was erected into a burgh of barony holding from John Carruthers of Holmains¹⁴⁸ (whose ancestor had got a grant of a market and three fairs there in 1686).¹⁴⁹ Unless this is a mere confirmation of an earlier erection that has not been recorded, it is an anomalous deed for such a late hour, for the population of the parish in 1755 was but 451, its only village, Dalton, had not more than 30 or 40 inhabitants in 1793, and the parish minister had evidently never heard of its being a burgh.¹⁵⁰ The charter was almost certainly a dead letter from the start.

The Later Burghs of Barony.

The passage of time, and the impact of the Industrial and Agrarian Revolutions, brought several changes to the burghs. On the one side, old burghs like Minnigaff and Moniaive let their burghal privileges lapse before the century's close, to become sleepy country villages or minor shopping centres, while Portpatrick ceased to be a burgh, because, money being needed for harbour improvements, the superior (Hunter Blair) supplied it and, to recoup himself, retained the anchorage dues and petty customs.¹⁵¹ On the other side, Langholm continued in being, to be reported upon by the Municipal Corporation Commissioners in 1836 as a viable burgh of barony, with a population of 1900, a burgh court, and an elective police committee to attend to lighting and

¹⁴⁷ At the opposite pole was Kincardine O'Neil, an Aberdeenshire burgh of barony, complete with a Tolbooth and having in 1725 about 30 families, or 150 inhabitants: *ib.*, i., 102.

¹⁴⁸ Only Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 379, notes this charter.

¹⁴⁹ *A.P.S.*, viii., 652.

¹⁵⁰ *O.S.A.*, xiv., 102.

¹⁵¹ *Ib.*, i., 46.

cleaning;¹⁵² while Newton-Stewart, with even more inhabitants (2241 in 1831), retained its weekly markets and four fairs, its town-house and lock-up.¹⁵³

The chief impress of the new age is seen in the creation, within twenty years, of four new burghs of barony, all in Kirkcudbrightshire. The little village of Carlinwark, lying in Kelton parish and having over 600 inhabitants,¹⁵⁴ was made a burgh in a charter of 10 December, 1791,¹⁵⁵ in favour of William Douglas of Castle-Douglas (from which estate it took its name). Another charter, dated 11 April, 1829, extended its powers and regulated its constitution, which the Commissioners of 1835 found in full working order.¹⁵⁶ Next, the "little clachan" of Ferrytown-on-Cree, which had been the centre of the parish of Kirkmabreck, with the church transferred thither, from the mid-seventeenth century,¹⁵⁷ and which had 551 inhabitants in 1793,¹⁵⁸ became the burgh of barony of Creetown, holding from John M'Culloch of Barholm, on 13 December, 1791; with the population standing at 1226 in 1840, the bailie and four councillors were still elected annually by the feuars "according to the charter," and a town-hall with lock-up had lately been erected.¹⁵⁹ Gatehouse of Fleet had been growing steadily since 1762 and had a cotton mill (set up in 1790)¹⁶⁰ and a population of

¹⁵² *Munic. Corp. Comm. Local Repts.* (1836), 114.

¹⁵³ *N.S.A., Wigt.*, 179, 193.

¹⁵⁴ *O.S.A.*, viii., 302.

¹⁵⁵ This seems to be the correct date, as given in the actual charter, printed in *Munic. Corp. Comm. Local Repts.* (1836), 180-1, though stated as 1790 in the Report: *ib.*, 19. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii., 278 and note (v)), McKerlie (*Lands and Owners*, iv., 132-5), and Bute (*Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 107) all give 1792 as the date of the first charter.

¹⁵⁶ *Local Repts.* (1836), 192. The population was then about 1885: *ib.*, 19.

¹⁵⁷ Symson, "Large Description," in *Macfarlane's Geog. Coll.*, ii., 67.

¹⁵⁸ *O.S.A.*, xv., 548.

¹⁵⁹ *N.S.A., Kirk.*, 335, 341. Although mentioned by Chalmers (*Caledonia*, iii., 277, 297), Creetown is omitted from the Bute and Marwick lists.

¹⁶⁰ McKerlie, *Lands and Owners*, iii., 472.

1150,¹⁶¹ when, by a charter dated 30 June, 1795, in favour of James Murray of Broughton, it was erected as a burgh of barony; the Commissioners of 1835 found it functioning under its two elected bailies and four councillors.¹⁶² Finally, on 18 June, 1810, the "dirty, squalid little lawless village" of Brigend, across the Nith from Dumfries and notorious as a refuge for fleeing delinquents, was made a burgh of barony, dependent upon Marmaduke Constable Maxwell, and its provost, two bailies, and four councillors were first elected on 11 September, 1810.¹⁶³ Growing rapidly, it attained within 25 years a population of 3257. Though included from 1832 within the parliamentary boundaries of Dumfries, it retained its separate burghal jurisdiction, with obvious advantages for malefactors, and already in 1836 amalgamation of the two burghs was proposed.¹⁶⁴

Reform Legislation.

Nineteenth century reforms brought fundamental changes. The nine royal burghs, combined in two districts in 1707, continued after 1832 to send two members to Parliament, until the suppression of the Wigtown district in 1885 and of the Dumfries district in 1918; thereafter voters in royal burghs contributed to the election of shire members. As regards municipal government, the reforms were in some degree anticipated by the Dumfries Police Act of 1811, which vested some of the new powers in police commissioners elected by the £10 householders.¹⁶⁵ A series of General Police Acts later extended the right of adopting a "police system" (including, besides police as we understand the term, paving, lighting, cleansing, water supply and other improvements) to

¹⁶¹ O.S.A., xi., 311-12; cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 277; Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 230-1.

¹⁶² *Munic. Corp. Comm. Loc. Repts.* (1836), 74.

¹⁶³ The best account is in *Amalgamation of Dumfries and Maxwelltown: Historical Souvenir* (Dumfries, 1929), 31-5. Cf. McKerlie, *Land and Owners*, v., 213, 334-5, and Bute, *op. cit.*, 371-2.

¹⁶⁴ *Munic. Corp. Comm. Local Repts.* (1836), 215-16.

¹⁶⁵ *Ib.* (1835), i., 215.

royal burghs and burghs of barony in 1833,¹⁶⁶ to the inhabitants of "populous places" (with over 1200 residents) in 1850,¹⁶⁷ and to towns with as few as 700 in 1862.¹⁶⁸ Eventually, the Burgh Police Act of 1892¹⁶⁹ and the Town Councils Act of 1900¹⁷⁰ consolidated and rationalised this legislation, standardising the constitution of all surviving burghs, whether royal, parliamentary, or police, on the basis of an administration comprising provost and a varying number, proportionate to size, of bailies and councillors. Burghs of barony were not expressly abolished, but were allowed, and almost invited, to decline and atrophy.

The Police Burghs.

The first of the burghs of barony to adopt a Police Act was the youngest, Maxwelltown, which took this step in 1833.¹⁷¹ Of the seventeenth century burghs of barony, Langholm adopted the Act of 1833, in part, in 1845, so that, until 1893, municipal authority was shared between the old bailie-depute appointed by Buccleuch and the new police commissioners elected by the residents.¹⁷² Newton Stewart adopted the Lock Act in 1861,¹⁷³ and Moffat, where the old baronial jurisdiction had fallen into desuetude through negligence, became a police burgh in 1864.¹⁷⁴ Two of the eighteenth century burghs adopted a police system, Gatehouse

¹⁶⁶ 3 and 4 William IV., c. 46. This Act was a separate statute from that which directly reformed the royal burghs by basing the election of magistrates and town councillors on the £10 household franchise (3 and 4 William IV., c. 76). There thus came into being a dual system of municipal administration.

¹⁶⁷ This was known as "the Lock Act" (13 and 14 Vict. c. 33).

¹⁶⁸ This was the well-known "Lindsay Act" (25 and 26 Vict. c. 101).

¹⁶⁹ 55 and 56 Vict. c. 55.

¹⁷⁰ 63 and 64 Vict. c. 49.

¹⁷¹ A. Porteous, *Town Council Seals of Scotland* (1906), 211.

¹⁷² Hyslop, *Langholm as it was*, 400-5; cf. Bute, *Arms of Baronial Burghs*, 329.

¹⁷³ Porteous, *op. cit.*, 230.

¹⁷⁴ Turnbull, *Hist. of Moffat*, 89-91, 95-7, 146-7; Porteous, *op. cit.*, 217.

in 1852,¹⁷⁵ and Castle-Douglas in 1862.¹⁷⁶ Finally, two brand new burghs came into being in 1858 and 1863 respectively, in the shape of Dalbeattie, which had been founded in Urr parish as a cotton and woollen village about 1780,¹⁷⁷ and Lockerbie, which we have already encountered as an old market town in Dryfesdale parish.¹⁷⁸

The Twentieth Century.

The present century opened with nine royal burghs and eight police burghs functioning in the south-west. Two changes, both falling in 1929, require to be noticed. The Local Government Act of that year introduced a new division of the Scottish burghs into large and small, the former being responsible for most major branches of administration, the latter administering housing and the minor services¹⁷⁹—a distinction which further trends towards centralisation have gone some way to eliminate. Dumfries was and is, of course, the only large burgh of this region. And on 3 October, 1929, it became even larger through amalgamation with Maxwelltown.¹⁸⁰

The south-western burghs now number sixteen, with a combined population of about 65,000 out of the region's 148,000. They range from Dumfries, with over 26,000 inhabitants, through Stranraer, with 8600, and Annan, with 4600, down to Whithorn, with just over 1000, to Gatehouse, under the 900 mark, and, finally, to New Galloway—that picturesque survival, which, able to supply only 14 electors qualified under the Reform legislation of 1832-33, with a "sett" calling for 19 magistrates and councillors,¹⁸¹ is to-day, with a population of 305, Scotland's smallest burgh.

¹⁷⁵ Bute, *op. cit.*, 229; Porteous, *op. cit.*, 131.

¹⁷⁶ *Ib.*, 58.

¹⁷⁷ For its growth to a population of 1736 in 1861, see Frew, *Parish of Urr*, 112-30; cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, iii., 297; Porteous, *op. cit.*, 81.

¹⁷⁸ *Ib.*, 205.

¹⁷⁹ 19 and 20 Geo. V., c. 25 (10 May, 1929).

¹⁸⁰ *Amalgamation of Dumfries and Maxwelltown*, 4.

¹⁸¹ *Munic. Corp. Comm. Local Repts.* (1835), ii., 266.

ARTICLE 5.

The "Watch Knowe," Craigmuirie.

By JOHN CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

From time to time this structure, because of its rectilinear form, has been under suspicion of Roman origin. To settle the matter a short excavation of an exploratory nature was conducted with the kind permission of the owner, Mr Gourlay, in August, 1951.

The site (grid reference 743865 on sheet 88 of the 1 inch Ordnance Survey) lies on the northern edge of the high ground which overlooks the valley of the Castlefern Burn. It is most easily reached by taking the Corsock road, which branches southwards off the main Moniaive-Dalry road at a point three miles from Moniaive, and following that road for half a mile to the point where, just beyond the road-end leading to Craigmuirie House, a water-course for flood water passes under the road: from there a walk of two hundred yards westwards over marshy tussock brings one to the site.

The site is quite obviously chosen for its view of the valley. Eastwards one can see away into Nithsdale and westwards as far as the watershed of Nith and Ken. It possesses no natural strength, having higher ground to the south and west and level ground eastwards. Only northwards does the land slope sharply away. From the valley it is not visible; even without digging one has the impression that here is a place of refuge erected at some period when marauders might sweep through the valley and pass without realising its existence, while secure in their retreat with their women, children, and cattle, the local folk peered through the trees of the Abbey wood till the valley was clear again.

The defences seemed to consist of a substantial inner rampart, two ditches with a mound between the ditches, and a second mound beyond the outer. The ditches were not consistently distinct but fused into a single ditch over considerable stretches both on the east and south sides. Two entrances were visible, one in the east side and one in the

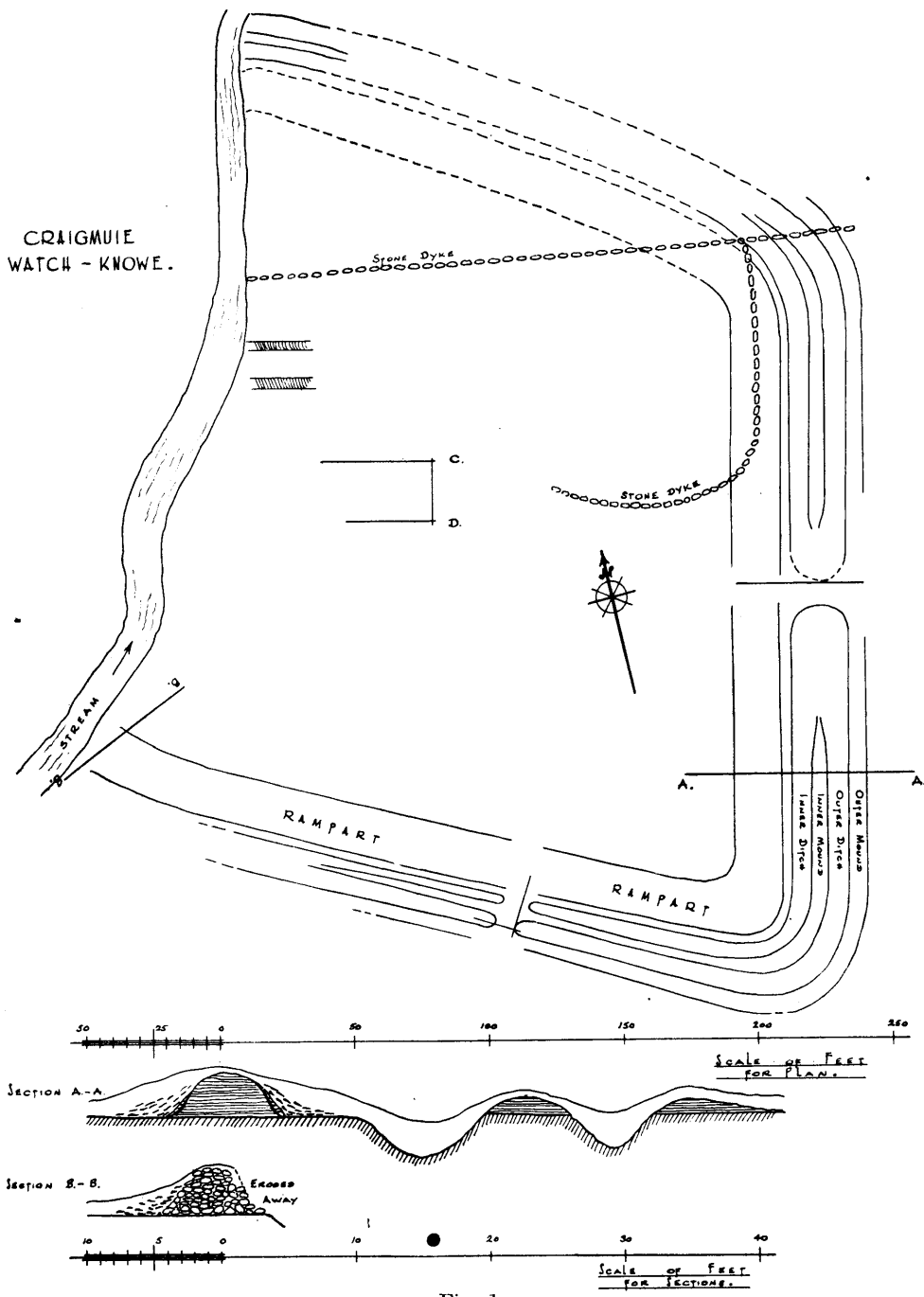


Fig. 1.

south. The west side had been much eroded by a stream, so that not even the rampart remained along most of that side. Heavy growth of grass and bracken made observation unreliable on the north. The form was parallelogram with rounded corners, a circumstance which has given rise to the suspicion of Roman origin.

A section was cut across the east defences at a point (A on the plan) where the various elements appeared clearly. The result is shown in Fig. 1. The rampart proved to consist of an eight foot core of the natural clayey soil with a four foot bank of peaty turf laid against it in front and behind. As shown in the section, the turf was not laid flat but leaning against the slope of the core. There was no cobble foundation nor any trace of kerb either in front or behind. Beyond a three foot berm came the inner ditch, eight feet wide and two feet deep; it was saucer-shaped. The mound on the platform beyond the inner ditch consisted of upcast without foundation or structure—merely a heap of earth fifteen inches high at its highest point. The outer ditch was six feet wide, two feet deep, and saucer-shaped like the inner. Both ditches contained a natural accumulation of peaty soil. The outer mound, beginning immediately beyond the outer ditch, consisted of upcast soil, once more without foundation or structure. It was five feet wide and one foot high.

At the south-west corner, where the erosion of the burn had revealed stone-work, a second section was made (B on the plan). Cutting from the inside we again encountered the kerbless turf bank. The core consisted of large stones laid with some care, but neither dressed in any way nor showing any uniformity of shape. Nevertheless they formed a very solid core, ten feet wide and three feet high. From the prominence of the corners as compared with the rest of the rampart, one supposes that the stone-work was confined to the corners.

The east gate, placed centrally in the east side, was seven feet wide, lightly metalled, and without any trace of gate structure. The ditches stopped on either side, leaving a twelve-foot gap. The south gate was not centrally placed

but at the eastern point of trisection of the south side. It was six feet wide, lightly metalled like the east gate, without trace of gate structure, and led across an eight-foot gap in the ditches.

Section A, carried inwards for forty feet, encountered no structure nor indeed any sign of occupation. It was continued for twenty-seven feet diagonally without result. Thinking that behind the west rampart, if anywhere, should trace of occupation be found, we carried cut B inwards for forty feet, again without result. There were not even any traces of fires, only the bare virgin till.

Next we tried the north-western quarter and cut sections C and D as shown on the plan. In this area we found everywhere rough stone paving like that of a farmyard but no structures. On the paved surface in C lay a rude hone, the only relic recovered. Its evidence is valueless for dating.

A structure of dry-stone walls, destroyed almost to the foundation, beside the burn has no connection with the original work. It is probably not more than a couple of centuries old and the stones seem to have been removed to build the circular sheep-fold which now stands close by.

The area of the enclosure within the defences—235 feet north to south by 225 feet east to west—is approximately $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

While the place is certainly not of Roman construction, yet its general form, which is highly symmetrical, the relation of rampart and ditches, the position of gateways and the structure of the rampart combine to make a strong suggestion that the builders knew Roman methods not by distant tradition but by fairly close personal observation. No native work, so far as I am aware, shows this combination of Roman features in the same degree.

Yet, though the general idea of Roman construction is present quite strikingly, the details fall far short of Roman standards. The ditches are perfunctory and needlessly irregular, the disposal of upcast is unorthodox, the badly laid turf-work of the rampart would never have passed the scrutiny of a Roman officer of Engineers. No tutulus or other device compensates for the weakness of the gateways.

The very choice of site is not one which would readily have commended itself to Roman purposes. Non-Roman rectilinear works have attracted some attention in recent years, but no certain typology or general dating has yet been established. They seem to fall roughly into two classes—larger defensive enclosures which look like refuge-compounds for people and cattle, and smaller more or less defensive habitation sites containing sometimes a single steading, sometimes a group of hut, sometimes almost a village.¹ In each class there is so much variety that we cannot confidently assume the rectilinear form to be a real index of cultural connection, especially as rectilinear form is now known to occur as early as the Bronze Age.² Nor can we proceed from the established dating of some examples of a type in one area to the dating of that type as a whole wherever it occurs. Thus, while it seems reasonably certain that some rectilinear habitation sites in Northumberland date from the second century of our era,³ it does not follow that similar sites elsewhere are contemporary. In Wales and Scotland they appear to be, in some cases at least, late Roman or early Dark Age, and Dr. Bersu has connected them tentatively with the disintegration of the hill-town economy.⁴ Still less does it follow that the larger rectilinear refuge-compounds are contemporary with the dated Northumbrian habitation sites.⁵

¹ The various types are well illustrated in *Antiquity*, 17, p. 141.

² In general, see Childe, *Prehistoric Communities*, p. 191; in particular, *Wessex—Proceedings Prehistoric Soc.*, 1942, viii., p. 48 ff.

³ e.g., the Milking Gap site—*Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, xv., p. 342-9; also Gunnar Peak—*Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, xx., p. 155-173. Witchy Neuk has 3rd century evidence—*Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, xvi., p. 129-139.

⁴ *Ancient Monuments Inventory—Anglesea*, p. 12; *P.S.A.S.*, lxxxii., p. 272-4.

⁵ A very dubious attempt has been made to argue a connection between the rectangular earthworks which are a feature of late la-Tene Bavaria and the rectilinear earthworks of the Borders. The suggestion is that Rhaetian immigrants were drafted into the area around 140-150 A.D. to replace natives sent to Central Europe after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus (see *Antiquity*, 17, p. 143-5). The argument, unconvincing in itself, takes no account of the fact that rectilinear works occur in Britain far outside the area and period of possible Rhaetian influence.

