DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1951-52.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXX.

EDITORS

R. C. REID and A. E. TRUCKELL, F.S.A. Scot.

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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.

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ARTICLE 1.

The Roman Fort at Glenlochar, Kirkcudbrightshire.

By Professor I. A. RICHMOND and Dr. J. K. ST. JOSEPH, with Notes upon the Pottery by J. P. GILLAM.

Introduction.

The Roman fort at Glenlochar, Kirkcudbrightshire, lies on the east bank of the river Dee, two miles north of Castle-Douglas and about one mile north of the medieval Douglas stronghold of Threave (Pl. I.). The position (Fig. 1) is occupied by a modern bridge; and it is noteworthy that this is the only point on the Dee for many miles both up and down stream where the river flows between closely adjacent banks and not through the marshy haughs which are the road-builder's bane. The site is thus of great strategic importance. Its discovery by the second writer, during a reconnaissance flight in 1949, was accompanied by the recognition of at least four temporary camps; a fact which sufficiently emphasises the value placed upon Glenlochar as a point of concentration for Roman forces on active service in Galloway. A complete definition of its relation to permanent works must await further discoveries: but it is already certain that it lay upon a road running westwards. The corresponding fort on the Nith lay in Antonine times at Carzield[1] and in the Flavian period probably at Dalswinton.[2] Westwards the crossing of the Fleet above Gatehouse is guarded by a smaller Roman fort,[3] also first identified from the air by Dr. St. Joseph in 1949. Yet both the site and the size of this Gatehouse work, little larger than a convoy-post, show that it was not a terminus. The new discoveries thus imply the existence of nothing less than a trunk route through Galloway and a thorough penetration of a district hitherto considered as beyond the Roman pale. In addition, the Roman

1 These *Transactions*, xxii., 156-163.
2 *J.R.S.*, xli., 60-61, pl., vii., i.
3 *ibid.*, 61.

road visible from the air heading northward from the newly-discovered fort at Glenlochar up the Dee valley hints at a subsidiary route into the hinterland towards Ayrshire, and so at the development of the normal Roman system of cordon control.

Though visible in such remarkable detail from the air the fort at Glenlochar is not in fact unrecognisable on the ground, and like the Roman fort at Newstead, whose traditional name was the Red Abbeystead, it was locally reputed to be the site of an abbey. That it was a Roman fort remained generally unsuspected,[4] and, while this point was proved once and for all by Dr. St. Joseph's air-photographs, it seemed desirable to see what evidence a trial section would furnish for the date of its occupation or occupations within the Roman period. The proprietor of the land on the south side of the road to the bridge, Mr Hugh Crosbie of Culvennan, willingly gave permission for one main trench and two minor trenches to be dug: and the work was undertaken between 31st March and 18th April, 1952, by the two writers at the expense of the Christianbury Trust, the work being also supported by grants from the Education Committee of the Stewartry and this Society.

The Defences.

The section (Fig. 2), cut through the east rampart, supplemented the details shown upon the air-photograph in so many important respects, that it is most practical to describe the actual remains first and to relate them to the air-photograph later.

The rampart is a composite structure in itself, and was enlarged at least once. In its unmodified form it comprises a mass of remarkably consistent chocolate-coloured earth, bedded upon two or three courses of turf and packed between turf cheeks at back and front. The front turf cheek is carried upon two layers of large river cobbles. The entire

[4] It appears that a fragment of *amphora* from the site in the Burgh Museum, Kirkcudbright, had not attracted attention. Nor would it by itself have proved the existence of a military site.

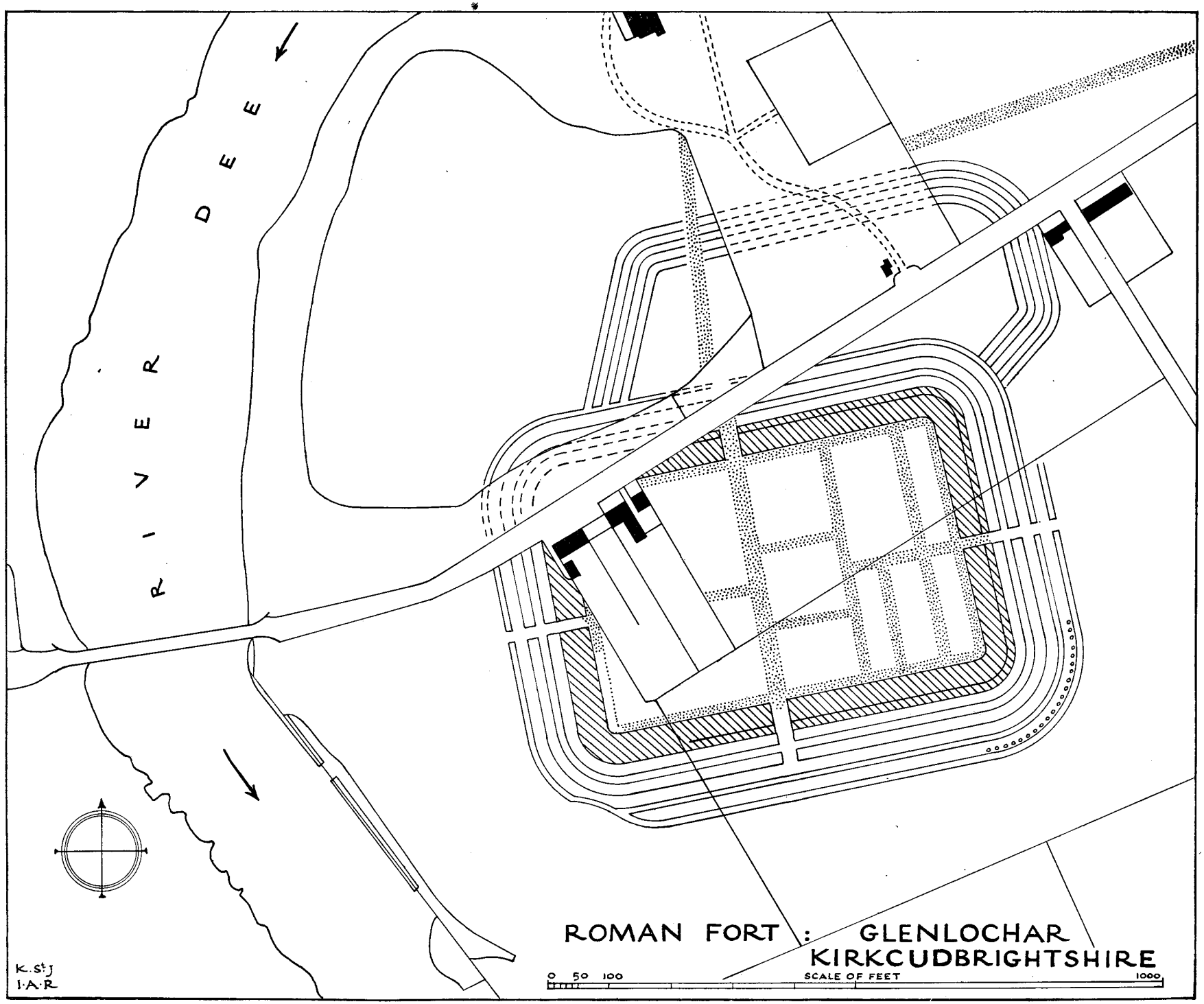

RIVER DEE
ROMAN FORT : GLENLOCHAR
KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE
0 50 100
SCALE OF FEET
1000
K.St.J
I.A.R

Fig. 1.

structure measured 32 feet from back to front; the rearward turf cheek was 8 feet wide; the front turf cheek was 10 feet wide; and the stone foundation 9 feet wide. The 14-foot mass of chocolate earth which forms the core of the rampart is in colour exactly like the subsoil, but here the resemblance ends, for the subsoil on the site contains everywhere much alluvial gravel. Only if the subsoil derived from ditch-digging had been screened, in order to obtain gravel for road-making, would stoneless chocolate earth of this kind be available. This implies, as so often in Roman military engineering, much heavy labour, but it is not the only evidence for effort expended upon structural details. The turves employed for the cheeks of the rampart are not the thin friable sods stripped from the gravelly plateau upon which the fort stands, but thick and massive clods from the adjacent marsh-land (Pl. II.A). The material used for the rampart has thus been selected with a notably attentive eye to local resources. Not too much turf has been carried, and the two main constituents of the gravelly subsoil from the ditches have been separated, the earth supplying packing for the rampart, the gravel material for roads.

The berm in front of the rampart just described is 14 feet wide. It is covered by an artificial apron of gravel from 3 to 4 inches thick which subsides over an obliterated earlier ditch, $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep, with a bottom channel from 6 to 9 inches wide and 12 inches deep. Nineteen inches of silt had collected in the ditch, when it was deliberately filled by the tightly-packed remains of a demolished turf rampart, and capped by the apron of gravel already described. That this gravel is in turn contemporary with the 32-foot rampart is shown by the mass of washed turf from the rampart in question which directly overlies the apron (Pl. II.A).

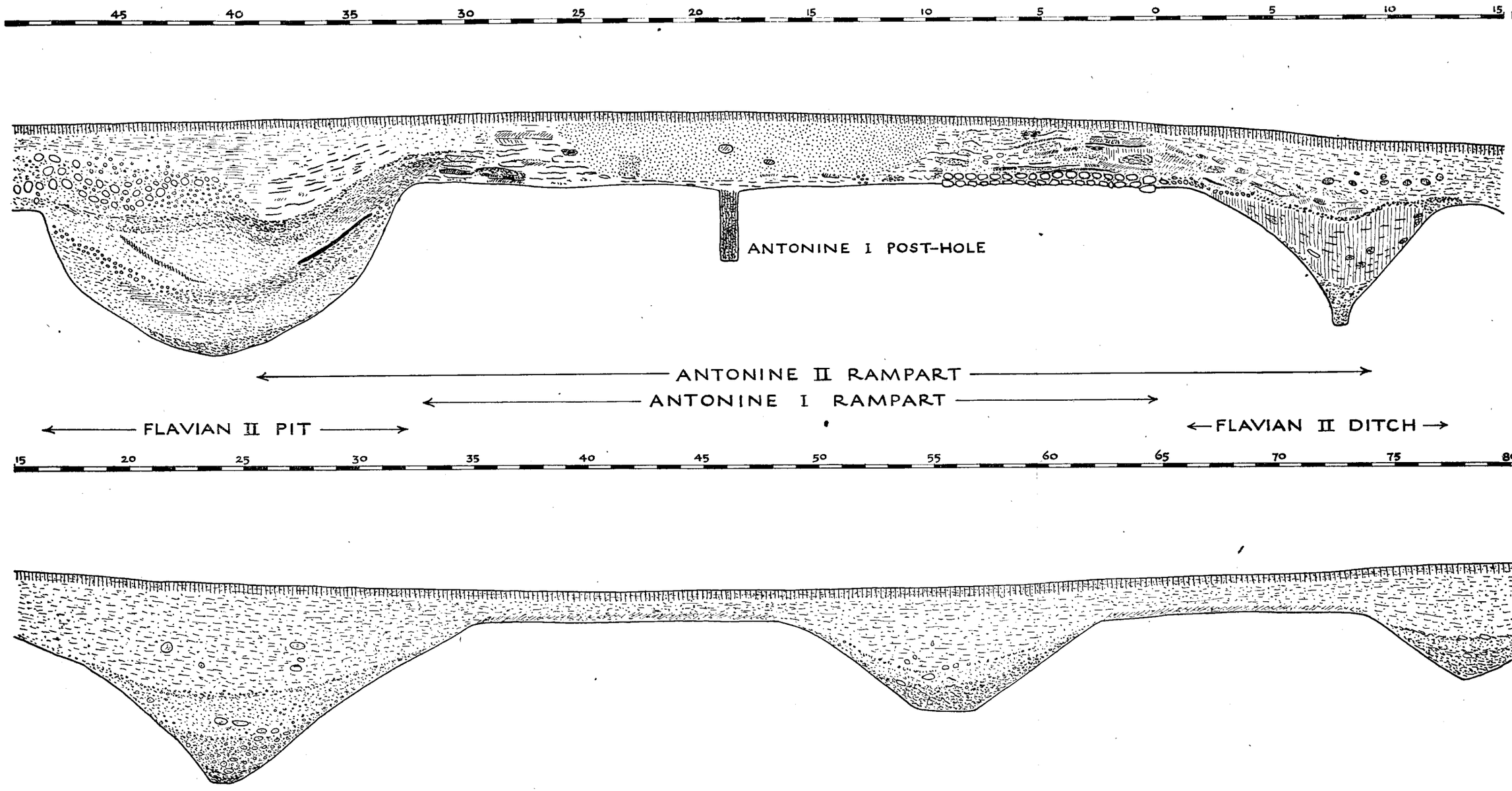
Modification of the rampart may next be recognised (Pl. II.A), as represented by a mass of laid turf which covers and embodies the washed material from its first front. This turfwork projects over the gravel capping for a distance of 10 feet, and its weight and thrust are the direct causes of

the marked subsidence in the capping at that point. In other words, the rampart has been made ten feet broader at the front. A comparable extension is also seen at the back, where a similar cheek of turfwork, between 7 and 8 feet wide, is clearly visible. This overlies a gravel roadway which has subsided heavily into a great saucer-bottomed pit, 16 feet wide, dug immediately behind the 32-foot rampart. The pit had been twice levelled up after subsidences before the extension to the rampart was made, and the second make-up rises 18 inches above the base of the first rampart and covers a mass of silted turf from its front. This silt rests upon the first filling. It is thus clear that the pit, like the ditch already noted, belongs to a period anterior to the first rampart. It yielded two striking pieces of Flavian coarse ware: a flat-rimmed mortarium and a flagon (Fig. 5, Nos. 1, 3). Its original purpose must remain obscure, but it may be observed that it cannot have stood open without some form of lining, for the upper part of its gravel side slopes at an angle of some 60 degrees and could not have stood without support.

One further structural feature deserves note. Eighteen feet behind the first rampart-front the section revealed a large post-hole in the subsoil, 1 foot square and 3 feet deep. The obliquity of the trench, which was cut parallel with the field-boundary to south and at an angle of 18 degrees to the line of the defences, prevented us from learning whether the post-hole was matched by another towards the front of the rampart. But so massive a post set so far into the body of the rampart must almost certainly have formed part of a tower. The fact that it lies some 75 feet north of the east gate, a spacing closely matched[5] at Gellygaer and Housesteads, usefully corroborates the supposition. It was not the only trace of massive timberwork. The hole for a horizontal beam at ground-level and parallel with the rampart was noted just within its rearward turf-cheek.[6]

[5] J. Ward, *The Roman Fort of Gellygaer*, plan facing p. 104: R. C. Bosanquet, *A.A.*[2], xxv., pl. xix.

[6] Cf. Birrens, P.S.A.S., lxxii., 304, fig. 19 for numerous comparable features.



GLENLOCHAR 1952 SECTION THROUGH EAST DEFENCES

Fig. 2.

A return may now be made to the front of the rampart. The gravel capping which seals the earlier ditch terminates at the inner lip of a very large ditch, now 21 feet wide and $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep, with a blunt V-shaped bottom. The filling consists of earth and stones that have gradually silted in from the sides, and the profile suggests that each side has weathered back about 3 feet, reducing the original width of the ditch to some 15 feet. An open flat space 11 feet wide is then followed by a ditch 14 feet wide and $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep, with a flat bottom $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. After another flat space, again 11 feet wide, occurs yet another ditch, $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 3 feet deep, with V-shaped bottom, inner slope at 35 degrees and outer slope at 30 degrees. All three ditches have manifestly been filled in the same way and at much the same rate, first by initial silt, secondly by prolonged weathering of their sides and finally by agricultural operations. The last process has so flattened out the ditch-system as to leave only a very broad flat hollow, 1 foot deep at maximum, on its site. This effect has been largely produced by ploughing back on the one hand the rampart and on the other a broad flat upcast mound which lay beyond the ditches. The presence of the outermost ditch is completely disguised, while the bottom of the hollow actually covers undisturbed subsoil and does not correspond to the hollow of any ditch.

The relation between the ditch-system revealed by excavation and that visible in the air-photograph may now be discussed. The two outer ditches, with a broad strip of clear ground behind each, are plain enough, and they manifestly correspond to the two ditches seen at this point on three different photographs. Further south, however, the photographs show three ditches; and the absence of the third on the line of the section was confirmed by excavation, which revealed undisturbed subsoil at the appropriate point. It then follows that the air-photograph records the great ditch and the early filled ditch, between which no interval exists, as one united black mark. The front of the original rampart is registered by a very thin white line, clearly visible on all photographs, presumably caused by differential growth over

the silted turf, resting upon undisturbed subsoil, immediately in front of the cobbled foundation. This indication is of great value, because it shows that the same conditions obtain upon three sides of the fort to a point well west of the north and south gates. Unfortunately, the west rampart, though evident enough, is altogether less clearly differentiated, and it cannot be discerned whether a similar state of affairs occurred there. It accordingly remains uncertain whether the early ditch ran so far west. Since the over-all length of the known fort is approximately 723 feet, the early fort could well have been shorter.

Further interesting features in the defences are revealed by air-photography on the south side and at both southern angles of the fort. At the south gate the two outermost ditches pass in front of the gateway uninterrupted. There is no indication of a made road issuing from this gate, which opens on to a deep wet hollow. At the south-west angle the outermost ditch swings in and joins the next in the series, which itself bellies slightly inwards so as to maintain a constant level round a re-entrant contour. At the south-east angle, most exposed of all to attack, extra defences are represented by a series of 19 large holes or pits, regularly disposed round the curve immediately inside the outermost ditch. These would seem intended to contain either isolated obstacles[7] (*cippi*) or, more probably, the uprights for a continuous entanglement, which would pin down the enemy within killing range of spears thrown from the rampart. Finally, the air-photograph reveals a triple-ditched annexe on the north side of the fort, ingeniously planned in order not to mask the angles of the fort on the river-front (see Fig. 1). Large portions of this work, and of the road from the east, which skirts it, are unfortunately obscured by the gardens of Glenlochar House.

The Interior.

Attention has already been drawn to the roads behind the rampart (Fig. 3). Two of these overlie the great pit,

[7] Caesar, *B.G.*, vii., 73, 2-4.

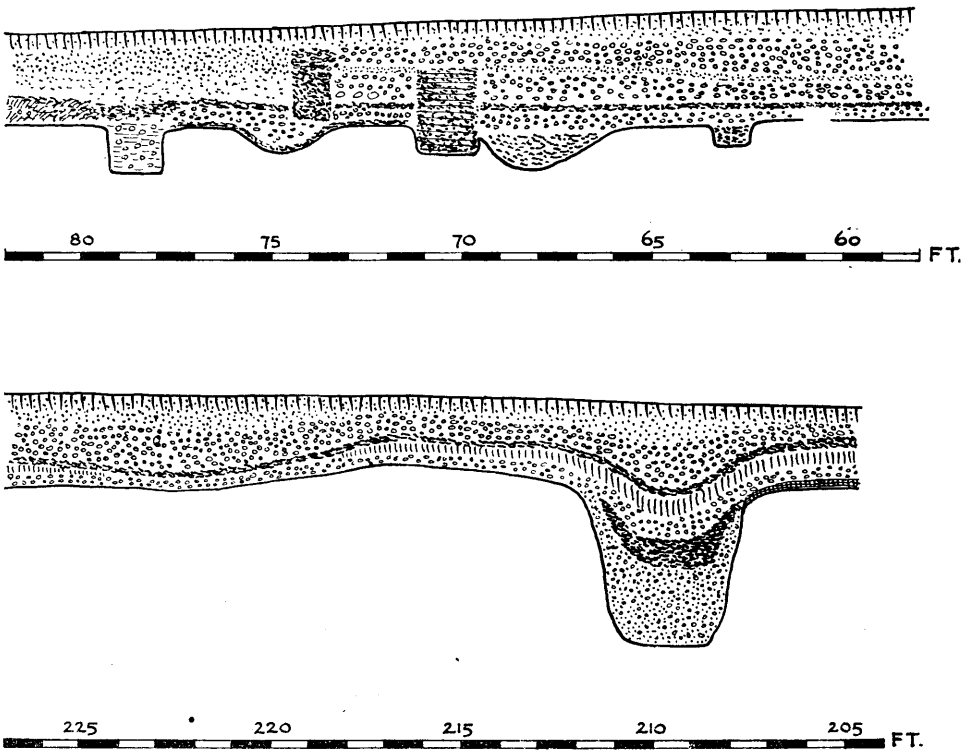


Fig. 3—SIGNIFICANT STRATIFICATION IN MAIN SECTION.

described above, and are connected with the two structural phases of the rampart. The lower and earlier road, contemporary with the first rampart, extends for a width of 38 feet behind it: the upper and later road exhibits a breadth of 34 feet behind the later extension. Both roads are bordered on the inner side by a well-marked sleeper-trench, showing that timber buildings were in question; and their general date is attested by a scatter of Antonine coarse pottery and Samian ware, mostly Dragendorff's shape 31, in the plough-soil immediately above them (Fig. 5, Nos. 5, 6). Floors connected with them are not preserved.

These two levels, however, do not represent the whole story. West of the pit they cover another and slighter road-

way of hard packed gravel laid directly upon the subsoil. This in turn covers a shallow pit and a corner of a light wattle-and-daub building represented by a shallow sleeper trench, 9 inches deep and 12 inches wide, into which round stakes 6 inches in diameter have been driven at intervals of one foot. Four structural periods are thus apparent, though the building associated with the earliest has not the clean-cut and trim appearance of regular military buildings. The three later sets of buildings, on the other hand, occur within ten feet of one another at what is manifestly the inner edge of the *intervallum* road (Fig. 3).

The trial trench then penetrates the interior. Between 68 feet and 100 feet, it exhibits the remains of timber buildings of two periods, in the form of sleeper trenches 12 inches wide and 15 inches deep. The earlier set are associated with an extensive layer of burnt daub. The later set seems to be bounded by trenches at 70 feet and 100 feet, as if it were a normal barrack or stable, 30 feet wide. A later trench at 100 feet cuts through an earlier pit.

Between 100 feet and 120 feet roadways appear, belonging to two structural periods. The earlier road is associated with a burnt level, and both roadways overlie a circular pit between 107 feet and 111¼ feet. This is the roadway which is clearly recorded in the air-photographs as bounding the first block of buildings inside the east *intervallum*. Between 120 feet and 167 feet buildings are continuous, and two series can again be recognised, the earlier associated with a burnt level containing much daub, as before. The earlier series, however, appears to run only as far as 140 feet, though the burnt occupation-layer associated with it continues to 170 feet. Between 177 feet and 194 feet the trench cuts, obliquely, across the two adjacent sides of a large rectangular straight-sided pit, 5½ feet deep. The existing profile of this pit rather suggests[8] that it had boarded sides and a boarded horizontal surround, 4 feet wide, at the top. Its south edge lies close to the *via decumana*. This road again exhibits

[8] For a pit with boarded sides, see Fendoch, *P.S.A.S.*, lxxiii., 129; also Slack, *Y.A.J.*, xxvi., 24, figs. 20-22.