The rectilinear earthworks of Galloway do not show any real similarity among themselves in siting or structure. Thus Carminnow,⁶ apparently having a stone rampart and a slight ditch system, lies on low ground beside the Deuch; Rispain,⁷ with a rampart presumably of earth or turf and extraordinarily impressive ditches, lies on low ground not far from the shore; Bombie,⁸ with a smallish stone rampart edged with pillar-stones and having a trifling ditch, stands on the edge of the slope overlooking the valley of a small stream; Craigmue is as we have described it. It does not at present seem legitimate to consider them all as inter-related in one cultural period, but we must look at each separately and assess the import of its individual features. The excavators of Carminnow and Rispain ventured on no conclusion, and, indeed, their results warranted none. Mr Anderson was inclined to think that Bombie belonged to the Dark Age period of sea-raiders. As for Craigmue, it occupies a site such as is favoured by the "scooped-enclosures"⁹ of mediæval date, but nothing else about it supports the idea that it is related to such structures. On the contrary its points of similarity to Roman construction are so marked that one tends strongly to date it to the period when southern Scotland, though no longer occupied by Roman troops, was still within the pale of Roman influence.¹⁰ During these years there would be, especially in areas well disposed to the Roman power, princelings and ordinary

⁶ *P.S.A.S.*, lxx., p. 341-7.

⁷ *P.S.A.S.*, xxviii., p. 316.

⁸ *Transactions of this Society*, 3rd Series, xxv., p. 27-35.

⁹ *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Dumfriesshire*, lv.—"set back from the edge of some high bank which margins a river valley, they are such as would easily escape the notice of marauders in the haugh-land below" For the mediæval date of "scooped enclosures," *P.S.A.S.*, lxxv., p. 92.

¹⁰ Professor J. D. Mackie of Glasgow University mentions to me that the late Andrew Lang in conversation with him once gave an opinion that rectangular earthworks in south-west Scotland were the work of the "Levellers," who, around 1725, forcibly resisted "Enclosures." The opinion is not supported by any shred of evidence or even probability.

men who were both inclined and to some extent able through association and experience to imitate Roman methods of fortification. Only they would lack skill. It is precisely under such circumstances that such a work could arise. It cannot surely be dated to the Dark Ages or later when Roman methods had ceased to be even a distant memory. The closeness of imitation is too great. If we suppose an occasion when an anti-Roman movement was afoot, what more natural than that this place was constructed for a possible emergency — a unit of civil defence in modern parlance? Here inhabitants and cattle from the valley could seek discreet refuge till danger passed. Either the emergency did not materialise or swiftly passed, for the place does not seem to have been occupied much, if at all.

ARTICLE 6.

Some Recent Museum Acquisitions.

By A. E. TRUCKELL, F.S.A.Scot.

In September, 1950, Mrs Cavan-Irving of Burnfoot presented to the Museum the beautiful Minerva altar, dug up just west of Birrens fort by Mr Clow of Land in 1810, the small Fortune altar, found in 1886, and a fine sculptured head which may be one of several known to have been dug up at Birrens during the 18th and 19th centuries.¹ These were followed in July, 1951, by the generous loan from Captain Brook, Kinmount, of the Viradecthis and Harimella altars and the Afutianus Bassi tombstone²: the two altars and tombstone, all found at Birrens, were already at Hoddum Castle by 1772, when Pennant recorded them: the tombstone was later built into a summer-house at Knockhill, came to Hoddum Castle sawmill about 1911 on the demolition of the summer-house, and was in Hoddum Castle, with many other stones, Roman and Anglian, now lost, when war broke out in 1939.

The Minerva and Viradecthis altars and the tombstone record the presence of the second cohort of Tungrians; the altars both refer to its commander, Silvius Auspex. The Viradecthis altar is one of three known dedications to this goddess, the other two being from the Rhineland: it mentions men from the District of the Condrusti (on the Middle Rhine), serving in the Cohort. The date of these stones can be approximately fixed: the Cohort was at Birrens in A.D. 158—the only fixed date we have for the site. The Harimella altar is the only known reference to this goddess: its dedication is by the military architect, Amandus; and the tombstone is of interest because Flavia Baetica, who raised the stone to her centurion husband, must from her name have been from South Spain. The sculptured head

¹ Both altars are figured in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10th Feb., 1896.

² Figured in *P.S.A.S.*, 10th Feb., 1896.

from Burnfoot House³ has aroused exceptional interest: it has no close parallels in either Roman or mediæval work, though the inferential evidence is all in favour of its being Roman.

During the past few years Mr Alan Cunningham of Ecclefechan has several times found coins, pieces of pottery and the like lying on the surface—sometimes in rabbit-scrapes—within Birrens Fort: these have now been presented to the Society. Of particular note among this group is part of the wall of a pale buff wine-jar, probably from Spain, and bearing in cursive script “four ligulae, five quartarii, two

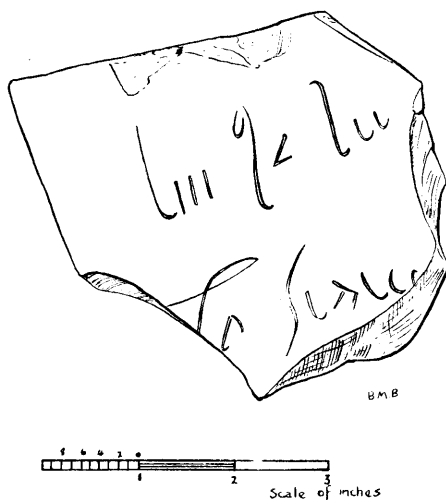


Fig. 2.

congi” —the vessel’s capacity—and the potter’s name, Sosimios, a Greek name which, written as here with Roman characters, could well be Spanish (Fig. 2). Two coins, also in this group of finds, greatly extend our dating of the occupation of this site: previously A.D. 158 was our latest firm date: one coin, a silver denarius of Severus Alexander, dates to 233 A.D., and the other, a bronze follis of Constantine, has

³ It is hoped to illustrate this head in a future volume of *Transactions*, after it has received a good deal more study.

been minted between 306 and 319, and, as it is well worn, cannot have been dropped before 330 or so. A finely modelled reeded jar-handle in greenish glass is late second or third century A.D., and several fragments of Samian ware are mid-second century, of the style of Cinnamus.

Miss Audrey Rennie, of Auldgirth, a schoolgirl at Dumfries Academy, brought in a coin of Lucius Verus/Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161 or 162, from a field adjoining Auldgirth Station, and on or near the line of the Roman road up Nitisdale: it had been found last summer by her brother while cutting turf.

Another major acquisition is the group of ten Dark Age crosses and cross-slabs from Hoddom Old Kirkyard, the site of the Anglian monastery traditionally founded by the Briton Kentigern: these have come by courtesy of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Church of Scotland Trustees. Oldest fragment is the broken cross-arm, with incised decoration, dated by Mr Raleigh Radford to 700-800 A.D.; part of a wheel-cross head, finely shaped, with elaborate interlace decoration on one side, dates to 900-1000 A.D.; while a complete little standing wheel-cross falls between 1000 and 1100 A.D. Seven grave-slabs, some square-ended and some with rounded ends, bear fine Anglian crosses incised, with a variety of bases, some square, some rounded, and one with the shaft of the cross simply terminating abruptly. Such coffin-shaped slabs with crosses of this type have not been noted before, but in this context probably fall between 1000 and 1120 or so. All the above date to Hoddom's period as a Celtic-type monastery: of the mediæval period, when crosses and stones of the monastery had been built into a parish church, is a flat slab bearing a cross-shaft with Calvary steps, probably 1350-1400, which may commemorate the parish priest, possibly a younger son of the local ruling family, which in this case would be the Carleils; three finer stones of this type are at present in the grounds of Hoddom Castle. Finally there is a fragment of stone bearing part of an inscription, probably mediæval.⁴

⁴ It is hoped that Mr Raleigh Radford will deal at length with the Hoddom finds as well as other unrecorded crosses in a future volume.

Efforts to locate the group of cross-fragments from this site and Roman inscribed fragments from Birrens, taken from Hoddom Castle to the summerhouse at Knockhill in the 18th century, and which were back at Hoddom Castle at the beginning of the last war, have so far been unsuccessful: it is feared that they may have been broken up and mixed with concrete by the military during the war; one cross of this group had been a "Great Cross" of the Ruthwell type.

A flint scraper, probably of Neolithic date, and a small flint waste flake, both from Glenkerry, Ettrick Muir, apparently Bronze Age, with a fine late Bronze Age flint arrowhead from near the Giant's Causeway, Antrim, and a boar's tusk from the peat in the Ettrick Forest area, come from the Castle O'er collection of the late Richard Bell. A fine flint arrowhead has also been presented by Mrs Vaughan, Broomside, Beattock, who dug it up in her garden. This developed Bronze Age barbed arrowhead adds one more to the growing list of those from Dumfriesshire. These have been listed by J. Graham Callander in his paper, "Dumfriesshire in the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages" (*D. and G. Transactions*, 1923-4, Vol. XI., p. 102). Though such finds inland are rare, yet a number of our examples are from inland sites, where they may well have been dropped by hunters. The majority, however, come from the coastal belt with a concentration in the Gretna area, suggesting a workshop site in that locality.

In September/October the Museum sectioned the ditch of the Roman fort on the Wardlaw, on the northern side of the fort; the ditch was found to be rock-cut and to have a Punic (sheer) outer face; the inner side sloped steeply; depth from present surface was 8 ft. 1 in., and depth below the rock surface just over six feet; width was 15 ft., and at the bottom was a gutter, also rock-cut, a foot wide and six inches deep. Turf wash showed that the inner face alone had been turf-faced; oxidised nails and one small fragment of hard pale buff pottery—the first from this site—were found in this wash.

ARTICLE 7.

Garwald and the Moffats

By W. A. J. PREVOST

The hill farm of Garwald lies in the northern half of the parish of Eskdalemuir. It covers an area of approximately 5375 acres, containing the Water of Garwald and its tributary burns, and extends from a point west of the main Eskdalemuir road near Davington in a north-westerly direction to the heights of Loch Fell and Wind Fell. The farmhouse and steadings are situated at an altitude of nearly eight hundred feet at a distance of a mile and a half from the main road.

It has long been noted for its breed of sheep, and of special interest is its long association with the family of Moffat, who first leased it in 1744 and maintained an unbroken connection with the farm till its sale in 1950, a period of two hundred and six years.

The Moffats of Garwald claim descent from the Thomas Moffat who in the fourteenth century received a Royal grant of the lands of Glencrosh and Swegill in Meggat of Esk.¹ During the Killing Time in the seventeenth century they were in the farm of Howpasley in Borthwick Water, and it was in their house that Hyslop, the Martyr of Eskdalemuir, stayed the night before passing on to meet his death at the hands of Claverhouse's soldiery.

John Moffat (1678-1728), the progenitor of the Garwald Moffats, was in Howpasley at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and he died there in 1728.² He was succeeded by his son James (1721-1779).

¹ See Adams, "*A History of the Douglas Family of Morton.*"

² The following account, rendered to John Moffat at Howpasley in 1718, refers to the erection of a cowhouse, complete with paving:

To Archd. Paterson and Wm. Turnbull, Masons.			
To 57 days' work at the Byre there at 8d scots a day	22	16	0
To 120 Elns of Causey in byre	8	0	0
	£30	16	0

James left Howpasley in 1744 and moved to Garwald, which he rented from the Duke of Buccleuch. He paid £155 a year in rent and purchased the sheep stock for £859, succeeding John and William Grieve in the tenancy.

The first sixteen years of his tenancy resulted in his suffering considerable loss due to bad seasons, but instead of giving up the place "which no one else would take," he was induced to remain there by the Duke, who gave him a tack of Meikleholm in 1759 at an attractive rent of £25 6s, on the condition of his remaining on at Garwald.

However, in 1770, to James Moffat's great surprise, he was removed from Meikleholm and was obliged to go and live at Garwald, "a highland farm whereon no corn grows for the support of a family." He approached the Duchess in a vain attempt to retain Meikleholm, pleading that if he was left in Garwald without corn land he would be ruined. Her Grace, however, was unable to help him, but vouchsafed the comforting assurance that "at least it would not break them both." His petition forwarded to the Duke two years later, in an endeavour to obtain some satisfaction in the matter, was also abortive. Perforce James remained on at Garwald, and after a lapse of eight years the Duke was successful in raising his rent another thirty-five pounds.

From a perusal of James Moffat's accounts it is remarkable how similar his methods of sheep farming were to those of to-day, the most noticeable change down the succeeding years being the gradual rise in the cost of essential items and in the cost of labour. The only sideline, cheesemaking, which was then profitable, became in course of time too laborious and expensive. In 1774 eighteen cheeses weighing over twenty-one stone in all were sold off Garwald over and above what was no doubt retained for the year's home consumption.

James' cash outgoings were very small, the heaviest burden in the profit and loss account being the rent and the expenses of smearing, which in after years was reckoned to cost sixpence a sheep. The shepherds were not paid in cash, since their wages were derived from the profits of their packs.

In 1765 James made the following bargains with two of his herds:

" This day sell the Garwald herding to Andrew Scott for twenty two soums and four of them kine. He is to keep by himself two men and a lad like three months in summer."

" Will Beatie for the Garwald Shiels herding. Fourteen soums, two of them kine, and I have to provide him with a horse for his work."

Again on April 7th, 1776:

" This day hired Wat Anderson and another man to herd the Grains and Asshie Bank. Walter to have 64 stone of oatmeal, 8 soums two of them kine, one of them his own, and he is to have sheep to kill for his use to the value of 9 shillings sterling. The march of that herding is to come from the Rispie syke to the point at Blood syke Bottom to the stone syke-head. As also George Moffat (and) another man to herd the other part of Garwald Farm, the one the Shaws and the other man to the Garwald Haugh foot. Two kine and 125 sheep. Also a boy that of his meat found Whitsunday to Martinmas."

Both Anderson and Moffat had already been herding on Garwald for at least thirteen years at the time the bargain was made.

James Moffat died in 1779, a very prosperous man. An inventory of his household furnishings in Garwald, made when he was living in Meikleholm, indicate a degree of comfort which many of us in these days of austerity might well envy.

The items listed included a generous supply of sheets, table-cloths, table napkins, woollen blankets and three black and white plaids. Conspicuous amongst the utensils were " 15 Green horn spoons and 40 Ram horn spoons."³

His farm stock was valued at £1232, and consisted of 4 horses, 10 cows, 1 bull, 14 queys, stotts and stirks, together with the sheep, which counted over 121 score, not including packs. The numbers are given below to show the large percentage of hogs which were kept on Munkinshaws instead of a ewe stock as is now the practice. The wedder lambs of the

³ Since these lines were written, two of these horn spoons have been presented to the Dumfries Museum.

annual crop were retained and more bought on each year as well.

Garwald Smearing Count, 1778

Garwald Shiels.	Ewes	18 score	9	
	Gimmers	6 score	16	
	Ewe Hogs	10 score	16	36 score 1
Garwald Grains. (now Kiddamhill)	Ewes	23 score	9	
	Gimmers	10 score	3	
	Tups	1 score	18	
	Dinmonts	8 score	16	44 score 6
Munkinshaws.	Wedder Hogs	26 score	11	
	Ewe Hogs	1 score	15	
	Tup Hogs	2 score	3	
Upon Powdanna.	Ewe Hogs	11 score	0	41 score 9
				121 score 16

James Moffat was succeeded by his son John (1772-1823), who was then only seven years of age, and the affairs of the family and the management of Garwald were in the hands of his relations.

During his life the Moffat fortunes were firmly established and a great deal of money was spent in the development of their holdings. John's brother, William, was able to take a tack of Mosspeeble in 1800 and then Craick in 1817, while his sister, Margaret, married Dr. William Brown, the minister of Eskdalemuir.

From 1781 to 1792 the profits from Garwald rose steadily year by year, the source of revenue being clearly shown in the profit and loss account for the year 1786.

Sales

Wedder Hogs.

Tups and Din-
monts

...	£246	3	0
Wool ...	37	4	0
Cow ...	6	6	0
Small Lambs ...	6	12	0
Fat Sheep ...	40	18	0
Draught Ewes...	51	16	0
Ewe Hogs ...	36	1	0

£425 0 0

Rent ...	£190	0	4
Road Money ...	3	6	8
Poor Rates ...	2	4	8
Wedder Lambs ...	59	0	0
Tar and Butter ...	28	0	0
Profit ...	142	8	4

£425 0 0

However, in 1792, the Duke advanced the rent to £294 and the profits at once declined. Two years later Garwald suffered a heavy loss, for on January 25th, 1794, the Gonial Blast devastated the countryside, and not only were the sales of sheep and lambs greatly reduced, but the expenses were considerably increased.

"A wean during the storm" cost £26 6s, tar and butter increased to £53 4s, and there were lost in the storm "eight score of Ewes and thirteen score of Hogs and Dinmonds."

The losses on Garwald would have been even more severe but for the foresight of a shepherd on the Grains, who managed to gather the most of his hirsels before the storm began, and also for the fortunate chance that at the same time one of the Moffats was trying out a new dog on the Bank. He succeeded in driving some of the hogs there to shelter, which under the circumstances was perhaps a very remarkable achievement.

The aftermath of the storm was terrible, and the task of caring for the live sheep, seeking for the lost and buried, and disposing of the dead, must have been heartbreaking. It was some time before the farmers were able to make an accurate estimate of what the damage amounted to.

In a note book for the year 1794 the following entries are recorded:

"Garwald Shiels. Feb. 10, 1794"

An account of dead ewes then found	3 Sc.	0
Of ewes	1 Sc.	2
Feb. 14 Of ewes	1 Sc.	2
Feb. 24 Of ewes		4
Of ewes	1 Sc.	2
	6 Sc.	10

A number of the carcasses were sold, and there is an entry on February 9 to the effect that seventeen ewes without the skins were disposed of, and five with skins, mostly to Borland. There are other entries of smaller lots at later dates, the prices obtained being either 2/6 or 3/- per dead sheep.

An account of the Gonial Blast was included by Dr.

Brown in his Statistical Account for Eskdalemuir, in which he refers to the total number of sheep lost in the parish on that occasion. The figure he obtained was the result of his enquiries, which he had noted down in the following list:

Sheep lost in Eskdalemuir on 25 January, 1794

Tanlawhill	None	Fingland	250
Yetbyre	None	Upper Cassock	540
Yards	19	Nether Cassock	240
Crurie	45	Davington and Burncleugh	40
Coats	83	Thickside	520
Rennelburn	200	Garwald	440
Clerkhill	30	Johnstone	74
Harewoodhead	20	Craighaugh	37
Raeburnfoot	37	Watcarrick	60
Mid Raeburn	5	Holm	34
Moodlaw	130	Todshawhill	5
Grassyards	30	Twiglees	168
Upper Fedling	30	Killburn	280
Langshawburn	30	Blackeskhead	None
Aberlosk	35		
	694		2688
			694
		Total ...	3382

As a result of the encouragement given by a progressive landlord, considerable improvements were made on farms belonging to the Duke. Garwald was no exception, and John Moffat's time saw the construction of many roods of fencing, many roods of hill drains, and also the erection of a substantial mansion-house. There is also evidence to assume that the cottages of the herds and hinds were put in order by the Duke.

The earliest reference to the building of a dyke is dated 1773, when Robert Riddel and his son William agreed to build a stone dyke 4 ft. 6 ins. high, with a foundation of 26 inches, to band with long stones three inches over each side of the dyke, and to be paid 15 pence for each six ells, or roods at two shillings each. They received £10 16s 1d for their work.

Between 1801 and 1817 at least twenty different contracts were fulfilled. The work carried out included the building of sheep stells, twenty-two roods of a garden dyke in 1800, sixty-three roods of 5 ft. Park dyke and nineteen and a half roods of a stack yard dyke in 1812, the re-building of ninety-five roods and adding a further forty-nine roods to a hay park at Garwald Shiels in 1816, and so on. In one estimate the rood was specifically stated as being eighteen feet.

Many roods of drains had been made by 1794, in which year a draining contractor "Received £13 3s 1d for redding of 5640 Roods of small drains at £2 6s 8d per 1000 roods" and also for making 2435 Roods of drain at 3/4 per rood.

Between 1829 and 1834. 26,887 roods of drain had been "laid on." The following year 692 roods of new drain were made and a large number of old drains cleaned. By 1836 the drains on Garwald measured 43,000 roods, and in that year a record of the measurement of drains in Eskdalemuir was made at the request of the Duke to assess their value and the improvement to the land.

The results of the enquiry confirmed that

"the state of the ground before the improvement of draining became general was very wet and the sheep stock on almost all the farms in the Parish of Eskdalemuir was very soft and many died of rot."

"Some farmers began to drain from about 1785-92 when it became general and His Grace gave an allowance to the farmers in the parish as an encouragement for draining and the effect has been that the stock became sounder and healthier than formerly. Sheep stells were afterwards begun to be erected and hay was provided for the sheep upon the farms in place of driving them off to lower ground, generally to Annandale, but now from the crops no wains to be had. Formerly the hay was so coarse that it was not fit for the sheep."

An undertaking of a rather more ambitious nature was completed in 1823, when a water cut was made between Burncleugh and Garwald near the Davington march, in order

to straighten out the burn and drain Garwald Haugh. This entailed a cut fourteen feet wide at the top, twelve feet wide at the bottom, and was excavated to a depth of three feet. The material excavated was removed nine feet clear of each side and built up to form a three foot bank. The whole cut and banking extended to $37\frac{1}{2}$ roods and cost £63 19s 11d.

The building of the mansion-house began in 1803, and was finished the following year. A rectangle of masonry was added to the existing house, the original part being converted into kitchen premises and offices. The new part consisted of two floors with attic accommodation under the roof. The size of the house when completed can be gauged from the window tax of £6 2s 4d which was paid by the occupier in 1847, assessed on its twenty windows.

The work was contracted out. Seven tons of slates were carted from Sarkfoot by way of Langholm; memel and other timber from Dumfries and Annan; hinges, locks, screws, "Glew," glass, etc., were obtained from John Irving in Langholm, where another contract was made with a Langholm mason for freestone for windows, doors, and flagging. The plastering was done by two Lochmaben men; and Robert Hume, a mason in Hawick, undertook to build the fifteen roods of mason work required. The stone was quarried locally, and the scaffolding used was obtained from the Garwald woods.

An extension to this house was made by the late William Moffat (1864-1932) about fifty years ago, when he added a large dining-room, drawing-room, lobbies, and a staircase with three bedrooms above.

Another building venture in which the Moffats were involved was the erection of a smithy in Eskdalemuir five years after the building of the mansion-house. This supplied a long-felt want. The ground was obtained from the Duke and a subscription raised to cover the expenses of building a house for the smith, estimated to cost £30 16s 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d, and a smithy to cost £23 17s. The smith was to be engaged subject to various rules and regulations regarding the supply of iron, nails, and so forth, and for his direction the subscribers

made it quite clear in the contract that he was forbidden "at his peril to work for those Heritors or Farmers who have not agreed to this useful and public measure."

The first decade of the century was overshadowed by the wars on the continent and the threat of invasion of Great Britain by Napoleon, and as a consequence companies of militia were raised in all parts of the country as well as other defensive measures which were taken by the government.

In 1803 the officers of the militia in Eskdalemuir were instructed to make a census of food and stock in the parish in order to ascertain if there was enough to support the inhabitants in the event of war. This was done, and the following return was sent in:

	Cows.	Young cattle & nolt.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Riding horses.	Draft horses.
Crurie	17	89	2045	1	1	—
Garwald	13	24	2400	—	—	5
Watcarrick	7	42	579	2	1	2
Yetbyre	3	4	1080	—	1	1
Tanlawhill	3	—	810	—	—	1
Todshawhill	5	6	240	—	—	2
Twiglees	15	66	1980	2	1	2
Langshawburn...	4	11	1400	1	—	1
Mid Raeburn ...	6	14	300	2	—	2
Moodlaw	10	14	2200	—	4	2
Aberlosk	5	3	860	—	1	—
Upper Cassock...	8	17	2240	—	—	2
Davington	9	15	473	—	1	1
Nether Fedling...	8	18	340	—	—	2
Upper Fedling...	8	9	390	—	—	2
Burncleugh	8	15	320	—	—	2
Rennalburn	11	21	480	—	—	4
Craighaugh, &c.	13	23	904	2	1	1

John Moffat died without issue in 1823, leaving no will, and the management of his estate devolved on his younger brother, William (1773-1847). William was then in Craick, a farm with which the Moffats were afterwards associated for over a century. William continued to run Craick and Garwald, assisted by his two sons, James (1811-1876) and John (1813-1882), when they became of age to do so.

In 1829 the rent of Garwald had been raised to £1092, but at the end of the nine-year tack was reduced to £620. The higher figure seems to have been a comparatively large rent to have paid at that time. However, the capital value of the stock had more than doubled itself in the last fifty years, and in 1833 was valued at £2831.

According to the valuation count the sheep stock amounted to 2334 with packs besides, and consisted of 1576 ewes, gimmers and hoggs, and 731 SHORT ewes, gimmers and hoggs with tups over and above.

The first mention in the accounts of LONG sheep occurs in 1807, when there is a reference to Short Sheep on the Grains and to Long Sheep on Garwald, and it is clear from the 1833 figures that the change over to the Cheviot breed was then well under way. Fifty years ago there were only two of the Blackface kind on Garwald, which is now entirely stocked with Cheviots.

In 1856 it was said that the place was "stented" to keep a hundred and ten score and the packs as well, but in actual fact it usually carried more. In 1882, when William (1864-1932) succeeded, it carried 117 score and the packs.

William was born in Craick, and took over the management of Garwald when he reached the age of twenty-one. In course of time he became a well-known judge of sheep and well known in farming circles. He was a keen sportsman and follower to hounds.

When a young man he shot regularly every year over Glendearg and Over Cassock, and his shooting accounts of the 'eighties record the number and varieties of birds shot. In his best year there were shot on the two farms sixty-nine and a half brace of grouse, seventy brace of black game, and forty-two brace of partridge, snipe, and duck.

The black game has now almost completely disappeared from Eskdalemuir, and has been supplanted by the pheasant, which is said to have ousted the other game.

But more especially William was a man of sound judgment and astute in worldly affairs. His advice was much

sought after and respected. For his own part he was enabled to purchase, in 1911, the extensive holdings of Georgefield and Glendinning, and four years before his death added Garwald itself to the family estates.

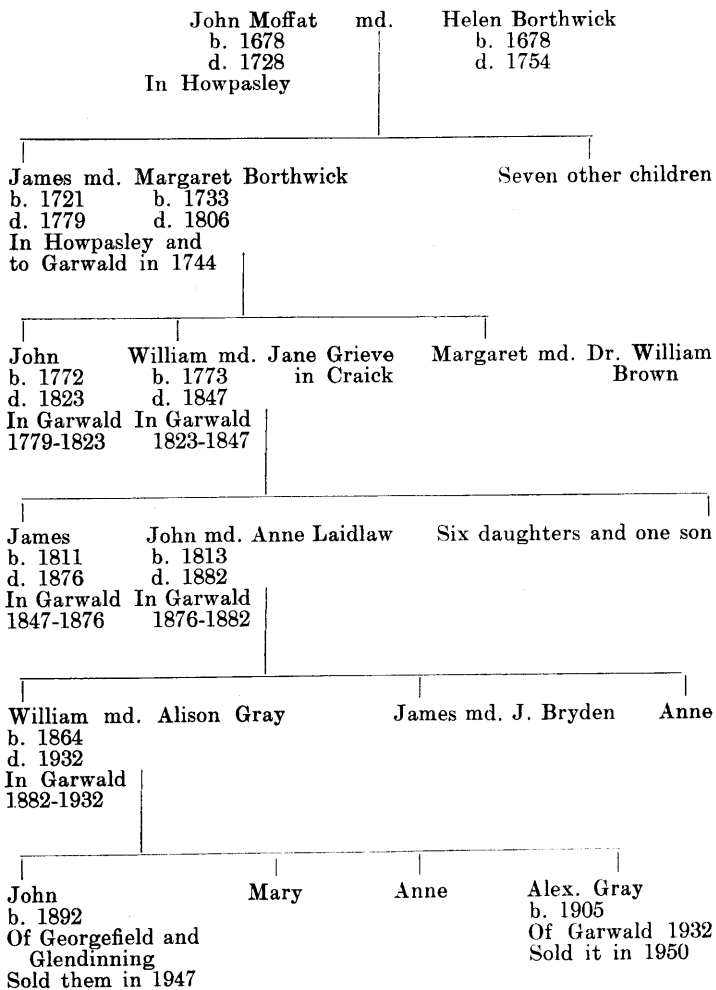
During his life he saw many changes. In his early years the shepherd's wages were the produce of his pack, but by 1911 the sheep on Garwald were herded on the six hirsels of Garwald Shiels, Whitehillburn, Monkinshaw, Bank and Kiddamhill (being two hirsels) by men engaged on a cash bargain basis.

The way of life on a hill farm slowly changed, or perhaps became unsettled, by the arrival of the motor vehicle more than by any other cause. Draft ewes and lambs were transported to the sales by motor lorry, and the weekly visit to Lockerbie on market day became an effortless and easy journey.

The delivery of groceries and weekly wants to the farm itself is now accepted as a matter of course. It is true that the carrier's horse and cart have only been supplanted, but it could never compete with the delivery vans either in choice or quantity.

Garwald as the crow flies is about ten miles from Moffat and thirteen from Langholm and Lockerbie. Langholm and Lockerbie are served by the main highway, but the road to Moffat was at the best never more than a cart track and is now rarely used.

On a map of the district, printed about 1810, the track is shown as a well-defined road connecting Davington and Moffat, passing over Dryfe Head and Wamphray Water Head and following the Cornal Burn. It was used by the Eskdalemuir people to attend the Moffat Fairs and market days, and, when the markets ceased altogether, for ordinary casual business. The Garwald shepherds walked it, and it is related how many years ago one of them, William Scott, arrived at Moffat from Garwald carrying a calf in the neuk of his plaid.

Moffats of Garwald

ARTICLE 8.

Dunragit

By R. C. REID

Two years ago, during the first year's excavations at Whithorn, I visited this site, with Mr Raleigh Radford, for the first time. I was at once struck with its similarity with the Fort on Trusty Hill at Anwoth, traditionally associated with King Drust of the 6th century, and also with the so-called Moat of Mark, excavated by Mr A. O. Curle in 1912, which also is a structure of the same period.

This site is described very inadequately in the Wigtownshire Inventory, p. 114, as follows:

On the east side of the avenue to Dunragit House and about quarter of a mile from the Lodge is situated the "Round Donnan." It is a natural hillock of outcropping rock, some 12-14 feet in height, overgrown with vegetation. Along the west side is a terrace some 18 feet wide, which may originally have been a ditch, now filled in.

We inspected it earlier in the year when the vegetation had scarcely begun to develop, and we were able to see a good deal more than the compiler of the Inventory. The site has had a double defence system, the outer defence being an earthen rampart, from which stones protruded. At some time, perhaps long after the site had been abandoned, a track that led up the ridge to this site, perchance entering through the outer rampart, had been diverted round the summit and within the outer rampart so as to avoid the knoll—thus creating the terrace referred to in the Inventory—proceeding thence northward in the direction of the modern house.

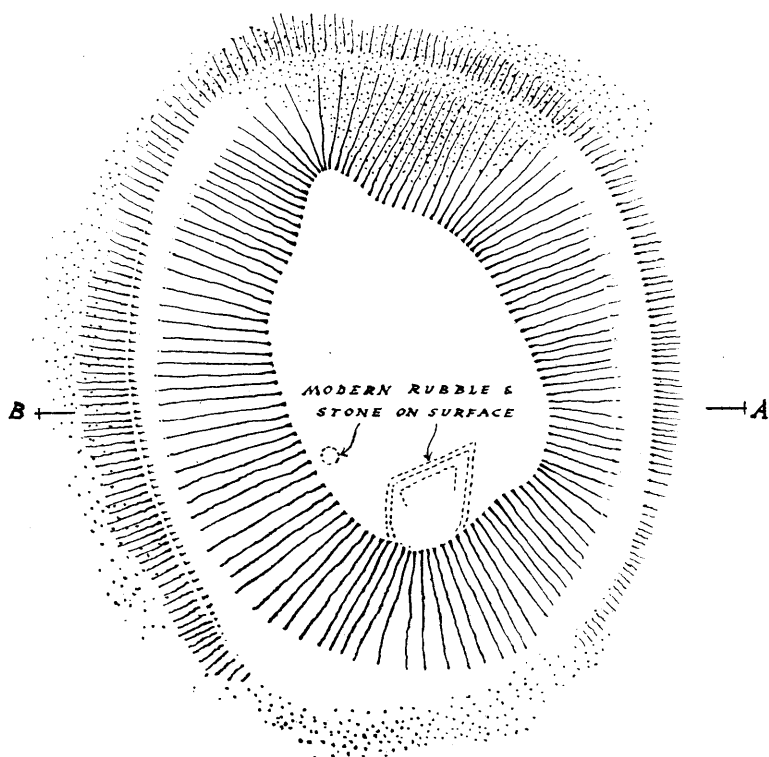
Whatever may have been the construction of the outer defences, which only the spade can reveal, there was less doubt about the Fort itself. It had been a stone-built structure, probably drystone, though it might have had a clay packing, long since dissolved by the weather. The entrance was through a straight passage between stone walls, at the inner end of which must have been another gate. Directly to the

west of the outer gate were surface indications of a thickening of the wall, perhaps indicating a tower beside that gate. Mr Raleigh Radford had no hesitation in assigning the site to the 5th-6th centuries. In other words, it belongs to the same Dark Age period as Trusty's Hill and Moat of Mark, but, whereas they both overlook an estuary, this site of similar elevation stands well back from Glenluce Bay.

Its name, "The Round Donnan," or circular little fort, is obviously not an early appellation and tells us nothing that can help us to decide what race built it and lived in it. So let us see what the place-name Dunragit has to tell us. No attention seems to have been paid to this place-name till Professor Watson in 1926 called attention to it in his scholarly *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. Here for the first time our place-names were treated not as an isolated list of names arranged alphabetically, but scientifically as a whole in their proper historical setting. He found that in a charter dated 1535 Dunragit was spelt Dunregate, and deduced that it meant the Fort of Rheged. He adds:

The site of the old fort is on a rounded eminence called the Mote of Dunragit.

Now Watson was an historical etymologist and not an archaeologist. His volume covers the whole of Scotland, and it was quite impossible for him to visit personally more than a mere fraction of all the places named in his work. He had to rely largely on local correspondents to visit and report on sites. They were of varying quality. I do not know who was his Wigtownshire correspondent, but "the rounded eminence called the Mote of Dunragit" is not this site, but lies on the flat ground beyond the Railway Station, is an Anglo-Norman structure of the 12th century, and is not a British Fort. Further, though sometimes called the Mote of Dunragit, its real name is the Mote of Drochdool. Yet, subject to this correction, Professor Watson was, I feel, quite right in his surmise. In all probability the site preserves, in its name, the only link that we have with the ancient Kingdom of Rheged, which flourished for nigh a century through the Heroic Age of British history from the time that the



Stipple on plan indicates dense undergrowth

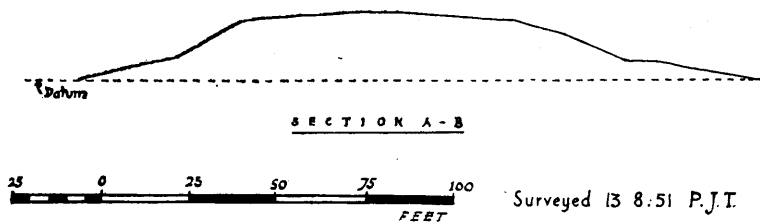


Fig. 3—THE ROUND DONNAN, DUNRAGIT.

Roman Legions departed in 383, through the period when Arthur was fighting his successful crusade between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus and until the battle of Degsastan (Dawstone in Liddesdale) in 603, when King Aidan's confederate forces were annihilated by the Angles and Rheged as a kingdom and place-name disappears from our early annals.

If Professor Watson is right in equating Dunragit with the Fort of Rheged, and if this site really represents that Fort, then what you see here is a definite relic of the days sung of by Malory in his romantic tales of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Now Romance is usually the negation of History, but in the case of Arthur some scraps of 6th century history survive under the subsequent layers of 12th Century Romance. The first thing to remember is that Arthur in real life was *not* a king. Had he been a king he might never have fallen in battle at Camlan¹ at the treacherous instigation of one of those British kings whom he is stated to have put on the throne. Arthur is only described as *Dux Bellorum*—the leader in the fight—never as king. His success lay in that he had organised a confederacy of British chiefs to repel Pictish attacks from beyond the Wall of Antoninus, and to resist the encroachments of the Anglian settlements on the East Coast and the estuary of the Forth. That confederacy was known as the Men of the North, and, whilst all over England the Britons were being dispossessed by the Anglian settlers and pushed yearly further west without much serious recorded resistance, these Men of the North put up such a stout resistance that they now hold a predominant place in the early poetry of their race.

There has come down to us in the Welsh Hengurt MSS. and from Nennius the pedigrees of thirteen kings of the Men of the North, deduced from Coel Hen of Ayrshire and Ceredig

¹ The date of Camlan, 537, as given by Skene, seems much too late, if Arthur perished there. The view of recent critics is that the twelve battles of Arthur occurred within the three or four decades following the Letter of Agitius, i.e., 446.

Gwledig, the Coroticus of St. Patrick's well-known letter. Amongst them figures Urien of Rheged, son of Kynvarch, who was great-great-grandson of Coel Hen.^{1a} In so far as it is possible to check these pedigrees, Skene was convinced that they were substantially accurate. The earliest form of the name Urien is Urbgen, signifying "city-born,"² and it is likely that Urien was one of those Britons who had been born and lived in the annexe of some Roman Fort between the Walls rather than, as suggested by Skene, at Dumbarton, which was never a Roman site. His mother's name was Nevyn, whose sister was Lleian,³ mother of Aidan, King of Scottish Dalriada, who, after the death of Urien and his sons, carried on the fight against the Angles till his eclipse at Degsastan.

The Welsh *Bruts*, of much later date, relate that Arthur gave the districts which he had wrested from Picts and Angles to the three sons of Kynvarch. To Urien he gave Rheged.⁴ Skene, quoting the same source, argues that Rheged was in the region of Loch Lomond, but too much reliance should not be placed on the *Bruts*. There is no place-name in the Lennox that will equate with Rheged, but there is in Wigtownshire, and it lies close to that part of Galloway where Skene himself⁵ postulates a Pictish enclave betwixt Luce Water and Kirkcudbright. Urien may have helped to subdue the Galloway Picts, and hence received the designation "of Rheged." But it is difficult to believe that Arthur, a *dux bellorum* amongst a confederacy of petty kings, would be in a position to bestow a district on one of them. If Camlan was fought in 537, Urien, who perished c. 585,⁶ must have been young indeed to wear a crown.

But the exact area of Rheged is still in doubt. Lewis

^{1a} *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., p. 168, Nennius' *History of the Britons* (1938), S.P.C.K., by the Rev. A. W. Wade Evans, and the Welsh Tract entitled *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*.

² *Celtic Scotland*, I., 153 on.

³ *Ibid.*, I., 161 on.

⁴ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., i., for map of Prydyn.

⁶ Watson, p. 129.

Morris supposed that it was Cumbria. Sir Francis Palgrave in his *History of England* placed it in Dumfriesshire. Stephens in *The Gododin*, p. 371, identified it with Lancashire up to the Swale River. Rhys in *Arthurian Legend* regards Rheged as mythical. And Professor Oman in *England before the Norman Conquest* locates it south of the main principality or Clydesdale with its capital at Dumbarton, and suggested that it represented modern Cumberland with so much of Northumberland as had not been conquered by the Angles, adding: "possibly the name Redesdale preserves a memory of this forgotten realm."

Of Urien and his battles it is recorded in history that he was so successful against the Angles on the East Coast that he even besieged, albeit vainly, Theodoric in the island of Lindisfarne between the years 572 and 579.⁷

The British poet Taliesin, who was his contemporary,⁸ devotes several of his surviving 77 poems to Urien and his sons. The poet names him as participating in a battle in the dales of Severn.

A battle in the pleasant course, early, against Urien.⁹

Nine separate poems relate to Urien and his activities and three others to Urien and his son, Owen. Both father and son had their own private bards. Tristvard, bard of Urien, and Dygynlw, bard of Owen, are described as ruddy speared Bards of Prydain.¹⁰ Father and son are depicted as fighting against other Britons in cattle raiding encounters^{10a} and of fighting at the battle of Argoed Llwyfan against the Angle Flamddwyn, who is supposed to be Theodoric.

And let us raise our spears above the heads of men
And rush upon Flamddwyn in his army
And slaughter with him and his followers.¹¹

⁷ *D. and G. Trans.*, Vol. XXVII., p. 89.

⁸ *Taliesin*, by Sir John Morris Jones. His translation of the vital early poems varies somewhat from that of Skene.

⁹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., 275.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II., 459.

^{10a} *Taliesin*, p. 198: "When he returned from Erechwyd from the land of the Clydemen not a cow lowed to her calf."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I., 366.

In the fight Flamdwyn was slain by Owen. To Taliesin, Urien was a special hero whether in hall or battle. Here is an extract from Skene's translation :

If there is a cry on the hill
 is it not Urien that terrifies?
 If there is a cry in the valley
 is it not Urien that pierces?
 If there is a cry on the mountain
 is it not Urien that conquers?
 If there is a cry on the slope
 is it not Urien that wounds?
 If there is a sigh on the dyke
 is it not Urien that is active?

Etc.

And until I fail in old age
 in the sore necessity of death
 May I not be smiling
 if I praise not Urien.¹²

Urien is described as Lord of Catreath, which is claimed to be Catterick in Yorkshire. But Skene has shown that this is hardly tenable and that there was a district of that name in the Lothians. Urien is also described as Lord of the Echwydd, a term indicating a tidal water which Watson (p. 156) believes was the Solway, noted for its racing tides. Finally, Sir J. Morris Jones has established that Carlisle was in Rheged.

Urien met his death at Aber Lleu at the hand of an assassin instigated, it is said, by another British king.¹³ Llovan Llawdino, who slew Urien, son of Kynvarch, is named in the Triads as one of the Three Atrocious Assassimators of Prydain.¹⁴ Urien is said to have married Modron, by whom he had twins, a son Owen and a daughter Morvud.¹⁵ Other

¹² *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., 349.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I., 358.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II., 463.

¹⁵ Rhys: *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, 247. Sir J. Morris Jones is puzzled at the mention of a man named Mabon in one of these poems. He points out that in Roman times Deus Maponus was the Apollo of Rheged. Three inscriptions in his honour have been discovered at Ribchester, Ainstable and Hexham respectively. The poem is cor-

[Continued at foot of next page.]

sons were Elphin and Pasgen, who is described in a Triad as one of the Three Arrogant Ones of Prydain,¹⁶ Rhiwallon¹⁷ and perhaps Gwyn of Gwynlliwg. A sister of Urien named Eurdyl is also mentioned.¹⁸

Of Owen less is known than of his father. But according to tradition he was father of St. Kentigern.¹⁹ His death is not recorded, though there has been preserved to us *The Death Song of Owain* by Taliesin,²⁰ a short poem of some feeling:

The soul of Owain, son of Urien, may its Lord consider its need
The Chief of Rheged, the heavy sward conceals him.