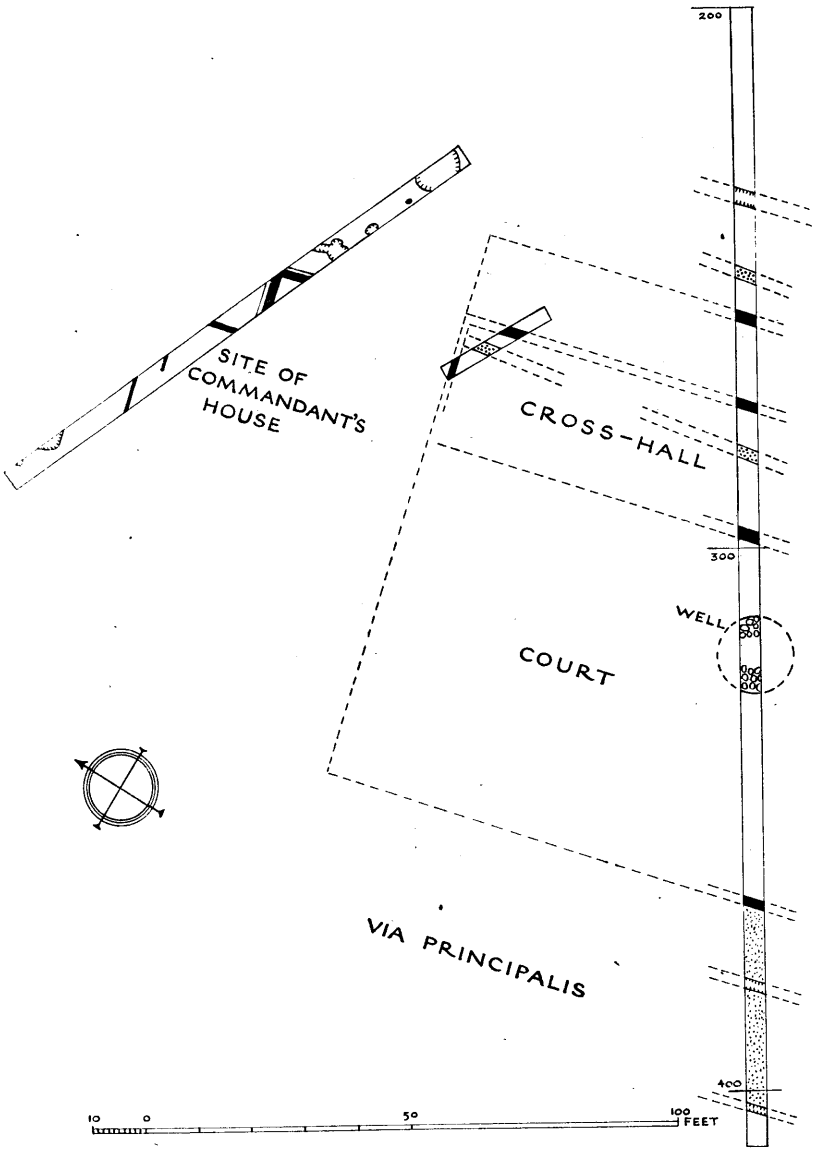

200
SITE OF COMMANDANT'S HOUSE
CROSS-HALL
300
WELL
COURT
VIA PRINCIPALIS
400
10 0 50 100 FEET

Fig. 4

(Fig. 3) two levels, the lower thickly covered with burnt material, mostly daub. Both roads in turn seal two earlier pits. The first pit, between 208 feet and 211 feet, is some 3 feet square, with slightly rounded corners, and contained a mass of burnt rubbish, over which the lower road and burnt layer had sharply subsided. This pit yielded a valuable find, namely, fragments of the rim and shoulder of a small jar of slip ware (Fig. 5, No. 2), a sure indicator of an Agricolan occupation. The second pit is marked by a subsidence extending from 217 feet to 226 feet. This occupied the north side of the trench only, and evidently represents the rim of a large circular pit.

The roads continue uninterrupted to 233½ feet, where they are broken by a gulley, 3¼ feet deep, 3 feet wide at the top, and 9 inches wide at the bottom. This appears to have held either a covered water-channel or pipe-line. At 247½ feet the roads terminate against a foundation-trench 21 inches wide and at least 39 inches deep, packed with very large cobbles (Pl. II.B). A similar and parallel trench occurs at 282 feet, as if these represented the massive foundations of the back rooms in the headquarters building (Fig. 4). The air-photograph in fact shows that the section must here be crossing the *sacellum* of such a building. The lower burnt layer is also associated with a set of sleeper trenches occurring at 257 feet, 273 feet, and 292 feet, which might be regarded as the back rooms and cross-hall of an earlier *principia*. Then follows a long gap, from 298 feet to 362 feet, which is broken only by a circular mass of very large heavy stones extending from 313 feet to 326 feet. These are set in puddled clay at the outer edge, but are tumbled towards the middle, as if they represented a choked well, occupying the normal position in the front courtyard of a headquarters building. At 362 feet comes a sleeper trench which might well represent the front wall of a building 115 feet from back to front, and at 380 feet occurs a built drain, 18 inches wide and deep, bordering a *via principalis* 20 feet wide, which is defined on the west side by a much larger drain, 2½ feet wide and 3 feet 9 inches deep (Pl. III.A). Both these structures are

carefully built with large cobbles, and it is noteworthy that not a single piece of squared building stone appeared throughout the excavation. This is consonant with local geological conditions, which dictate that even to-day all good building stone comes from east of the Nith. It explains also why the fort buildings of the fort were timber in every period despite the fact that Antonine builders tend to use stone, as as Carzield and Birrens, when this can be obtained.

Two further trial trenches were dug to north of the main trench, with the intention of striking the north side of the *principia* and determining what kind of buildings flanked it on this side. The sleeper-trench struck at point 257 feet in the main trench was again encountered (Fig. 4), and also the cobble-packed sleeper-trench struck at point 249 feet. The north wall of the earlier building was also found (Pl. III.B) with cupboard-like attachment as at Fendoch.[10] Further west, a cross-trench revealed the *via quintana* in three levels, all overlying an earlier pit. The lowest level of the street yielded a fine flat-rimmed *mortarium*, while the pit yielded another of early Flavian type (Fig. 5, Nos. 3, 4). When the trench was further extended diagonally across the area between the *via quintana* and the *via principalis* it disclosed buildings suggestive of rooms surrounding a courtyard. Evidently, then, the building north of the headquarters was not a granary, and the remains uncovered (Fig. 4) would not be inconsistent with a commandant's house.

Conclusion.

The results of a fortnight's digging upon the basis of a detailed air-photograph have now been described. What is their structural and historical import?

Structurally, it is clear that they have yielded three superimposed forts. In the defences these are represented by the extended rampart, the rampart in unmodified form and the early ditch filled with turfwork from a demolished ram-

[10] *P.S.A.S.*, lxxiii., 125; also 123, fig. 6.

part upon which these sit. The air-photograph indicates that over the greater part of the circuit, if not everywhere, the three forts coincided. This is confirmed by the coincidence of the main streets, proved for the *viae decumana* and *quintana*, and for the buildings also, where it is clear that all three levels follow much the same orientation and in general no very different plan.

But, while the second and third forts are plainly a modification of one another, there is the clearest evidence that the first and second forts are separated by a disaster, reflected in the burnt wattle-and-daub, so extensively associated with the early timber buildings, and also in the heavy masses of burnt material overlying the roads. Further, while the upper layers are associated with Antonine pottery, typical of both the first and second Antonine periods, as revealed at Newstead or Corbridge, the lower level is associated with Flavian pottery. In other words, Glenlochar has yielded a sequence strikingly like the Newstead[11] sequence, as distinguished in 1947, where two Antonine periods follow upon a Flavian period which was terminated by a wholesale conflagration. It is also possible to distinguish, as at Newstead,[12] a primary Flavian period, but there is a marked contrast in the relationship of the structural remains. At Newstead two Flavian forts of somewhat different plan lie superimposed. At Glenlochar the earlier Flavian occupation revealed below the later Flavian fort is not represented by the structures of a permanent military work. Roads and regular buildings are alike absent, their place being taken by irregular pits and, at one point only, by a hut with wattle walls. The earlier occupation is thus represented by the rubbish-pits and shacks (*canabae*) which exist, as Newstead so dramatically demonstrated,[13] outside a garrisoned fort. It must accordingly be concluded that the two Flavian forts at Glenlochar did not occupy the

[11] *P.S.A.S.*, lxxxiv., 25-26.

[12] *ibid.*, 2-3.

[13] J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People*, 14, folding plan.

same site. In this connexion attention may be drawn to the large ditch indicated by the air-photograph (Pl. I.) at the northern end of the plateau, west of Glenlochar House and well beyond the limits of the Antonine annexe. It may also be noted that the main road from the east makes for this area and not for the later fort. These points are not conclusive, but they hint that the earliest site may prove to lie north of the modern road, on the highest and driest land. Only excavation will finally settle the point. As to the date of the Flavian occupations, while the earlier is undoubtedly Agricolan, to judge from the contents of its pits, the later plainly coincides closely with the second period at Newstead. The sole coin[14] which the site yielded, a *denarius* of Vespasian, dated to A.D. 75, was unfortunately both "well worn" and unstratified.

The garrison of the fort was not revealed either by distinctive equipment or by an inscription. But its planning as indicated by air-photography has a testimony to offer. The over-all length of the fort is 723 feet and the breadth 500 feet, but the rampart and *intervallum* are so wide as substantially to reduce the accommodation within. Nevertheless, the area available is substantially larger than that of the *ala*-fort at Carzield[15] and strikingly like that at Birrens.[16] Moreover, the subdivision of the area, with eight blocks in the *retentura* and some twelve blocks in the *prætentura*, is so generally similar to the Birrens dispositions as to suggest a comparable unit, namely, a *cohors milliaria equitata*. In view of the doubt as to the western limit of the later Flavian fort, it cannot be certainly assumed that the pre-Antonine garrison was of this strength. But it may be considered highly likely, considering the general correspondence of streets and buildings, and there can be no doubt whatever that in the two Antonine periods the garrison was a part-mounted milliary

14 The coin, kindly identified by Mr W. P. Hedley, is of the type *M. and S.* 90, belonging to Vespasian's sixth consulate, with *Pax* on the reverse.

15 These *Trans.*, xxii., plate facing p. 157; also *J.R.S.*, xxx., pl. viii.

16 *P.S.A.S.*, xxx., 96, plate I.

unit, one of the larger general-purpose forces of the Roman auxiliary army.[17]

Notes on the Pottery from Glenlochar.

By J. P. GILLAM.

Sixty-five fragments of coarse pottery were found at Glenlochar. These came from seventeen separate vessels, of which six are well enough preserved to be drawn (Fig. 5). The

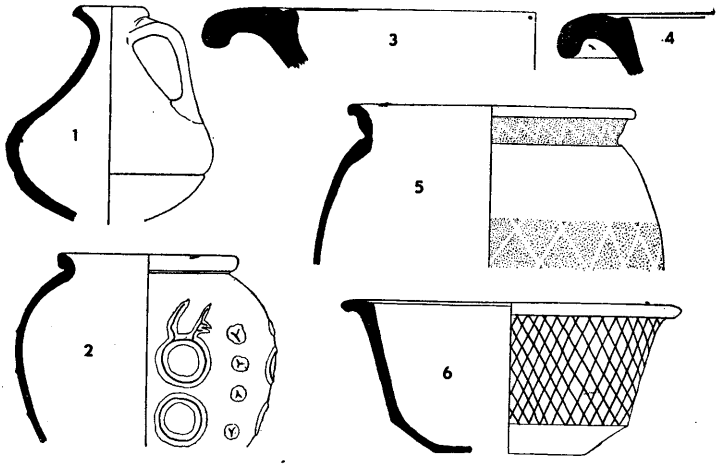


Fig. 5—COARSE POTTERY FROM GLENLOCHAR (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$).

fragments that have not been drawn tell the same story as those that have. In addition to the coarse pottery three fragments from each of three samian vessels were found; a fine example of Dragendorff's form 18 came from an early level in the *principia*, and examples of form 31 and 33, both apparently of Antonine date, were found unstratified. The stratification and the typology combine clearly to distinguish a group of Flavian vessels from an early-Antonine group.

[17] Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, 25-26.

FLAVIAN VESSELS.

1. Several fragments from a small flagon in bright orange self-coloured fabric. Found in the pit behind the rampart. Flagons of this simple but distinctive form do not appear to have been recorded hitherto in northern Britain.

2. Many fragments from a jar or cooking pot in light grey fabric with a darker grey unburnished surface; the exterior is decorated with circles and blobs of trailed slip of the same grey colour. Found in the pit at 208/211 (see Fig. 3). Vessels of similar form and similarly decorated have been found in Flavian deposits in midland and northern England, including east Yorkshire; *cf. Corbridge*, 1911, 20. A vessel of different form and fabric but with similar decoration was recently found in the Flavian fort at Oakwood in Selkirkshire.

3. Fragment of a mortarium of Bushe-Fox's Wroxeter type 14, in yellowish white fabric with white grit. Found at the lowest level below the *via quintana*. Mortaria of this type are widely distributed throughout Britain, and their Flavian date is well established; *cf. Newstead*, type 24. Several fragments from a mortarium which now lacks most of its rim but was evidently of the same type were also found in the Flavian pit behind the east rampart (see Fig. 2).

4. Fragment of a mortarium in white sandy fabric. Found in the pit below the *via quintana*. Though mortaria of this type continued in occasional use into the second century they occur most often in Flavian contexts; *cf. Chesterholm*, 60.

Nos. 2-4 were broken during the first Flavian occupation and No. 1 during the second. So far as can be judged from so little pottery neither occupation lasted into the second century.

ANTONINE VESSELS.

5. Four fragments from the rim and shoulder of a black fumed cooking pot with a wavy line on the neck; the fragments are caked with soot. Unstratified. Cooking pots of this type are common in Scotland and northern England,

and also occur in Wales and midland England. They are found both in Hadrianic contexts, *cf. Haltwhistle Burn*, 6, and in Antonine contexts, *cf. Balmuildy*, pl. xlv., 16, and *Corbridge*, 1938, *fig.* 8.8. Fragments of two other similar vessels were found.

6. Many fragments from a deeply chamfered flat-rimmed bowl in black fumed fabric, decorated with cross hatching on a burnished surface. Unstratified. The distribution of bowls of this character is similar to that of the cooking pot No. 5. They, too, are found both in Hadrianic contexts, *cf. Milecastle*, 48, pl. iii., 4, and in Antonine contexts, *cf. Balmuildy*, pl. xlvii., 4. Fragments of a contemporary rimless dish were also found.

The fact that these vessels are Hadrianic-Antonine does not, of course, imply that the re-occupation of the site was Hadrianic, though it does imply, and this is of some importance, that it came no later than the time of Lollius Urbicus. No late second-century pottery is present, but in view of the small total yield this has little force as negative evidence.

References to reports used for parallels:

Balmuildy	S. N. Miller, 1922
Chesterholm	AA[4], xv., 222
Corbridge, 1911	AA[3], viii., 370
Corbridge, 1938	AA[4], xv., 243
Haltwhistle Burn	AA[3], v., 213
Milecastle, 48	CW[2], xi., 390
Newstead	J. Curle, 1911.

Plate I.—AIR-PHOTOGRAPH OF GLENLOCHAR, 1949.

Plate IIA.—VIEW OF ANTONINE RAMPART-FRONT, GLENLOCHAR, looking N., showing original turf-work of rampart (left), silted turf from its front (middle), and laid turf of additional front (right).

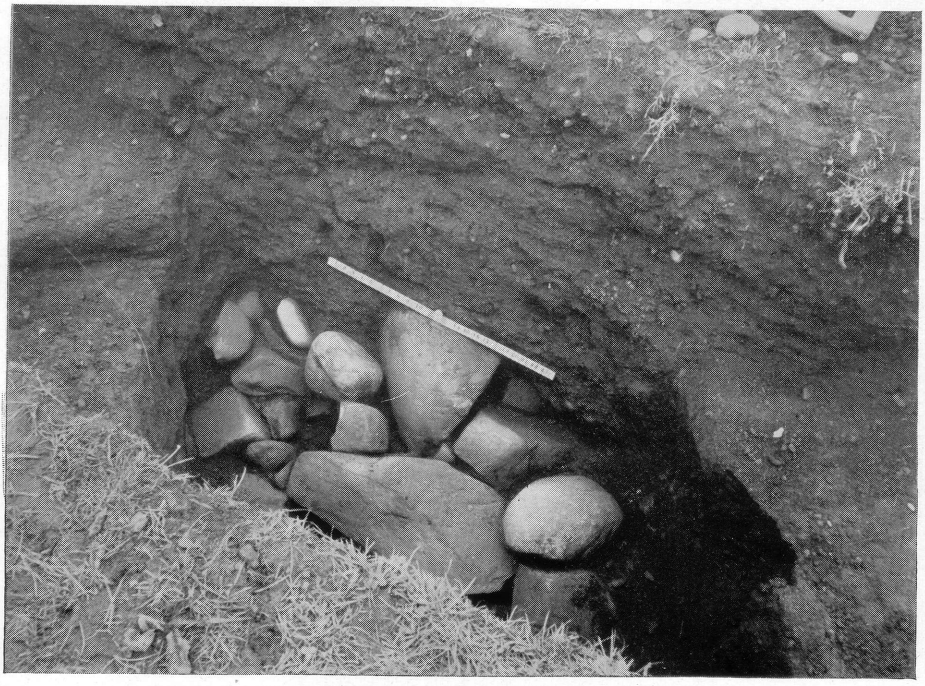


Plate II.B—COBBLE-PACKED FOUNDATION-TRENCH OF HEADQUARTERS BUILDING, GLENLOCHAR.

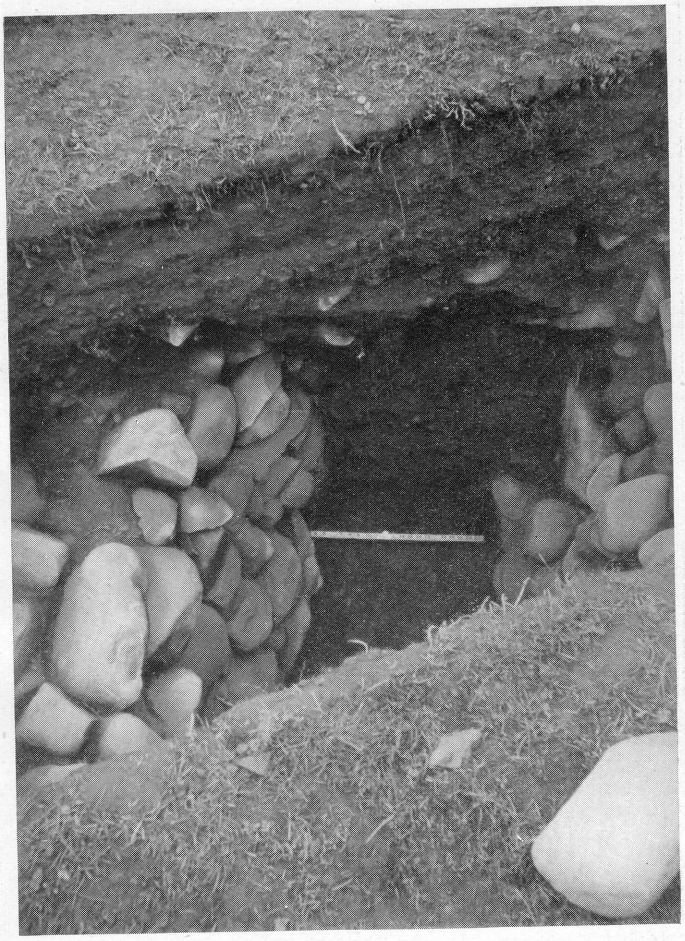


Plate III.A—HEADQUARTERS BUILDINGS, GLENLOCHAR, FOUNDATION-TRENCHES, looking S.-E.

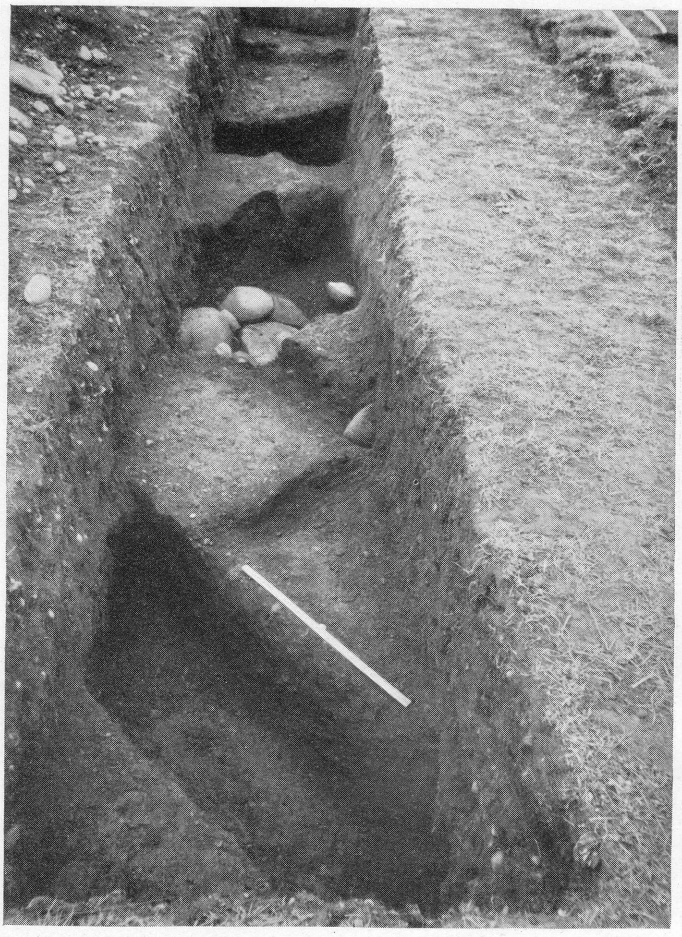


Plate III.B—CULVERT ON VIA PRINCIPALIS, GLENLOCHAR, showing Construction in Boulders.

ARTICLE 2.

St. Ninian and the Picts.

By Professor J. D. MACKIE, C.B.E., M.C., LL.D.

The recent publication by this Society of its "Whithorn Volume" presents an opportunity for an attempt to set in a clear light some of the great problems connected with St. Ninian and to see how far these problems have been solved by the evidence presented in that volume, or simplified, or complicated.

The place of St. Ninian in Scottish history has been variously estimated. From a reading, perhaps too hasty, of Bede, it has generally been assumed that he was a bishop of British origin who, having been "regularly instructed at Rome," founded at Whithorn a see and a "White House" dedicated to St. Martin, and from this base, converted the "Southern Picts," sometimes identified from a passage in Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* with the "Niduarian" Picts or Picts of the Nith. Recent research, sometimes actuated by considerations not purely historical, has subjected this simple assumption to severe criticism. On the one hand, Bede's narrative has been found to be less explicit than was thought, and Ninian has been reduced to a very shadowy figure; on the other hand, his narrative, amplified from the hagiological life written by Ailred in the twelfth century has been used to suggest that Ninian reproduced, upon Scottish soil, about the time of Martin's death, a system closely resembling that erected near Tours by the father of western monasticism, and from this base evangelised a great part of what is now called "Scotland." Between these two views, many variant opinions have been promulgated.

A close examination of Bede's story shows that the author presents it with some reserve—*ut perhibent*, and all that Bede says is this. The saint, whose name from its ablative form would appear to be "Ninia" or "Ninias," was a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation who, having been regularly instructed at Rome, had converted the

Australes Picti who dwelt *intra* the steep and rugged mountains which divided them from the northern Picts, afterwards converted by Columba. He says that the *Candida Casa* established by the Saint was so called because the church was built of stone in a manner unfamiliar to the Britons. His episcopal see, named after St. Martin, is still in existence and is now in the hands of the Bernicians. He adds that in the church the founder and many other saints rest in the body. Save that he states that Ninian's work among the Picts antedated that of Columba *multo tempore*, Bede says nothing as to date.

Ailred embroidered the story in the manner common to hagiographers. He invested his hero with the virtues and powers which seemed proper to his career. He gave him a king for a father and an episcopal ordination at Rome at the hands of the pope himself. He asserted that Ninian, on his return from Rome, visited St. Martin at Tours and obtained from him the masons who afterwards erected the " White House " in Scotland. He professed to rely not only on Bede, whom he quotes, but upon a *liber de Vita et Miraculis* of the saint, *barbario scriptus*.

Traces of this book have now come to light. In 1923 the painstaking Karl Strecker published an eighth century poem on the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, the authenticity of which is vouched by the fact that Alcuin himself acknowledged the receipt from Candida Casa of poems dealing with the saint's miracles, and sent an offering to the body of the holy father Nyniga or Nynia. It may be assumed that in addition to the poem on the miracles Alcuin received the *Hymnus sancti Nynie Episcopi*, which survives along with it in a tenth century copy of the Florile Florilguin collected by Alcuin, now in the public library in Bamberg.

Strecker believed that the poems were founded upon the lost " Life " *barbario scriptus*, and he thought that not only Ailred but Bede himself really founded upon the same source. His discovery created very little interest at the time; but in 1940 it was critically examined by Dr. Wilhelm Levison in *Antiquity*, and since then the information it gives has been applied to the " Ninianic Controversy " by many scholars.

Dr. Levison did not believe that Bede had ever seen the lost "Life." Bede, he argued, was friendly with Pechthelm, the first bishop of the Anglian see of Whithorn; he would certainly have been informed (and would have informed his reader in a stronger way than *ut perhibent*) of the existence of local evidence. He believed that the lost "Life" and the poem which was founded upon it may have been in part at least, founded upon Bede; that Ailred, in turn, who had the lost "Life," naturally told very much the same story as the poem. He supposed that the author of the poem and Ailred each presented the saint in a light which would commend him to the generation of the writer; and both, it may be noted, mention Ninian's visit to Rome and his consecration at the hands of the pope himself. Both recount miracles, and, though there are some discrepancies, there is much common ground. Both mention the fate of the king Tuduvallus who was stricken blind for his ill-conduct and cured by the saint, and Tuduvallus represents a Celtic name "Tothail" which appears in Celtic sources. Dr. Levison seems to have concluded that neither the poet of the *Miracula* nor Ailred really added much of truth to the story as told by Bede, and he went on to point out some discrepancies between the poem and the hagiography of Ailred. Where Ailred, like Bede, speaks of the *Australes Picti*, the poem speaks of *Pictorum nationes quæ naturae dicuntur*, and this recalls the Picts *qui Niduari vocantur*, mentioned by Bede in the *Life of St. Cuthbert* which he took from some earlier source. Now these Niduari were reached by Cuthbert in a few days *navigando*, and as Cuthbert started from Melrose, it would follow that these particular Picts lived somewhere on the east coast, perhaps in Fife. There is a place called Nydie in Fife, but Dr. Levison suggested that the name might represent the English "nether" or "lower," though he advanced his suggestion with due caution.