The subject of this poem, writes Sir John Morris Jones, is not the Owain ap Urien of the mediæval imagination, Knight of the Round Table, hero of the romance "The Lady of the Fountain," the Chevalier au Lyon of Chrestien de Troyes, the Ywain of "Ywain and Gavain"—but the historical Owein ap Urien, who with his father fought against

rupt, but one passage is intelligible—"Unless they fly with wings they could not escape from Mabon without slaughter." This surely refers to a real man. Morris Jones suggests that either Mabon is a complimentary term applied to Owein, who is the subject of the poem, or that Owein had a brother called after the local God. In the Welsh Tales, of later date, Mabon is the son of Modron, and according to the Triads, Modrom was the name of Owein's mother. This god, whose name in Welsh means son or youth, was a North British deity equated with the Apollo of the Romans to whom the god was known as Maponus, and was worshipped by high military officials. In the *Ravenna Cosmography* there is a place named Locus Maponi, which the learned editors (*Archæologia*, vol. 93) suggest was a meeting place presumably referring to a shrine of Apollo Maponus. They affirm that it must lie in S.-W. Scotland and is probably the Clochmabenstane at Gretna, the traditional meeting place of the Western Marches and the site of a prehistoric stone circle (Watson). But there may be another claimant to this Roman place name. Lochmaben itself with its Lake Dwellings might well have been the centre of the cult. Sir Ifor Williams has pointed out that, in the old Welsh tales, Mabon, son of Modron=Maponus, son of Matrona.

¹⁶ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II., 459.

¹⁷ Rhys, 247.

¹⁸ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., 358.

¹⁹ Watson, p. 129.

²⁰ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., 366.

the sons of Ida in the latter half of the 6th century. He is seen not in the glamour of Romance, not even through the haze of a century or two—but as the real prince of Rheged, by a man who knew him and loved him.

The grave of Owen is mentioned in a remarkable poem in the Black Book of Caermarthen called the Verses of the Warriors' Graves. Some 200 persons are named, many being well-known historical characters, but of some of them no record save these simple verses have come down to us:

The grave of Owain ap Urien in a secluded part of the world,
under the sod of Llan Morvael.

So sang the poet. And again:

The grave of Madawg, the splendid bulwark
in the meeting of contention, the grandson of Urien,
The best son of Gurn of Gurnyllwg.

And lastly:

A mystery of the world, the grave of Arthur.²¹

With the passing of Owen we hear no more of Rheged. Perhaps he was succeeded by his nephew, Royth, son of Rhun and grandson of Urien. But Royth is a name and no more. His daughter, Rhiainfellt, was the first wife of Oswy, King of Northumberland. The marriage must have taken place c. 642, when Oswy succeeded Oswald, and must have been for dynastic purposes, to sever the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Britons from the combination of Penda and Cadwallon that threatened Northumbria. If so, the policy was successful and Galloway was opened to the peaceful settlement of the Angles and the ultimate establishment of an Anglian Bishop at Whithorn.²²

Of all the early sites in Galloway, other than Roman, two, I think, cry aloud for excavation—Trusty's Hill at Anwoth and this site at Dunragit. Trusty's Hill is almost certainly Pictish; the emblems graven on its rock face should ensure that. But it may be found to have had two occupation

²¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I., 315.

²² *D. and G. Trans.*, Vol. XXVII., p. 82.

layers, just as there must have been at Mote of Mark, though not recognised by the excavators. So, too, we might expect two occupation periods at this site — firstly, Pictish; and, secondly, British.

Galloway has always had a mixed population, from its geographical position on the great trade route from Scotland to Ireland, and the Garrochar urn might be quoted to show that some ancestral Picts at an early date were resident in the Province. But the Pictish settlement that gave its name to the "Picts of Galloway" probably took place when, on the departure of the Legions, the space between the Walls was over-run by the Picts. Their subjection by, or at the time of, Urien would not entail extinction, but we may expect that a site of strength like Dunragit would be occupied by the victors and a new internal lay-out would follow. That would entail a wooden aisled hall on the summit, which Mr Radford thinks is scarcely large enough for a hall of a magnate like Urien.

But Urien, if he took his designation from this site, could have been here but little, and "the halls of Urien" mentioned in the poems may well have been elsewhere in the Lowlands where his constant battles led him.

Some day this site must be excavated and search made carefully for the postholes of a hall. If luckily they are found with dateable pottery and other evidence in support, we shall have gone a long way to establish the thesis of Professor Watson.

ARTICLE 9.

Bronze Objects from Kirkconnell.

By STUART MAXWELL, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., and
R. B. K. STEVENSON, F.S.A.

There have been presented to the Dumfries Museum by Mr R. Maxwell-Witham several bronze implements long preserved at Kirkconnell House, New Abbey. With the exception of the mortar, their provenance is unknown. The most arresting of these objects is a typical specimen of late Bronze Age leaf-shaped or slashing sword, such as are discussed in P.S.A.S., 1937-38. It is very doubtful if this is original. Its remarkably fine condition rather militates against it, while the rough finish of the hilt is almost conclusive. But it should certainly be shown in the Museum, labelled tentatively as a reproduction.

The skillet or three-legged pot with projecting handle belongs to the same type of medieval cooking vessel as the more common handleless variety. The Kirkconnell skillet is 6.9 ins. in height, has a rim diameter of 5.3 ins., and 3.2 ins. of the handle remain, the end being broken off. The upper surface of the handle is decorated with two of the concentric circle ornaments often found on these vessels. It is made of cast bronze (no casting marks are visible), but one of the shorter legs has been repaired with a piece of iron in a peculiar manner, the iron being almost covered by bronze.

The mortar, which is coated with a green patina, is 5.8 ins. in height, 4.9 ins. in diameter at base, and 5.4 ins. at the rim, which is imperfect. The handles, one imperfect, protrude 1 in. from the side, and are 1.3 in. long. There are four lines round the body near the top and another four near the base. Diamond-shaped cuts at the handles and "P.G." over "1603" on the body have been added after casting. The base has been repaired with a piece of iron fastened with three iron rivets; this may account for the base being convex, a feature which must have made it awkward to use. It is probably at least a century older than the

inscribed date, 16th and 17th century mortars being usually heavier and decorated. (See Plate I.)

Rapier of bronze, unpatinated but pitted by former corrosion. Over-all length, 15 ins. The blade of diamond cross-section (maximum thickness .25 in., maximum breadth 1.5 in.) widens to a flat heel 2 ins. wide and 2 ins. long, with at the upper corners two rivet holes .3 in. across. No provenance; formerly preserved at Kirkconnell House. Such rapiers belong typologically to the "Middle Bronze Age." Professor Childe has, however, shown that their actual date is probably in the Late Bronze Age, i.e., after about 1000 B.C. He stated in 1931¹ that of 25 rapiers then known to him from Scotland, 15, including those from the large hoard at Drumcoltran, Kirkcudbrightshire,² were from Dumfries and Galloway. None occur north of the Tay. This new rapier is more massive than many, which are often narrower or shorter. A similar one, not quite so long, comes from Fairholm, Lockerbie, and is now in the National Museum of Antiquities.

¹ *Prehistory of Scotland*, p. 148.

² T.D.G.A.S., 1926-28.



Plate I.—BRONZE OBJECTS, KIRKCONNEL.

ARTICLE 10.

Excavations at Mote of Urr**Interim Report: 1951 Season**

By BRIAN HOPE-TAYLOR, F.S.A.

It has been one of the anomalies of archæology that earthworks bulking so large—physically and numerically—as mottes,¹ should be amongst those least understood. It has become increasingly evident that purely historical research cannot give full understanding of mottes and their function, and accordingly the excavation techniques evolved for prehistorical studies have recently been applied to the problem.

In 1949-50, the Abinger Motte, Surrey, was excavated by the writer, and yielded much useful information,² which may be summarised as follows. c. 1100 A.D. the mound and its moat were made. Upon the former was erected a timber tower, and probably an outer palisade also. By the middle of the same century the structures of the first phase were dismantled, the mound was heightened and new timber works built thereon. A small tower, like the first, was placed within a timber palisade with an inner platform. Excava-

¹ *Mote*, the regional variant of the name *motte*, is apt to confuse. While it is obviously desirable to retain it where it is a part of the familiar name of a site (e.g., Mote of Urr), it is nevertheless to be hoped that *motte* will be used in more general consideration of these earthworks. *Motte* is used and understood over the greater part of Europe and the British Isles. *Mote*, on the other hand, is current only in a small region, and the confusions of *mote* with *moat*, and even with *moot*, are all too common (Mote of Urr, for example, appears as *Moat* of Urr on local picture-postcards). It is suggested that for purely archæological purposes the word *motte* should be used in Scotland as elsewhere to describe this type of earthwork, the use of *Mote* being restricted to proper names (i.e., its application should always be such as to require for it a capital M).

² *Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute*, Vol. CVII., pp. 15-43.

tion showed the moat to be penannular, a causeway of unmoved sand and rock providing access to the motte. The causeway would have carried a light wooden bridge, probably giving on to a ladder up the motte-side. The moat was water-filled until it silted up, having been intentionally sited so that it was constantly fed by a small spring.

The Abinger excavations had provided a basis for research on a larger scale. Two complementary projects were therefore undertaken. One was the production of a distribution-map of the motte-and-bailey castles of the British Isles; the second, a series of excavations of mottes in various selected regions.

The excavation of a Galloway motte was felt to be particularly desirable, this being one of the areas of Britain richest in mottes. In Galloway, Mote of Urr stands supreme, and was chosen as the subject for the second excavation of the programme, after a great number of other mottes had been inspected in the field.

The writer's most grateful acknowledgments must be made to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for their support and generous financial aid; to the Scottish Field School of Archæology for a number of student-diggers; to Professor Stuart Piggott and Mr R. J. C. Atkinson for their great kindness and help in the preliminary stages (to mention one of many invaluable services, Mr Atkinson drove the writer on a tour of well over a thousand miles in Scotland, with the sole purpose of selecting the most suitable motte for excavation); to Mr R. C. Reid for unfailing assistance in the general arrangements; to Mr J. Halliday, the owner of the site, for permission to excavate, and to Mrs Halliday and himself for their innumerable kindnesses; to Mr J. Laird for his unstinted help in the accommodation of the volunteer labour force, and to the Stewartry Education Committee for a grant through the Scottish Field School; to the diggers themselves, and to a host of others—too many to mention individually—for the help, kindness, and hospitality which assisted and encouraged us constantly.

The Excavations

(a) Aims.

The purpose of the 1951 excavations was threefold, viz. :

1. To explore the top of the motte in order to discover the form of the structures originally built upon it; from this to deduce the former function and significance of the site.
2. To section the great moat which encloses the motte, in order to place the site in a chronological context by means of the stratified sequences of occupational debris there to be expected.
3. Further to employ the observed stratigraphical relationships of various ceramic types, to place the study of Scottish medieval pottery on a surer basis than heretofore. The dating of many undocumented, or inadequately documented, medieval sites will depend on the evidence of pottery in the absence of coin-finds. Only by patient observation of the *relative* dates of pottery types not associated with coins, and of the *absolute* dates of those associated with coins, can the study be brought to the point at which it will become a reliable tool of archæology.

(b) The top of the motte.

This part of the site was divided into octants, from a measured central point, the method being to excavate alternate octants (A, C, E, and G) and to dump the resulting spoil on the intervening undug areas (octants B, D, F, and H). When the first series of octants is fully excavated, the reverse procedure will obtain. In 1951 two octants were dug, and it is hoped that all those remaining will be completed in 1952.

The turf and overburden were removed, disclosing a thick spread of large pebbles and boulders (in part at least, material collapsed from basal reinforcements of the structures). This layer was carefully removed, stone by stone, after a plan had been made of its relative densities, etc., in

the areas examined. Below it was some fallen clay, resting on a rammed clay occupation surface. This was painstakingly skimmed with trowels, as it was presumed that the original buildings would have been of wood, i.e., the recovery of the ground-plan would depend on the identification of the infilled sockets of the vertical timbers, as at Abinger. These careful methods were rewarded by the discovery of large post-holes, with packing-stones, and there is now no doubt that originally a massive timber building crowned the Mote of Urr. A great many large iron nails, typically medieval, were found. Their distribution was instructive, and they throw light on the constructional methods employed. The second season of excavation, in 1952, will, it is hoped, reveal the complete ground-plan. What has already come to light suggests that the building was a large timber keep.

A potentially important feature of the motte-top is a big central pit, filled with black earth, animal bones and pottery. As 13th-14th century pottery occurs in its topmost levels and it seems to be fairly deep, one may hope for a stratified sequence of earlier relics when it is fully excavated in 1952. Certainly the use of the pit for rubbish disposal before the 13th century suggests that by then its true function had lapsed, and, by implication, that the original purpose of the building (and indeed of the Mote itself) had also ceased to be important by that time. The origin of the Mote must, therefore, antedate the 13th century, as had been presumed; this is fully confirmed by evidence from the ditch, discussed below in the appropriate section.

Another important feature was a large, shallow pit on the periphery of the motte-top. Its filling contained 13th century pottery and an iron arrowhead of the same date. A large post-hole was found to run vertically through its filling, and others lay at the inner corners. The outer edge of the pit was bounded by a series of post-holes separated by large boulders.

The present, necessarily tentative, interpretation of these features is that a heavy palisade, reinforced by boulders, encircled the top of the motte. Abutting on its inner face



Plate II.—Octant E of the motte-top in process of excavation
(vertical ranging-pole in post-hole).



Plate III.—Large post-hole in Octant E of motte-top (note packing-stones
in and around the socket).

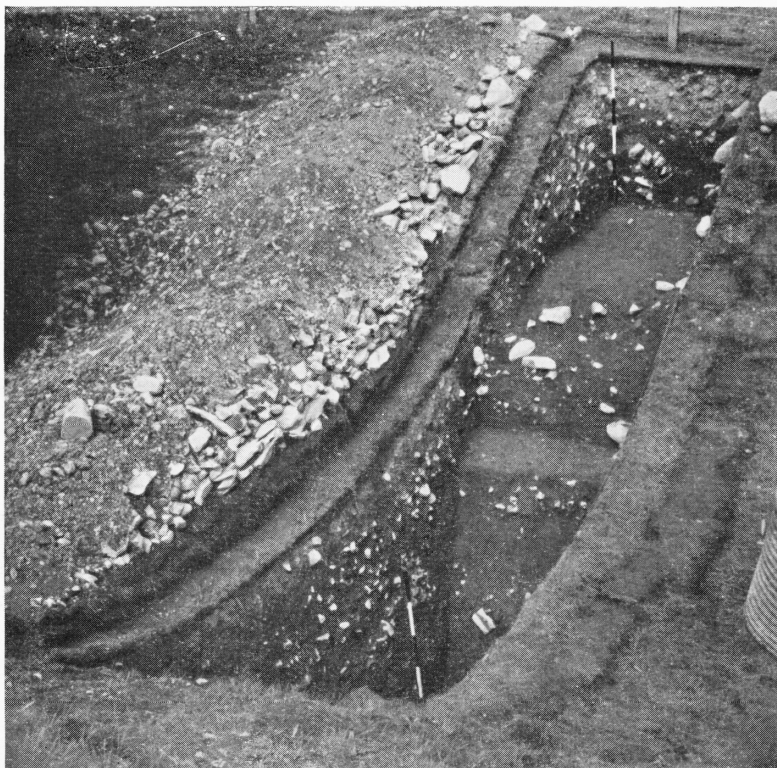


Plate IV.—Cutting across the motte's ditch, seen from the side of the mound.

there were probably turrets (for a series seems most probable), the shallow pit possibly representing a small "cellar" beneath one of them. Within was a large timber tower. The central pit may have been a sump for surface drainage, a prison or even, perhaps, a well. Future work will revise or confirm these interpretations.

(c) The Moat.

A cutting six feet wide was made across this work. It proved that the moat was filled with silted and eroded material to a depth of no less than nine feet. There was decisive evidence that at an early stage it had silted up to a depth of over six feet and had then been re-cut to its original depth. The re-cut moat silted up again to the same depth before the 13th century, for a layer rich in 13th century pottery sealed the second silting at this point—a striking confirmation that the Mote was constructed well before the 13th century, as suggested by the filling of the pit on the motte-top.

The entire section was excavated with trowels, and it was due to the sensitivity of this method that an important feature was found. This was a series of post-holes on the counterscarp bank of the moat, almost certainly representing the emplacement of a flying bridge, as depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. Further work is needed to recover the entire structural plan, and this should be an important area for future research.

This cutting indicated that the greater part of the motte is artificial.

(d) Plan of excavation for 1952.

The first essential is the complete excavation of the motte-top. That the first season's work should have produced so many significant features there is extremely encouraging, and it may reasonably be said that the site is likely to be of the greatest importance to British medieval archaeology.

The total excavation of the large central pit may provide the stratified pottery series which is so much needed. In this respect only has the site so far proved very slightly dis-

appointing: this is not to say, however, that the 1951 pottery-finds were devoid of interest. A good bulk of 13th-14th century pottery was found during the first season, and contains much worthy of publication in the final report. A series of medieval iron arrowheads was found on the motte-top.

In 1952 the impressive defences of the bailey will be sectioned, in order to test their apparent contemporaneity with the motte. It is hoped that time will also allow of the investigation of the two seemingly original entrances to the bailey.

After the second season of excavation the evidence obtained from the ground will be correlated with the recorded history of the site.¹

There is every indication that the Mote of Urr will fulfil the promise of its imposing appearance, and make a notable contribution to the archæological record.

¹ R. C. Reid, "The Mote of Urr," in *Trans. of D. and G. Soc.*, XXI., p. 11.

ARTICLE 11.

The Paton Cottage, Torthorwald.

By GEORGE BARTHOLOMEW, A.R.I.B.A.

Towards the end of November, 1948, work on the demolition of a small, thatched cottage at Torthorwald began. In a few days nothing remained but a pile of debris, and when the ground was cleared a little cairn was erected to mark the site.

The disappearance of any old structure must always be a matter of some regret, but particularly so in this case. The cottage was the boyhood home of Dr. John Gibson Paton, missionary to the New Hebrides, who was taken to the cottage by his parents in 1830 as a boy of five. Educated at the local school and the son of devout parents, John G. Paton interested himself in social work at an early age, and was ordained into the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1857 at the age of thirty-three, and a few months later, in April, 1858, he sailed from Greenock to the New Hebrides, arriving at the island of Tana in November of the same year, and spent the rest of his active life as a missionary in this part of the world, dying in Australia in 1906. He exercised a great and wholesome influence in his own time. Few notable men of that generation are appreciated to-day, but one would hope that the courage, initiative, and devotion to the service of mankind so characteristic of John G. Paton would long continue to be a source of inspiration to Scottish people, particularly in Dumfriesshire.

The house was interesting for another reason. It was very old, and an excellent example of a primitive form of house construction. By primitive, of course, I do not mean remote in sense of time or merely crude, but rather a peasant mode of building suitable to semi-skilled labour and making use of materials available on or near the site. There grew up in this country a well-defined tradition in primitive house-building which continued over many centuries, and the structural qualities of the Paton house can only be fully appreciated when set against this background.

One of man's basic needs is shelter from the weather, and the story of his efforts to satisfy this need has been re-told from time to time. The best books on the subject are probably *The Evolution of the English House*, by Sidney Ordall Addy, M.A. (Fourth Impression, 1933), and *The Development of English Building Construction*, by C. P. Innocent.

Unfortunately these early houses were, by reason of their construction, only semi-permanent and having normally only a short life usually disappeared, leaving little trace.

The very earliest forms of dwellings—holes in the earth and cave dwellings—belong to a very remote antiquity, but can hardly be called houses at all. They are little better than the burrows of the rabbit or the fox.

The first houses in this country properly so-called were probably evolved from the summer tent, and were of a round shape with a central open hearth. They were built of wood or basket work, light was admitted by the door or by the aperture in the roof which formed a vent for smoke, and the walls were made wind and water-tight by a plaster of mud-clay. The so-called "beehive" houses were probably imitations in stone of these round houses. The size of a round house of this construction was, of course, strictly limited, and the desire for more accommodation necessitated the development of the rectangular form of house, with not only greater width but also length.

The constructional system in this case was quite different from that of the round house, consisting of pairs of wooden forks or crutches, known technically as cruks or cruk frames (in Scotland "kipples"), at convenient distances apart, jointed together by a ridge pole from the apex of one fork to the apex of another, and the framework was covered with twigs, peat, thatch, or any other suitable materials which could be procured locally. The whole weight of the roof and roof covering was carried by these rough wooden cruk frames, the walls being built quite independently and carrying only their own weight. This seems to-day a simple and obvious solution, but in a significant sense necessity proved the mother of invention, and the effort to satisfy clamant needs with



Plate V.—VIEW OF CRUK FRAME TAKEN DURING DEMOLITION.

limited means produced a new principle in structural design which became the prototype of what is known to-day as the "pier and panel" form of construction universally employed on large buildings where the weight not only of the roofs but also the floors is concentrated on steel or concrete columns, the walls being mere panels to protect the interior of the building against the weather.

In the case of the Paton cottage there were four such pairs of cruk frames formed from suitable branches taken from trees, roughly squared where necessary, and jointed with wooden pins or dowels. The trusses were linked together by three rough purlins which were covered with twigs, a layer

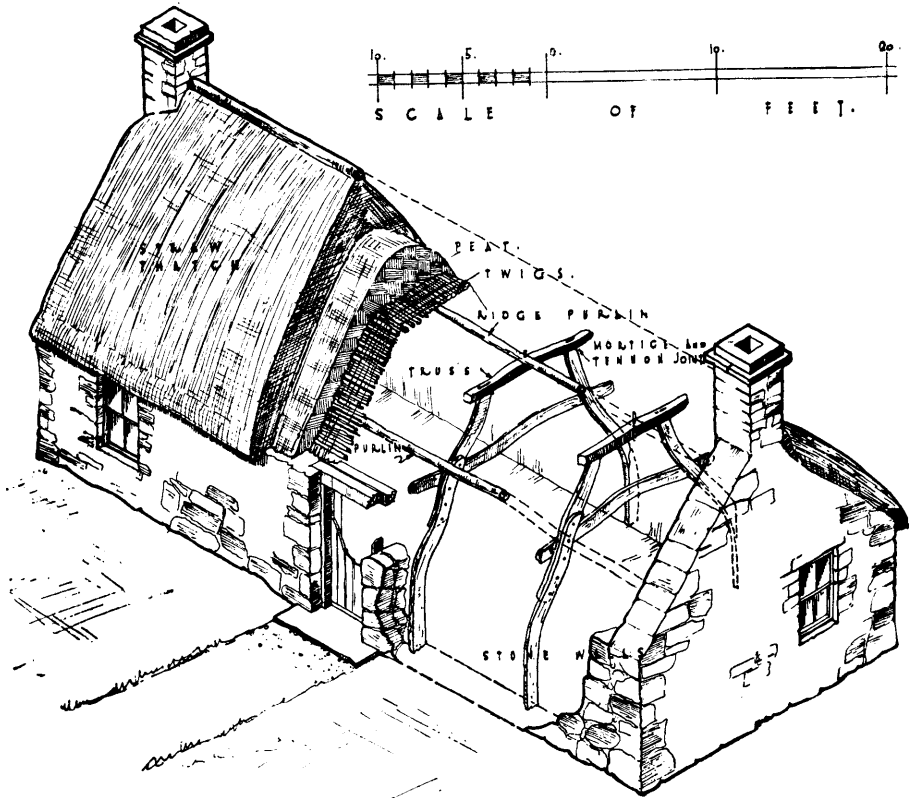


Fig. 4—ISOMETRIC DRAWING OF PATON COTTAGE.

of peat, and covered externally with straw thatch. The gables and walls, which were constructed of rubble pointed with sand, clay, and lime, were built quite independently of this timber framework. Dr. Paton in his *Autobiography* suggests that these walls were re-built from time to time and the roof re-covered with thatch about every year, the only permanent part of the structure being, in fact, the wooden cruk frames.

The over-all dimensions of the cottage were approximately 42 feet x 17 feet, and the accommodation consisted of two large apartments, probably a living-room and a bedroom, and a small room or closet between, opposite the door. A large fireplace and a chimney was provided in each gable, and even under the most severe weather conditions the house must have been very comfortable owing to the high insulation value of the materials forming the walls and the roof.

In later years the house was provided with concrete floors and the walls and ceiling were lined, but it is probable that the original floors would be covered with rough stone slabs and the walls roughly plastered internally.

Dr. Paton's *Autobiography*, published in 1889, suggests that the house when his parents occupied it had been in existence for 300 years. This book contains a careful description of the house as he knew it in his boyhood days and of the kind of life lived by his family and by the villagers of Torthorwald over 100 years ago.

The disappearance of his house is to be regretted, but the fact is that under present-day conditions maintenance is a serious problem, and modernisation for any purpose is difficult without altering the whole character of the structure.

A cottage very similar to the Paton cottage still stands on an adjacent site, but this must be one of the very few houses of this type still remaining in the county.¹

¹ When the house was in course of demolition and only the cruks remained standing, a member of this Society, Sir Walter Aitchison, Bart., passing by Torthorwald in his car, noticed the gaunt, skeletal framework still standing and fortunately photographed it. To him we are indebted for the illustration which has formed the basis of the technical drawings that accompany it.—Ed.

ARTICLE 12.

Glenluce Abbey: Finds Recovered During Excavations.

PART I.

By STEWART CRUDEN, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.,
Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland.

The Cistercian abbey of Glenluce was the sixth house of the Order in Scotland and was founded by Roland, Lord of Galloway. The date of the foundation is generally given as 1190, with Melrose Abbey the mother-house, but 1192 and Dundrennan Abbey are respectively more probable.¹ It consists of a simple church, cruciform in plan, with square-ended transepts with two eastern chapels, and a short chancel, also square-ended, in the Cistercian manner. The cloister and domestic buildings of the convent lay to the south of the church and were entered therefrom through the single processional door at the east end of the nave. The architecture of the church is of the Transitional or late 12th century style, simple and severe, according to Cistercian practice of the time. The claustral remains are later. The chapter-house is the most complete and advanced work and dates from the 15th century.

When Dr. Richardson, the then Inspector of Ancient Monuments, briefly described the monastery in these *Transactions* (Vol. 1936-38), the southern range lay beneath the mounded débris and vegetation which had accumulated over its ruins. During the subsequent clearance of the entire monastic area by the Ministry of Works, under Dr. Richardson's supervision, a considerable quantity of loose finds were recovered and several areas of glazed tiles were found in situ within both church and claustral buildings. Earthenware

¹ D. E. Easson (Official Guide, in preparation) quotes a penance imposed, 1199, upon the abbot of Dundrennan, who counselled his "son-abbot" not to attend the General Chapter, and another imposed in the same year upon the abbot of Glenluce who took this advice.

pipes and inspection chambers, or junction boxes, of the monastic water supply system were also found in position.

The loose finds vary greatly in date and character and comprise an interesting assemblage of mediæval and later relics; they include architectural sculpture, pottery, coins, roofing slates, segmental glazed bricks, and a miscellany of small metal articles of dress and general utility.

It is the purpose of this paper to record the pottery and to make a tentative assessment of its date and historical significance:² hitherto unpublished "tally-marks" on the water pipes are appended. The remaining relics will be described in a future volume.

The pottery has been reconstructed wherever justifiable by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works, and is now in the Ministry's charge. Where accuracy is beyond reasonable doubt the restored parts are not indicated on the drawings, where conjectural they are. It is intended to display a selection in a site museum.³

THE POTTERY is wheel-made; restored and fragmentary, it represents a wide range of mediæval types and techniques employed throughout the long period during which the abbey was occupied. Ten vessels have been completed and four substantially reconstructed; the significant fragments of several others are included in this account. The pottery was found upon the original floors of the church and scattered throughout the accumulation of earth and débris above floor level. No stratification was noted by which it could be classified chronologically, nor were there observed associations of

² I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Mr G. C. Dunning, F.S.A., of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. He has most generously placed his knowledge of mediæval pottery and publications thereon, at my disposal, and has been good enough to read the proofs of this paper, for which, nevertheless, I accept full responsibility.

³ Treatment and reconstruction of the pottery by Mr Norman Robertson, and drawings by Mr T. Borthwick, of the Ancient Monuments Branch. Photographs by Mr A. Graham, official photographer. My thanks are due to them for their ready co-operation and excellent results.

datable objects to permit an absolute dating of any particular item. Consequently the pottery must be considered typologically, and compared with similar examples of more certain history elsewhere.

The elongated barrel-shaped jug with single strap-handle and pronounced "parrot-beak" bridge spout (Fig. 5, Pl. 6) is the finest specimen in the collection. The fabric is thin, light in weight, well-turned, beautifully balanced, and of pleasing appearance. Its pale buff colour is boldly splashed with a mottled green glaze. The body of the vessel is austere-ly ornamented with horizontal bands of lightly incised grooves.

Such vessels are French imports from the Vendée or Charente Inférieure, and are dated about the middle of the 13th century. Such jugs mark the route of the wine trade of Aquitaine, and their distribution in western France suggests that a port to the north of Bordeaux, probably La Rochelle, was the place of shipment. In England these barrel-shaped jugs occur at mediæval ports in the south-east, at Stonar, Kent, and Pevensey Castle, and in South Wales, at Cardiff,⁴ and the monastic site at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan (in the National Museum of Wales). The Glenluce example strongly suggests an extension of this wine trade to western Scotland and the continuing use of a western sea route from Brittany known in prehistoric and Dark Age times.

The 13th century commercial contacts between south-western Scotland and western France are further attested by the fortunate discovery of a fragment of French "polychrome" ware at the Kirkcudbright Castle site.⁵ This pottery,⁶ recognised to be the finest of the mediæval period

⁴ *Archæologia*, LXXXIII., 114., Pl. xxvii., i. (incorrectly designated polychrome ware).

⁵ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XLVIII., p. 391. Not illustrated, now in the Kirkcudbright Museum.

⁶ For polychrome ware see *Archæologia*, LXXXIII., p. 114 et seq. *Arch. Cant.*, LIV., 56 (Stonar). *Arch. Camb.*, 1935, p. 143 (Beaumaris). *Op. cit.*, 1944, p. 44 (Criccieth). *J.R.S.A.I.*, LXXVI., 200 and 207 (Ireland). Distribution map in *Arch. Journal*, XCIV., 133, fig. 2.

in north-western Europe, occurs, like the barrel-shaped jugs, in Aquitaine, southern England, Wales, and western Ireland. It is attributed to the last quarter of the 13th century, and its presence in Kirkcudbright Castle can be explained by the English occupation of the castle by a garrison of Edward I. The short occupation period (1288-1308) permits a close dating for Scotland's only example so far recorded.

The restored open bowl with wavy rim, face masks, loop handles and pedestal base is a second French import at Glenluce (Fig. 6, Pl. 7). It has a thick, smooth, green and yellow glaze. This remarkable product has few known parallels in Britain. There is a fragment of another in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, several masks from Bristol⁷ in the British Museum, and a complete restored example at Southampton.⁸ The only two restored examples of this type, from Southampton and Glenluce, bear a remarkable resemblance to each other in design and dimensions: each has four loop handles overhanging and attached to a round pedestal base, eight masks disposed regularly round the wavy rim, one above each handle and one between, and a similar colour scheme, the green and yellow glaze being applied to the masks alternately. The only noticeable difference is in the treatment of the mask itself: the Southampton bowl has bold masculine heads with marked individuality, while the masks of the Glenluce bowl are of stylised female heads wearing elaborate head-dress picked out in small dots of clay. This is probably a simplified representation of the "reticulated" head-dress fashionable with women of rank in the second half of the 14th century. The masks are applied to the rim, not moulded with it, and were attached thereto by small pegs, probably of wood, and the thick covering glaze. The holes left by the pegs, and the bare texture of the fabric exposed where the masks are missing, can be seen. A stamp for a somewhat similar face and head-dress motif was found at Lincoln, and is illustrated in the British

⁷ *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 48, p. 273, Pl. xiii.

⁸ I am indebted to Mr D. M. Waterman for this information, and for a drawing of the vessel.

Museum Catalogue of English Pottery, 1910, where it is attributed to the 14th century. The "reticulated" head-dress is featured on many dated effigies, e.g., the Cobham brass, c. 1360, in Cobham Church, Kent; the Wynston brass, 1372, in Necton Church, Norfolk;⁹ the Foljambe alabaster tomb, 1376, at Bakewell, Derby; and the Warwick effigy, 1371, at Warwick.¹⁰

Late mediæval French imports have been recovered from Coldingham Priory, a cell of the Benedictine Durham, and Glenluce. The Glenluce evidence is fragmentary and represents three vessels: a presumed conical bowl (which may be a lid) and two costrels. The bowl, or lid, is a light grey stoneware, with a yellow finish on the flange or collar below the rim; it is one of the earliest examples of stoneware in Britain. Such vessels occur frequently in Normandy and at Paris,¹¹ sometimes in graves where it is supposed they contained holy water. The type has been reviewed by the Abbé Cochet in his "*Sépultures Gauloises*" and ascribed to the 15th and 16th centuries. A kiln and heap of waste sherds has been found at Savigny, near Beauvais. Others are attributed by Mr Dunning to the Pays de Bray and Paris.¹² The two costrels have loop handles; on one the handle is on the same plane as the spout, on the other the handle is placed across the body of the vessel.

The three globular vessels (Figs. 7-9, Pls. 8-10), with round aperture and single strap-handle at the top, constitute a special type of utility ware. Each is a jug without a neck: in each the loop handle is small and is placed close to and across the body of the vessel near the aperture, presumably for firm and easy manipulation. One (Fig 9) is purposely

⁹ Bouttell, *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, London, 1837, pp. 83, 84.

¹⁰ Gardner, *English Mediæval Sculpture*, Cambridge, 1951, Pls. 620, 657, and *Hair and Head-dress, 1050-1600*. *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1950, p. 11, Pls. xxi., xxviii (figs. 2 and 3).

¹¹ *Archæologia*, XXXIX, 120.

¹² Information on French connections passim from Mr G. C. Dunning.

flattened on three sides in a rough and ready way so that it lies safely upon each of those sides. These vessels are heavy and lack care in finish. Several have been found in Scotland, at Melrose and Glenluce particularly, and at Bothwell Castle:¹³ others at Finchale Priory, Northumberland; York; and single examples at Nottingham and London. Mr Jope dates an example of a different type, which came from a latrine pit at Deddington Castle, Oxon., to the first half of the 13th century. Their comparative frequency in the north, especially at monastic sites, suggests that they appear to have been evolved in response to a particular need in monastic establishments and to some aspect of monastic life. By inference from the unusual shape and disposition of aperture and handle they are thought to be urinals or toilet vessels of some sort. Mr Jope's chemical analysis of the sediment of an orthodox jug from Hertford,¹⁴ apparently used as such, supports the supposition, but does not prove it. The writer while a Prisoner of War in Java had personal experience of similar vessels used instead of toilet paper. This is a native practice; similar use in a mediæval monastery is feasible. Most of the Scottish examples were recovered from the great drain which ran beneath the rere-dorter.

The Hertford jug, with its thumbed base, large aperture, moulded rim, and decorated vertical handle, was in all likelihood a receptacle for storing urine (prescribed in the Middle Ages as a remedy for sundry ailments), not a mere convenience, as the Glenluce specimens appear to be.

It is to be hoped that a contemporary illumination showing these vessels as furnishings will one day be brought to notice, and the embarrassments of description and conjecture thereby removed.

Kitchen-ware from Glenluce is represented by a large open bowl with flat base, two strap-handles, and a thumb-

¹³ The Melrose Abbey and Bothwell Castle material is being prepared for publication.

¹⁴ Dunning, *The Lancet*, 11th July, 1942, dates the Hertford jug to 1250-1300, and comments "but urinals were not introduced until much later."

imprinted ribbon round the outer edge (Fig. 10, Pl. 11): the substantial fragments of a round open dish, and a fine two-handled cooking pot¹⁵ (Figs. 11, 12, Pl. 12). The latter has a sharp profile and everted rim and was probably manufactured under the influence of metalware, which, during the 14th century, increasingly competed with earthenware in popularity. There is a clear definition between neck and body: no longer does the profile flow smoothly from top to bottom with the plastic quality of clay but with the harder line of a metal cauldron. The dish has also a hardness and precision contrasting with earlier wares. It is probably a 16th century product.

The two small jars (Figs. 13, 14, Pls. 13, 14) with multiple mouldings are of a different order of ware, dating from the late 15th and 16th centuries. Fig 13 is made with notable, almost mechanical, precision.

The tall ovoid jug has a flat base without basal thumbing, and a broad strap-handle. This restored example is a good specimen of a tall jug or pitcher type common throughout the 14th and 15th centuries and well represented at Bothwell. It is decorated with a light girth-groove round the shoulder with, on either side, a band of lightly inscribed irregular zig-zag lines (Fig. 15, Pl. 15).

The most significant fragments illustrated include glazed strap-handles decorated with notches and indentations (Fig. 26), a thumb-imprinted rim (Fig. 24); and an embossed medallion with a radiating sun motif paralleled on a late 13th century baluster jug in the York Museum. The Glenluce fragment has traces of an encircling inscription (Fig. 25).

The face mask (Fig. 16 b) occurs in the Bothwell collection and upon the rim of a 13th century vessel in the York Museum; others may be seen in the University Museum of Archæology at Cambridge, and in the British Museum, where it is associated with a parrot-beak bridge spout and fish scale decoration.¹⁶

¹⁵ *London Museum Catalogue*, p. 220 et seq. and fig. 74. Jope, *Berks. Archl. Journal*, 50 (1947), pp. 49-76.

¹⁶ *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, 1910, p. 61, fig. 46.

The simple long tubular spout, joined to the neck by a strut, occurs at Melrose and Bothwell, frequently at York, and less frequently further south; there are examples at Cambridge, Norwich Castle Museum, and elsewhere: the lower part of a tubular spout was found at the Kirkcudbright Castle site. The occurrence of a special feature such as this in the closely-dated context of the latter site is valuable evidence of contemporaneity in English and Scottish ceramic styles: the accepted Scottish time-lag assumption may well be unfounded.

The fragment (Fig. 23) is included as a demonstration of technique. It will be observed that the surviving leg of what may well have been a small tripod vessel has been attached to the body by pressing the clay of the leg through a hole and by smearing the intrusive clay on the inside in the manner of a rivet.

This collection of pottery, comprising but ten complete vessels and the fragmentary evidence of several more would not be weighty evidence for a review of several centuries of domestic life, but it is nevertheless a substantial contribution from one site to our knowledge of Scottish mediæval pottery, and in its particular way is of a most interesting and revealing nature. While many of the decorative motifs common elsewhere, such as the applied "strip and pellet," are lacking, and while there is a total lack of the multiple handles so characteristic of York and Bothwell, the evidence justifies an assumption that throughout the period 13th to 15th centuries the monks of Glenluce Abbey were receiving pottery of the finest type, both as table-ware and as kitchen-ware. The finest period—the 13th century—is sufficiently represented to permit an inference that the western French wine trade extended at least as far as Wigtownshire; the pottery thereby provides additional evidence of the historical "Auld Alliance."

There is documentary evidence of commercial contacts with western Ireland; in 1220 the abbey obtained permission from Henry III. to buy corn, meal, and other victuals: this privilege was renewed in 1226, 1227, and 1252. Trading

activities are further attested by an Italian merchant-banker who visited England between 1317 and 1321. He quotes current prices of Glenluce Abbey wool.¹⁷

Complementary to the presence of imported French ware is a significant lack of wasters to indicate local manufacture; nor was a kiln revealed in the clearance of the monastic area. Apparently no pottery was made on the site. The possibility of a kiln in the neighbourhood is an important corollary to the study of the Glenluce pottery which should be borne in mind by field workers.

THE MONASTIC WATER-SUPPLY OR DRAINAGE SYSTEM is especially interesting: considerable lengths of earthenware pipes have been disclosed in position, about 2 ft. below ground level. The water was conducted by gravity and changes of direction made by means of earthenware junction boxes or inspection chambers with removable lids (Fig. 21). The pipes are irregular and crudely made, and to facilitate assembly and tight jointing, tally-marks, of which a selection is illustrated (Fig. 19), were scored in the wet clay.

Description of Pottery.

COMPLETE VESSELS.

Fig. 5, Pl. 6.

Barrel-shaped jug: parrot-beak bridge spout (restored): beak rises above rim: strap-handle with raised edges (restored): flat sharply moulded rim with raised keel moulding below continuing through spout, i.e., spout added to completed jug: flat base: no thumbing of basal edge: ornamented with lightly incised parallel bands of five combed grooves: pale buff ware mottled green glaze: probably earlier than polychrome ware, i.e., about mid-13th century and imported from western France: height, 11 ins.: aperture diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins.: widest int. diameter, 5 ins.

Fig. 6, Pl. 7.

Open bowl, rounded wavy rim: 8 face masks: 4 loop handles attached to pedestal base: green and yellow glazing: French—second half 14th century: height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; upper diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

¹⁷ D. E. Easson, *op. cit.*

Fig. 7, Pl. 8.

Urinal: irregular sphere reddish buff ware: orange-yellow glaze: aperture at top with moulded rim: oblique strap-handle with raised central keel: no decoration: flat base: no thumbing: ? 14th century: height, 7 ins.: aperture diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.: widest int. diameter, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Fig. 8, Pl. 9.

Similar to above: incised single zig-zag below rim: faint rilling from top to bottom: handle carelessly made: height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.: aperture diameter, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; widest int. diameter, 7 ins.

Fig. 9, Pl. 10.

Similar to above: aperture without rim, a mere hole: over the top fluted strap-handle set almost vertically: flattened three sides: horizontal grooving upper part: flat base: coarse ware: orange, yellow and mottled green glaze: height exc. handle, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.: aperture diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.: widest int. diameter, $6\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

Fig. 10, Pl. 11.

Large open bowl: receptacle for liquid or food: two broad strap-handles: backward sloping moulded rim: applied thumb-imprinted ribbon below rim: yellow green glaze: probably 14th century: height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins.: upper diameter, $12\frac{1}{4}$ ins.: widest int. diameter, $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Fig. 11.

Half of circular dish: overhanging rim: flat base: no decoration: brick-red glaze: probably late 15th—early 16th century: height, 2 ins.; upper diameter, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Fig. 12, Pl. 12.

Cooking pot: sharp everted rim: two loop handles with sharp central keel, yellow green glaze on handles, shoulders, inside and outside of rim: no glaze below shoulder: slightly rounded base: angular profile: everted rim and precision of manufacture suggest metal influence, probably 14th century: height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; aperture diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.: widest int. diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Fig. 13, Pl. 13.

Small jar: thin ware: "hollow" base: yellow-green glaze: late 15th-16th centuries: height, $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins.: aperture diameter, 2 ins.

Fig. 14, Pl. 14.

Small jar: thicker ware: flat base: olive-green glaze: late 15th-16th centuries: height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.: aperture diameter, 2 ins.

Fig. 15, Pl. 15.

Tall ovoid jug: single broad strap-handle with raised edges:

flat inverted rim: wide girth-groove round shoulder with rapidly drawn incised zig-zags either side: smooth yellow olive-green glaze: spout missing (probably none): flat base (reconstructed): 14th-15th century: height, $12\frac{3}{4}$ ins.: aperture diameter, 3 ins.: widest int. diameter, $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

INCOMPLETE VESSELS.