Another discrepancy between the *Miracula* and Ailred is far more important. The poet says nothing whatever about Ninian's visit to Tours, though he does say that Ninian dedicated his stone church, Candida Casa, to St. Martin, and

that he was buried there; he does not say, as does Ailred, that Ninian had heard of Martin's death before he made his foundation.

Dr. Levison argued emphatically that if Ninian had been in close touch with St. Martin, the fact would have certainly been known, both to the poet and to Bede, and would have been mentioned with pride. Yet all that Bede says is that the episcopal see of Ninian which still exists, now in the hands of the Bernicians, is named after St. Martin; he does not say that it was so named by St. Ninian himself, and if the close association with St. Martin may be dismissed as a later invention, then the whole date of Ninian's mission is at once brought into question.

This the critics were quick to point out. Professor Ian Richmond hazarded the bold guess that Ninian's activities might perhaps be dated during the period of Roman recovery between 369 and 383. Dr. A. O. Anderson stated bluntly that even if the dedication to St. Martin were made by St. Ninian himself, as the *Miracula* asserts, the date of dedication would be anywhere between a year or two after 397, and "a long time before 563," when Columba came.

At first sight it seems as if the new evidence presented by Dr. Levison has had the effect of removing one of the fixed points which has been used to determine the career of St. Ninian, and indeed it is true enough that on any interpretation the story of the saint's activities bristles with difficulties.

(a) "Who was St. Ninian and at what date did he do his missionary work?"

(b) "Where did he found his *Candida Casa*? In the Isle of Whithorn or at Whithorn itself?"

(c) "What was the nature of his foundation? Was it a monastery or an episcopal see?"

(d) "Who were the Picts and what were their relations with the Britons from whom the missionary came?"

(e) "Where are we to place the Picti *australes* or *naturae* or *Niduari*?"

All these points have been exhaustively canvassed. On most of them no final conclusion had been reached, and it

may be convenient here to set forth the various opinions which prevailed before the volume of the Dumfries and Galloway Society appeared.

(a) Personality and Date of Ninian.

It has been generally agreed that Ninian (or Nynia) was a Romano-British provincial. As has been emphasised by the late Professor R. G. Collingwood and by Professor Richmond, the Roman hold upon Britain depended not only upon legionaries, auxiliaries, and cities, but upon the client-states which were organised as buffers between the settled country and the potential foe. The descent of Cunedda upon North Wales is now understood to be the movement of a friendly tribe or at least of a friendly chief from Lothian, to combat the threat of the Scots from Ireland, and Mr Richmond sees in the consolidation of Strathclyde and Manau "one of the manifestations of Roman policy." The late Dr. H. M. Chadwick in his posthumous work, *Early Scotland*, called attention to the existence of British dynasties which claimed Roman descent, and altogether it has become evident that Roman influences in the north of England and in the south of "Scotland" persisted longer and more strongly than used to be supposed.

Of this truth, no exponent was more eloquent than Dr. Douglas Simpson,[1] who, comparing the mission of Ulfilas to the Goths, argued that a Christian mission might be a detail in the general policy of imperial defence, and held that the mission of Ninian might very well synchronise with the reorganisation effected by Stilicho. In support of his contention he produced place-names wherein the names of Martin and Ninian were associated. Dr. Simpson's argument would accord with the traditional association of Martin and Ninian, which is apparent even in the guarded words of Bede; but certainty is impossible, for, as Dr. A. O. Anderson pointed out, the places in question may have been given

[1] *St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland (1940)* and *New Light on St. Ninian* in Archæologia Aeliana, 4th Series, vol. xxiii.

their names after the tradition, whether well-founded or not, had gained common currency. W. J. Watson, it may be added, was inclined to regard the Ninian place-names as of later date.

So far as these arguments go, the date of Ninian's mission remains doubtful. It may have been about the year 400, as has long been supposed, but there is no certainty, though the presence of the simple Christian stones in the vicinity suggests an early date.

(b) Where was Candida Casa?

The claims of both the Isle of Whithorn and of Whithorn to be the site of the original Candida Casa have been urged by various contestants. When Metcalfe edited his edition of Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, he inclined towards the site upon the Isle,[2] and his view was maintained by Dr. Douglas Simpson in his *New Light on St. Ninian*,[3] partly because of the possibility that the arrangements at Whithorn were modelled on those of Tours, and partly because excavations in Ireland and Cornwall show that a church was sometimes erected in an existing *cashel*, or surrounded by a *vallum* after it was built. In view, however, of other possibilities, Dr. Simpson did not commit himself definitely.

(c) What was the nature of Ninian's foundation?

Connected with the question as to the location of Ninian's building is the question of its nature, and this question has engendered a marked diversity of opinion. The Irish church from which Columba came, it has been pointed out, was monastic rather than episcopal in organisation, and in the Irish sources *Candida Casa* is referred to as *magnum monasterium*. The men who followed Ninian seem to have been referred to as "Abs." There is therefore room for conjecture that the insistence upon Ninian's episcopacy represents the desire of the Roman church to show that an episcopal

[2] I., 19.
[3] *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. XXIII., 78-95.

organisation persisted in Britain from the first introduction of Christianity.

It has been pointed out that his magnification of Ninian by the author of the *Miracula*, and even his mention by Bede, may have been connected with the establishment of a Northumbrian see at Whithorn.

It has been argued, too, that Ailred's biography and some at least of Ninian's dedications are symptomatic of the establishment of a diocesan episcopacy in the days of David I. In view of the episcopacy of the early Welsh church, it is reasonable to suppose that Ninian was a bishop; but the evidence suggests that in actual practice the religion of the British church and that of the monastic Irish church were more similar than has sometimes been supposed. An early "monastery," after all, was a monastic village.

As for the actual building which excited the admiration of an uncultured people, Mr Richmond, founding upon the *Miracula*, held that its brick walls and mosaic pavements argued a Roman model; but Dr. Simpson pointed out in reply that the walls, even in the church at Silchester, were made not of brick but of stone (though some brick was used in the construction) and that the words of the *Miracula* seem to be based on a tag from Ovid supplemented by a few poetical flourishes.[4]

(d) Who were the Picts?

The controversy as to the identity of the Picts, which was raging when Sir Arthur Wardour disputed with the Antiquary, is still unsettled. In the old days it was complicated by the desire of Scottish historians to prove that the Scottish race was in the British Isles before ever the Picts came, and in more recent days it has been entangled in a dispute as to whether the conversion of "Scotland" to Christianity was or was not mainly achieved by Columba and his followers. Archæology speaks with an uncertain voice. The distribution of the remains often regarded as Pictish—stone balls, sculptured stones, equal-armed crosses,

[4] *ibid.*, p. 85.

earth houses and other buildings—is puzzling; " Pictish " art is in some ways very like Irish art; and the findings of archæology are not easily correlated with such historical evidence as exists. Philology, apart from the fact that the doctors disagree, adds a new difficulty, for race and language are different things.

The theory, maintained by Pinkerton, that the Picts were Germanic, has been generally abandoned, and the opinion, held by Skene, that Picts and Scots alike represented the first wave of the Celtic invasion no longer holds the field.

The belief that the first invaders spoke " Q-Celtic " (Goidelic) is not now accepted. Watson, in his *History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, showed that a vast proportion of the Scottish names were " P-Celtic," and he and Kuno Meyer held that no Gaelic was spoken in Scotland before it was introduced from Ireland. Fraser in *The Question of the Picts*[5] was not inclined to accept this sweeping assertion and, if I understand him rightly, preferred to postulate some " Ur-Celtic " speech, the mother of both " P " and " Q."

In any case a consensus of opinion as to the origin of the Pictish language would not resolve the problem of the origin of the Pictish race. The name " Pict " does not occur in classical writers until the year 297, and the stories of the Picts' arrival in Scotland, as told by Bede and the Irish writers, are mere fables, based in part on a misreading of Virgil. Plainly it was felt that as Romans, Britons, Scots and Angles were all definite people with definite languages, so the position of the Picts should be rationalised; for an unknown race, Scythia was a convenient place of origin, as Hercules was a convenient progenitor.

True it is that these fables may enshrine some tradition of an invasion from the sea, and the early accounts of the Picts suggest that they were a sea people. Dr. A. O. Anderson hazards with caution the possibility of an invasion from

[5] *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 1928.

the west of a people which may have been akin to the Pictones of Aquitania;[6] but if an invasion did take place about the year 300, it cannot be connected with the arrival of the Broch people, who came at a much earlier date,[7] and it cannot be clearly correlated with any cultural development.

Moreover, even if Scotland did receive a population of Picts about 300, it is plain that before long the name "Pict" was given to most of the inhabitants of Scotland from the Pentland Firth to the Pentland hills. It cannot be supposed that the valiant "Britons," "Caledonians," and "Meatae," who had so long opposed the Romans, should have utterly disappeared; and it is of consequence that one classical writer speaks of *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum*,[8] while another, writing about the middle of the fourth century, asserts that the Picts were *in duas gentes divisi, Dicalidonas et Venturiones*. Obviously the historic Picts included many elements which had been in "Scotland" long before the supposed invasion of 300 A.D.

To this belief, support is given from accounts of the "maternal" descent adopted by the Pictish royal house, founded upon Bede and upon the list of kings. Fraser, it is true, was sceptical about this phenomenon, pointing out that, even according to Bede, it was only when *res veniret in dubium* that a female descent was preferred to a male, and that the thesis is not proved from the royal genealogies.[9] Yet it seems that the royal descent in Pictland did give to the woman a prestige greater than she enjoyed in other lands, and this circumstance, though there is no suggestion of matriarchal rule, may point to a survival of some very early practices.

6 *Ninian and the Southern Picts, S.H.R.*, XXVII., 30.

7 *Scotland Before the Scots*, 120 (Dr. Gordon Childe).

8 The text of Eumenius has been disputed but recent German scholarship has restored it. (Sir George M'Donald in *Picti* contributed to the *Real-Encyclopädie* (Pauly-Wissowa). (MS. in my possession).

9 He held that the Pictish system was not very different from that of Ireland where the Derbfine—the group from which a king could be selected—recognised female descent.

The assumption that the Picts included elements of an early population may be supported on philological grounds.

The " Q-Celtic " speakers gave to the Picts the name " Cruithni," which has been equated with the " P-Celtic " " Britanni " and to an earlier " Pritani." The equation has been disputed; and in any case it must be emphasised that the name " Cruithni " was given by the Gaels not only to the Picts in Scotland but to other population groups in the British Isles, including some of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Who, then, were the Cruithni? Chadwick, in a work published posthumously, hazarded the conjecture that they might be identical with the Coritani, whose main centre was about Wroxeter, but who were widely distributed. The Coritani, he thought, along with the less powerful Dumnonii and Cornovii, represented the earliest Celtic invaders, whose advent he placed in the late Bronze Age, which Dr. Childe would date in Scotland, at about 800 B.C. He, it will be observed, returning to the opinion of Skene, supposed that the Coritani or " Qritani " spoke " Q-Celtic."[10]

His view was criticised by Dr. A. O. Anderson,[11] who believed that " Q-Celtic " developed in Ireland, and who was inclined to suggest that there may have been a Cruithnian invasion of Scotland from Ireland before the Scots themselves came across.[12] He argued, from the place-names, that the Gaelic language was early established far beyond the limits of Argyll, in areas always regarded as historic Pictland.

There is a group of Irish place-names in central Perthshire, including Dunkeld and Schiehallion.[13] Gowrie, Islay, Angus, Earn, and Atholl are all Irish names, and in Gowrie at least the royal descent does not seem to be in the female line, though in Fortriu and Angus the Pictish rule of succession was observed. The existence of these " Q-Celtic "

[10] *Early Scotland* (1949), p. 79.
[11] *S.H.R.*, XXIX., 79-88.
[12] *S.H.R.*, XXVII., 33.
[13] Dr A. O. Anderson, *S.H.R.*, XXVII., 33, 36. The author later recognises some philological difficulties. (*S.H.R.*, XXIX., 81).

names might seem to support Fraser's theory that the indigenous Cruithni (or some of them) spoke a Goidelic language; but Fraser himself regarded these names as proof of an early invasion of Gaelic speakers from Ireland, which, he hinted, might conceivably have preceded the colonisation of Argyll.[14] On any interpretation it is remarkable that among the seven traditional provinces of the Picts (founded by the " seven sons of Cruithne ") there should be two or three the names of which were Gaelic. Dr. A. O. Anderson's conclusion is that " from Atholl to Gowrie a belt of Irish colonisation crossed the middle of the Pictish kingdom of Strathmore, separating Fortriu from Mearns, before the time of Bede."

On his theory it might be suggested that the Gaelic-sounding names were introduced, not by true Gaels but by Cruithni who had learned to speak Gaelic in Ireland. He is quite convinced, in any case, that it was from Ireland that the Gaelic came to Scotland.

Whether one believes with Chadwick that the Cruithni were " Q-Celtic "-speaking Coritani, or accepts Dr. Anderson's correction that they were originally " P-Celtic " speakers who picked up any Gaelic they had from, or in, Ireland, it is not clear that the name " Cruithni " signifies a definite racial group. It may be the early name given by the " Q-Celtic " speakers to those inhabitants of the British Isles who were not of their own race.

" Dagoes," said the sailor, " is the kind of chaps wot isn't our kind of chaps "; and the use of words like " Wealas " or " Indians " or " natives " or " aborigines " supplies proof enough that the names given by discoverers or conquerors may have a very wide connotation. What is true of the Cruithni may be true of the Picts. Many theories as to the origin and meaning of the word " Pict " have been advanced. It may be simply the name given by the Romans to the painted people, for Caesar writes as if all, and not only some, of the Britains ornamented their bodies, though the use of the word " *Picti* " for the first time in 297 sug-

14 *The Question of the Picts,* J. Fraser (*Scottish Gaelic Studies,* Feb., 1918, p. 13).

gests the appearance of a race distinct from Scots and Caledonians. On the other hand, the name may be of pre-Celtic origin or may represent a " P-Celtic " name. What is clear is that by historic times the name " Pict " must have included a great part of the inhabitants of Scotland north of the Firths, and conceivably some of the inhabitants of the Lowlands as well.

(e) Who were the Southern Picts?

Who, then, were the Picts among whom Ninian worked? Bede calls them the southern Picts, and since it has been pointed out, as already stated, that the *Miracula* calls them *naturæ*, it must be emphasised that when Bede wrote *australes* he certainly meant " southern," for he makes an antithesis between them and the *septentrionales*.[15] As elsewhere he states that the Picts occupied the north of the island or at least *habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes cœperunt*, it has been usual to suppose that the northern Picts lived to the northwest of the Mounth and had, at the time of Columba, their capital near Inverness, while the southern Picts lived in Fortriu, Angus, and Mearns.

Some scholars, however, arguing from the well-known mistake in the map of Ptolemy, who made Scotland north of the Firths point eastwards towards Denmark, have suggested that the southern Picts were obviously those of the east coast. This supposition would confine the work of Columba to Scotland west of the *dorsum Britanniæ* and leave the whole of the east of Scotland—easier country and approachable to some extent by the Roman roads—open to the ministrations of Ninian. If accepted, it would explain the readiness with which Cuthbert, from Melrose, so easily made contact with the Picts. It is, however, by no means certain that Bede used Ptolemy's map, and it seems probable that the friend of Trumwine of Abercorn would be informed as to the general geography of Pictland. In any case, the east of Scotland is a very long way from Whithorn, and it

[15] *Bede*, III., Chapter 4.

might be supposed that Ninian's missionary zeal found satisfaction nearer to Candida Casa. That is the view accepted, at least provisionally, by Dr. A. O. Anderson. He points out that, although inhabitants of Galloway were never called "Picts" in Roman times, they were certainly so called by later writers. The English writers of the twelfth century, one of whom definitely identifies Picts with Galwegians, gave them a very bad name for brutality, but another writes of "Scots" who cried "Albani, Albani," and from him it might be supposed that the "Picts" who fought at Northallerton represented an element from the north which had found its way down to Ayrshire after the decline of Strathclyde, or an element from Ireland.

It is, however, significant that the first and third Anglian bishops of Whithorn were called Peothelme, or Pechthelm (leader of the Picts), and Peohtwine, or Pechtwine (friend of the Picts); these names suggest that a Pictish population was in close contact with Whithorn, and it seems, from other evidence, that among the peoples of Galloway there were certainly Cruithni, perhaps from Ireland, whose name survived until recently as "Creenies."[16]

Altogether there may have been a considerable "non-British" population in Galloway to whom the name of "Picts" was carelessly given.

With all this in view, Dr. Anderson conjectures[17] that, when Bede wrote, some of the people extruded by the Angles might well be living in the hilly district of Kirkcudbrightshire among mountains which had separated them from the north. Bede may have supposed that these represented the Picts to whom Ninian ministered, and there is no reason, he thinks, to assume that the saint conducted a mission in remote Fortriu and even farther north. It may even seem that the "Picts of the Nith" are taking the historic stage once more.

Other views have been taken.

[16] *History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland* (Watson), p. 178.
[17] *S.H.R.*, XXVII., 43.

As has already been shown in the discussion of the evidence of the *Miracula*, Dr. Levison, in accepting *naturæ* instead of *niduari* and interpreting it as " nether," admitted the possibility that Ninian's mission may have been " in the eastern part of Scotland, perhaps in Fife or the neighbourhood "; while Dr. Simpson, relying on the Roman roads and the evidence of Ninianic place-names, would accord him a wide field in north-eastern Scotland.

Enough has been said here to show the immense variety of opinion which has prevailed as to the identity of Ninian and the nature of his activities. It is time now to consider the contribution to the discussion made by the " Whithorn Volume."

What fresh light has been thrown by the new volume upon the great questions which have occasioned so much controversy?

(a) Who was St. Ninian and what was his date?
(b) Was Candida Casa in the Isle of Whithorn or at Whithorn itself?
(c) Was his foundation monastic or episcopal?
(d) Who were the Picts and what were their relations with the Britons from whom the misionary came?
(e) Where are we to place the Picti *Australes* or *Naturæ* or *Niduari*?

(a) St. Ninian and his date: a novel theory.

On several of these questions Mrs Chadwick offers some new suggestions in an article entitled *St. Ninian: A Preliminary Study of Sources.* Contradicting Dr. Levison, she agrees with Strecker in supposing that Bede, no less than the author of the *Miracula* and Ailred, drew upon the lost " Life "; indeed she inclines to Strecker's view that Bede's account of St. Ninian was an interpolation made, presumably after Bede had read the lost " Life."[18]

The lost " Life " itself she regards as a hagiology. She suspects the alleged journey to Rome—something of a commonplace in the lives of saints—which, if it did take place at all,

[18] *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd ser., vol. XXVII., pp. 31, 32.

must have taken place between 397 (death of St. Martin) and before the Gothic conquest of Auvergne in 475-6. She thinks that the story of St. Martin and the stone church may owe something to the life of that saint by Sulpicius Severus, which mentioned his building of stone churches.[19] She relates that Ailred, too, wrote for his age, and supposes that the alleged visit to Tours was due to Ailred's knowledge of Sulpicius Severus.

None the less she is inclined to give some importance to the stories in the *Miracula* and in Ailred which are not in Bede. She points out that Tuduvallus, though he could not be equated with Tothail, the father of Rhydderch Hael of Kentigern's day, might be identical with a Tutagual known to the Welsh mythologies, who was a grandson of Maximus, and, reckoning by generations from a fixed date of 682, may have lived about 400.[20] She sees nothing improbable in Ailred's story that Ninian's father was a king, for *tyrannus* was used by Gildas for British *tigernas* which just meant "chief"; and she notices the reference to Ninian's brother, real or spiritual, called Plebia.[21]

Having evaluated the evidence, she offers suggestions upon several of the questions which have been so much discussed. The real St. Ninian was a Romano-British provincial, but he may have been a Pict; Bede is not clear upon the point; and Dumbarton, certainly the home of a British chief, is said to have been the fortress of Caw of Pritdin, who must, from his name, have been a Pict.

She hazards tentatively the conjecture that Ninian may be identified with that Ninniaw who, with his brother Peibiaw, appears in the medieval Welsh sources as a wicked Pictish prince who was reformed under monastic discipline. Incidentally through Caw and Peibiaw Ninian may be linked with the Arthurian legend.[22] She believes that the real Ninian's labours were in historic Pictland—Fortriu, Fife,

[19] *ibid*, pp. 33, 16, 17.
[20] Mrs Chadwick's computation and dates (pp. 23) differ from those of Mr Radford (pp. 90-91).
[21] *ibid*, pp. 23, 21.
[22] *ibid.*, pp. 11, 14, 37, 39, 41.

and Angus—and argues that the earliest accounts of these—she notes St. Patrick's reference to the "apostate Picts"—are consonant with the idea that he "reformed" rather than "converted."[23]

For the linking of this Romano-British or Romano-Pictish provincial with the bishopric of Whithorn she provides a bold and novel theory. Her supposition is this.

There was at Whithorn an early Christian settlement of a monastic type;[24] its antiquity is attested by the memorial stones, but none of these can be dated with certainty to the early fifth century or associated with the names of either St. Martin or St. Ninian. The association of these saints with the site began only early in the eighth century when Nechtan, son of Der-ile, having adopted the Roman form of Christianity from Northumbria, set himself to establish the new ecclesiastical order in Galloway and sent Bishop Pechthelm—and we know of no bishop earlier than Pechthelm (d. 735)[25]—to begin the work of reform. The bishop may have been accompanied by some of his own Picts from Fortriu,[26] alternatively some of the local inhabitants, who may have been Cruithni, from Ireland, may have rather carelessly been called "Picts"; at all events the names of the first and third bishops Pechthelm and Pechtwine argue a close connection with a Pictish community of some kind.

For the establishment of a new order by the sending of a mission, and for the magnification of a new see by its association with some great name, parallels are offered. It was by the joint action of Nechtan and the Northumbrian Abbot Ceolfrith that Ecgberht brought Iona to the Roman usage; Patrick "may possibly have been originally a comparatively obscure saint of southern Ireland whose cult was deliberately developed in the north in the interests of the see of Armagh when (in 697) the latter entered into the

[23] *ibid*, pp. 12, 44. She cannot, however, accept Dr. Levison's suggestion that *Niduari* (to which he rightly amends *Naturae*) can be "nether," pp. 29, 30.

[24] *ibid*, pp. 13, 14, 16, 36, 45.

[25] *ibid*, p. 33.

[26] *ibid*, pp. 36, 45, 49.

unitas catholica"; Kentigern was traditionally associated with Lothian though he became the patron saint of Glasgow. Possibly the lost "Life" of Ninian may have been composed by the order of Pechthelm "for the express purpose of superseding Adammnan's work"[27] (just as the later life of Ninian by Ailred, and the lives of Kentigern and even of Patrick were written for the purpose of magnifying a saint long dead, in the interest of some politico-religious development), though the unknown author may have founded upon a mention of the real Ninian *in veteris Pictorum libris.*

Mrs Chadwick's final suggestion[28] is that "the cult of St. Ninian had passed from eastern Scotland to Galloway under the influence of Nechtan IV. early in the eighth century, perhaps about 717, claiming also a transfer of relics." Her theory is, in some regards one of "healing and settling," as Cromwell might have said. It keeps the Picts in their historic *habitat* and explains the connection between Whithorn and remote Pictland. The parallel between the work of Ecgberht and that of Pechthelm seems sound, and the argument from the magnifying *Vitæ* of other saints is sound also.

Her acceptance, as a possibility at least, that Patrick's connection with Armagh was fabulous, will be hotly disputed, but the possibility cannot be certainly dismissed. The suggestion that a semi-mythical Patrick was a projection from a real Palladius was made fifty years ago by Heinrich Zimmer,[29] who pointed out that the alleged dates of consecration of the two bishops (431 and 432) lay very close together, and that no life of Patrick appeared until two hundred years after the saint's death.

In 1905, Bury, who pointed out that Zimmer had now admitted the genuineness of the *Confession* and the *Epistle to Coroticus*, rebutted the argument,[30] and his refutation has been generally accepted. Kuno Meyer, acting in some sense as Zimmer's literary executor, said nothing of this

[27] *ibid*, p. 51.
[28] *ibid*, p. 48.
[29] *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, trs. 1902.
[30] *Life of St Patrick*: Appendix 21.

particular theory in an important lecture which he gave to the School of Irish Learning in 1912,[31] and gave the impression that Zimmer had changed his mind.

Meyer, however, whose relations with Irish nationalism had a definitely political aspect, would not be inclined at that time to belittle the patron saint of Ireland. The biographies of St. Patrick were in fact written long after his death, and the official "Life" approximates, in some respects, to other official hagiologies; it mentions the not uncommon visit to Rome[32] and a visit to St. Germanus at Auxerre which resembles very much St. Ninian's alleged visit to St. Martin at Tours.