Fig. 16.

(a) Rim of large bowl, with heavy lug handle: olive-green glaze: probably 14th century. (b) Face-mask rim decoration.

Fig. 17.

Tall jug: rim missing: stump of one handle probably round: graceful neck swelling out to round body, curve continuing to flat base: no basal thumbing: sharp keel mouldings round shoulder: single moulding on neck: slight rilling, especially marked upper half: grey coarse ware, hard-fired yellow green glaze: probably 14th century.

Fig. 18.

Tall ovoid jug: single strap handle, graceful neck swelling to round body, curve continuing to flat base: no thumbing: girth groove round shoulder: slight rilling: fine, light weight reddish ware: dark olive green glaze: probably 14th-15th century.

Fig. 19.

Tall globular jug with spreading flat base, crinkly edge (degenerate basal thumbing): dark orange and green glaze: glaze similar to urinal, Fig. 7: evidence single-strap handle secured only by adhesion of glaze: glaze on outside of base: probably 14th century.

Fig. 20.

Tall globular jug: slightly spreading flat base: suggestion of thumbing: coarse ware: greatly damaged: no evidence of glaze: stump of single-strap handle.

Fig. 21.

Plan and section of earthenware inspection chamber or junction box of water supply system.

Fig. 22.

Tally-marks on earthenware water pipes.

Figs. 23-26.

Miscellaneous fragments (see text).

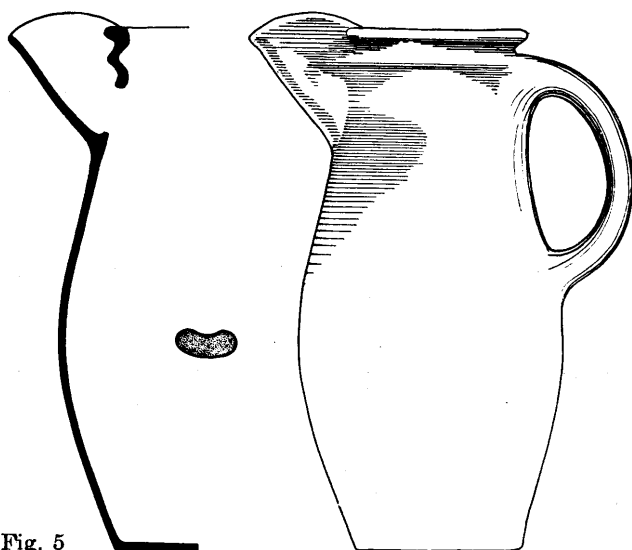


Fig. 5

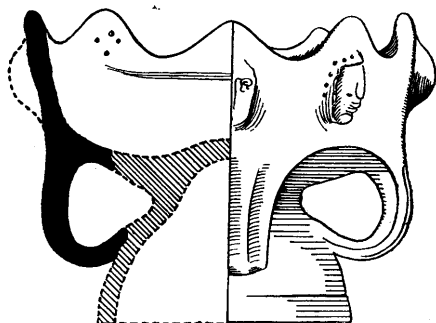
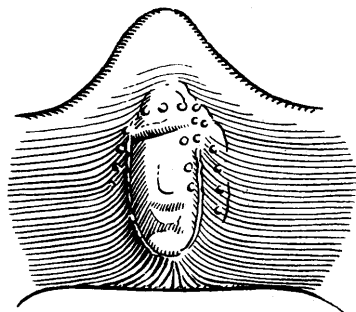


Fig. 6 (a)

Fig. 6 (b).
Detail.

GLENLUCE ABBEY (Scale 1)

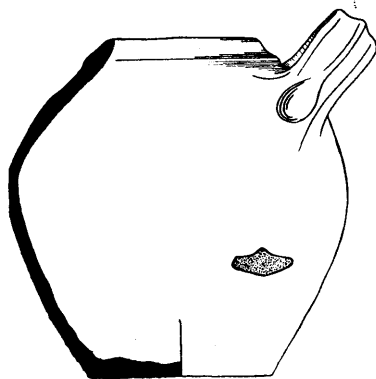


Fig. 7

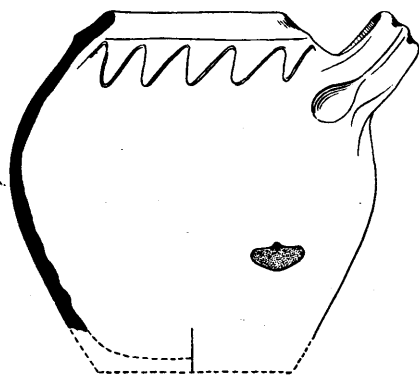


Fig. 8

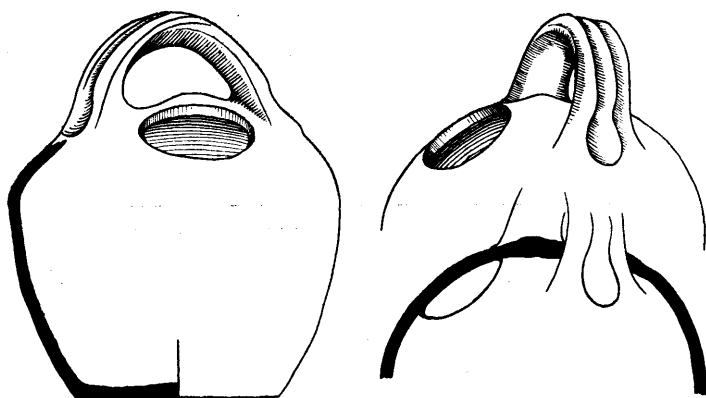


Fig. 9

GLENLUCE ABBEY (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$)

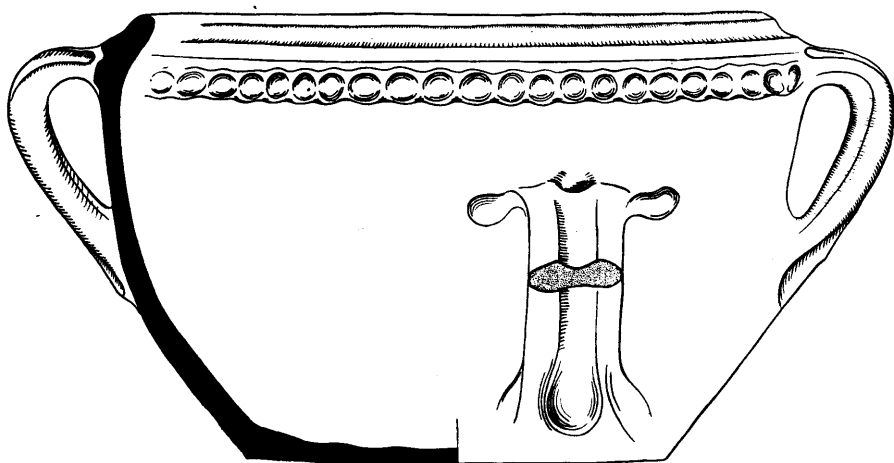


Fig. 10

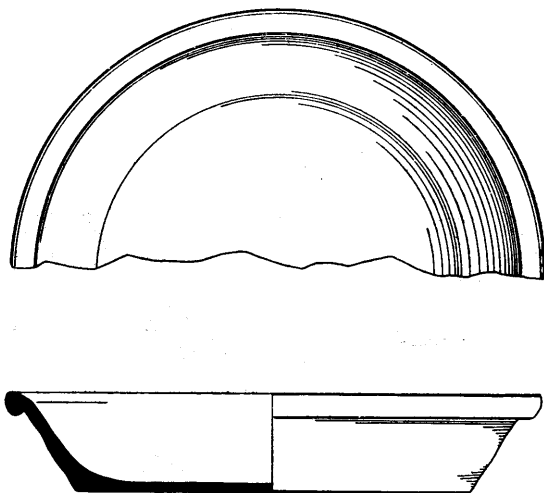


Fig. 11

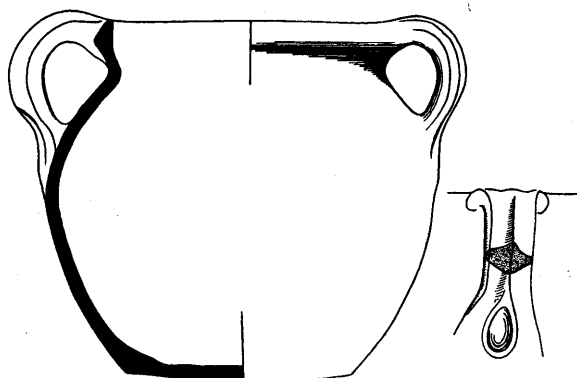


Fig. 12

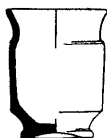


Fig. 13

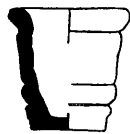


Fig. 14

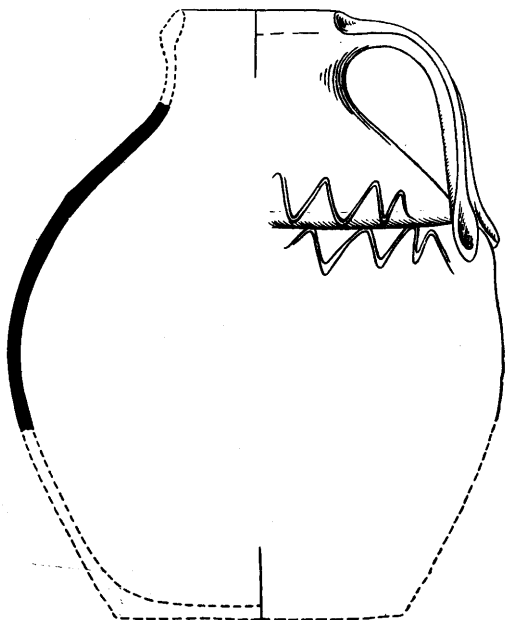


Fig. 15(a)

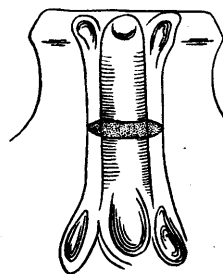


Fig. 15 (b)

GLENLUCE ABBEY (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$)

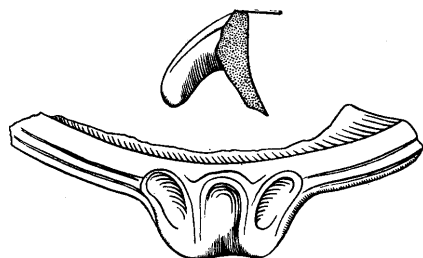


Fig. 16 (a)—Lug-handle



Fig. 16 (b)—Rim decoration

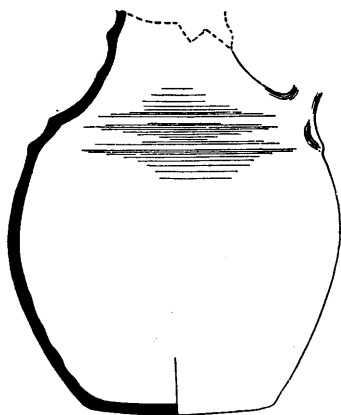


Fig. 17

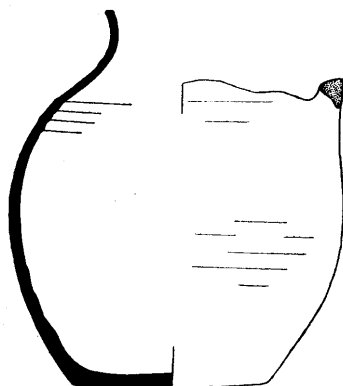


Fig. 18

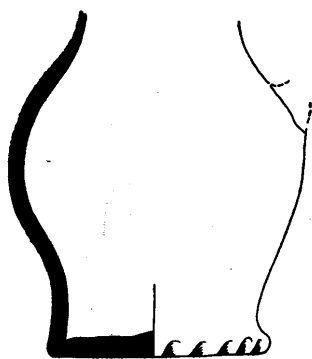


Fig. 19

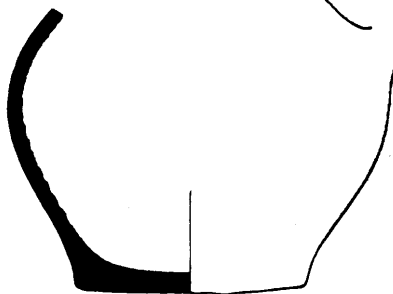


Fig. 20

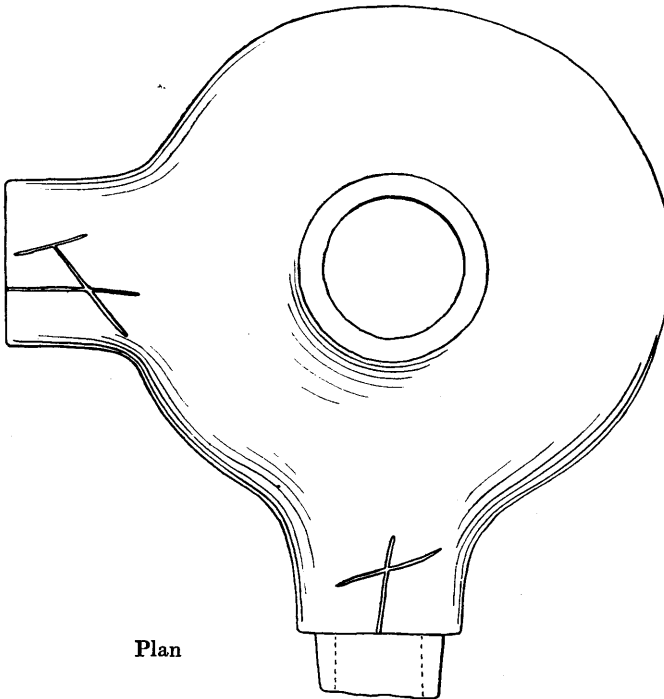
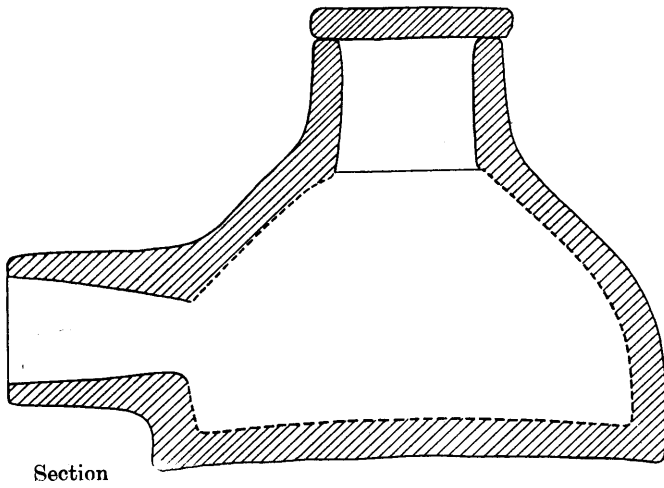


Fig. 21—Earthenware junction-box of water supply system

GLENLUCE ABBEY (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$)

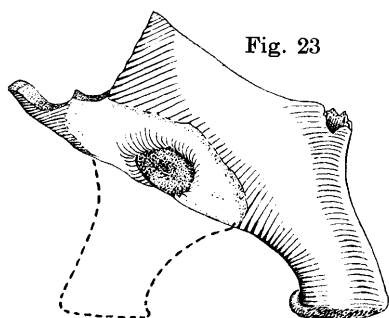


Fig. 23



Fig. 25

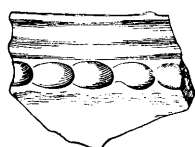


Fig. 24

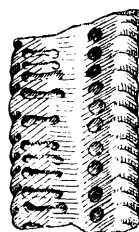
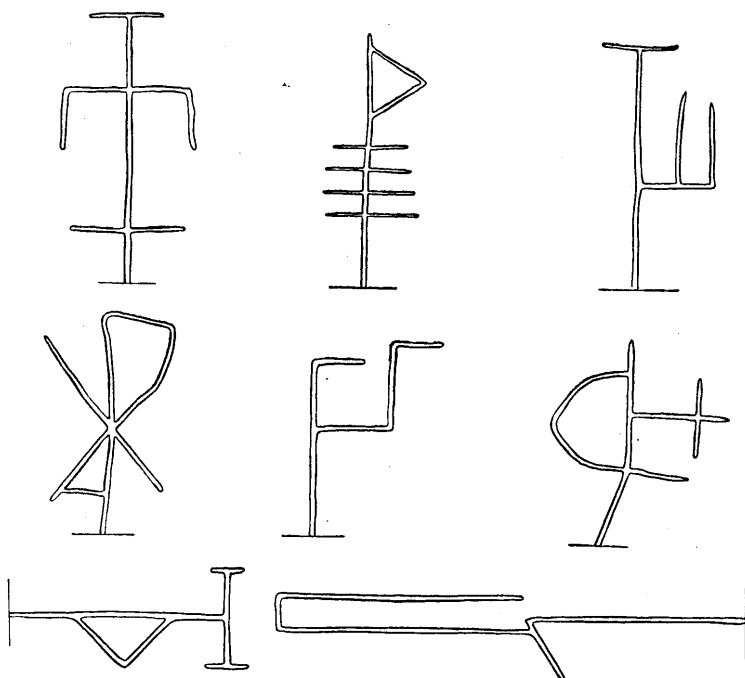


Fig. 26



0 1 2 3 INCHES

Fig. 22—Tally-marks on water pipes

GLENLUCE ABBEY (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$)

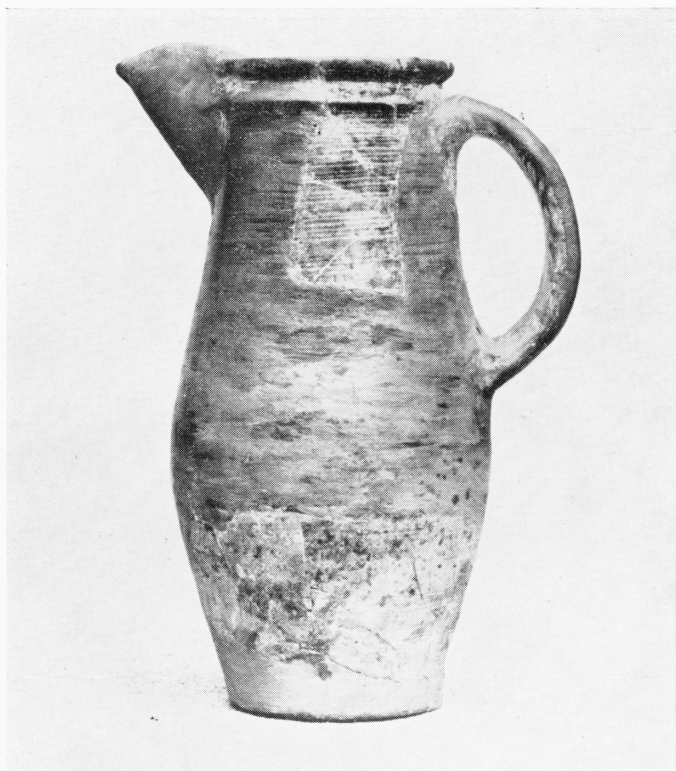


Plate VI.



Plate VII.



Plate VIII.



Plate IX.

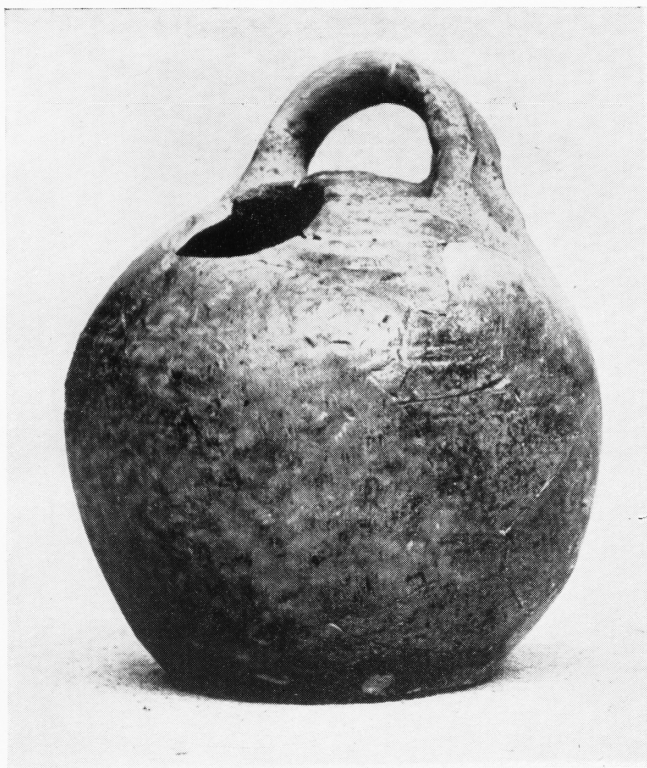


Plate X.



Plate XI.