Finally the colophon of the *Book of Durrow*[33] contains an invocation to "*sancte præsbyter patrici*," which might support the contention that the saint's elevation to episcopal orders was an invention made after his death to support the effort of the Roman church to establish its ascendency over the monastic church of Ireland.

Yet the evidence of the *Book of Durrow* shows that Zimmer's main contention was incorrect. The *Book of Durrow* was in all probability written by Columba himself, the founder of Durrow, who left Ireland in 563; obviously Patrick was regarded as a great saint long before the official "Life" was written and long before the see of Armagh entered into the *unitas catholica* in 697.

Patrick's "Life" may have been "written up" for hagiological and political reasons, and to him there may have been ascribed, after his death, episcopal orders which he did not receive in life; but there must have been a real Patrick who was a saint of importance. He can hardly be dismissed as a local saint of southern Ireland who gained renown only towards the end of the seventh century.

Other arguments adduced by Mrs Chadwick are open to

[31] *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters* (1913).

[32] Muirchu represents that the journey was interrupted at Auxerre in 432, but Tirechan says that a visit was made at a later date.

[33] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XXXIII., Sec, C. *The Cathach of St. Columba*, N. J. Lawlor (Appendix II., by W. M. Lindsay).

criticism. Many students will doubt the correctness of the assumption that the lost " Life " was the basis of Bede's account of Ninian. The lost " Life," certainly as regards its content, is a hypothesis; the work of Bede is a reality. Nowadays there is a tendency to be critical of Bede, but Bede was a real historian, who gave his authority when he could; and in view of his friendship with Pechthelm, it is probable that he would have known of the lost " Life " and would have quoted from it if it had really existed before he wrote his history. Those who prefer Dr. Levison's argument that the lost " Life " may have been founded upon Bede will have difficulty in associating it with Pechthelm's effort to establish an episcopal tradition at Whithorn about the year 717.

Again, the suggestion that Ninian may really have been a Pict is not easily accepted. Despite the existence of client-states a " Roman provincial " was more likely to be a Briton than a Pict.[34] Possibly Cruithni may sometimes represent " P-Celtic " Britanni; but the philologists warn us that Briton must not be confused with " Brython," and, generally speaking, the distinction between Picts and Britons is made clear by early writers.[35] English Bede, it is true, recalling perhaps the ravages of Cadwallon, disliked the Britons very much, and he was sometimes, or at least once, somewhat casual in his reference to Picts and Scots; but he knew something of Pictland from Trumwine, and there is no evidence that he equated Britons and Picts. In his account of Ninian, as it will seem to most readers, he made the distinction clear.

The account Bede gives of Ninian is unsatisfying, and it may have been, as Mrs Chadwick hints, introduced in parenthesis; but it is the earliest account of the saint which we possess, written by a good historian, and, though it must be critically examined, it cannot lightly be set aside. The

[34] *Stilicho and Britain*, W. Douglas Simpson, Journal of the British Archæological Association, third series, Vol. VII, 1942.

[35] The Briton, Gildas, hated the Picts. In the Whithorn volume (p. 71), Mr Wade Evans remarks that if the " Caw " story were accepted in its entirety, Gildas, his son, would be a Pict. This, he regards as a *reductio ad absurdum*.

life of the saint, like that of St. Patrick and other saints, may have been written up long after his death to vindicate ecclesiastical policies both by the anonymous author of the lost "Life" who enlarged on his connection with Rome, and by Ailred who made him divide Scotland into parishes, but it is hard to doubt that behind the hagiology is the figure of a real man who impressed the men of his own day.

On other counts it seems as if the long accepted story of St. Ninian may very well be true, in its essentials, and this opinion is confirmed by other evidence set forth in the volume under discussion, and particularly by the article of Professor Ralegh Radford which sets forth, in a comprehensive background, the results of his excavation in 1949.

He unearthed a small building projecting eastwards from the end of the Priory Church, whose stone walls, with an outer coating of cream mortar, seemed to bespeak *Candida Casa* itself. The general design of this building proclaims an affinity with the Celtic Church, and a date anterior to the advent of Germanic influence. The importance of this discovery needs no emphasis. It is true that there was no sign of Ninian's tomb, but, as Mr Radford rightly observes, the body of the saint was probably removed to the chapel behind the High Altar planned in the later Præmonstratensian Church.

Of the later history of the buildings, Mr Radford tells us much, and his contribution is admirably supplemented by Dr. Gordon Donaldson's scholarly account of the *Bishops and Priors of Whithorn*.

The date of the first church cannot be exactly ascertained, but there is no reason to reject the idea, urged by Dr. Douglas Simpson and supported to some extent by the contentions (all of which can hardly be accepted) of Mr Wade Evans, that Ninian's mission was part of a struggle between *Romanitas* and *Barbaria*.

In view of the episcopacy of the Welsh Church it is likely enough that Ninian was a bishop, and the fact that his foundation was known as a monastery presents no real difficulty. A monastery in those early days was a monastic village, and all the evidence goes to show that, though

Columba was never a bishop and though he referred to Patrick as a *præsbiter*, the distinction between the Irish and Welsh Church was less great than has sometimes been believed.

On one point, however, uncertainty remains, namely, as to the location of the southern Picts. "Picts," as has been shown, are not to be identified entirely with "Cruithni," and it is not clear that either "Picts" or "Cruithni" represented a single race group. The name Pict can safely be understood only as describing the inhabitants of Britain who were not Roman citizens, not Brythons, not Angles and not Gaels.

Where was the southern border of this people at the beginning of the 5th century?

The point is important, for Bede's account definitely distinguishes Briton from Pict, and Ninian's mission must plainly have gone outside the borders of *Romanitas*.

How far did it go? In view of the probable survival of Romano-British dynasties in the Lowlands, and especially at Dumbarton, it seems reasonable to conclude that any "Picts" in the neighbourhood of Whithorn must have been small *enclaves*, though, as Dr. Anderson suggests, a Pictish people of some strength may have survived in the hills to the north of Kirkcudbrightshire. Yet the fair-minded Dr. Anderson, who distrusts the argument from place-names, is unwilling, on general grounds, to accept the idea that the Roman mission penetrated into Fortriu, and has observed that—

> "the fact that priests in Fortriu appear to have taken the Roman side in the controversy is remarkable, and might be very significant if it could be definitely proved, and if they were natives of the Pictish kingdom."[36]

Proof upon these points is at present impossible, and other matters—notably the extent to which early "Ninianic" foundations survived—are still very dark; but progress is being made, and the volume published by the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society records a very notable advance.

[36] S.H.R., XXVII., 39.

ARTICLE 3.

The Galloway Clergy at the Reformation.

By GORDON DONALDSON, M.A., Ph.D.

At the period of the Reformation, the diocese of Galloway contained forty-five parishes, being all the parishes of Wigtown and those of Kirkcudbright west of the Urr[1] (while the remainder of Kirkcudbright, with Dumfriesshire, formed part of the diocese of Glasgow). Only five of the parishes—Dalry, Kirkchrist, Parton, Stoneykirk, and Wigtown[2]—were independent parsonages, all the others being " appropriated," chiefly to monastic houses. Whithorn Priory had thirteen of the parishes; Holyrood, five or six; Tongland, four; Sweetheart, three; Dundrennan and Soulseat each had two; Glenluce and the priory of St. Mary's Isle each had one.

" Appropriation " meant that the bulk of the teinds—usually the " corn teinds " or " teind sheaves " or " greater teinds "—were diverted to the endowment of the appropriating institution, while for the payment of a vicar to serve the parish there remained only a slender residue, consisting sometimes of the lesser teinds—those of butter, wool, eggs, and so forth—but sometimes of a fixed annual " pension "

1 Keith's list of parishes (in his *Scottish Bishops*, ed. Michael Russell, 1824, pp. 311 *et seq.*) and certain maps of the diocese assign to Galloway two detached parishes—Troqueer in Kirkcudbright and Dryfesdale in Dumfriesshire. In the latter case, the parsonage was certainly appropriated to the bishopric of Glasgow and, while this is not conclusive (for a parsonage in one diocese might be appropriated to the bishop of another), no evidence seems to justify Keith's attribution of this parish to Galloway. The parish of Troqueer was appropriated to Tongland, which in the sixteenth century was annexed to the bishopric of Galloway, but here again such evidence is not conclusive as to the diocese to which the parish belonged.

2 Alexander Vaus appears as " parson of Longcastle " in 1567 (*Thirds of Benefices*, 295), but he can only have been a tacksman holding the parsonage revenues on lease from the priory of Whithorn, to which the parish was appropriated (see these *Transactions*, 3rd ser., xxvii., 151). When Nicol Dungalson was appointed parson in 1574, the parsonage was stated to have been hitherto appropriated to Whithorn (Register of Presentations to Benefices, i., 113).

or " portion " from the whole revenues of the parish. As a general rule, a monastery appointed secular priests to serve as vicars in its appropriated parishes, but houses of canons regular, like the Augustinians of Holyrood and the Premonstratensians of Whithorn and Tongland, could appoint their own monks or canons as vicars of parishes.[3] While most of the Galloway parishes were thus appropriated to abbeys, two were appropriated to the bishopric and one to the archdeaconry. The Chapel Royal of Stirling, again, was endowed with five Galloway parishes. In these cases the prebendary of the Chapel who drew his revenues from a Galloway parish was known by the title of that parish, *e.g.*, " parson of Balmaclellan "; but he was an absentee, and there was, or ought to have been, a vicar serving the parish. The proportion of appropriated parishes in Galloway was very high—89 per cent.—but in other districts of Scotland figures ranging from 75 per cent. to 100 per cent. are to be found.

The initial proposal of the reformers had been to deprive all clergy of their benefices and to make no provision for their maintenance beyond that made for paupers. When this was discovered to be impracticable, a compromise was reached whereby all beneficed clergy retained their livings for life, with the exception of one-third, which was collected partly to augment the revenues of the crown and partly to pay stipends to the clergy of the reformed church. The latter were of four grades—first, superintendents, who were the organisers and administrators; second, ministers, who had a full commission not only to preach but to administer the sacraments; third, exhorters, who conducted services and preached but were not permitted to administer the sacraments; and, fourth, readers, who could conduct services by reading lessons, reading prayers from a service book and reading addresses from the Book of Homilies, but were not permitted to preach. These offices are not to be confused with the offices of parson, vicar, and so forth. The offices

[3] *E.g.*, George Allardyce, canon of Holyrood and vicar of Urr, 1507-13 (*James Young's Protocol Book*, 1696, 1974). Several instances are mentioned below.

in the reformed church were differentiated by the functions which men performed; the offices of the old ecclesiastical fabric were differentiated not by function but simply by the benefices which men held. There were for a time two distinct structures, the old and the new, which coincided only in so far as some parsons and vicars happened to be at the same time ministers, exhorters or readers.

There was relatively little financial inducement to the beneficed clergy to conform to the new régime and serve as ministers, exhorters or readers. A parson or vicar was assured of two-thirds of his living for life, with no duties to perform; by undertaking service in the reformed church he merely qualified himself to retain the remaining third. Such a proposition was hardly attractive except to men who were either sincerely interested in the Reformation or subjected to some manner of pressure or persuasion. How far there may have been genuine interest in the reforming movement among the rank and file of the Galloway clergy it is hardly possible to say. There had been the celebrated case of John Mackbrair, a monk of Glenluce, who in 1550 was imprisoned for heresy and whose subsequent career as a reformer is well enough known.[4] Some of the landed families, again, lost no time in attaching themselves to the reformed cause, for Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies and Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar were among those who signed the Book of Discipline in January, 1561.[5] The district can hardly have been unaffected by the proximity of the strongly protestant areas of Ayrshire; while on the other side of the country, John, Master of Maxwell, who by marriage became Lord Herries, had an almost heroic career as one of the Lords of the Congregation. It would be unreasonable to exclude the possibility that some of the clergy may have been of the same mind as the lairds. Besides, the influence of a local laird might very well be brought to bear on a parish priest. Account must also be taken of the likelihood that the Galloway clergy were influenced by the example, the precept, and perhaps

[4] *Ante*, 3rd ser., ix., 158 *et seq.*
[5] Knox, *History* (ed. Dickinson), ii., 324-5.

even the pressure of their bishop, who had himself embraced the reformed faith with enthusiasm and carried out the functions of a superintendent in his diocese.[6]

Those absentee titulars, the prebendaries of the Chapel Royal, had no financial inducement whatever to serve in the reformed church, because the whole of their revenues, and not only two-thirds, were secured to them in respect of their functions in the chapel. None of them took part in the work of the reformed church, at least in this diocese. Of the five genuine parsons, we know that Richard Balfour (Kirkchrist) became minister in his parish, and that Neil MacDowell (Stoneykirk) became reader in his. Charles Geddes was parson of Parton, and if he be identical with the Mr Charles Geddes who was a servitor of the Master of Maxwell he must have been on the reforming side; it seems likely that he became a reader, for no other reader or exhorter is recorded in the parish between 1563 and 1570. The parson of Wigtown was Patrick Vaus, eminent as a lawyer and politician but not a serious ecclesiastic. The parson of Dalry—whether or not he was the John Hepburn who had held office in 1556—evidently did not serve his parish after the Reformation. Thus, out of five parsons, certainly two and very likely three served in the reformed church.

Interest centres, however, in the vicars. In number they must have been about forty, the number of appropriated parishes; but, on the one hand, there were a few cases where one vicar was holding a pair of vicarages in plurality, while, on the other, an independent parish, which had a parson, sometimes had a vicar as well—as an assistant.[7] There is no register or list of the clergy who were in office at the Reformation, and the names must be collected from a variety of sources in which they occur sporadically. The names of some twenty-three of the men who held Galloway vicarages at the Reformation have been obtained with complete, or well-nigh complete, certainty, and those of another thirteen with varying degrees of probability or possibility. Of those thirty-six,

[6] *Ante*, 3rd ser., xxiv.
[7] *E.g.*, in Dalry.

three held two vicarages each, so that among them they account for thirty-eight parishes.

The vicarages of Borgue and Mochrum were held respectively by James Scott and John Stevenson, each a lord of session and a pluralist with his interests and career lying quite outwith the church. The vicarages of Inch and Leswalt belonged to Sir William MacDowell, a pluralist, who held also the vicarages of Dalmeny and Holyroodhouse and one or two chaplainries; he was Master of Works to the queen, and, although his name suggests a local origin, he was clearly a careerist not likely to serve in a Galloway parish. Gilbert Ostler, vicar of Sorbie, was another pluralist, who held chaplainries in Perth and Dundee. Balmaghie and Kirkcudbright seem to have been held in plurality by George Crichton, a canon of Holyrood, the house to which those parishes were appropriated. His interests clearly lay elsewhere; and indeed none of the parishes appropriated to that distant abbey can show a vicar who served his cure in Galloway under the reformed régime. John Martin, a canon of Whithorn, also held a pair of vicarages in plurality—Gelston and Longcastle. Among all the pluralist vicars, Martin is the only one who possibly served in the reformed church, and even in his case it seems unlikely. This might suggest that, while the holder of a single vicarage was induced by the prospect of retaining his third, the more comfortably-off pluralist was not so tempted; yet this can hardly be pressed, for even with two vicarages a man might still have a very small income, while it may be that the pluralists were necessarily of a less conscientious type and so less likely to be moved by religious motives. One other case should be mentioned here—that of Kirkcormock, which had been held since so long ago as 1521 by Sir Herbert Dun, who was by 1560 "ane auld blind man" whose days of useful work were over. But, while he could not himself take part in the work of the reformed church, this old priest did the next best thing by sending his sons. He had two sons—Michael, who succeeded his father in his vicarage and became an exhorter, and Cuthbert, who became a reader. The vicars so far mentioned were all men who had

quite intelligible motives for not appearing among the reformed clergy; at least there are reasons which explain their absence from those ranks. There was, indeed, only one vicar who clearly did not serve in the reformed church and for whom neither explanation nor excuse can be offered —Robert Watson (Clayshant).

On the other hand, there were nine vicars who seem to have embraced the reformation with enthusiasm, and almost at once became readers or exhorters: Martin Gib (Penninghame), John Johnston (Whithorn), Patrick MacCulloch (Wigtown), Donald Muir (Kells), John Parker (Buittle), Ralph Peirson (Kirkmaiden in Farines), John Sanderson (Glenluce), John Stewart (Minnigaff), and William Telfer (Cruggleton). It is true that Gib and Peirson are first recorded as in the service of the reformed church in 1561, Telfer in 1562, Johnston, Parker, Sanderson, Stewart, and MacCulloch in 1563, and Muir not until 1567; but in the light of the information at our disposal it would not be safe to conclude that they were converted to the reformed faith at different dates. Nor should we exaggerate the depth of their conversion. There were those who conformed to what seemed for the time to be the fashion, the prevailing opinion, but were equally ready to change again. For instance, William Telfer, who was vicar of Cruggleton, appears as a reader in 1562 and so continues for twenty years. Yet in 1563 we find that a Sir William Telfer was convicted for saying mass at a place rendered by Pitcairn as "Congiltoun"; but this is a mis-reading for "Crugiltoun," and it appears that the vicar-reader was quite prepared to do a little mass-mongering when the mass was in fashion.

Michael Hawthorn, a priest of the diocese since 1549 and vicar of Toskerton since March, 1559-60, and Malcolm MacCulloch, vicar of Anwoth from 1558, made their first appearances as readers only in 1572; and John White, a monk—perhaps of Soulseat — and vicar of Kirkmaiden in Rhinns, does not appear as a reader until 1574. By those dates—1572 and 1574—the triumph of the reforming party was secure and the prospect of any counter-reformation was

very dim. It may be, therefore, that Hawthorn, MacCulloch, and White had deferred committing themselves to the reformed church until it was clear that it had prevailed. They may, equally, have been moved by fear of deprivation; it was proposed in 1572 and passed into law in the following year that clergy who would not accept the reformed Confession of Faith should be deprived,[8] and this measure must have had a stimulating effect on waverers.

There are four more cases of vicars who served their cures in the reformed church, but it is not quite certain whether they had been in office at the Reformation. Robert Muir, certainly a priest, was exhorter or reader at Girthon from 1563; he is not styled vicar until 1574, but he may have held the vicarage by 1560. Thomas Regnall, a priest, was vicar and reader of Kirkdale in 1567; it seems likely that he had been vicar at the Reformation. William Sharpro, a canon of Tongland, was reader at Tongland by 1563, and, although not styled vicar until 1568, had very probably held the vicarage earlier. James Thomson was reader at Soulseat by 1563; we learn only twenty years later, after his death, that he had been a canon of Soulseat and vicar of that parish, but it seems likely that he had been in office at the Reformation.

Besides those vicars who served in their own parishes, there were others who served in the reformed church, but at other parishes in the district—Sir Herbert Anderson, vicar of Kelton by 1568 and very likely earlier, appears as reader at Troqueer in 1579; and Mr Robert Blindshiel, who may have been vicar of Kirkandrews at the Reformation, became minister at Wigtown. There is also the case of John Row, who seems to have succeeded another pluralist, James Moutray, in the vicarages of Twynholm and Terregles about 1560. He was the well-known minister of Perth. Curiously enough, he did make an appearance in Galloway, when he was appointed commissioner for the district after the General Assembly withdrew its approval from Bishop Alexander

[8] *Acts and proceedings of the general assemblies*, i., 212; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, iii.., 72.

Gordon,[9] but it is hardly likely that he was chosen for this task because he happened to hold two local vicarages: indeed, these benefices must have been an embarrassment to him if he attempted to deal with pluralist and non-resident clergy.

Andrew Davidson, vicar of Sennick, is something of a man of mystery, who defies classification. He was already a claimant to this vicarage in 1555; he subsequently acquired the parsonage of Kinnettles and the vicarage of Dalkeith, and when these benefices were confirmed to him in 1566 he was styled "preacher." On the other hand, he seems to have been in favour with John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews and commendator of Paisley, who was no friend to the Knoxian Reformation, and Davidson seems actually to have been on trial for saying mass at Paisley in 1563; nor does his name appear as a minister, exhorter or reader. He retained his three benefices until his death in or about 1587.

In eight cases, although the name is recorded of a vicar shortly before or shortly after 1560, it is impossible to say whether or not he held the office at that critical date—Thomas Acoltrane (Kirkmadrine), William Brown (Kirkinner or Kirkcowan), Charles Carmichael (Dunrod), Adam Cutler (Rerrick), David Forman (Dalry), James MacAllan (Kirkcolm), John Martin (Crossmichael), and Robert Stewart (Glasserton). At any rate, in none of these parishes did the vicar serve in the ministry of the reformed church. There are, further, two parishes to which a vicar cannot be assigned even conjecturally—Balmacellan and Kirkmabreck.

Summing up the evidence, it appears that twelve vicars served in the reformed church in their own parishes, four more probably did likewise, while a further three seem to have served in other parishes: that is, nineteen out of about thirty-six: and of those thirty-six, it will be recalled, about half a dozen had understandable reasons for not appearing among the reformed clergy. While the figures are incomplete and tentative, they do indicate a quite remarkable readiness on the part of the Galloway vicars to continue the care of their flocks under the new régime.

[9] *Ante*, 3rd ser., xxiv.

Going on now to the regular clergy, the monks, we must note the general position. The monastic ideal of community of goods and the prohibition of private property had long been lost sight of, and each monk, already before the Reformation, had his individual "portion," which he drew like a salary. The Scottish Reformation did not bring with it, as is so often alleged, any "suppression" or "dissolution" of the monasteries. The abbot, prior, or commendator continued to administer the property of the house, the convent remained a legal corporation, and the monks still enjoyed their portions and their residential quarters. In short, all went on very much as before, except that recruitment would normally cease. A monk, therefore, had an assured income, in the shape of his "portion," on which he could keep body and soul together. It is true that he sometimes had difficulty in securing payment of his portion;[10] but even if he drew it in full he still had somewhat greater financial inducement to serve in the reformed church than a parson or vicar had, because if a monk became a minister or a reader he received a full stipend in addition to his "portion."

The canons regular of Whithorn and Tongland—who, of course, had the tradition of serving parish churches as vicars—show a remarkable record of service in the reformed church. Both were peculiarly subject to the influence of the bishop,

[10] In 1565 two monks of Glenluce, Richard Brown and Robert Galbraith, who had been members of the community for twenty and twenty-six years respectively, raised actions against the commendator for their portions, which had been unpaid since 1559. In each case the portion consisted of eight bolls of meal and eight bolls of bear, two stones of butter and two stones of cheese, thirty loads of peats, their chambers and yards in the abbey, and £20 in money. The values are given, with slight variations between the two cases, and show that a portion was worth about £60 in the Scots money of the time—equivalent in purchasing power to perhaps £200 sterling a year to-day—*plus* accommodation (Acts and Decreets, xxxiv., 141 and 352). Michael Cousin, a canon of Tongland, sued in the same year, stating that he had been a member of the community for five years before the Reformation. His portion was somewhat smaller than those of the Glenluce monks, but even so would be worth between £40 and £50 in the Scots money of the time (*ibid.*, xxxiv., 114).

because the canons of Whithorn were the chapter of the bishopric, and the bishop was commendator of Tongland. In Whithorn there was, indeed, the contrary influence of the prior, Malcolm Fleming, who was a rigid conservative and a strong opponent of the Reformation, but his views evidently did not command much following among his monks. There were twelve canons at Whithorn in 1560, but one of them—Frederick Bruce, the subprior—disappears from the scene after the beginning of that year, and must be presumed to have died shortly afterwards. Out of the eleven who survived the Reformation, two—William Cranston and John Poltavie or Pogawe—clearly did not take part in the work of the reformed church, although they survived for another twenty years or more; but of the others, Adam Fleming, John Johnston, John Kay, Ralph Peirson, George Stevenson, John Stewart, and William Telfer certainly became readers, George Muir probably did so and John Martin may have done so. Thus, out of eleven monks of Whithorn, certainly seven and perhaps as many as nine served in the reformed church. In the case of Tongland, we have the names of eight monks who survived the Reformation—or nine if we include Ralph Peirson, the subprior, who was also a canon of Whithorn. Three of them—John Matheson, Michael Cousin, and Edward Hering—took no part in the work of the reformed church, but the others—Patrick Grant, James MacCulloch, Thomas MacUthre or MacCutrie, James Mair, William Sharpro, and, of course, Peirson—appear as readers. It is noteworthy that with hardly an exception the churches in which the canons of Whithorn and Tongland served as readers or exhorters were churches which had been annexed to their houses before the Reformation; the appropriations, which had been one of the evils of the unreformed church, in this way worked to the advantage of the church reformed.