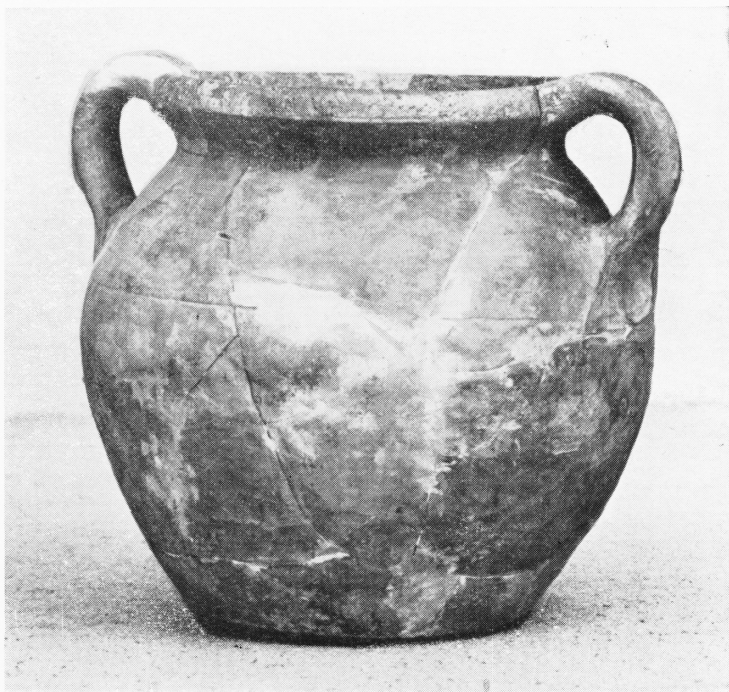


Plate XII.



Plate XIII.

Plate XIV.

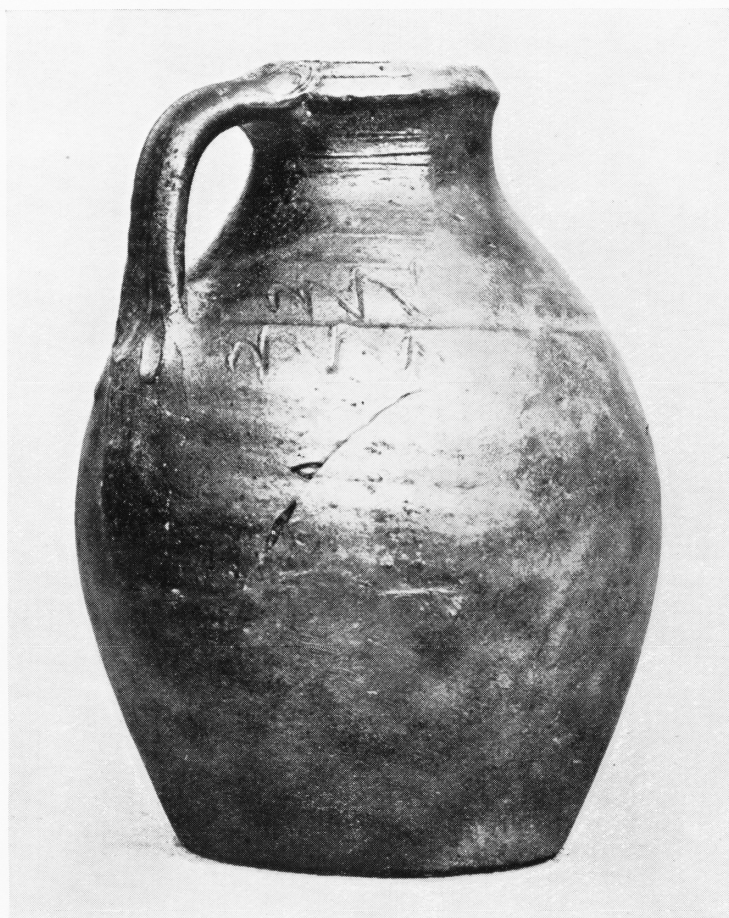


Plate XV.

Proceedings, 1950-51.

27th October, 1950.—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library on this date, 65 members and friends being present. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. On a vote the Annual Subscription was raised from 10/- to 15/-, and Life Membership from Seven Guineas to Ten Guineas. The new President, Mr Angus M'Lean, then took the chair, and the retiring President, Professor Balfour-Browne, delivered his Presidential Address on "The Distribution of Animals and Plants" (printed in the last volume of "Transactions").

10th November, 1950.—This Meeting, held in the Unionist Rooms, was a *Conversazione*, where many Archæological and Natural History Exhibits were on display, arranged by Mr Truckell and others. Brief addresses relating to the various displays were given by the exhibitors (see "Standard," 22nd November).

24th November, 1950. — The speaker at this Meeting was Professor H. Graham Cannon, Sc.D., F.R.S., head of the Department of Zoology at the University of Manchester, who lectured on "Colouration in Animals," illustrated brilliantly by a long series of lantern slides ("Standard," 29th November).

8th December, 1950.—Mr Peter Marler, of the Nature Conservancy, Edinburgh, lectured on the "Geographical Variations of Bird Song" derived from personal observations. It elicited a lively discussion, as some of his thesis was theoretical and not yet established ("Standard," 13th December).

5th January, 1951.—Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, of Selwyn College, Cambridge, Curator of the vast collection of Air Photographs belonging to the Air Ministry now lodged at that University, delivered a lecture on "Some Recent Results of Air Reconnaissance in Scotland," with slides showing new site discoveries, several of the utmost importance in the area of this Society. It had been hoped to print in this volume the local part of his address fully illustrated, but Dr. St. Joseph, who already has in his care well over 20,000 photographs, is too heavily involved in his official duties to supply the data and photographs for a notice of his address. A few of the most important of his local finds were figured in the "Journal of Roman Studies. . . ." ("Standard," 10th January, 1951).

26th January, 1951.—The lecture on this date was by Mr J. G. Scott, B.A., Curator of the Archæological and Ethnological Section of the Glasgow Museums, and his subject "Scottish Arms and Accoutrements" ("Standard," 31st January).

9th February, 1951.—Mr H. Cary Gibson, Director of the Freshwater Biological Station at Windermere, delivered a lecture on the "Biology of Lakes," dealing largely with the problem of increasing productivity ("Standard," 14th February).

23rd February, 1951.—Dr. George Pryde, M.A., of Glasgow University, delivered the first part of a lengthy study on the "Origins and Status of the Burghs of Dumfriesshire and Galloway," the second part of which was delivered on 7th December, 1951. Both parts are printed in this volume (Article 4).

9th March, 1951.—Two speakers on three topics relating to Mochrum parish addressed the Meeting. Mr Raleigh Radford, M.A., F.S.A., spoke on "The Island Castle on Mochrum Loch," followed by "Excavations at Chapel Finnian"; whilst Mr R. C. Reid dwelt upon the family of Dunbar of Mochrum Loch; printed in last volume of "Transactions," XXVIII., Articles 2 and 3.

30th March, 1951. — Mr Eric Birley, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., of Durham University, delivered an address on "The Earliest Roman Contacts with Scotland," described by Mr John Clarke as a remarkable blend of scholarship and audacity; printed in this volume, Article 2.

Field Meetings

19th May, 1951.—The Society's Excursion to sites on Hadrian's Wall took place in bright but cool and windy weather. After a journey commanding fine views of the Wall, some of the party coming by car visiting Housesteads Fort (Borovicivm) en route, lunch was taken in the lee of a field-dyke at Carrawburgh (Procolitia). Thereafter Mr Gillam, of the University of Durham, took the party over the fine turf of the fort, from which every here and there protruded the volutes of altars, and pausing on the way to point out the flooded pool marking the site of Coventina's Well (where in 1876 well over 13,487 coins were found, along with carved stones, altars, jars, incense-burners, pearls, brooches, and other votive objects), to the recently excavated Mithraeum, or temple to Mithras, which lay in a peat-filled hollow. Here he delivered a most interesting talk on the temple, its various periods, and the Mithraic cult, showing how the arrangements of the building were adapted to the cult. Particularly interesting was the ritual pit in which postulates for the higher ranks in the cult's elaborate hierarchy were alternatively exposed to extreme heat and cold. Great amounts of chicken bones round a hearth in one corner had shown where the sacrifices were roasted and eaten. Though the great altar to Mithras had largely disappeared, those of the two attendant gods, representing the forces of good and evil, one with

torch raised, the other with torch lowered, had been found. It seemed likely that the Mithraeum—a long narrow building with clerestory round the roof—had continued in use into the fourth century. Returning to the road, the party proceeded to Chollerford Bridge, from where they walked down the east bank of the North Tyne to the great bridge abutment, with guardhouse, bollards for raising and lowering a net under the bridge to prevent illicit passage under it, and provision for a water-mill—one of the outstanding feats of Roman engineering in Britain. Mr Gillam opened the talk here, and was followed by Miss Swinbank and Mr Steer: many questions from interested members had to be answered. Thereafter Miss Swinbank took the party to Wall Turret 26B at Brunton, just beyond Chollerford: this turret is 12 ft. 9 ins. x 11 ft. 6 ins. internally: the Wall, here still 8½ ft. high, forms its north wall: its south wall is nearly 4 ft. high: all this makes it one of the finest specimens of Turret on the Wall. The Wall into which it is recessed is "Broad Wall," but twelve feet on either side of it it becomes "Narrow Wall" on "Broad" foundation—the first point from the east where this is known to happen. After tea at Chollerford the party returned home: some, however, who had come by car, visited the great fort at Chesters just downstream from Chollerford.

2nd June, 1951.—On a pleasant afternoon 43 members went by bus and car to Lannhall, Tynron, where they were received by Mr and Mrs Arthur B. Duncan. The object of the excursion was to see the colony of Pied Flycatchers (*Muscicapa hypoleuca* *hypoleuca* Pall) which Mr Duncan, by the provision of nesting-boxes, has established in his grounds. One pair had bred regularly before 1949. Ten nesting-boxes were provided, and the number of breeding pairs increased to five. In 1950 nineteen pairs, and in 1951 twenty-six pairs, bred in 50 boxes, rearing 101 and 115 fledglings respectively in these years. The party was conducted on a tour of the nesting sites and shown eggs and nestlings. Other species using the sites were redstarts, blue-tits, and great-tits. After tea on the lawn, the President thanked Mr and Mrs Duncan, and the party returned to Dumfries, having spent a most enjoyable afternoon.

7th July, 1951.—This excursion was confined to the area of Glenluce. The first halt was at Dunragit, where, by courtesy of the Forestry Commission, the cars turned into the grounds of Dunragit House, where picnic lunch was partaken. Some 200 yards south of the house stands a rocky knoll known as "the round Donnan." Here Mr R. C. Reid spoke about Galloway in the dark ages, the ancient Kingdom of Rheged and its possible identification with Dunragit (see Article 8). Thereafter Mr R. J. C. Atkinson, M.A., of Edinburgh University, took charge

and led the party to the Glenluce sands, which have been long notable for a large number of surface finds revealed by the blown sand after every major gale. A fine section had been cut through the nose of one of the sand dunes by the Scottish Field School of Archaeology under Mr Atkinson's direction, showing a perfectly stratified face, in which pottery and other finds were lying. Half a mile farther on Mye Plantation was visited, where there was a row of hollows across a narrow neck of dry land elevated some 10 feet above the surrounding water-logged pasture. These hollows had been tentatively excavated many years ago by Mr Ludovic M'Lellan Mann, who suggested they were pit dwellings, for pottery and upright stakes were found at the bottom of the pits. It had been decided that the time was ripe to re-open these pits. The pit explored by Mann was re-opened, and two others hitherto untouched were excavated. They were found to be pitfall traps—the first to be found in Europe. At the bottom of the pit were as many as 52 stakes, sharpened at the top. It was suggested that the original number had been less, but as they perished fresh stakes had been driven in amongst them. One stake still had what looked like ivy adhering to it. The sharpened ends of the stakes showed clear marks of the stone axe used for sharpening. The sides of the pits had been revetted with vertical wands of wood which were found fully preserved below the water table. The surface between the pits was also carefully stripped and the post holes of a rough fence found linking up the pits. Flint scrapers and an arrow head were found on the lee side of the fence, and one can picture the squad of hunters engaged in erecting or repairing the fence, eating their lunch under its shelter. By means of the pottery found it has been possible to date this site to the first two centuries of the second millennium B.C. A full report of these important results will appear in due course in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

Presentations.

10th November, 1950.—Roman funerary glass flask—anonymous, per R. C. Reid; and a length of wooden water pipe from Brooklands House—by R. C. Reid; two horn spoons, piece of linen edged with broderie anglaise and incorporating intricate lace from an infant's robe, early 19th century; muslin mutch, late 18th century—by Mrs W. R. Young, Ronald Bank, Dumfries; spinning whorl from the Nith, near Bloomfield—by Mr Ian M'Donald, 126 The Grove, Heathhall; infant's earthenware feeding bottle, with floral design, transfer printed in underglaze blue, probably Staffordshire, c. 1860; infant's wooden porridge cogie with dry peas in base—by Lady M'Cul-

loch of Ardwall; knife and fork, alleged to have been used by Prince Charlie when in Dumfries in 1745, of Sheffield make though the mark has not been identified; the shape of the blade is known as "Hump-backed scimitar," and was popular in the second half of the 18th century, so it is not improbable that they were in use at the County Hotel, where Prince Charlie dined and slept; for two centuries this knife and fork has been in the family of Gordon of Crogo—by Mr Gordon Nares; large-sized man trap—by Major Prevost, Craigieburn; apothecary's mortar and pestle, formerly the property of Major H. C. Bowden, residing at Lochfield, Adjutant of the Dumfriesshire Volunteers some 80 years ago—by his daughter, Mrs Bruce, Parkend; two horn spoons (see Article 7)—by Mr Moffat, late of Garwald.

26th January, 1951.—Three small boxes, containing pocket sets of weights and scale, have recently been found in private hands in Wigtown. The donor, who wishes to remain anonymous, has gifted two of them to the Kirkcudbright Museum, the third has been presented to Dumfries Museum. In every way it is very similar to the one described in D. and G., XXIII., p. 241. Mr E. T. Senior, County Inspector of Weights and Measures, has again obliged with this further note:

In my previous note concerning the gold value of the weights I referred to the slight inaccuracy in the value of the moider, on which my calculations were based, and as some of the present weights bear a money value, the cash equivalent of all weights can be determined by reference to the marked weights.

The following table shows the weight and value relation:

FORMER POCKET WEIGHTS.

Weight marked.	Calculated weight in grains.	Gold value on basis of 128 grains=1 guinea.
D.G. 5.8	128 gr.	1 guinea
D.G. 5.6	126 gr.	20 shillings
D.G. 1.7	31 gr.	5 shillings

PRESENT POCKET WEIGHTS.

D.G. 5.8	128 gr.	1 guinea
1 guinea		
D.G. 5.8	128 gr.	1 guinea

D.G.		
2.16	64 gr.	$\frac{1}{2}$ guinea
$\frac{1}{2}$ guinea		
D.G.		
2.14	62 gr.	10 shillings
S	Actual weight	
18	109.5 gr.	18 shillings
D.G.		
1.8	32 gr.	$\frac{1}{2}$ guinea
$\frac{1}{2}$ guinea		

In my earlier note I quoted the accepted value of the moider at 27/-, whereas the calculated value on the basis of the weights now submitted is 28/6, at which value all weights come into an approximate series.

List of Exchanges, 1952.

- Aberdeen. University Library.
 Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of
 Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.
 The Library of the Queen's University.
 Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.
 Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Ter-
 race, Berwick-on-Tweed.
 Cambridge: University Library.
 Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales,
 Cardiff.
 Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæo-
 logical Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.
 Carlisle Natural History Society.
 Edinburgh: Advocates' Library.
 Botanical Society of Edinburgh, 5 St. Andrew Square.
 Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.
 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.
 Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College,
 George Street.
 Archæological Society, 207 Bath Street.
 Geological Society, 2 Ailsa Drive, Langside, Glasgow, S.2.
 Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.
 University Library, The University, Glasgow.
 Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotian Institute of Science.
 Hawick: The Hawick Archæological Society, Wilton Lodge,
 Hawick.

Isle of Man: Natural History and Antiquarian Society, The Haven,
Hillberry Road, Onchan.

London: British Association for the Advancement of Science,
Burlington House.

Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House.

British Museum, Bloomsbury Square.

British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington.

Lund, Sweden: The University of Lund.

Oxford: Bodleian Library.

Toronto: The Royal Canadian Institute, 198 College Street,
Toronto.

Torquay: Torquay Natural History Society, The Museum.

U.S.A.—

American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at
79th Street, N.Y., 24.

Chapplehill, N.C.: Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society.

Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard College of Comparative Zoology.

Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and
Letters.

New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences.

Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester Academy of Sciences.

St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Botanical Garden.

Washington: Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Museum.

United States Bureau of Ethnology.

United States Department of Agriculture.

United States Geological Survey.

Upsala, Sweden: Geological Institute of the University of Upsala.

Yorkshire: Archæological Society, 10 Park Lane, Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

Membership List, April 1st, 1952.

Fellows of the Society under Rule 10 are indicated thus *

LIFE MEMBERS.

Aitchison, Sir W. de Lancy, Bart., M.A., F.S.A., Coupland Castle, Wooler, Northumberland	1946
Allen, J. Francis, M.D., F.R.S.E., Lincluden, 39 Cromwell Road, Teddington, Middlesex	—
*Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (President, 1949-50)	1941
Bell, Robin M., M.B.E., Roundaway, Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, N.Z.	1950
Birley, Eric, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Hatfield College, Durham	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), Down Place, South Harting, near Petersfield, Hants....	1946
Borthwick, Major W. S., T.D., 92 Guibal Road, Lee, London, S.E.12 (Ordinary Member, 1936)	1943
Breay, Rev. J., Kirkandrews-on-Esk, Longtown, Carlisle ...	1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1946
Buccleuch and Queensberry, His Grace the Duke of, P.C., G.C.V.O., Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill, Dumfries ...	—
Buccleuch and Queensberry, Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of, Bowhill, Selkirk	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941)	1943
Bute, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., F.S.A.Scot., Kames Castle, Port Bannatyne, Isle of Bute	1944-45
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909)	1914
Cunningham, David, M.A., 42 Rae Street, Dumfries ...	1945
Cunningham-Jardine, Mrs, Jardine Hall, Lockerbie (Ordinary Member, 1926)	1943
Ferguson, James A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie ...	1929
Ferguson, Mrs J. A., Over Courance, by Lockerbie ...	1929
Gladstone, Miss I. O. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., 61 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (Ordinary Member, 1938)	1943
Gladstone, John, Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfries	1935

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934)	1943
Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgirth, Dumfries ...	1946
Lockhart, J. H., Tanlawhill, Lockerbie	1948
M'Call, Major W., D.L., Caitloch, Moniaive, Dumfries ...	1929
M'Culloch, Walter, W.S., Ardwell, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
M'Kie, John H., M.P., Auchencairn House, Castle-Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire	1943
Mansfield, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., J.P., Comlongon Castle, Ruthwell, Dumfries	1939
Muir, James, Midcroft, Monreith, Portwilliam, Newton- Stewart, Wigtownshire	1925
Paterson, E. A., c/o Messrs Jardine, Skinner & Co., 4 Clive Road, Calcutta	1945
Perkins, F. Russell, Duntisbourne House, Cirencester, Glos.	1946
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Imrie Bell, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938)	1943
Skinner, James S., M.A., 77 Drumlanrig Street, Thornhill...	1950
Spencer, Miss, Warmanbie, Annan	1929
Spragge, T. H., Commander, Monkquhell, Blairgowrie, Perthshire (Ordinary Member, 1931)	1947
Stuart, Lord David, M.B.O.U., F.S.A.Scot., Old Place of Mochrum, Portwilliam, Wigtownshire	1948
Thomson, Miss N. M., formerly of Carlingwark, Castle- Douglas	1929
Thomas, C. H., O.B.E., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dumfries	1950
Thomas, Mrs C. H., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dum- fries	1950

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Airey, Alan Ferguson, Silver Howe, 87 South Promenade, St. Annes-on-Sea	1951
Aitchison, Mrs M., Hoyland, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Allan, John, M.R.C.V.S., 14 Queen Street, Castle-Douglas...	1926
Anderson, D. G., 12 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries	1936
Armour, Rev. A. J., Manse of Hoddum, near Ecclefechan...	1948
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart ...	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart	1946
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Austin, W., Osborne House, Dumfries	1948
Bailey, W. G., B.Sc., F.R.I.C., North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries	1947

Bailey, Mrs, M.A., B.Sc., North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries	1947
Baird, Peter, Curriestanes, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1950
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries	1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries	1944
Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1946
Barr, Mrs J. Glen, 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1951
Barr, Mrs J. F., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1951
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1945
Bartholomew, James, Glenorchard, Torrance, near Glasgow...	1910
Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., A.R.I.B.A., Thrushwood, Mous- wald, Dumfries	1947
Beattie, Lewis, Thrushwood, Mouswald, Dumfries	1947
Benzies, Wm. C., M.A., Schoolhouse, Minnigaff, Newton- Stewart	1946
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Birrell, Adam, Park Crescent, Creetown	1925
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Black, Robert, Strathspey	1946
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh	1947
Bone, Miss E., Lochvale, Castle-Douglas	1937
Bowden, Charles, Screel, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie	1943
Bowden, Mrs Charles, Screel, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie	1944
Brand, George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1942
Brand, Mrs George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1941
Brooke, Dr. A. Kellie, Masonfield, Newton-Stewart	1947
Brown, G. D., B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., Largie, Rotchell Road, Dumfries	1938
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerloch, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Brown, William, J.P., Burnbrae, Penpont, Dumfries	1944
Brydon, James, 135 Irish Street, Dumfries	1929
*Burnett, T. R., B.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S., Airdmhoire, Kirkton, Dumfries (President, 1946-49)	1920
Byers, R., Munches Kennels, Dalbeattie	1951
Caird, J. B., M.A., H.M.I.S., 38 George Street, Dumfries...	1948
Caird, Mrs, M.A., 38 George Street, Dumfries...	1948
Caldwell, A. T., L.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., "Avmid," Kirk- cudbright	1944
Calvert, Rev. George, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries	1945
Cameron, D. Scott, 4 Nellieville Terrace, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1945