Of the monks of Dundrennan,[11] the only one who may

[11] For Dundrennan we have the following names in 1559: David Johnston, Martin Foster, Nicholas Story, James Hettone, John Turner, Andrew Cunningham, John Wright, John Brown and Gilbert Law (Register House, Supplementary Charters); and in 1568: James Hutton, Andrew Cunningham, John Turner, Adam Cutler and David Johnston (*Protocol Book of Herbert Anderson*, ii., 64).

have entered the service of the reformed church was John Wright, for there was a reader of that name at Gelston in 1563. In the case of Glenluce, we have the names of no less than fifteen monks who were alive in 1560,[12] and of those fifteen not one appears as a minister, exhorter, or reader in the diocese of Galloway. The sharp contrast between Whithorn and Tongland on the one hand and Dundrennan and Glenluce on the other would suggest that monks were turned into ministers or readers not by financial pressure—which operated everywhere alike; nor yet by conscience — which might be presumed to operate everywhere in the same proportion; but by leadership or by influence, which was present at Whithorn and Tongland but not at Dundrennan or Glenluce.

The year 1563 is the first for which we have full details of the staff of the reformed church. There were by that time in Galloway seven or eight ministers, six exhorters, and twenty-five readers—a total of nearly forty reformed clergy for the forty-five parishes of the diocese, which represents a very considerable effort in a short space of time. In 1567 the total was still very much the same, and by 1574 it had risen to only about fifty. Clearly, viewed in relation to the rather meagre expansion between 1563 and 1574, the achievement of the first three years looks even more remarkable. And one can go further. While 1563 is the first year for which we have full details, there are figures for the total sums paid in stipends in the two preceding years, and these give some indication of the general picture. The figures available are for a very large area—not only Wigtown, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Annandale, but also Stirling, Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton—and they are £2700 in 1561 and £3174 in 1562. Then in 1563, when that vast district was divided, the four southern counties have a total of

[12] William Baillie, David Bowak, Richard Brown, Patrick Brownhill, Alexander Cairns, David Frizzell, John Galbraith, Alexander Gray, Adam Gunnoquhen, William Halkerston, Andrew Langlands, Michael Learmonth, John Sanders, William Steinsoun, John Walcar and John Wilsoun (Ailsa Charters, Box. 23, Discharges and Receipts, 18th Mar., 1558/9; Box II., Bdle., 11, 2nd November, 1560).

£1566, the remainder one of £1831, and the over-all figure is thus £3397—that is, only £200 more than in 1562 and £700 more than in 1561. Since we know what the 1563 figure meant in terms of personnel, we can argue back. Assuming — and it is a reasonable assumption — that the increase had been spread evenly over all the counties, we can conclude that the staff of the reformed church in Galloway was only some 6 or 7 per cent. less in 1562 than in 1563, and that even in 1561, the first year of the reformed church, it was only some 20 per cent. less than in 1563. In other words, we must visualise some thirty ministers, exhorters, and readers already at work in the diocese of Galloway in 1561.

As we have seen, many of the reformed clergy were parsons and vicars who conformed and carried on their work in their parishes. It is to such men that Ninian Winzet was alluding when he wrote: "At Pasche and certane Soundays efter, thai techeit with grete appering zele, and ministrate the sacramentis til us on the Catholik manere; and be Witsonday thai change thair standart in our plane contrare."[13] But he also points to the numbers of monks who entered the ranks of the reformed church: "Quhy admit ye to be your prechouris. . . [men] of na experience, nor yit haifand praeeminence by utheris of godly leving, except ye call that godly to covet a fair wyfe and ane fatt pensioun, by the lawis of the monastik lyfe, quhilk sindry of thame hes professit?"[14] Another observer, the Jesuit de Gouda, also speaks of the monks who had turned ministers, but remarks as well on the acceptance of men with no previous clerical experience: "The ministers, as they call them, are either apostate monks, or laymen of low rank, and are quite unlearned, being tailors, shoemakers, tanners or the like."[15]

Out of the seven or eight ministers who were installed in Galloway by 1563, only two were certainly local men—Richard Balfour at Kirkchrist and Robert Blindshiel at Wig-

13 *Works* (S.T.S.), i., 53.
14 *ibid.*, 101.
15 *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, 135.

town. John Gibson, minister of Stoneykirk, Toskerton, and Clayshant, may have been a prebendary of Lincluden, but there is no proof of this; and John McGhie, minister at Kirkcowan, has a name which suggests a local origin, but nothing whatever is known of him. On the other hand, Adam Fowlis, at Whithorn, was imported, for he had been vicar of Tealing, in Angus, and a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Mary in St. Andrews; and William Moscrop, who in 1563 had charge of Anwoth, Girthon, St. Mary's Isle, Kirkandrews, Borgue, and Sennick, is probably to be identified with the monk of Jedburgh who bore that somewhat rare name. Of James Dods, at Dalry, and Alexander Allardyce, at Kirkcudbright, we know nothing, but had they been local clergy some evidence would probably have emerged. The fact that the Galloway clergy produced so few ministers would suggest that their quality was not very high; those of them who went over to the reformed church were for the most part fit to be only exhorters or readers.

Among the exhorters of 1563, we find that Cuthbert Adair (Inch) had been a chaplain at Whithorn in 1557, and Michael Dun (Kirkcudbright) had been a priest of the diocese since 1550. John Sanderson (Glenluce) and John Stewart (Minnigaff) were the vicars of those parishes. Alexander Hunter (Kirkcolm) and John Dury (Parton) have not been identified. That is, out of six exhorters, four—all who can be identified—were local clergy.

Of the readers, perhaps as many as nine were pre-Reformation parish clergy serving their parishes, and have already been mentioned. Two were priests, but unbeneficed —Robert Champan (Balmaghie) and John Moffat (Kirkchrist). Eight or nine were monks, already mentioned, four of them being also numbered among the beneficed clergy. Of Francis Home (Dalry) it has emerged only that he had been associated with Bishop Gordon in 1559. There are, therefore, some eight of the readers of 1563 who remain unidentified — Thomas MacAlexander (Leswalt), John MacCaill (Sorbie), Donald MacAllan (Kirkandrews), John MacClellan (Sennick), Elias MacCulloch (Balmacclellan),

Henry Smith (Glasserton), one Thomson, Christian name unknown (Clayshant), and James Wylie (Anwoth). Five of them, from their surnames, were obviously local men. But collectively they may represent the tailors, shoemakers, tanners, and the like of whom de Gouda wrote contemptuously. Yet the proportion—about three-fifths—of the Galloway readers who had previously been priests or monks is sufficiently impressive.

As already mentioned, some more of the local clergy made their appearance in the ranks of the ministers and readers at later dates, after 1563. Their names are given in the biographical notes which follow, but as the years went on the proportion of reformed clergy drawn from this source was bound to diminish, and analyses for, say, 1567 and 1572 might be misleading. The figures for 1563 amply demonstrate that continuity in personnel was a conspicuous feature of the Reformation in Galloway.

Biographical Notes.

The following list gives the names of all clergy who may be presumed to have been in possession of benefices in Galloway in 1560, and of ministers, exhorters and readers who entered the service of the reformed church between 1560 and 1567. The notes are confined to information relevant to the foregoing article, and very often omit details about the men's later careers in the ministry; such details can in many cases be found in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, vols. ii. and viii.

SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

MSS. in Register House:

A. and D.	Register of Acts and Decreets.
Cal. Ch.	Calendar of Charters.
Deeds	Register of Deeds.
Feu Ch. of Kirklands	Abstract of Feu Charters of Kirklands.
Reg. Pres.	Register of Presentations to Benefices.
R.S.S.	Register of the Privy Seal.
Suppl. Ch.	Calendar of Supplementary Charters.
Tests.	Testaments.
Ailsa Ch.	Ailsa Charters.
Barnbarroch Ch.	Barnbarroch Charters.
Galloway Ch. ...	Galloway Charters.

Printed Books:

Reg. Min.	*Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers* for 1567 to 1573, with an Appendix for 1576 (Maitland Club); Register of Assignations and Modifications of Stipends for 1574 (*Wodrow Society Miscellany*).
R.M.S.	*Register of the Great Seal.*
R.S.S.	*Register of the Privy Seal.*
T.B.	*Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices* (Scot. Hist. Soc.).
Laing Ch.	*Calendar of the Laing Charters.*

The title "sir" [*dominus*] signifies a priest who had not taken a degree; "Mr" [*magister*] is a Master of Arts; and "dene" [*dompnus*] is applied to monks or canons regular.

ACOLTRANE, Sir Thomas. Vicar of Kirkmadrine, 1558 (Galloway Ch., Nos. 86-7). When he was succeeded by Michael Hawthorn (*q.v.*) does not appear.

ADAIR, Sir Cuthbert. Chaplain at Whithorn, 1557 (Deeds, ii., 171, 173); exhorter, Inch, 1563-8 (*T.B.*, 291).

ALLARDYCE, Mr Alexander. Minister, Kirkcudbright, 1562-3 (*T.B.*, 153, 290).

ANDERSON, Sir Herbert. Notary and chaplain (Cal. Ch., *passim;* vicar of Kelton and notary, 1568, 1577 (Cal. Ch. 2108; *R.M.S.*, iv., 2678); reader, Troqueer, 1579-85 (A. and D., xci., 382; *Fasti*); late vicar of Kelton, 1590 (R.S.S., lxi., 52).

ANDERSON, Thomas. Exhorter, Kirkchrist, 1567, thereafter exhorter or reader at Kirkcudbright (*Reg. Min.; T.B.*, 291); pres. to vicarage of Kirkcudbright, 23rd April, 1571 (Reg. Pres., i., 52; *R.M.S.*, iv., 2353); late vicar, deceased, 1580 (R.S.S., xlvi., 133).

ARNOT, Sir Andrew. Archdeacon of Whithorn, 1546 (*R.S.S.*, iii., 2012); archdeacon of Whithorn and parson of Penninghame, resigned in 1566 (R.S.S., xxxiv., 70), but apparently retained a liferent until his death in October, 1575 (Reg. Pres., i., 122, 128; Edinburgh Tests., 21st March, 1575/6).

BALFOUR, Mr Richard. Parson and Minister of Kirkchrist, 1562 (*T.B.*, 150; Feu Ch. of Kirklands, i., 187); in 1565 set his parsonage in tack to James M'Clellan of Nunton (Deeds, vii., 184); parson and minister until 1582 (*Reg. Min.;* A. and D., xciv., 57; Cal. Ch., 2732; Reg. Pres., ii., 82).

BARON, John. Minister, Galston, 1563, and Whithorn, 1567; died, 1568 (*Reg. Min.; T.B.*, 290; *Fasti*).

BLINDSHIEL, Mr Robert. Notary, Whithorn, 1557 and 1562 (Deeds, ii., 170, 171; Cal. Ch. 2009); minister, Wigtown, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 290; *Reg. Min.*); pres. to vic. of Sorbie, 20th February, 1566/7

(R.S.S., xxxvi., 28); died, July, 1576 (Edinburgh Tests., 4th February, 1576/7); late vicar of Sorbie, 1577 (Reg. Pres., i., 136); late. vicar of Kirkandrews, 1590 (R.S.S., lx., 137).

BROWN, Sir Alexander. Curate of Mochrum, 1562 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 1687; Cal. Ch., 2009).

BROWN, Sir William. Vicar pensioner of Kirkinner and/or Kirkcowan, 1574 (Test. of George Clapperton, Edinburgh, 12th September, 1574).

BRUCE, Frederick. Subprior of Whithorn, vicar of Soulseat and Toskerton, 27th March, 1558 (Deeds, ii., 457); resigned vic. of Toskerton, 1559/60 (*R.S.S.*, v., 781).

CARMICHAEL, Charles. Vicar of Dunrod, 1554 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 1104); not mentioned after 1560 (cf. *T.B.*, 112-3, 294).

CHAPMAN or CHAMPAN, Sir Robert. Reader, Balmaghie, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 292; *Reg. Min.*); pres. to vic. of Kirkcolm, 13th September, 1569 (Reg. Pres., i., 29) and to vic. of Balmaghie, 23rd April, 1571 (*ibid.*, 52); late vicar, 1588 (*R.S.S.*, lvii., 75, 120, 135; lxxi., 122).

CLAPPERTON, Sir George. Presented to subdeanery of Chapel Royal (parsonage of Kirkinner and Kirkcowan), 23rd June, 1535 *R.S.S.*, ii., 1703); subdean, 1561-72 (*T.B.*, 86, 147, 289, 295); died, April, 1574 (Edinburgh Tests., 21st September, 1574; R.S.S., xlii., 36).

CRAWFORD, John. Exhorter, Penninghame, 1567 (*Reg. Min.*).

CRICHTON, Dene George. Canon of Holyrood, 1545/6 (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xli., 328); vicar of Balmaghie, 1563 (A. and D., xxxiv., 155); late vicar of Balmaghie and Kirkcudbright, deceased, 1571 (Reg. Pres., i., 52).

CUTLER, Sir Adam. Vicar of Rerrick, 1543 (Cal. Ch. 1331); vicar of "Radeik," witnesses charter by abbot of Dundrennan, 1544 (*R.S.S.*, iii., 870); monk of Dundrennan, 1568 (*Protocol Book of Herbert Anderson*, ii., 64).

CUTLER, William (? son of preceding). Reader, Rerrick or Dundrennan, 1574, 1576 (*Reg. Min.*); late vicar pensioner of Dundrennan, 1590 (R.S.S., lxi., 5).

DAVIDSON, Mr Andrew. Claimant to vic. of Sennick, 1555 (A. and D., xi., 34); parsonage of Kinnettles and vicarage of Dalkeith confirmed to him, 1566 (R.S.S., xxxv., 46 and 66); mass-monger at Paisley, 1563 (Pitcairn, I., ii., 429); vicar of Sennick, 1582 (A. and D., xc., 400); vicar of Sennick and parson of Kinnettles, 1587 (R.S.S., lv., 202); late parson of Kinnettles, vicar of Dalkeith and vicar of Sennick, 1588 (R.S.S., lvi., 107, 115, 142; lvii., 129; lviii., 24).

DODDS, James. Minister, Dalry, 1563-7, Kirkcudbright, 1569-74 (*T.B.*, 290; *Reg. Min.*).

DUN, Cuthbert (son of Herbert Dun, *q.v.*). Reader, Gelston, 1573-4 (*Reg. Min.*).

DUN, Sir Herbert. Vicar of Kirkcormock, 1521 (*R.M.S.*, iii., 213; *Laing Ch.*, 339); vicar of Kirkcormock and commissary of Kirkcudbright, 1537, 1550 (*R.M.S.*, iii., 1737; Cal. Ch., 1492A); his sons legitimated, 1550 (*R.S.S.*, iv., 852); vicar of Kirkcormock, 1561-3 (*T.B.*, 148, 289).

DUN, Michael (son of Herbert Dun, *q.v.*). Priest, Whithorn diocese, 1550 and 1560 (Cal. Ch., 1492A, 1803, 1840); exhorter, Kirkcudbright, 1563 (*T.B.*, 290, 291); vicar and exhorter, Kirkcormock, 1567-72 (*Reg. Min.*); late vicar of Kirkcormock, deceased, 1573 (Reg. Pres., i., 91).

DUNBAR, John. Reader, Kirkmadrine, from 1567 (*T.B.*, 292; *Reg. Min.*).

DUNGALSON, Nicol [*or* Michael]. Reader, Kirkinner, 1567 (*Reg. Min.*); minister, Kirkinner, 1568-74 (*ibid.*; *T.B.*, 290, 291); pres. to parsonage of Longcastle, 3rd August., 1574 (Reg. Pres., i., 113); late parson, deceased, 1578 (*ibid.*, i., 152; ii., 74).

DURY, John. Exhorter, Parton, 1563 (*T.B.*, 291).

FLEMING, Dene Adam. Canon of Whithorn, 1557 (Deeds, ii., 170-71); pres. to vicarage pensionary of Whithorn and confirmed, 14th February, 1566/7 (R.S.S., xxxvi., 8); reader, Whithorn, 1572-4 (*T.B.*, 292; *Reg. Min.*); late vicar pensioner, 1583 (Reg. Pres., ii., 87); late monk of Whithorn, 1588 (R.S.S., lviii., 70).

FLEMING, Sir John. Chaplain of William Gordon of Craichlaw, 1549 (Cal. Ch., 1459); reader, Kirkcowan, 1567-74 (*Reg. Min.*; *T.B.*, 292); Sir John F., "minister," witness to Testament of William Gordon of Craichlaw, 20th June, 1575.

FORMAN, David. Vicar pensioner of Dalry, 1556 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 2789).

FOULIS, Adam. Presented to prebend of Lammelethame, 13th October, 1544 (*R.S.S.*, iii., 918); vicar of Tealing and prebendary of Lammelethame, 1561-72, minister at Whithorn, 1563, minister at Newbattle, 1570-72 (*T.B.*, 92, 149-50, 231, 242, 275, 291; *Reg. Min.*); died in 1572, desiring that if possible his body should be buried beside that of John Knox (Edinburgh Tests., 17th February, 1574/5); late vicar and prebendary, 1573 (R.S.S., xli., 118; xlix, 190; Reg. Pres., i., 92).

FRASER, Sir Louis. Chaplain at Wigtown, 1550 (Cal. Ch., 1491); chaplain at Mochrum, 1557-60 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 1258; Galloway Ch., No. 90); reader, Longcastle, 1567, translated to Mochrum, 1567, and reader there until 1586 (*T.B.*, 291; *Reg. Min.*; *Fasti*); died 26th June, 1591 (Edinburgh Tests., 28th September, 1591).

GEDDES, Mr Charles. On 21st August, 1555, the patron of the parsonage of Parton agreed to present Mr Charles Geddes, who on his

part undertook to set the parsonage in tack to the patron (Deeds, i., 195); servitor of the Master of Maxwell, captured by the French in Edinburgh, 1559 (Knox, *History* [ed. Dickinson], i., 261); parson of Parton, 1562, 1564, 1566 (Feu Ch. of Kirklands, i., 223; *Accounts of Lord High Treasurer*, xi., 336; *R.S.S.*, v., 2824).

GIB, Mr Martin. Vicar pensioner of Penninghame, 1548-58 (*R.S.S.*, iii., 2982; *Protocol Book of Herbert Anderson*, ii., 19); vicar and reader, Penninghame, 1561-74 (*T.B.*, 93, 150, 290, 292; *Reg. Min.*).

GIBSON, John. Minister or exhorter, Stoneykirk, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 291; *Reg. Min.*).

GRANT, Patrick. Canon of Tongland, 1556-64; reader, Kirkdale, 1563 (*T.B.*, 292).

GRAY, Sir Andrew. Presented to prebend of Kells (Chapel Royal). in reversion, 12th December, 1554 (*R.S.S.*, iv., 2875); prebendary of Kells, 1561-3 (*T.B.*, 86, 147, 289; Deeds, v., 415).

GRAY, Sir George. Presented to prebend of Castlelaw *secundo* (Chapel Royal), 26th November, 1549 (*R.S.S.*, iv., 510); resigned, 1552 (*ibid.*, 1637); prebendary of Balmacclellan (Chapel Royal), 1561-3 (*T.B.*, 86, 147, 289,) resigned before 20th March, 1565/6 (R.S.S., xxxiv., 56); pres. to chantorship of Chapel Royal, 6th May, 1565 (R.S.S., xxxiii., 62).

HAWTHORN, Sir Michael. Clerk, 1536 (*Laing Ch.*, 408); priest of diocese of Galloway, 1549 (Cal. Ch., 1459): legitimated, 1555 (*R.S.S.*, iv., 3018); commissary of Wigtown, pres. to vic. of Toskerton, 23rd March, 1559/60 (*R.S.S.*, v., 781); notary at Wigtown, 1561/2 (Suppl. Ch.); vicar and reader, Toskerton, 1572-4, and minister, 1576 (*T.B.*, 292, 296; *Reg. Min.*); late vicar of Toskerton, 1585, of Borgue, 1586, and of Kirkmadrine, 1597 (Reg. Pres., ii., 145, 159; R.S.S., lxii., 7, lxvii., 36, lxix., 44).

HEPBURN, John. Parson of Dalry, 1534-56 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 900, 2789; Cal. Ch., 1619).

HUME, Francis. Witness to charter by Bishop Gordon, 28th February, 1558/9 (Cal. Ch., 1773); reader, Dalry, 1563 (T.B., 292).

HUNTER, Alexander. Exhorter and reader, Kirkcolm, 1563-74 (T.B., 291-2; *Reg. Min.*).

JOHNSTON, *Dene* John. Canon of Whithorn, 1537-66; reader, Whithorn, 1563 (*T.B.*, 293); late vicar of Whithorn, deceased, 10th December, 1566 (R.S.S., xxxvi., 27; cf. xxxvi., 8).

KAY, *Dene* John. Canon of Whithorn, 1557-1588. Provided to vicarage pensionary of Whithorn, 10th December, 1566, and confirmed, 20th February, 1566/7 (R.S.S., xxxvi., 27); but it was later alleged that he had forged his presentation (A. and D., 79, 450; 84, 262; 86, 51). Reader, Glasserton, 1570-89 (*T.B.*, 293;

Reg. Min.; Fasti). Minister and reader, Cruggleton, pres. to vicarage, of Cruggleton, 2nd August, 1591 (R.S.S., lxii., 123); late vicar of Cruggleton, 1594 (R.S.S., lxvi., 135).

MACALEXANDER, Thomas. Reader and exhorter, Leswalt, 1563-9 (*T.B.*, 291, 293; *Reg. Min.*); reader, Inch, from 1570 (*Reg. Min.*).

MACALLAN, James. Late vicar of Kirkcolm, 1569 (Reg. Pres., i., 29).

MACCAILL (or MACKALL), John. Reader, Sorbie, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.*).

MACCALYEAN (MacAllan, MacCulen, Makcullayn, Makaillane), Donald. Reader, Kirkandrews, 1563-6 (*T.B.*, 293; Protocol Book of Thomas Anderson, 1563-76, fo. 21); reader, Senwick, from 1567 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.*).

MACCLELLAN, John. Reader, Senwick, 1563 (*T.B.*, 293); reader, Kirkandrews, from 1567 (*ibid.*; *Reg. Min.*).

MACCLUN, Thomas. Exhorter, Crossmichael, 1567-74 (*T.B.*, 291; *Reg. Min.*).

MACCULLOCH, Elias. Reader, Balmacclellan, 1563-88 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.; Fasti*).

MACCULLOCH, James. Canon of Tongland, 1556-66; reader, Toskerton, 1563 (*T.B.*, 293).

MACCULLOCH, Mr Malcolm. Priest, Wigtown, 1550 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 509); vicar of Anwoth, 1558 (*ibid.*, 1333); vicar of Anwoth, 1566-72 (*T.B.*, 294); reader, Anwoth, 1572-4 (*ibid.*, 289; *Reg. Min.*); died, December, 1577 (Edinburgh Tests., 10th May, 1578; Reg. Pres., i., 148-9).

MACCULLOCH, Mr Patrick. Vicar of Wigtown, 1542-52 (*Laing Ch.*, 408; Galloway Ch., No. 76); reader, Wigtown, 1563 (*T.B.*, 293).

MACCUTRIE (or MacUthrie), Thomas. Canon of Tongland, 1556-68; reader, St Mary's Isle, 1567-8; Kirkchrist, 1569-72; Kelton, 1574 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.*).

MACDOWELL, Sir Neil. Legitimated, 1554 (*R.S.S.*, iv., 2832); parson and reader, Stoneykirk, 1562-3 (*T.B.*, 150, 290).

MACDOWELL, Sir William. Presented to chaplainry of Whitehill, near Musselburgh, 26th January, 1547/8 (*R.S.S.*, iii., 2604), and to chaplainries in the palace of Holyrood, 4th and 15th November, 1554 (*ibid.*, iv., 2835, 2839); master of works to the queen, from 1554 (*Accounts of Lord High Treasurer*, passim); pres. to vic. of Leswalt, 1st January, 1559/60 (*R.S.S.*, v., 725); preceptor of St. Paul's work, vicar of Holyroodhouse, vicar of Dalmeny, vicar of Leswalt and Inch, 1561-72 (*T.B.*, 88, 147, 278, 289, 295); late chaplain of St. Nicholas in St Giles's, August, 1566 (R.S.S., xxxv., 65); vicar perpetual of Leswalt and vicar pensioner of Inch,

1565-6 (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i., 269, 271; *R.M.S.*, iv., 1763); late vicar of Leswalt and Dalmeny, 1580 (Reg. Pres., ii., 32-3).

MACGHIE, John. Minister, Kirkcowan, died before 6th September, 1564 (Edinburgh Tests., Minute Book).

MAIR (Mar), James. Canon of Tongland, 1556-68; reader, Twynholm, 1567-71 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.*).

MARTIN, *Dene* John. Canon of Whithorn, 1537-66; vicar of Gelston, 1553, with a " house and chamber " at the " Ile and Port of Whithorn " (A. and D., vii., 129); vicar of Gelston and Longcastle, 1567-76 (Feu. Ch. of Kirklands, ii., 42; *T.B.*, 294-5; *R.M.S.*, iv., 2665); late vicar of Gelston and Longcastle, deceased, 1581 (Reg. Pres., ii., 55, 57). He cannot be identical with the " John Martin, elder, in Isle of Whithorn," who was predeceased by Margaret Stuart, his wife, in 1592 (Edinburgh Tests., 20th September, 1592), or with the John Martin, younger, son of John Martin in Ardes, who, as reader or minister, was presented to the vicarage of Gelston on 8th March, 1582/3 (Reg. Pres., ii., 87). John Martin, vicar of Crossmichael, appears with John Martin in Airds of Crossmichael as a witness in 1585 (Kirkcudbright Commissary Register of Deeds).

MOFFAT, John. Chaplain, Kirkcudbright, 1550 (Cal. Ch., 1492A); reader, Kirkchrist, 1563 (*T.B.*, 293); reader, Kirkmabreck, from 1567 (Reg. Min.).

MOSCROP, William. Minister, Anwoth, 1563 (*T.B.*, 291); late monk of Jedburgh, 1588 (R.S.S., lviii., 73).

MUIR, Sir Donald. Vicar pensioner and reader, Kells, 1567 (*Reg. Min.*); reader, Kells, 1570-72 (*ibid.*, *T.B.*, 293); vicar pensioner of Kells, died before 13th June, 1586 (R.S.S., liv., 33).

MUIR, *Dene* George. Canon of Whithorn, 1557-88; reader at Glasserton and Kirkmaiden in Farines, 1590-91 (*Fasti*); pres. to vic. of Kirkmaiden, 17th December, 1591 (R.S.S., lxiii., 59); late vicar of Kirkmaiden, 1593 (*ibid.*, lxvi., 18); late monk of Whithorn, 1593 (*ibid.*, lxv., 92; lxvii., 86).

MUIR, Sir Robert. Exhorter and reader, Girthon, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 291, 293; *Reg. Min.*); (" Sir Robert ") witness at Tongland, 1570 (Protocol Book of Thomas Anderson, fo. 50); (" Sir Robert ") vicar of Girthon, 1574-83 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 2393; Cal. Ch., 2326, 2349; A. and D., 95, 174).

OSTLER, Sir Gilbert. Chaplain of Loretto, Perth, 1560 (R.M.S., iv., 1729; Cal. Ch., 2030); chaplain of Three Kings in Dundee, 1566-8 (*T.B.*, 236); late vicar of Sorbie, died before 10th December, 1566 (R.S.S., xxxvi., 28). His testament (Edinburgh, 17th December, 1567) states that he died in June, 1566, in possession of the benefices mentioned above.

PAIN, Sir James. Reader, Kelton, 1567-72 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.*); (" Sir James "), reader, Kelton, 1573 (Test. of John M'Clyne, Edinburgh, 29th July 1574).

PARKER, Sir John. Vicar pensioner of Buittle, 1562 (Feu Ch. of Kirklands, i., 100); exhorter and reader, Buittle, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 292-3; *Reg. Min.*); late vicar pensioner of Buittle, 1587 (R.S.S., lv., 98).

PATERSON, Sir James. Presented to sacristanry of Chapel Royal (parsonage of Kirkinner and Kirkcowan), 8th August, 1546, in reversion (*R.S.S.*, iii., 1815); sacristan of Chapel Royal, 1561-3 (*T.B.*, 86, 147, 289); late sacristan, resigned, January, 1564/5 (R.S.S., xxxii., 123).

PEIRSON, Ralph or Rudolph. Canon of Whithorn, 1537-64, and subprior of Tongland; vicar of Kirkmaiden in Farines, 5th June, 1560 (Galloway Charters, No. 88); vicar and reader, Kirkmaiden, 1561-9 (*T.B.*, 93, 150, 290); died, 1569 (*Reg. Min.*); late vicar, 1575 (Reg. Pres., i., 115; R.S.S., xlii., 103).

REGNALL, Sir Thomas. Vicar and reader, Kirkdale, 1567 (*Reg. Min.*); reader, Kirkdale, 1574-9 (*Reg. Min.*; *Fasti*); late vicar pensioner of Kirkdale, deceased, 1583 (R.S.S., xlix., 115).

ROW, Mr John. Vicar of Terregles, 25th April, 1561 (Feu Charters of Kirklands, i., 233), 22nd December, 1565 (Deeds, viii., 198); vicar of Twynholm, 26th December, 1567 (Deeds, ix., 196); pluralist, 1573 (Calderwood, iii., 273); late vicar of Terregles and Twynholm, 1580 (Reg. Pres., ii., 43, 44, 78). Also vicar of Kennoway (*T.B.*, 242, 246), minister of Perth and commissioner for Galloway.

SANDERSON, *Dene* John. Monk of Glenluce and vicar pensioner of Glenluce. In June, 1563, he is styled " minister " of Glenluce, and had been in possession of the croft and manse since at least 1562 (A. and D., xxvii., 70); exhorter, Glenluce, 1563-72 (*T.B.*, 292); reader, Glenluce, with third of vicarage, 1567-74 (*Reg. Min.*); late vicar pensioner of Glenluce (" dene John "), 1592/3 R.S.S., lxv., 4).

SCOTT, Mr James. Provost of Corstorphine, 1537 and 1548 (*R.M.S.*, iii., 1887; iv., 200, 462; provost of Corstorphine and vicar of Borgue, 1562 (Deeds, v., 136); lord of session, provost of Corstorphine, parson of Kinnettles, vicar of Borgue and vicar of Kilbirnie, 1561-3 (*T.B.*, 85, 148, 230, 289); died before 4th January, 1564/5 (*ibid.*, 120, 148); late parson and vicar of Kinnettles, deceased, 1565 (R.S.S., xxxiii., 90; xxxv., 46).

SHARPRO, William. Canon of Tongland, 1556-66; exhorter and reader, Tongland, 1563-9 (*T.B.*, 292-3; *Reg. Min.*); vicar of Tongland, 1568 (Cal. Ch., 2126); minister, Tongland, pres. to vicarage of Senwick, 24th June, 1588 (R.S.S., lvii., 129); late vicar of Senwick, 1597 (R.S.S., lxix., 51).

SMITH, Henry. Reader at Glasserton, 1563 (*T.B.*, 293).

STEVENSON, George. Canon of Whithorn, 1537-80; reader, Longcastle, 1563 (T.B., 293); reader, Kirkmaiden in Farines, 1569, 1571-2, 1574 (*T.B.*, 293; *Reg. Min.*); pres. to vicarage of Kirkmaiden, 26th January, 1574/5 (R.S.S., xlii., 103); late vicar, 1586 (Reg. Pres., ii., 152); late monk of Whithorn, 1588 (R.S.S., lviii., 70).

STEVENSON, Mr John. Parson of Thankerton, 1558-9 (Patrick, *Statutes*, 153); lord of session, chantor of Glasgow, vicar of Mochrum, parson and vicar of Thankerton, parson and vicar of Muckersie, parson and vicar of Kilbride, 1561-3 (*T.B.*, 87, 147, 260, 289); chantor of Glasgow and vicar (commendator) of Mochrum, 1562 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 1687); late parson of Muckersie and chantor of Glasgow, deceased, 1563 (R.S.S., xxxii., 30; xxxiii., 98).

STEWART, Mr John. Presented to vicarage of Minnigaff, 21st May, 1541 (*R.S.S.*, ii., 4024); vicar of Kirkdale, 1552 (Galloway Ch., No. 79); canon of Whithorn, 1557-88; exhorter, Minnigaff, 1563-72 (*T.B.*, 292; *Reg. Min.*); late canon of Whithorn, 1591 (R.S.S., lxxi., 140).

STEWART, Mr Robert. Late vicar of Glasserton, deceased, 1591/2 (R.S.S., lxiii., iii. and 130). The previously recorded vicar of Glasserton was Robert Stirling, who seems to have died in 1558 (A. and D., xv., 124, 340; *R.S.S.*, v., 379), and the date of Stewart's appointment is quite obscure.

STRUGION, William. Reader, Borgue, 1567-74 (*T.B.*, 294; *Reg. Min.*).

TELFER, Sir William. Canon of Whithorn, 1537-80; vicar and reader, Cruggleton, 1562-72 (*T.B.*, 150, 289, 294; *Reg. Min.*); mass-monger, 1563 (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, I., ii., 428); reader until 1580 (*Fasti*); late vicar, deceased, 1582/3 (R.S.S., xlix., 64).

THOMSON, James. Reader at Soulseat, 1563-74 (*T.B.*, 294; *Reg. Min.*); late canon of Soulseat and vicar pensioner of Soulseat, 1583 (A. and D., xcii., 387).

THOMSON, [blank]. Reader at Clayshant, 1563 (*T.B.*, 294).

VAUS, Patrick, of Barnbarroch. Appointed to parsonage of Wigtown, 15th August, 1545 (Barnbarroch Charters); pres. to parish clerkship of Kirkinner, 16th September, 1554 (*ibid.*; *R.S.S.*, iv., 2815); parson of Wigtown, pres. to parsonage of Douglas, 2nd September, 1560 (Barnbarroch Charters); parson of Wigtown, 1580-81 (Reg. Pres., ii., 35, 48).

VAUS, William. Reader, Longcastle, 1568-74 (*T.B.*, 294; *Reg. Min.*); schoolmaster, Longcastle, pres. to the vicarage, 22nd April, 1581 (Reg. Pres., ii., 57).

WATSON, Sir Robert. Vicar of Clayshant, 1557 (*R.M.S.*, iv., 1160); vicar of Clayshant, grants a tack to Uthred MacDowell of Beriarg, 3rd May, 1568 (Deeds, ix., 388); late vicar, deceased, 1580/81 (R.S.S., xlvii., 83; l., 129).

WHITE, *Dene* John [? canon of Soulseat]. Vicar of Kirkmaiden in Rhinns, 14th May, 1562 (Ailsa Charters), and 1567-72 (*T.B.*, 295); reader, Kirkmaiden in Rhinns, 1574 (*Reg. Min.*); late vicar of Kirkmaiden, 1580 (Reg. Pres., ii., 32).

WRIGHT, John. Monk of Dundrennan, 1555-9; reader, Gelston, 1563 (*T.B.*, 294).

WYLIE, James. Reader, Anwoth, 1563 (*T.B.*, 294).

ARTICLE 4.

The Early Kirkpatricks.

By R. C. REID.

1. Introduction.

Writing to Sir Walter Scott in 1811, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the well-known antiquary, stated:

> I have finished my family history long ago and now look at the mass of writing as a catalogue of dull knights and forgotten ladies.

That MS. has lately come to light through the exertions of a distinguished member of the Kirkpatrick family,[1] and proves to be the basis of the family pedigree printed in Burke and followed by many other workers and writers, such as Dr. Ramage.[1a] In Sharpe's lifetime a Dumfries man, Campbell Gracie, made a pedigree chart from Sharpe's MS., a copy of which he presented in 1860 to the Empress Eugenie.[2] A lithographed copy of this tree is in the Dumfries Museum. Ramage must have seen this chart, for he follows it with little variation. A new edition, this time printed but undated, followed, bringing the traditional tree up-to-date.[3] Yet a third edition appeared as late as 1935, having additional matter at both ends but preserving the original entire.[4] The

[1] Major-General Charles Kirkpatrick, C.B., C.B.E. and A.D.C. to King George V., son of Deputy Surgeon-General James Kirkpatrick, H.E.I.Co.

[1a] *Drumlanrig Castle and the Douglases* (1876).

[2] "Dumfries Standard," 12th December, 1860.

[3] *penes*, R. C. Reid.

[4] There is a copy at the Lyon Office.

later additions relate to the Irish Kirkpatricks, the early additions carry the tree back from the original Ivo into the Dark Ages—to a King Cumal of mythical Irish days. This fanciful product bore the official certificate of Deputy Ulster King-at-Arms, sanctioning the use of the arms stated, but explicitly not vouching for the correctness of the pedigree. All of these pedigrees are vitiated by the same mistake, the confounding of the family of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn with the Kirkpatricks of that Ilk.[5]

Nisbet in his *Historical Remarks on Rayman Roll* (1296) clearly distinguishes between the families, thus:

> Roger de Kilpatrick I take to be the Torthorwald branch of the Kirkpatricks which came afterwards to the Carlyles by marriage; of whom came the house of Carlyle. . . . .
>
> Stephen de Kilpatrick is the ancestor of a very ancient family, the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn in Nithsdale. They have very good vouchers for their antiquity, etc. Roger de Kilpatrick, called by Buchanan Roger de Cella Patricii, was one of those who attended King Robert I. to Dumfries when the perfidious Cumin was then slain in the church. Thomas, his son, had a charter from the same King narrating his father's merit and his own services of the lands of Redburgh (*sic*) in Dumfriesshire, dated at Lochmaben 4 January (*sic*) the 14th year of his reign.[6]

So far Nisbet clearly differentiates the two families. But his next entry shows him to be completely befogged and combining the two into one:

> Thomas de Torthorwald. There are several of the name in this record; they had Torthorwald, which came to Umphrey de Kilpatrick, ancestor to Closeburn (*sic*) in King Robert Bruce's time, and from them by marriage to the Carlyles, who kept it long in the family.[7]

[5] The editors of Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*, p. 42, give a further pedigree of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn compiled from some modern sources (named on p. 45). It is reliable in its later portions, but the earlier generations are still founded on C. K. Sharpe and involve the consequent confusion.

[6] A photograph of the original document (now missing) shows the date to be 24th May, 1319, and the lands are called Briddeburgh.

[7] Nisbet's *Heraldry* (1816), II., 29.

Here, then, is the source of all the confusion that is still embalmed in Burke. Nisbet in his Marshalling of Arms writes of a seal of Alexander II. which " I have seen in the hands of Sir Patrick (*sic*) Kirkpatrick of Closeburn appended to a charter of that King to the progenitors of that ancient family."[8] As no Sir Patrick Kirkpatrick is known to history nor figures in Burke or indeed in any pedigree, one must treat the affirmations of Nisbet, eminent authority though he be, with the utmost caution.

When the titles of the Closeburn estate were recently lodged at the Register House it was hoped that all the difficulties of the Kirkpatrick ancestry would be solved. But examination showed that there was no document earlier than the sixteenth century.[9] Clearly the early family writs referred to by Nisbet and lithographed by C. K. Sharpe were retained by the family when the estate was sold in 1783.[10] It is equally clear that the fire of 1748 cannot have destroyed all the family papers.[11]

2. Kirkpatrick of that Ilk.

The foundation charter of the family of Kirkpatrick is by the second Robert Brus of Annandale to one Ivo, without a surname, and conveyed to him and his heirs a place between the fishing of Blatwod by Annan and the water of Sark, for the purpose of fishing and spreading of nets. The charter is undated, but Sir William Fraser places it at approximately 1190.[1] A few years later, between 1194 and 1214, William Brus grants another charter to the same man, this time bearing a surname—Ivo de Kirkpatrick.[2] Between

8 Nisbet's *Heraldry* (1816), I., 99.

9 For the purposes of this notice, every document prior to 1600 has been calendared.

10 To James Stuart-Menteth for £50,000.

11 Ramage, p. 209.

1 *The Annandale Book*, I., p. iii., where the charter is reproduced.

2 *ibid*, I., 1, 3. Both originals are at Drumlanrig.

the dates of these two charters, as Sir Wm. Fraser points out, Ivo must have been granted the lands or part of the lands of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, thus conforming to the 12th century practice of taking one's surname from the lands acquired by the grantee. The family was thereafter known as Kirkpatrick of Kirkpatrick or of that Ilk.

It is not known who Ivo was or where he came from. But the name is Anglo-Norman, and he may have come from any of the vast Yorkshire estates of the Brus family.

At this early date it is not possible to form a pedigree based solely on established facts. Too often paternity must be assumed. About the year 1218 two brothers, Sir Humphrey and Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, who may have been sons of Ivo, witnessed an excambion relating to Moffat.[3] Sir Humphrey is known to have owned land adjoining Moffat, including a meadow in that vill. He was Seneschal of Annandale, and was therefore the Scottish representative of the Brus in that lordship.[4] He seems, however, to have demitted that office in favour of Sir Robert Heris, for he no longer held it when he and his brother, Sir Roger, witnessed a writ relating to the tenement of Torthorwald, stated to be within the barony (*sic*) of Annandale.[5] Shortly before 1245 Sir Humphrey witnessed a Brus charter of the wood of Stableton to Robert Crossebi,[6] and on 9 August, 1248, again witnessed a charter by Sir Robert de Brus, confirming a grant by Brus's mother, Isabella, of the lands of Cragyn, near Dundee, to the Monastery of Lindores.[7]

The next generation would seem to be Sir Roger Kirkpatrick, who was a witness after 1271 to a charter by Robert

[3] *Bain*, I., 705. At about the same period there was a Robert de Kirkpatrick, a witness with Roger, c. 1194-1214 (*ibid*, 607).

[4] *Bain*, I., 706, 1680.

[5] *ibid*, 1683.

[6] *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., p. 40.

[7] *Chartulary of Lindores*, p. 43. Perhaps the Humphrey de Kitkpatrick (not described as a knight) who was a witness soon after 1249, was a son of Sir Humphrey (*Bain*, I., 1763).

[Brus], Earl of Carrik, to Sir William de Carlyle.[8] Sir Roger rendered homage to Edward I. in 1296 with other Annandale landowners, and his seal is still attached to *Ragman Roll*.[9] In May, 1297, he received with other Scots letters from Edward I., who was about to cross over to France.[10] He seems to have been regarded with trust by the English authorities, for he served in the English forces at Falkirk, mounted on a brown bay horse, which was killed beneath him, an experience shared by Sir James de Torthorwald, both of whose mounts were valued at £10.[11] In November, 1301, Sir Roger was in the Castle of Dumfries corresponding with Edward I. concerning the stores there.[12] At the close of September, 1305, he was appointed by Edward joint Justiciar of Galloway with Sir Walter de Burghdon at a fee of 10 merks.[13] A few months later—10th February, 1305/6—came the murder of Comyn. The reaction of Edward to that event was instantaneous. Everyone connected with the rising was forfeited; but Sir Roger was not amongst them. Indeed, at the close of the year 1306, as Lord of Haughencas (Auchencas) Sir Roger is recorded as borrowing money from Sir Humphrey de Bohan, the New English Lord of Annandale.[14] Clearly he had not been stripped of his ancestral estates by an outraged Edward, and was still acting, outwardly at least, in the English interest. In October, 1313, Sir Roger is referred to as in garrison at Lochmaben Castle, held for England along with Sir William Heris and

[8] *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., p. 41. Blind Harry, Book V., 920, mentions "Ane Kyrkpatryk that cruel was and keyne" as an ally of Sir William Wallace, the patriot, and adds "of Torthorwald he barron was and lord." Wallace perished in 1305, and Torthorwald was not acquired by the Kirkpatricks till 1321. Blind Harry's poem cannot survive critical examination.

[9] *Bain*, II., p. 531.

[10] *ibid*, 884.

[11] *ibid*, 1011.

[12] *ibid*, 1256.

[13] *ibid*, 1706.

[14] *Bain*, IV., 1823. *Bain* (III., xl.) suggests that if this Sir Roger murdered Comyn in the preceding February, this sum may have been required to pay a fine for his life.

Sir Thomas de Torthorwald. His own contribution to the force consisted of his own knight (unnamed) and four esquires, their total pay being £4 16s 0d for 12 days. The Constable of the Castle was Jordan de Kendale.[15] This is probably the last reference to Sir Roger that has survived. He must have been well on in years at this date. The date of his death is unknown. He cannot be identified with the murderer of Comyn, but the next Lord of Auchencas may well have been present at the Greyfriars' Church, Dumfries.

The next generation was also named Roger, and perhaps may be identified with the Roger de Kirkpatrick, *not* a Knight, who in 1294 witnessed a confirmation by Robert de Brus of an agreement between Melrose and Holm Cultram Abbeys anent the fishings at Rainpatrick.[16] He is the most likely person to have been the murderer of Comyn. That episode was the action of a young and headstrong man rather than of an ageing man of much experience in administration and war. As heir to Sir Roger he would not yet be endowed with lands the forfeiture of which by Edward I. could be traced in the extant records. Further, an English contemporary, the Chronicler of Lanercost, remarks on the singular division amongst the Scots at this time—that a father could be found on the Scottish side and his son on the English; one brother a Scotsman; another English; nay, even the same person now with one country, now with the other. So it is suggested here that it was the younger Roger Kirkpatrick, still unknighted and landless though heir to a goodly estate, who, disregarding the experience and caution of Sir Roger, his father, was responsible for the death of Comyn. He may have thought, if indeed he paused even for a moment to consider, that the ancestral estate was amply safeguarded no matter what he did, as long as his father was alive and still attached to the English interest. If the rising failed he could still make his peace with Edward during his father's lifetime. If, peradventure, the rising succeeded, the estate would still be preserved in

[15] *ibid.*, III., 336.
[16] *Register of Holm Cultram*, by W. G. Collingwood, No. 95h.

the family no matter what happened to his father. It is unlikely that any such argument ever passed through his mind when Roger despatched the Comyn, but it must have occurred to the cooler and calculating mind of his father when he learnt what had happened, and in the years that followed Roger himself had ample time and opportunity to consider and act upon it.

But the episode presents the historian with some difficulties.

The Mak Siccar Tradition.

Now it is a remarkable fact that the earliest and best authorities make no mention of Mak Siccar. Kirkpatrick's " bloody dirk " was introduced into the episode at a much later date. Two hundred years were to elapse before Roger Kirkpatrick was ever named in connection with the murder, and on that score alone Roger's presence might well be held to be unproven. There is no contemporary evidence at all.

A brief review of the evidence may be essayed:

1. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* compiled between 1333 and 1336 narrates that the Red Comyn and his uncle were slain by Bruce, but mentions none of the latter's comrades.
2. The *Scala Chronicle* was written after the year 1355 by Sir Thomas Gray when he lay an English prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. It is based on the recollections of his own father, who had been for 46 years in active service against the Scots as Constable of Norham Castle, been taken prisoner at Bannockburn, and died in 1343. Gray affirms that Brus struck Comyn with his dagger and others (unnamed) cut him down before the altar.[17] Again there is no mention of Mak Siccar.
3. John Barbour finished his great poem, the *Bruce*, in 1375, having been born before 1320. His account is that Bruce met Comyn at the high altar and with laughing countenance showed him the bond; then with a knife on that very spot, reft the life out of him. " Others too were

[17] Sir Herbert Maxwell's translation, p. 30.

slain of much account. Nevertheless some say that the strife befell otherwise." If Barbour could not speak with certainty, there is ample reason for hesitancy to-day.

4. Fordun, the father of Scottish History, compiled his *Cronica Gentis Scottorum* between 1363 and his death in 1385. He makes no mention of a Kirkpatrick. According to his account the wounded Comyn was laid by the friars behind the altar, and when asked by them whether he could live, replied, " I can."

" His foes, hearing this, give him another wound, and then he was taken away from this world on 10th Feb."

We still search in vain for Mak Siccar.

5. Andrew Wyntoun, prior of Lochlevin, is known to have completed his rhyming Chronicle between 1420 and 1424. He briefly refers to the knifing of Comyn by Bruce, but there are no further details nor any light on the companions of Bruce.

6. The *Liber Pluscardensis* was probably compiled in the Priory of Pluscardin in the year 1461 by Maurice Buchanan, a cleric, who had been Treasurer to the Princess Margaret of Scotland. This chronicle gives the most detailed of all accounts of the episode. We are told that the friars dragged the wounded Red Comyn into the vestry behind the altar.

> " Hereupon up came *James Lindsay of Kilpatrik* and asked what was the matter, and, finding that he (Comyn) was not quite dead but only wounded, he pressed him to say if he could recover. Yes, he answered, if remedies were at once applied to him. So James Lindsay, being a cousin and very dear friend of the said Robert (Bruce), as he did not want him to come to life again, wounded him more seriously than before and despatched him."

This is the first mention of the name Kirkpatrick in connection with the murder—just 155 years after the event; and Buchanan affirms that it was Lindsay who perpetrated the deed.

7. Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, in 1447 wrote a continuation of Fordun's Chronicle, which he incorporated in his *Scotichronicon*. He names two of the murderers—

"James Lindsay together with Gilpatrik of Kirkpatrik." Kirkpatrick, which to Buchanan was a place-name, becomes in Bower a personal name. Indeed it looks as if both authors were following the same information and that Buchanan by a slip omitted the Gilpatrik, the alleged surname of Kirkpatrik. Gilpatrik is, of course, an early form of Kilpatrik, which itself is a variant of Kirkpatrik. In terms of the present day Bower's evidence would read thus — "James Lindsay with Kirkpatrik of Kirkpatrik"—or, as a genealogist would say, Kirkpatrik of that Ilk, *not*, be it observed, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn.