Campbell, John, Buccleuch Street, Dumfries	1944
Campbell-Johnston, David, Carnsalloch, Dumfries	1946
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex	1949
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie...	1946
Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
Chapman, Wm., Tower of Lettrick, Dunscore	1951
Charleson, Rev. C. J. Forbes, Hillwood Cottage, Newbridge, Midlothian	1930
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., The Grammar School, Paisley	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat	1946
Cleghorn, H. B., Walnut Cottage, Annan Road, Dumfries...	1943
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries	1946
Copland, R., Isle Tower, Holywood	1950
Copland, Mrs R., Isle Tower, Holywood... ..	1950
Cormack, David, LL.B., W.S., Royal Bank Buildings, Lockerbie	1913
Cormack, Wm., Starney, Lockerbie	1951
Crabbe, Lt.-Col. J. G., O.B.E., M.C., L.L., Duncow, Dum- fries	1911
Craig, Bryce, Deansgate, Nelson Street, Dumfries	1946
Craigie, Charles F., The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael	1947
Craigie, Mrs, The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael	1947
Crosbie, Alan R., Sandyknowe, Troqueer Road, Dumfries...	1946
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Insti- tution, Dumfries	1943
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries	1948
Cunningham, Brigadier D. W., Norwood, Castle-Douglas ...	1951
Cunynghame, Mrs Blair, Broomfield, Moniaive	1948
Cuthbertson, Capt. W., M.C., Beldcraig, Annan	1920
Dalziel, Miss Agnes, L.D.S., Glenlea, Georgetown Road, Dumfries	1945
Davidson, Dr. James, F.R.C.P.Ed., F.S.A.Scot., Linton Muir, West Linton	1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow	1934
Davidson, R. A. M., Kilness, Moniaive, Dumfries	1938
Denniston, J., F.E.I.S., Mossiel, Cardoness Street, Dum- fries	1943
Dickie, Rev. J. W. T., The Manse, Laurieston, Castle- Douglas	1951
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1930
Dinwiddie, J. S., M.A., Galloway Hill, Terregles Street, Dumfries	1944
Dinwiddie, N. A. W., M.A., B.Com., Newall Terrace, Dum- fries	1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1920

Dinwoodie, Miss I., Watling Street, Dumfries ...	1949
Dobie, K. L., Pennyfai, Ardwall Road, Dumfries ...	1950
Dobie, Percy, B.Eng., 122 Vicars Cross, Chester ...	1943
Dobie, W. G. M., LL.B., Conheath, Dumfries ...	1944
Dobie, Mrs W. G. M., Conheath, Dumfries ...	1944
Douglas, James, 3 Rosevale Street, Langholm ...	1933
Drummond, Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries ...	1944
Drummond, Mrs Gordon, Dunderave, Cassalands, Dumfries	1946
Drummond, Miss M., Marrburn, Rotchell Road, Dumfries...	1949
Drysdale, Miss J. M., Edinmara, Glencaple, Dumfries ...	1946
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries (President, 1944-1946) ...	1930
Duncan, Mrs Arthur, Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1945
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	1926
Duncan, Mrs Walter, Newlands, Dumfries ...	1948
Eggar, P. S., Denbie, Lockerbie ...	1951
Ewart, Edward, M.D., Crichton Royal Institution, Dum- fries ...	1946
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries ...	1948
Fenn, Rev. Raymond W., Glenlyon, Rotchell Road ...	1951
Finlayson, A. W., Schoolhouse, Noblehill, Dumfries ...	1951
Finlayson, Mrs A. W., Schoolhouse, Noblehill, Dumfries ...	1951
Firth, Mark, Knockbrex, Kirkcudbright ...	1946
Fisher, A. C., 52 Newington Road, Annan ...	1949
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Herouncroft, Newton- Stewart ...	1947
Flett, James, A.I.A.A., F.S.A.Scot., 15 Arthur Street, Newton-Stewart ...	1912
Flinn, Alan J. M., Eldin, Moffat Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat ...	1929
Fox, Lieut.-Colonel J., Glencrosh, Moniaive ...	1950
Fox, Mrs J., Glencrosh, Moniaive ...	1950
Fraser, Brigadier S., Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of- Fleet, Castle-Douglas ...	1947
Fraser, Mrs, Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1947
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield ...	1946
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan ...	1949
Galloway, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Cumloden, Newton- Stewart, Wigtownshire ...	1945
Gaskell, Mrs W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1934
Geddes, Nathan, Lochpatrick Mill, Kirkpatrick-Durham ...	1951
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Abbey House, New Abbey ...	1946
Gillan, Lady, Abbey House, New Abbey ...	1946
Glendinning, George, Arley House, Thornhill Road, Hudders- field ...	1942
Goldie, Gordon, The British Council, The British Embassy, Rome ...	1947

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Gordon, Miss A. J., Kenmure, Dumfries	1907
Gourlay, James, Brankston House, Stonehouse, Lanarkshire	1934
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan	1948
Graham-Barnett, Mrs N., Blackhills Farm, Annan	1948
Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie	1947
Graham, C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries ...	1945
Graham, Mrs C., c/o Faithfull, 52 George Street, Dumfries	1945
Gray, John M., 6 Cassalands Terrace, Dumfries	1951
Greeves, Lt.-Col. J. R., B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., Coolmashee, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down	1947
Grierson, Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries...	1945
Grierson, Mrs Thomas, Royston, Laurieknowe, Dumfries ...	1946
Grieve, Mrs R. W., Fernwood, Dumfries	1946
Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries	1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries	1944
Halliday, Mrs, Parkhurst, Dumfries	1906
Hamilton, Mrs Fleming, Kirkcowan, Newton-Stewart ...	1952
Hannay, A., Lochend, Stranraer... ..	1926
Hannay, Miss Jean, Lochend, Stranraer	1951
Harper, Dr. J., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries	1947
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie	1927
Henderson, I. G., Beechwood, Lockerbie	1951
Henderson, James, Claremont, Dumfries	1905
Henderson, Mrs James, Claremont, Dumfries...	1927
Henderson, Miss J. G., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries ...	1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Claremont, Newall Terrace, Dumfries	1945
Henderson, John, M.A., F.E.I.S., Schoolhouse, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1933
Henderson, Thomas, The Hermitage, Lockerbie	1902
Henderson, Mrs Walter, Rannoch, St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries	1948
Henryson-Caird, Major A. J., M.C., Cassencarie, Cree- town	1946
Hetherington, Johnston, B.Sc., Dumgoyne, Dryfe Road, Lockerbie	1946
Hetherington, W. K., B.A., 5 Ballochran Road, Auldgirth...	1949
Hislop, John, Manse Road, Lochrutton	1945
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries	1948
Hunter, Mrs T. S., Woodford, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1947
Hunter, Miss, Mennock, Park Road, Dumfries	1944
Hunter-Arundell, H. W. F., Barjarg, Auldgirth, Dumfries...	1912
Inglis, John A., Achad na Darrach, Invergarry, Inverness- shire	1951
Irvine, James, B.Sc., 10 Langlands, Dumfries	1944

Irvine, Mrs James, 10 Langlands, Dumfries	1952
Irvine, W. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A., Brynllwyn Hall, Corwen, North Wales	1908
Jameson, Col. A. M., J.P., D.L., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Gaitgill, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jamieson, Mrs J. C., Drumburn, Colvend	1930
Jardine, J. R., 15 Rae Street, Dumfries	1946
Jebb, Mrs G. D., Brooklands, Crocketford, Dumfries	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, Mouswald Schoolhouse, Mouswald, Dumfries	1946
Jenkins, Ross T., 4 Carlton Terrace, Stranraer	1912
Jensen, J. H., Roxburgh House, Annan Road, Dumfries...	1945
Johnson-Fergusson, Col. Sir Edward, Bart., T.D., D.L., Springkell, Eaglesfield, Lockerbie	1905
Johnston, Miss Anne, College Mains, Dumfries	1947
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1	1911
Johnston, R. Tordiff, Stenrieshill, Beattock	1948
Johnston, Mrs R. T., Stenrieshill, Beattock	1948
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat	—
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries	1945
Johnstone, R., M.A., Schoolhouse, Southwick	1947
Kirkpatrick, W., West Gallaberry, Kirkmahoe	1948
Kirkpatrick, Mrs W., West Gallaberry, Kirkmahoe... ..	1948
Laidlaw, A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1939
Landale, Mrs D. F., Maryfield, Auldgirth	1949
Lauder, Miss A., 90 Irvine Road, Kilmarnock	1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries...	1939
Lepper, R. S., M.A., LL.M., F.R.Hist.Soc., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down, Ireland	1918
Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., 34A The Grove, Dumfries	1949
Lethem, Sir Gordon, Johnstone House, Johnstone-Craigheugh, Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire	1948
Liverpool, The Countess of, Merkland, Auldgirth, Dumfries	1946
Lodge, Alfred, M.Sc., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
Lodge, Mrs A., 39 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
MacAdam, Helen, Hannahfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries	1952
M'Burnie, James, 111 Princes House, Kensington Park Road, London, W.11	1950
M'Caig, Mrs Margaret H., Barmiltoch, Stranraer	1931
M'Connel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 171 Central Avenue, Gretna, Carlisle	1927
M'Corkindale, Wm., M.A., 3A Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries	1949
M'Corkindale, Mrs W., 3A Dunbar Terrace, Dumfries	1949
M'Cormick, A., Walnut House, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire	1905

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M'Culloch, Major-General Sir Andrew, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., D.C.M., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas	1946
M'Culloch, Lady, Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle- Douglas	—
Macdonald, H. H., Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries ...	1951
Macdonald, Mr N. H., Suswa, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries...	1952
Macdonald, W. M. Bell, Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie	1929
M'George, Mrs A. G., Dhucorse, Dumfries	1944
M'Intosh, Mrs, Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries ...	1946
Macintyre, Canon D., M.A., The Rectory, Dumfries ...	1946
M'Kerrow, Arthur, Rickerby, Lochanhead	1950
M'Kerrow, Mrs Arthur, Rickerby, Lochanhead	1950
*M'Kerrow, M. H., F.S.A.Scot., Dunard, Dumfries (Presi- dent, 1930-1933)	1900
M'Knight, Ian, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... ..	1948
M'Knight, Mrs, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... ..	1948
M'Laren, R. P., B.Sc., Newton House Hotel, Dumfries ...	1948
M'Lean, A., B.Sc., Wayside, Dumfries	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M., Wayside, Dumfries	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries	1946
MacMaster, T., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., 190 Grange Loan, Edinburgh	1926
M'Robert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden	1948
M'William, Rev. J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1944
M'William, Mrs J. M., The Manse, Tynron, Dumfries ...	1945
Maguire, Charles, 5 St. Ninian's Terrace, Isle of Whithorn	1947
Malcolm, Mrs S. A., c/o Mrs Grierson, 3 Stewart Hall Gardens, Dumfries	1920
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1947
Martin, John, Ivy Bank, Noblehill, Dumfries	1945
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946
Maxwell, Major-General Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kir- kennan, Dalbeattie	1946
Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ...	1937
Maxwell, Miss Jean, Corselet Cottage, Castle-Douglas ...	1950
Maxwell, Jean S., Coila, New Abbey Road, Dumfries ...	1947
Maxwell-Witham, Robert, Kirkconnell, New Abbey, Dum- fries	1911
Mayer-Gross, Dr. W., Mayfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries...	1945
Millar, James, M.A., B.Sc., The Rectory, Closeburn	1949
Millar, Mrs J., The Rectory, Closeburn	1949
Miller, Miss Jean, 9 Dumfries Road, Castle-Douglas ...	1951
Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1908

Miller, S. N., Damhill Lodge, Corehouse, Lanark ...	1946
Milne, Sheriff C., K.C., 9 Howe Street, Edinburgh ...	1949
Milne, John, Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1945
Milne, Mrs J., Dunesslin, Dunscore, Dumfries ...	1945
Mogerley, G. H., Rowanbank, Dumfries ...	1948
Morgan, Gerard, Southfield House, Wigtown...	1948
Morgan, Mrs H. M. A., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morgan, R. W. D., Rockhall, Collin, Dumfries ...	1945
Morton, Miss, Moat Hostel, Dumfries ...	1947
Murray, Edward, Castledykes View, Dumfries ...	1951
Murray, Mrs Edward, Castledykes View, Dumfries ...	1951
Murray, Miss J. J., The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet, Dumfries ...	1945
Murray, Captain Keith R., Parton House, Castle-Douglas	1950
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Myrseeth, Major O., County Hotel, Dumfries ...	1944
Ord, Dr G. E., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ...	1951
Ord, Mrs, 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ...	1946
O'Reilly, Mrs N., c/o Messrs Coutts & Co., 44 Strand, London, W.C.2 ...	1926
Osborne, Mrs R. S., 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries...	1946
Park, Miss Dora, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1944
Park, Miss Mary, Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1944
Paterson-Smith, J., The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1948
Paterson-Smith, Mrs, The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries...	1948
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway ...	1950
Penman, James B., Mile Ash, Dumfries ...	1947
Penman, John S., Airlie, Dumfries ...	1947
Peploe, Mrs, North Bank, Moffat ...	1947
Piddington, Mrs, Woodhouse, Dunscore ...	1950
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries ...	1945
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Balmoral Road, Dumfries ...	1949
Prentice, Edward G., B.Sc., Pringleton House, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ...	1945
Prevost, W. A. J., Craigieburn, Moffat ...	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Granta House, Littlebury, Essex ...	1934
Rainsford-Hannay, Col. F., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ...	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Miss M., 107B Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9 ...	1945
Raven, Mrs Mary E., Ladyfield Lodge, Glencaple Road, Dumfries ...	1946
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore ...	1946
Reid, Alex., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dumfries ...	1951

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Reid, Mrs Alex., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dumfries	1951
*Reid, R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dumfries (President, 1933-1944)	1917
Robertson, Mrs J. P., Westwood, Dumfries	1933
Robertson, James, 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1936
Robson, G. H., 2 Terregles Street, Dumfries	1911
Robson, Mrs J. H., 60 Broom's Road, Dumfries	1949
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries	1944
Scott, John, Milton, Beattock	1945
Service, Mrs E. L., Glencaple Village, Dumfries	1932
Shaw, Dr. T. D. Stuart, Rosebank, Castle-Douglas	1946
Shields, Miss, Newtonairds, Dumfries	1951
Silvey, Miss M., M.A., Minerva, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1949
Simpson, A. J., The Schoolhouse, Kirkconnel	1945
Smith, Adam, Holmhead, Mouswald	1946
Smith, C. D., Albert Villa, London Road, Stranraer	1944
Smith, E. A., M.A., Kenyon, Albert Road, Dumfries	1946
Smith, Miss Eugene, Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries...	1949
Stewart, Mrs Johnston, Physgill, Whithorn	1950
Sydserrf, Peter, 71 College Street, Dumfries	1950
Syms, Major R. Hardy, F.R.I.C.S., L.R.I.B.A., M.I.P.I., 32 Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.1	1927
Taylor, James M.A., B.Sc., The Hill, Southwick Road, Dalbeattie	1933
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk	1950
Thomson, Dr. J. L., The Gill, Thornhill	1951
Tindal, Mrs, Cargen, Dumfries	1948
Truckell, A. E., 12 Grierson Avenue, Dumfries	1947
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries	1946
Walker, A., The Cottage, Borgue	1950
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrinton, Dumfries	1926
Walker, Rev. Maurice D., M.A., M.C., St. Ninian's Rectory, Castle-Douglas	1949
Walker, Mrs Maurice D., St. Ninian's Rectory, Castle-Douglas	1951
Wallace, J., 14 Broomfield, Dumfries	1948
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries	1951
Waugh, W., Palace Knowe, Beattock	1924
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries	1947
Wright, Robert, Glenurquhart, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries	1947
Wylie, Miss, St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries	1951
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1946

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Anderson, Miss Elizabeth, Laneshaw, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1947
Armstrong, Miss Margaret, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Armstrong, Miss Sarah, Whitefield, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Blance, Miss Beatrice, The Plans, Ruthwell Station, Dum- fries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1950
Bowden, Craig, 17 Galloway Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Brand, George A. M., Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1945
Brown, Andrew J. M., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1948
Brown, David D. S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	...	...	...	...	...	...	1948
Campbell, Kenneth, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet	...	...	...	...	...	...	1945
Cliffe, Charles, The Rectory, Wallace Hall Academy, Close- burn	...	...	...	...	...	...	1950
Cockburn, George, St. Michael's Manse, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1951
Coid, John, Abiston, Park Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Dickson, Tom, Locharview, Locharbriggs	...	...	...	...	...	...	1950
Dobie, Alec, Annan Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1950
Fox, Miss Jane, Glencrosh, Moniaive	...	...	...	...	...	...	1950
Gair, John, Delvine, Amisfield, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1945
Hay, Bruce, Strathisla, Glasgow Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1947
Irvine, James, Jun., 10 Langlands, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1945
Landale, David, Maryfield, Auldgirth	...	...	...	...	...	...	1949
Landale, Miss J., Maryfield, Auldgirth	...	...	...	...	...	...	1949
Landale, Miss L., Maryfield, Auldgirth	...	...	...	...	...	...	1949
M'Intosh, Miss Brenda, M.B.O.U., Ramornie, Terregles Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Manning, John, 2 Hobart Avenue, Dewsbury, Yorks.	...	...	...	...	...	...	1947
Marshall, Robert, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1947
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Osborne, Graham, 54 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Robertson, James J., 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1946
Rowan, Martin, Annan Road, Dumfries	...	...	...	...	...	...	1950

SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library	...	...	...	...	...	1938
American Museum of Natural History, New York	...	...	...	...	...	1950
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (H. Somerville, M.C., M.A., Education Officer)	...	...	...	...	...	1944
Glasgow University Library	...	...	...	...	...	1947
Kirkcudbrightshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Castle-Douglas (John Laird, B.Sc., B.L., Director of Education)	...	...	...	...	...	1944
Mitchell Library, Hope Street, Glasgow	...	...	...	...	...	1925
New York Public Library, 5th Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City (B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell Street, British Museum, London, W.C.1	...	...	...	...	...	1938
St. Andrews University Library	...	...	...	...	...	1950
The Carmarthen Antiquary	...	...	...	...	...	1951
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer)	...	...	...	...	...	1943

Statement of Accounts

For the Year ended 31st March, 1951.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand as at 1st April, 1950—				
In Bank on Current Account	£192	4	8	
In hands of Treasurer	1	4	6	
				£193 9 2
Members' Subscriptions—				
Current Year's	£166	1	6	
Arrears				
1951/52 paid in advance	0	15	0	
				166 16 6
Interests—				
On £230 3½ per cent. War Stock ...	£12	1	6	
On Dumfries Savings Bank Deposits...	10	7	9	
				22 9 3
Publications—				
Sale of "Transactions," etc.				74 7 6
Excursions—Received				62 3 6
Exhibition, November, 1950—Received ...				3 5 10
Miscellaneous—				
Conversazione, April, 1950: Tickets—				
46 at 3s, 6 at 1s 6d	£7	7	0	
Postage Paid by Members	0	0	6	
Lantern Slides	1	1	0	
				8 8 6
				£531 0 3

PAYMENTS.

Excursions—				
Hire of 'Buses and Tips	£31	2	6	
Teas, etc.	15	17	6	
				£47 0 0
Publications—				
Issue of Volume XXVII. of "Transactions"	£159	10	0	
Other Publications	19	4	6	
				178 14 6
Miscellaneous—				
Conversazione	£4	18	0	
Printing, Stationery, Postages, and				
Typing	42	5	6	
Advertising	16	6	0	
Insurance	0	10	0	

Payments—continued.

Delegate's Expenses	2	5	6	
Scottish Regional Group	2	4	2	
Subscription to Shirley Fund	10	0	0	
Scottish Field Studies	1	1	0	
Refund of Subscriptions Overpaid	6	2	6	
Lecturers' Expenses	7	12	5	
Bank Cheque Books	0	9	2	
				93 14 3

Exhibition, November, 1950—

60 Teas at 1s	£3	0	0	
Hire of Hall	2	0	0	
Hallkeeper	0	10	0	
				5 10 0
				£324 18 9

Balance on hand as at 31st March, 1951—

On Current Account in Bank	206	1	6	
				£531 0 3

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand on 1st April, 1950—

3½ per cent. War Stock at cost	£218	10	0	
In Dumfries Savings Bank	336	16	3	
				£555 6 3
Life Membership Fees				28 7 0
				£583 13 3

PAYMENTS.

Balance on hand on 1st April, 1951—

3½ per cent. War Stock at cost	£218	10	0	
In Dumfries Savings Bank	365	3	3	
				£583 13 3

We have examined the Books and Vouchers of the Dumfries-shire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for the year ended 31st March, 1951, and certify that the foregoing Abstract exhibits a correct view of the Treasurer's operations for that period; the Certificate for War Loan has been exhibited.

W. G. M. DOBIE, } Auditors.
JAMES HENDERSON, }

Dumfries, 30th May, 1951.

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Publications of the Society.

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A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James M'Andrew, 1882, *out of print*.

Birrens and its Antiquities, with an Account of Recent Excavations and their Results, by Dr. James Macdonald and Mr James Barbour, 1897, 3s 6d.

Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by the Rev. H. A. Whitelaw, 1911, 7s 6d, *out of print*.

History of the Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912, 5s.

The History of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, by H. S. Gladstone, 1913, 3s 6d.

The Ruthwell Cross, by W. G. Collingwood, profusely illustrated, 1917, 3s 6d, *out of print*.

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I., "Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746," edited with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, by R. C. Reid, 1916, 12s 6d.

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. II., "The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire," by James Steuart, W.S., 7s 6d.

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1923, 10s.

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Miller, F.S.A. Scot., 7s 6d.

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