8. The MS. entitled *Extracta e variis Chronicis Scotie* was compiled after Flodden, perhaps by (from internal evidence) Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, who died in 1548. Whence Myln obtained these extracts is not known, for the MS. published in 1842 by the Abbotsford Club is entirely unedited. To trace each extract would involve immense research, and no editor is yet forthcoming. The account there given (p. 130) states specifically that James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick despatched the Red Comyn and his uncle. They had been waiting with the horses at the gate of the cemetery of the Friary, and it was only when Bruce emerged from the church that they went into action. Here, then, emerges for the first time the Christian name of Roger Kirkpatrick. It is unfortunate that no precise date can be placed on the extract, but confirmation of its details come from a contemporary.

9. John Major's work, *A History of Greater Britain*, was first printed in 1521 during its author's lifetime. His account of Comyn's death follows that given in *Liber Pluscardensis*, though the two followers of Bruce are named as "lord John (*sic*) Lindsay and lord Roger Kirkpatrik."

10. Similarly George Buchanan, who was writing his *History of Scotland* in 1578, mentions both James Lindsay and Roger Kirkpatrick as with Bruce, but declares that Lind-

say alone went back into the church to ensure Comyn's death. (*Aikman*, I., 413.)

It is therefore evident that Roger Kirkpatrick only appears as Mak Siccar about the time of the Reformation, and he has remained as such to the present day. Recent writers have tended to give but little credence to the tradition. Andrew Lang in his *History of Scotland*, I., 203, says—"the friends of Bruce made siccar, whether Kirkpatrick's bloody dirk was employed or not." Sir Herbert Maxwell adds the pungent comment: "It should be noted that Kirkpatrick, like other feudal knights, probably spoke Norman French—certainly not Lowland Scots."

. . . . . .

Roger Kirkpatrick must have followed the varying fortunes of Bruce from the moment when they both hastily rode away from the Greyfriars' Convent until the death of the "Hammer of the Scots" eased the intensity of English oppression which the field of Bannockburn relieved in 1314. For two years prior to that battle the Scots were recapturing and destroying castles. Dumfries was re-taken on 7 February, 1313, and Roxburgh just a year later. *Bain*[18] suggests that Buittle and Dalswinton with Lochmaben and historic Caerlaverock were probably taken about the same time. The aged Sir Roger was in garrison at Lochmaben, so we may be sure that Auchencas was held for England. It, too, must have been taken and destroyed, probably hastening its owner's death, for he is not heard of again. Bannockburn was the crown to this recovery, and thereafter the tide of battle flowed relentlessly into Northern England.

It was about this time that Roger, the son, was knighted, figuring as such when witnessing a charter by Bruce to Arbroath Abbey of the Church of Kirkmaho on 20 Oct., 1321.[19] Again, on 29 March, 1329, he witnessed a charter to the Carlyle family.[20] Three months later Bruce was dead,

[18] Vol. III., Introduction, XVIII. But Lochmaben was still in English hands in October, 1313.

[19] *Reg. of Arbroath*, I., 212.

[20] *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., p 42.

to be followed to the grave in 1332 by the Guardian of the Kingdom. At once Edward Balliol and the disinherited lords invaded Scotland. In the ensuing chaos Sir Roger was a marked man. In danger of his life he fled to England, for a destroyed Auchencas was no place of safety. That castle, excavated in 1924, revealed its destruction by Bruce, the following rehabilitation and its second and final slighting which must belong to this period.[21] On 12 December, 1332, Edward issued a safe conduct to Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick and Margaret, his wife, "Scots from Scotland," to enter England with a retinue and remain there. The same day another safe conduct, in similar terms, was issued to Humphrey Kirkpatrick, his son, and Idonia, his wife.[22] But if Sir Roger sought refuge and security in England it was short-lived. He had retired to Cumberland, but he and his wife were seized there by persons unknown and held to ransom.[23] On 28 January, 1332-3, Edward issued instructions to John of Haverington and two other prominent Cumberland landowners to enquire into the abduction of Sir Roger "who fled to England to save his life and whilst under the King's special protection there had been seized by evil-doers and detained at a place unknown." As late as 4 August, 1333, enquiries were still unavailing.[24] It must be assumed that his release was ultimately effected, and with his son Humphrey he returned to Scotland; but no date can be assigned to that return. But one thing is clear: Sir Roger, by his detention, escaped the slaughter of Halidonhill (19 July, 1333)[25] and so was able on return to Scotland to take an important part in the affairs of that distracted country. On 26 September, 1357, Sir Roger was appointed on behalf of the Magnates and Community of Scotland a plenipoten-

[21] *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Trans.*, vol. XIII., p. 104.

[22] *Bain*, III., 1067.

[23] *ibid*, 1072.

[24] *ibid*, 1089.

[25] Knighton mentions that a Roger Kirkpatrick was taken prisoner, perhaps a younger son of Sir Roger.

tiary for the ransom of King David following on the negotiations of 1354 when his son and heir was named as one of the prospective hostages for its fulfilment.[26] This is the last notice of Sir Roger that is extant. The surname of his wife Margaret is not recorded.

Humphrey de Kirkpatrick, the son and heir of Sir Roger, probably in recognition of his father's services to Bruce, received, whilst still a young man, a charter from Bruce in 1321 of the whole lands of Torthorwald and Roucan in free warren.[27] The present ruined castle of Torthorwald of approximately a century later must represent the site of whatever residence Humphrey had at Torthorwald. There is some reason for suspecting that the site was formerly a Mote. In 1332 Humphrey and his wife shared in his father's flight to England, but was not apparently involved in his detention there.[28] When they both returned to Scotland Torthorwald would make a convenient residence for them. Indeed from this period to its extinction in heiresses its territorial designation was " of Torthorwald." When David II. was released from captivity in England, Humphrey was one of the hostages for the ransom, being named as such in a Scottish Act of Parliament in 1357.[29] That is the last that is heard of him—lodged in the keeping of the Seigneur de Percy.[30] He was married by 1332 to a lady named Idonia, of whom nothing else is known.[31] It must be assumed that he died whilst a hostage and without issue.

The next owner of Torthorwald and of the ancestral estates in Kirkpatrick-Juxta was Roger Kirkpatrick of Torthorwald, who can scarcely be a son of Humphrey. He must be identified with the Roger de Kirkpatrick " then Sheriff of

[26] *Bain*, III., 1576 and 1651. Sir Roger's seal is appended to the document.

[27] *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., 42.

[28] *Bain*, III., 1067.

[29] *Acts Parl., Scot*, I., 159. David was provisionally liberated on 13th July, 1354, on a promised ransom of 90,000 merks.

[30] *Bain*, IV., p. 434.

[31] *Bain*, III., 1067.

Dumfries," who witnessed a charter by John Stewart of Dalswinton between 1333 and 1335. Dr. Angus properly argues that this sheriff was " of Torthorwald."[32] If so, he can scarcely have been a son of Humphrey, but must be placed in an earlier generation as younger brother of Humphrey. So when Humphrey went to England as a hostage without issue the estates would naturally be vested in Roger. A Roger de Kirkpatrick was taken prisoner at Halidon under the standard of the Earl of Moray on 19 July, 1333.[33] If the identification is correct Roger must have been speedily ransomed to be acting as Sheriff of Dumfries by 1335.

Twenty years pass before there is another reference to Roger de Kirkpatrick.

The Murder at Caerlaverock.

Of the sheriff Wyntoun sings as follows:

> Hoge of Kyrkpatryk Nyddysdale
> held at the Scottis fay all hale,
> Fra the castelle of Dalswyntoun
> was takyn and syne [dongyn] doun,
> Syne Karlaverok tane had he.
> He was a man of gret bounté,
> Honorabill, wys and rycht worthy
> he couth rycht mekill off cumpany.[34]

It has been claimed that Hog (Roger) of Kirkpatrick Nyddysdale can only refer to the Closeburn family into whose pedigree chart Roger has been inserted on the strength of Wyntoun's poem. But anyone who reads carefully the above passage must realise that Wyntoun's verse can only be read in modern language as " Hog of Kirkpatrick held Nithsdale firmly in the Scottish interest."

Indeed Major paraphrases Wyntoun as follows:

> And Roger Kirkpatrick brought the whole land of Nithsdale to do the like [i.e., to swear fealty to King David]; the strong places of Dalswinton and Carlaverock he wrested

[32] *Miscellany of Scots Hist. Soc.*, vol. V., p. 59.

[33] Knighton as quoted by Hailes.

[34] Book VIII., 6603.

from the hands of the enemy and then razed them to the ground.[35]

Caerlaverock Castle occupied a vitally strategic position on the Western Marches, a strong point on the exposed flank of enemy forces penetrating into Nithsdale. In 1336 it was held by its owner, Eustace de Maxwell, who had submitted to England. He was rewarded by being made the English Sheriff of Dumfriesshire, and was granted by Edward III. the lands of Kelwod.[36] Each nation therefore had their own Sheriff of Dumfriesshire. His successor, Herbert de Maxwell, on 1 Sept., 1347, surrendered the castle to Edward and was granted protection *as an Englishman.*[37] It was therefore not surprising that the Scottish Sheriff took an active part in the capture for Scotland of the English Sheriff's Castle, and was apparently allowed to remain in it, presumably in command of the garrison. The capture of the castle must have been effected before 5 January, 1356, for on that date within the castle itself Roger Kirkpatrick, lord of Torthorwald, received from John de Graham, yr. of Mosskesswra, an assignation of an annual rent furth of the lands of Over Dryfe in return for a loan of £200. Amongst the witnesses were John Stewart of Dalswinton and Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn.[38]

The following year, on 15 June, 1357, the Sheriff re-

[35] *The Book of Pluscarden* (Skene, II., 229) attributes these successes to William Douglas, created in January, 1357, first Earl of Douglas, obviously in recognition of his services, and rather implies that he won over Roger Kirkpatrick to the patriotic cause. The capture of Dalswinton and Caerlaverock are mentioned as the handiwork of Douglas and there is no reference to the destruction of either castle. The probability is that there were three contemporaneous and separate operations, Douglas in Galloway and Ayrshire, John Stewart, lord of Carrik in Annandale, and Kirkpatrick in Nithsdale. If Caerlaverock was slighted it could not have been till after the murder, i.e., the close of 1357.

[36] *Bain,* III., p. 317.

[37] *Bain,* III., 1507. He had surrendered the castle to the English on 1st September, 1347.

[38] *Drumlanrig Papers,* I., p. 43.

ceived from Robert the Steward of Scotland as Regent confirmation of a grant by John de Corry of that Ilk to his kinsman, Roger of Kirkpatrick, of the lands and lordship of Wamphray and Dumcreith with the advocation of the church of Wamphray. Unfortunately the date of the grant is not recorded in the confirmation.[39] After Michelmas, 1357, when King David had been released and returned to Scotland, occurred an episode at Caerlaverock Castle recorded by Wyntoun. No other near contemporary mentions it. Wyntoun states that Hoge of Kirkpatrick was murdered by Sir Jakkis (James) the Lyndysay. No reason is assigned and no details given, but the murder must have taken place at night, for Lyndsay rode fast through the night in flight but at daylight found himself still within three miles of the scene of the crime. He was captured and held at Caerlaverock till King David, at the request of the widow, hastened to Dumfries with his Court, tried and executed Lyndsay.[40] If this happened in 1357 it must have been at the very end of that year.

John Major, writing just a century later than Wyntoun, makes this moralising addition:

> [Roger Kirkpatrick] was amongst the heirs of those who slew John Cuming at Dumfries in the church of the Minor Friars. But sometimes the sins of the parents are visited upon their offspring even to the fourth generation as regards temporal and mundane punishments.

As Roger Kirkpatrick, the Sheriff, disappears from the records in 1357, it is difficult to do other than connect his passing with this murder.

The Sheriff married prior to 1356 Egidia Keith, relict of Sir Patrick de Moray, but a Papal dispensation was required

[39] *Annandale Book*, II., 11. The kinship with the Corry family has not been traced.

[40] *Wyntoun Book*, VIII., Ch. xlv. The *Liber Pluscardensis* narrates the murder as done by candlelight, without saying where it took place.

to complete the validity of the marriage, as Egidia was related to the 4th degree to Roger.[41]

The next owner of Torthorwald and Auchencass was Duncan Kirkpatrick, who must be considered a son of Sheriff Roger. If Roger was married between 1350 and 1356 his son may well have come of age by 1372. On the 22nd April of that year Duncan Kirkpatrick, lord of that Ilk, granted a 2½ merkland called Glenepp and Gerardgill, within the tenement of Wamphray, to John of Carruthers in mortgage for the sum of 20 merks sterling paid to him by John.[42] Till it is established to the contrary it must be assumed that Duncan was the sheriff's son. By 1398 Duncan had been knighted and married, for on 10 August of that year he resigned the barony of Torthorwald in favour of a new infeftment to himself and Isabel, his wife.[43] That lady was Isabel Stewart, probably a daughter of Sir William Stewart, lord of Castlemilk. Sir Duncan must have been dead by 14 November, 1412, when Isabel, one of his daughters, was married, her mother being a witness to the ceremony[44] He left no male issue, and his estates were divided between his three daughters:

1. Elizabeth, wife of William Carlyle, designed of Torthorwald, in right of his wife. Their son, John, first Lord

[41] The Papal Mandate, dated 30th June, 1356, was directed to the Bishop of Candida Casa, in whose diocese Egidia was domiciled. Her name in the record is Egidia Beth, which surely must be a clerical slip for Keth (R. H. Vatican Transcripts. Dispensations, No. 21). A family of Keith owned a considerable estate in Kirkcowan and Kirkinner (Barnbarroch Charters). Egidia's first husband may perhaps be identified with the Sir Patrick de Moray, eldest son of Sir William de Moray, by a daughter commonly called Isabel, of Sir Thomas Randolph, father of the first Earl of Moray (Scots Peerage, VI., 291). Patrick is supposed to be the same Patrick de Moray who had a grant of half the lands of Stewartoun in Cunninghame from King Robert Bruce, in 1323 (*ibid*, I., 215).

[42] *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., 51.

[43] *ibid*.

[44] Lag Charters, MS, 443. Dr. Angus has suggested that there may have been two Duncans, father and son. But he was unaware of Roger's dispensation of 1356 (*Scots Hist. Soc. Miscellany*, vol 5, p. 66).

Carlyle, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn.

2. Janet, wife of Thomas Graham, designed of Auchincass, in right of his wife, and forebear of the Grahams of Thornik.
3. The above Isabella, who married in 1412 Gilbert Greirsoun of Lag, and brought into that family the Kirkpatrick lands of Rockhall.

3. Kirkpatrick of Closeburn.

The Kirkpatricks of Closeburn are directly descended from one Ivo de Kirkpatrick, who in 1232 was granted by Alexander II. the lands of Closeburn. He was perhaps a son or grandson of the original Ivo, who acquired part of the lands of Kirkpatrick-Juxta and became lord of Auchencas. The next owner of Closeburn was named

ADAM, who must be presumed to have been a son of Ivo. A man of that name witnessed at Ancrum in April, 1258, a charter by William, Bishop of Glasgow.[1] In 1264 Sir Adam de Kirkpatrick of Closeburn entered into an agreement with Kelso Abbey concerning the church of Closeburn, the right of presentation to which was in dispute. He may have been alive as late as 1278, when his son and heir,

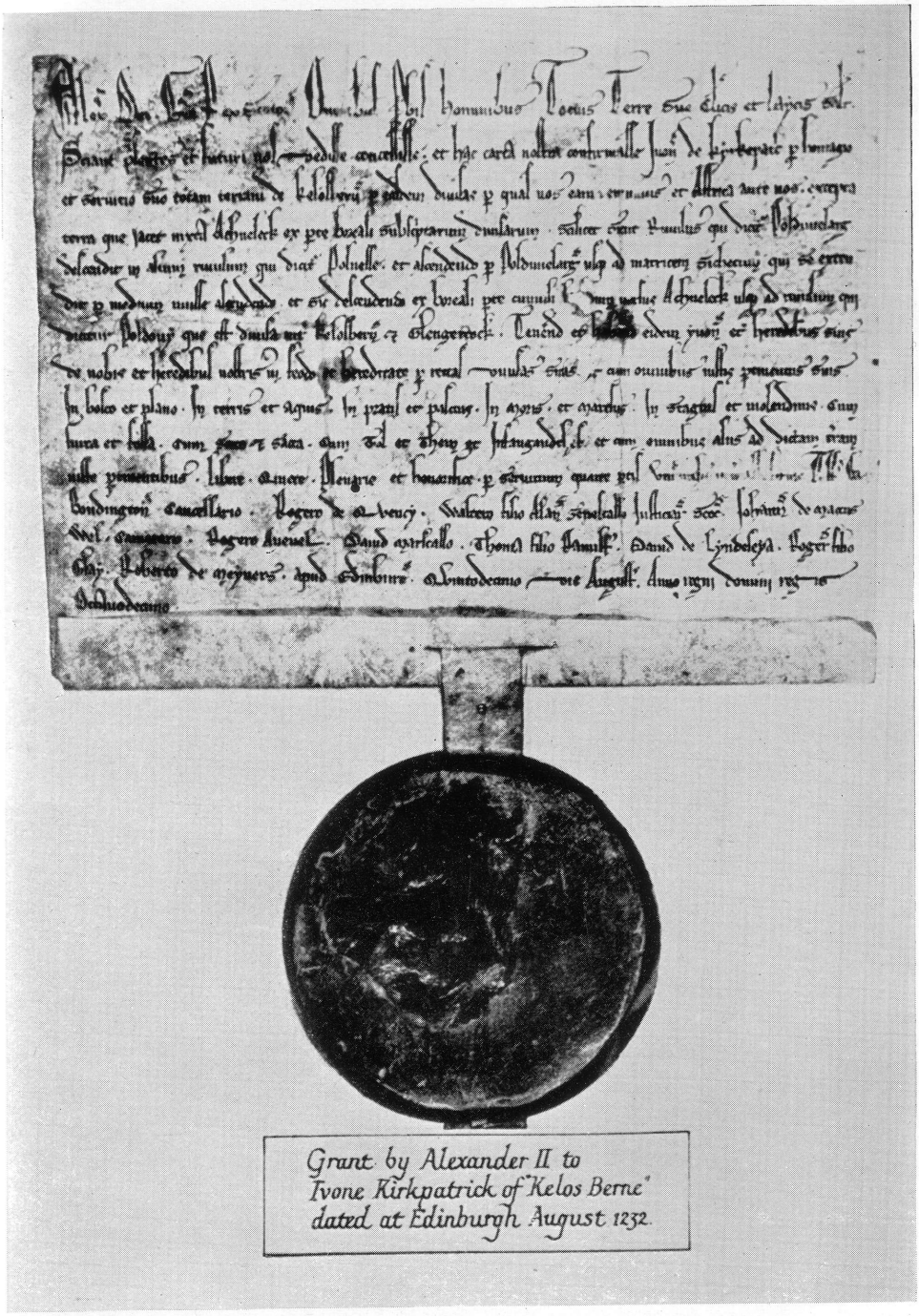
STEPHEN, lord of the town and tenement of Closeburn, confirmed to Kelso Abbey that agreement.[2] On 28 August, 1296, Stephen rendered homage to Edward I. at Berwick-on-Tweed along with other Dumfriesshire and Galloway proprietors, none of whom, however, came from Annandale.[3]

[1] *Reg. Ep. Glasg.*, I., 165.
[2] *Reg. de Kelso*, II., 274-5.
[3] *Bain*, II., p. 198. A speculative seal has been assigned to Stephen by Bain (II. app. iii., 210), based clearly on a misreading of the lettering inscribed on the matrix. It reads S. Jehan de Kirkpatrick, and must surely be that of John de Kirkpatrick of Dumfriesshire, who was married to one, Margery, and had landed interests, perhaps through his wife, in Torpenou in Cumberland. He too rendered homage to Edward and was a knight (*Bain*, II., p. 151 and p. 206, and No. 1007.)

But after the slaughter of Comyn, Stephen at once joined the force that Bruce raised. Edward's reaction was instant, and in a roll of petitions endorsed 34th year of Edward I. for grants of lands belonging to rebel Scots the name of Stephen occurs. On 6 April, 1306, John de Cromwell sought a grant of Stephen's lands and those of Walter Logan, and fortified his request by securing from the Prince of Wales on 26 July a petition on his behalf to have his charter of those lands renewed.[4] After Bannockburn, Stephen must have been restored to his lands. He became a knight, and was rewarded with a grant of lands in Annandale. At some date between 1309 and 1319—the charter is undated—Bruce granted to Sir Stephen Kirkpatrick all the land which belonged to Preste of Pennirsax, lying in the tenement of Pennirsax, together with the mill of Pennirsax, to be held of the Lord of Annandale.[5] These lands were to remain in the family of Closeburn for 180 years. At the date of the charter Sir Stephen must have been an old man. Indeed, it may well be that there were two Stephens, father and son. Stephen must have been dead by May, 1319, and, though there is no documentary evidence of relationship, it must be assumed that he was succeeded by his son,

SIR THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (i.), who on 24 May, 1319, received from Bruce a charter of a twopenny land in the toun (*villa*) of Briddeburgh to be held of the Crown by the service of two archers and two pleas in the granters' court in the Sheriffdom of Dumfries.[6] These lands within a century were to become the Barony of Bridburgh. In the confusion that followed on Bruce's death, Sir Thomas must have played his part. At the battle of Halidon Hill (19 July, 1333) a Thomas Kirkpatrick fought under the Standard of the Earl of Moray and was taken prisoner.[7] According to Knighton a Roger Kirkpatrick also was made a prisoner. The battle

[4] *Palgrave*, 302, 309.
[5] *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, App. II., 296. A photograph of this document, now missing, is in the hands of Major-General C. Kirkpatrick.
[6] Ex photograph *penes* Major-General C. Kirkpatrick.
[7] Hailes, *Annals*, III., app. XII.



Grant by Alexander II to
Ivone Kirkpatrick of "Kelos Berne"
dated at Edinburgh August 1232.

Plate I.

Plate II.—CLOSEBURN SEALS (left to right)—1545, 1577, 1605.

was a tragedy of the first magnitude for Scotland. Its leaders were all slain or made prisoners. Annandale became an English province, and perhaps the whole of Dumfriesshire. "And now," says an anonymous English historian quoted by Hailes (I., 185), "it was the general voice that the Scottish wars were ended; for no man remained of that nation who had either influence to assemble, or skill to lead, an army."

Of the next generation there is some uncertainty, for it is not known when Sir Thomas (i.) died or whom he married, though it is possible that she may have been a Douglas. By her he had

1. Thomas Kirkpatrick (ii.) of Closeburn, of whom hereafter.
2. Roger Kirkpatrick, who is claimed in the pedigrees as a Laird of Closeburn, and identified with the Roger murdered in 1357 at Carlaverock. But it has been shown (p. 74) that the murdered Roger must belong to the Torthorwald family, for the Laird both in 1355 and 1357 was a Thomas. But it is just possible that the murdered Roger was not the Sheriff of Dumfries but a younger son of Closeburn. Even the accommodating Burke (1912) has declined to follow the family pedigree charts and rejects him as a Laird of Closeburn. But as the murder had to be incorporated in the Closeburn tradition, Burke obliges by making him a younger son. Yet nowhere does a younger son named Roger figure in any known record. Burke, trying to follow C. K. Sharpe, presents this Roger with two sons and a grandson as well, for whom there is not a scrap of evidence.

THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (ii.) of Closeburn is attested by only one appearance in record. On 14 July, 1383, he witnessed an inspeximus by Archibald of Douglas, Lord of Galloway, of two Crown charters to Melrose Abbey.[8] As he is not described as a Knight, it is not possible to identify him with Thomas (i.), similarly he may be distinguished from his suc-

[8] *Liber de Melros*, II., 457.

cessor, who was a Knight. Nothing else is known about him. He himself may have been knighted before his death, but that is not a safe assumption. It is suggested here that he was dead by 1394. If that hypothesis be accepted he had two recorded sons:

1. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick (iii.) of Closeburn.
2. Roger Kirkpatrick, mentioned in the entail of 1409.[9]

SIR THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (iii.) of Closeburn had been knighted by 1394, in which year John MacHenry had a dispensation to marry Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas de Kirkpatrick.[10] Between 1400-5 Sir Thomas had become Sheriff of Dumfries, witnessing the foundation charter of the Grierson family by John McRath of Lacht, who, not having a seal of his own, used that of the Sheriff.[11] A few years later (1409) Thomas resigned his lands into the hands of the Crown for a new Crown Charter whereby he entailed his estates—the baronies of Closeburn and Brygburghe—on himself and his heirs male, whom failing his brother Roger Kirkpatrick and his heirs male and others named. The final destination was to the nearest heirs male of the resignor of the parentage and name of Kirkpatrick.[12]

Sir Thomas fought for his country at Homildon Hill in 1402, and figures in a list of prisoners and slain on that battlefield. In a long list of "chivalers" occurs the name of Mons. Thomas Kyrkpatryk.[13] It is assumed here that he was a prisoner, but it may equally well refer to his father's death, as yet unascertained. On 14 November, 1412, he witnessed the marriage of Gilbert Greirsoun, younger of Lag, with Isabella, daughter of Sir Duncan Kirkpatrick of Torthorwald.[13a]

9 *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, 919.
10 John, who was son of Malcolm M'Henry, had had previous intercourse with Evota, daughter of [ ] M'Clellan, layman (*Scots Peerage*, IX., 80).
11 *Lag Charters.*
12 *R.M.S.*, 1306/1424, 919.
13 *Hist. MSS. Coms.*, 10th Report, App. VI., p. 77.
13a R. H. Charters, No. 232.

Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick is described as cousin (consanquineous) to the Earl of Douglas, and some marital relationship must have existed between the two families. In 1419 the Scottish Parliament agreed to send to France a large force to assist the Dauphin against the English. A large body of Scots under Archibald, Master of Douglas, styled Earl of Wigtown, landed at La Rochelle, defeated the English at Baugé in 1421, and were severely routed at Crevant in 1422. Wigtown at once returned to Scotland to solicit help, and his father, the 4th Earl, in February, 1424, took out to France, it is said, 10,000 Scots to meet decisive defeat and death at Verneuil in August, 1424.[14] It would seem that Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick shared in the earlier part of this disastrous campaign, for a man of that name and rank, identified as of Closeburn by Sir William Fraser, had been in France on behalf of Henry Douglas of Lugtown, who had lent money at Mans, Tours, and other places to William Douglas of Lochlevin.[15]

By 1424 Sir Thomas was back in Scotland witnessing a charter of Drumjewane in Galloway by the Earl of Douglas to Gilbert Greirsone, and another charter by the same granter to Reginald de Crawford of the lands of Douglasferme near Rutherglen.[16]

In 1424 he received from George de Dunbar, Earl of March, a grant of the lands of Auchinlek and Newtoun, which in due course were incorporated in the barony of Closeburn.[17] By 1423, if not long before that, Sir Thomas was assured of heirs male and decided that year to compensate his brother Roger for life with a grant of all his lands of Pennersax, acquired by Sir Stephen just 100 years before.[18]

In 1426 he witnessed at Edinburgh a charter relating

[14] *Scots Peerage,* III., 106.
[15] *Douglas Book,* III., 58.
[16] *ibid,* III., 415, and *R. H. Charters,* No. 261.
[17] A photograph of the original, now missing, is in possession of Major-General C. Kirkpatrick.
[18] *Drumlanrig Papers,* I., 52.

to the Hospital of St. Laurence of Ednam, and a month later a Douglas charter at Castle of Treffe (Threave).[19]

Sir Thomas was clearly a man of local prominence and trusted by the Crown, for in 1429 with Michael Ramsay he was joint Custumar on the Borders for the export and import of cattle and goods to and from England, rendering to the Exchequer that year £42 10s 7d derived from those Customs, a sum reduced in 1431 to £19 5s 6d.[20] By 1434 he was Sheriff of Dumfries;[21] indeed he may have been Sheriff for about 30 years, for the Exchequer Rolls for the period are missing. By this time Sir Thomas must have been a very ageing man, but in 1438 his name is included in a list of the Conservators of the Truce with England that was to last till 1447.[22] He would seem to have retained the Sheriffship up to his death, the date of which is uncertain, but the Crown on 6 November, 1452, conferred that office on Sir Robert Crichton of Sanquhar.[23] In 1456 there is mention of an infeftment given by the deceast Thomas Kirkpatrick, then Sheriff of Dumfries.[24]

It is probable that the credit for building the old Tower of Closeburn must be given to Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick. The first recorded notice of that structure is in a document relating to his son, George Kirkpatrick of Pennersax and Dalgarnok, which was sealed at the Tower of Killosbern on 10 Feb., 1456. At that date it is believed that Sir Thomas was dead, and, though he is mentioned in the document (which he does not witness), it is clear that the reference is to his participation in a previous agreement for the marriage of George, which did not take place. The *Inventory* refers to the Tower as dating from the end of the 14th century, but that was an era on the Borders of great confusion, and it

[19] *R.M.S.*, 1424/1513, 62 and 86.
[20] *Ex. R.*, IV., 516 and 527.
[21] *ibid*, 600.
[22] *Scotts of Buccleuch*, I., 34, quoting Rot. Scot.
[23] *Scots Peerage*, III., 220.
[24] *Ex. R.*, VI., 168.

seems more probable to belong architecturally to the lifetime of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick.

Sir Thomas married a lady named Margaret, whose surname has not been recorded.[25] The names of three sons and two daughters have survived:

1. Thomas Kirkpatrick (iv.) of Closeburn, of whom hereafter.
2. George Kirkpatrick, described as a natural son,[26] received from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, on 13 June, 1432, a charter of all the lands of Pennersax, including the advowson[27] on the resignation of his father, Sir Thomas. Under this grant Pennersax was entailed to several named Kirkpatricks whose relationship to George is not stated. Though the grant makes no mention of it, the lands were still possessed by George's uncle, Roger, for life under Sir Thomas's charter of 1423, and the Laird of Closeburn definitely protested that the grant by Douglas to George should in no way prejudice the life interest of Roger.[28]

   This was not the first landed estate acquired by George Kirkpatrick, for in 1423 George Dunbar, Earl of March, gave him a charter of his whole lands of the town of Dalgarnok resigned by Edward of Crawford of Trarinzane,[29] though it was not till 10 February, 1456/7, that for a sum of money paid by him he received final renunciation by Edward of Crawford of all right to Dalgarnock, with a quit claim of all obligations given by George and his father for marriage, apparently with an unnamed daughter of Crawford.[30] To complete his title, George produced seven witnesses to testify before Commissioners of the Bishop of Glasgow that Edward of Crawford

25 *Scots Peerage*, IV., 382.
26 *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., 52.
27 The advowson or patronage of the church of Pennersax had been gifted in 1428 to Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick by Archibald, Earl of Douglas (*Drumlanrig Papers*, I., 57).
28 *Laing Charters*, 109.
29 *Drumlanrig Papers*, I., 32-33.
30 *ibid*, 34.

had been infeft in Dalgarnok, *c.* 1400.[31] George also added to his estates the 5 merklands of Westskails on 5 March, 1454/5, on charter from George Corrie of that Ilk.[32] The last reference to George Kirkpatrick is in 1464, when he was charged with spulzie furth of the barony of Morton of goods belonging to Janet, Countess of Caithness, and Sir Wm. Douglas of Morton, her son. He was decerned to be detained in Stirling Castle till he found surety for his share of the £400 damages awarded.[33] He is recorded to have married Isabel Johnstoun,[34] and was succeeded by his son, Adam Kirkpatrick of Pennersax and Dalgarnok, who received infeftment in Pennersax from his father on 22 July, 1462, and was further infeft as heir to his father in 1470.[35] Within a year Adam was dead, being survived by his spouse, Janet Douglas, and his son, Adam, who was retoured heir on 5 March, 1471/2.[36] The second Adam soon found himself in difficulties. In 1499 he wadset a 40/- land of Dalgarnok to John Kirkpatrick of Aliesland, and the following year disponed the whole property to William Douglas of Drumlanrig.[37] In 1498 he had parted with Westskailes to Simon Carruthers of Mouswald,[38] to whom he also disponed in 1499 the lands of Pennersax,[39] having wadset a part of it in 1493 to Mathew Irving.[40] There is no record of Adam's wife, but he is known to have had a son, Patrick.[41]

31 *ibid*, 35.
32 *ibid*, 58.
33 *ibid*, 38.
34 *Drumlanrig Papers*, 53.
35 *Drumlanrig Inventory*.
36 *Drumlanrig Papers*, 35.
37 *Drumlanrig Inventory*.
38 *Drumlanrig Papers*, 58.
39 *Drumlanrig Inventory*.
40 *Drumlanrig Papers*, 52.
41 *ibid*, 12.

3. Alexander Kirkpatrick, ancestor of the Kirkpatricks of Kirkmichael.

4. Elizabeth Kirkpatrick married (contract dated 8 March, 1432/3), when very young, John, 1st Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald.[42]

5. Margaret Kirkpatrick, spouse of John MacHenry.

THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (iv.), Laird of Closeburn, must have succeeded Sir Thomas, *c.* 1452-56, and on 14 Feb., 1453, was on the assize that served Robert, Lord Maxwell, as heir to Herbert, the first Lord (*Book of Carlaverock*, II., 432). He is known to have been infeft in the lands of Bridburgh, Aliesland, Auchinlek, and Sandrum in 1456, having paid to the Exchequer £10 13s 4d for the ward thereof.[1] He may already have been invested in the fee of Closeburn. The following year he witnessed a Grierson document.[2] As with Sir Thomas, so with Thomas, it is by no means certain that this generation does not conceal two separate persons of the same Christian name; but if Sir Thomas, as is suspected, did not have issue till about 1430, his son could well have survived till *c.* 1498, even though it was a short-lived age in which he dwelt, and the chances of reaching a good old age were somewhat remote.

At first there are only a few stray references to this laird. He again turns up as a witness in November, 1466.[3] In October, 1470, he was clearly bent on matrimony, for he resigned all his estate for a new Crown grant to himself and Marie Maxwell, his spouse,[4] perhaps an unrecorded daughter of Herbert, first Lord Maxwell.

He is next found in 1476 serving on an assize relating to the terce of Elizabeth Stewart, relict of Sir Symon Glendonwyng of Parton,[5] and in charge of a garrison of 100 men

[42] Scots Peerage, iv., p. 380.
[1] *Ex. R.*, VI., 166.
[2] *R.H. Charters*, No. 346.
[3] *Drumlanrig Report*, I., 37.
[4] *R.M.S.*, 1424/1513, 1007.
[5] *A.A.*, 48.

stationed in Lochmaben Castle in 1481.[6] This responsible post was doubtless created in view of the pending invasion by the English, which took place the following summer, but on the Eastern March, when the Duke of Gloucester took Berwick in August, 1482. It is possible that Thomas may have still been stationed at Lochmaben when Albany and the Earl of Douglas supported with an English contingent invaded the West March and reached Lochmaben, only having to retreat in the running fight that ended at Kirtle Water. It was in this fight that Thomas's brother, Alexander Kirkpatrick, captured the Earl of Douglas, and as a reward was granted the Kirkmichael estate. It is difficult to believe that Thomas also was not present, for on 28 April, 1486, the Lords of Council decreed that Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn should pay Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule £15 English for failing to deliver to Cuthbert the person of Thomas Sanffurd, Englishman—clearly a prisoner held to ransom.[7]

In 1485 Robert, 2nd Lord Maxwell, gave assurance for himself, Thomas, and others not to harm the Murrays of Cokpule.[8] In 1488 Thomas for the first time figures outwith the county, and in Linlithgowshire being successfully sued for damage and rapine in John Grant's house in Airth.[9] It will be seen that this Laird's son had rights to some land near Airth which he resigned. In 1491 Thomas, in connection with his second marriage, resigned some lands in the barony of Sanquhar, of which there does not seem to be any record of acquisition. It was a 10 merkland known as Robertmuir, and consisted of the 5 merkland of Clenrie, 3½ merkland of Spangok, 1 merkland of Gargley, and a ½ merkland called le Frerd, which last figures in later documents as Freremynyng. These lands were held by ward and relief of

[6] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, II., 140. Thomas was also Sheriff of Dumfries in 1481 (*Reg. Hon. Morton*, I., 210).

[7] *A.D.C.*, 1496-1501, 258.

[8] *Book of Caerlaverock*, I., 130.

[9] *A.D.C.* folio, vol. 98. In 1449 a Stephen Kirkpatrick was a witness at Carriden, Linlithgowshire (*R.M.S.*, 1546/80, 313. Original in *Reg. House Charters*, No. 1456).

Robert, Lord Crichton, who on Thomas's resignation issued a new charter to Thomas and Janet Douglas, his spouse and *his* heirs male lawfully begotten, a destination later to cause trouble.[10] The next year Thomas was called on to warrant a tack of Howcleuch made by him to Robert Johnston.[11] In 1494 he successfully litigated with Sir Robert Crichton, the sheriff, for withholding from him some sheep,[12] and two years later served on an Assize that retoured Alexander Stewart as heir to his father in the lands of Dalswinton.[13] He was still alive on 9 July, 1498,[14] but was dead by the close of the following year.[15]

He had married, firstly, Marie Maxwell, and, secondly, Janet Douglas, whose parentage has not been ascertained but who was certainly his wife on 26 Feb., 1491.[1] By them he is known to have had seven children:

1. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick (v.), of whom hereafter.
2. John Kirkpatrick, described as second son,[2] was the founder of the family of Kirkpatrick of Allisland, which he probably received as patrimony from his father. Allisland had been part of the Closeburn family's estate since prior to 1456.[3]

   John Kirkpatrick had no less than six sons—John, Robert, Roger, William, Thomas, and Roger, younger, and was ancestor of the Kirkpatricks of Braco and Auldgirth.[6] An account of the family of Allisland will be found in D. and G. *Transactions*, IV., p. 47.
3. Robert Kirkpatrick.[4]
4. Peter.[5]

10 *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, 6.
11 *A.D.C.*, folio., vol. 251.
12 *ibid*, 358.
13 *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, 11.
14 *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 259.
15 *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 376, dated 5th February, 1499/50.
1 *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 6.
2 *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 500
3 *Ex. R.*, VI., 166.
4 *A.D.C.*, 1501/3, p. 173.
5 *A.D.C.*, XIX., f. 312.
6 *Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 26

5. Henry Kirkpatrick, described in 1505 as son and heir male of deceased Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, gotten betwixt him and Janet Douglas, his spouse[7]. He was then a minor. Robert Douglas, his tutor, obtained decreet on 22 April, 1505, against Robert, Lord Crichton, to pay him yearly 10 merks Scots as sustentation as long as Henry's lands were in Crichton's hands by reason of ward. That decreet was transferred on 12 Jan., 1515/16, to Robert, Lord Crichton. The lands were a 10 merkland, viz., 5 merkland of Clenre, 3½ merkland called Spangok, 1 merkland of Carglen, and ½ merkland of Freirmenyng, in the barony of Sanquhar.[8] In 1518 the Lords of Council dismissed a summons of error brought against Henry by the Crown, and Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn anent his service in these lands, in which it is stated that Henry's father, Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, had been before his death in peaceful possession of these lands for 16 years. Against this decreet a protest was lodged by the Chancellor, James, Archbishop of Glasgow.[9] In 1518 Henry gave a charter of sale to his half-brother, John Kirkpatrick of Alisland, of all these lands,[10] and on 25 November, 1533, Alisland entered into a contract with his nephew, Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, that as soon as Lord Crichton was entered into the superiority of the lands Alisland was to resign the lands in favour of Closeburn and receive a 17-year tack of a 5 merkland thereof to himself and his sons as named.[11]

By 1515 Henry was free of tutory, and for some unrecorded offence was put to the horn, and Hugh Somervell paid £5 13s 4d for Henry's escheat.[12] He must have married an unrecorded sister of Hugh, 4th Lord Somervell,

[7] *A.D.C.*, XVI., f. 269v. and XXVII., f. 137.
[8] *A.D.C.*, XXXI., f. 55.
[9] *ibid.*
[10] *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 25.
[11] *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 26.
[12] *L.H.T.Ac.*, V., p. 7. A Hugh Somervell of Howcleuch witnessed Henry's charter of 1518 to his brother, John (*Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 25).

whose brother [-in-law] he is so named in two records.[13] This marriage must account for the presence of several Kirkpatricks in the Carnwath area. The Baron Court Book of Carnwath (1523-43)[14] contains numerous references to them; thus Henry, who at times served as baron baillie of both Carnwath and Liberton, and was oversman in the settlement of disputes; George Kirkpatrick of the Belgar; Mathew Kirkpatrick, who as Gilpatrick was a witness to several Somervell writs in 1540;[15] and Robert Henry Kirkpatrick was dead by 1533.[16] His seal (entire) is affixed to a document at Drumlanrig.[17]

6. Andrew Kirkpatrick in Barmure may also be a son of Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, for in 1528/9 he was one of the curators to Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, consenting as such to Thomas's marriage.[18] Andrew was a witness on 28 May, 1541.[19] A lease of the farm of Barmure seems to have been a regular gift to a younger son of the Closeburn family.
7. Amongst the Closeburn Writs is a Dispensation, dated 5 September, 1517, for the marriage of a William Kirkpatrick and a Marion Kirkpatrick, otherwise undescribed. It is almost certain that one or other of the spouses belonged to the Closeburn family, probably of this generation.

SIR THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (v.) of Closeburn may well have been a man of middle age upon succession. Towards the end of 1499 he was duly infeft in his patrimonial estates,[20] and by November, 1503, he had been knighted.[21] One would

13 *A.D.C. et Sess.*, I., f. 54 and II., f. 105.
14 Published by Scots History Society.
15 Protocol Book of Schir William Corbett, No. 15. Mathew Kirkpatrick in Cowthoylie (1556) had a bastard son legitimated (*R.S.S.*, IV., 3218).
16 *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, 26.
17 *ibid*, 25.
18 *A.D.C.*, XXXIX., f. 56, v.
19 Closeburn Writs, of date.
20 *Ex. R.*, XI., 462.
21 *A.D.C.*, XV., f. 53.

like to know his views on matrimony, for he had a very varied and chequered career in that market. His first attempt, prior to 1487, was to espouse Janet Maitland, a member of the Queensberry and Auchingassill family, for in that year his father gave acquittance to Robert Maitland for 500 merks paid " for contract of marriage to have been completed between the Laird of Closeburn that now (13 March, 1507/8) is and Janet Maitland now (1507/8) spouse to John Crichton." That acquittance had to be produced in court on 13 March, 1507/8.[22] Tocher having been paid, the marriage may be assumed to have been completed, but he had again married about 1490 Marion Murray, daughter to the deceast Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule. For eight years he had disregarded her, at the close of which her brother, John Murray of Cokpule, took steps to secure her divorce from Kirkpatrick. It was stated in court that, though he had completed the marriage with Marion, Thomas had not cherished her but had dishonoured her by leaving her with her father for six years till her father died, and that for two years since then he had not treated her in bed, burd or clothing since the date of the Marriage Contract. The Lords of Council referred the case to the Archbishop of Glasgow.[23]

It was not till 1509 that the case was settled. On the 9th of that May Kirkpatrick was decerned to pay 500 merks in full payment of 1000 merks owing to John Murray of Cokpule " for recompense of tocher."[24] The divorce must have taken place a year or two before this process, and Thomas at once married, thirdly, an unnamed daughter of Robert, Lord Crichton. It is to be hoped that this union was a more happy one, but in May, 1509, Thomas had to secure judgment against Robert, Lord Crichton, for 230 merks in complete payment of the tocher.[25] To sue one's father-in-law is not a good commencement of marital bliss. Yet it is possible that the Crichton bride died almost at once. Immedi-

[22] *A.D.C.*, XIX., f. 280 and f. 300.
[23] *A.D.C.*, 1496/1501, 259.
[24] *A.D.C.*, XX., f. 194.
[25] *A.D.C.*, XX., 195.

ately Sir Thomas, with a haste that might seem to us indecent, plunged once more into matrimony, choosing this time a youthful widow, Margaret Sinclair, relict of Patrick Crichton of Petlandi. She was by no means a tocherless lass, for probably in right of her first husband she was possessed of a 15 merkland in the barony of Sanquhar, viz., the lands of Castle Robert, Coig, Clakleith, Duntercleuch, Glengaber, and Wanlockhead. These she resigned on 5 March, 1508/9, into the hands of Robert, Lord Crichton, as superior, who issued a fresh charter of the same to herself and Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick. In the charter they are described as contracted spouses, so this must be the approximate date of the marriage.[26]

Patrick Crichton of Petlandi, Margaret's first husband, must have been an unrecorded brother to Robert, 2nd Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, for his widow Margaret is described on 6 Feb., 1523/4, as sister [-in-law] of the said Lord.[27]

Reference has been made to his father's unexplained interest in property in Linlithgowshire. Thomas also had some rights to the £10 lands of Pertdwnyn or Parduvin in the barony of West Carse in Stirlingshire, which were disputed by the Maitlands of Queensberry in 1507. The dispute was settled two years later by a contract whereby Maitland withdrew all claims to the property on payment by Sir Thomas of 400 merks.[28] Sir Thomas, on the other hand, resigned the 2 merkland of Murehouse in the barony of Carriden in 1509 in favour of Henry Crichton.[29] The same year he received the gift of the nonentries of Robertmuir from Lord Crichton.[30] It is clear, too, that he had some rights in the lands of Marginanny and Clocherquhanoct in Glencairn, which were held of him by Andro Rorison of Bardanoch.[31] Sir Thomas was dead by August, 1515.[32] It is

[26] *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 22-24.
[27] *A.D.C.*, XXXIV., f. 84.
[28] *A.D.C.*, XVIII. (2), f. 230, XX., f. 16 and 83.
[29] *Reg. House Charters*, 735-6.
[30] Photo of original, now missing, *penes* Maj.-Gen. C. Kirkpatrick.
[31] *A.D.C.*, XXIII., f. 62.
[32] *R.S.S.*, I., 2590.

difficult to believe that he was not present at Flodden Field on 13 September, 1513. At any rate he survived it, for he served on the assize that retoured Robert, 5th Lord Maxwell, on 4 November, 1513.[33] He must have died early in 1515, for on 30 July of that year the sheriff answered for £96 of the fermes of the barony of Closeburn in the hands of the Crown for 2 termes for non-recovery of sasine. That day his son and heir, Thomas, received sasine.[34]

With all these wives it is difficult to allocate the issue of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick to the right mother, but the known issue was as follows:

1. Thomas Kirkpatrick (vi.) of Closeburn, of whom hereafter.
2. John Kirkpatrick,[35] son of Margaret Sinclair.[36]
3. Henry Kirkpatrick, who may have been tenant of Dressetland in 1545.[37]

THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (vi.) of Closeburn must have been quite young when he succeeded, his uncle, John Kirkpatrick of Alisland, being his tutor. Alisland at once procured a Crown gift to himself of the ward and marriage of his nephew.[38] The child, however, was brought up by the Crichtons, which would indicate that his mother was a daughter of that house.[39] He is definitely stated to have been in the keeping of Robert, Lord Crichton, and after his death in keeping of Ninian Crichton of Bellebucht, tutor to Robert,

[33] *Book of Caerlaverock*, II., 454.
[34] *Ex. R.*, XIV., 576.
[35] *Yester Writs*, 464.
[36] *Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 26.
[37] *Closeburn Writs*, 2nd Aug., 1545. There was another Henry, spouse of Elizabeth Greir, and son of Henry Kirkpatrick, in Laucht, who in 1515 got a respite and in 1527 a remission for the slaughter of James Porter (*R.S.S.*, I., 2646 and 3894).
[38] *R.S.S.*, I., 2590, 4th Aug, 1515. The lands covered by the ward were Kirkburgh (*sic* for Bridburgh), Alisland, Auchinlek and Sawdrum--a 23 merkland. For this Crown gift John Kirkpatrick had to pay £100 (*L.H.T.Ac.*, V., 6).
[39] The mother of Thomas is stated to have been Margaret Sinclair (*Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, 26).

now Lord Crichton, when in 1525/6 Thomas sued his uncle and tutor for not providing sustentation for him from the Closeburn estate, the administration of which was in Alisland's hands as tutor. The Lords ordained the tutor to provide 20 merks yearly for the previous ten years, and in future to Thomas, who was to be put to the schools, because the sheriff had retoured the blenche lands at a yearly value of 53 merks.[40] The tutorship came to an end in 1528, and Thomas at once took action; and well he might, for Alisland held the Crown gift of his marriage and Thomas had decided to choose his own wife. That March he appointed procurators to represent him against Alisland, who, according to his legal rights, was entitled to substantial "avail" or damages if Thomas refused to marry a wife chosen by Alisland, "late his tutor."[41] In spite of that financial deterrent Thomas married Janet Grierson, sister to John Grierson of Lag. The contract was dated 15 January, 1528/9, and was registered on the 20th January. Thomas acted with the full concurrence and consent of his curators, Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, Andrew Kirkpatrick in Barmure, and James Sinclair of ye Ley, and received an unstated amount of tocher from Lag and James Douglas of Drumlanrig, who further agreed to keep him skaithless of any "avail" of his marriage at the hands of John Kirkpatrick of Alisland.[42] The action was heard on 16 Dec., 1534, by the Lords of Council, who ordained Thomas to call his two sureties, who probably paid up, as nothing more is heard of the case. The claim of Alisland was for "double avail," representing 1600 merks.[43]

Early in 1534 Thomas Kirkpatrick was incarcerated in the Castle of Edinburgh for resetting the rebel servants of Sir Alexander Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael.[44] His detention may not have been lengthy, but it was not till December,

[40] *A.D.C.*, XXXVI., f. 7.
[41] *A.D.C.*, XXXVIII., f. 86.
[42] *A.D.C.*, XXXIX., f. 56, v.
[43] *A.D.C. et Sess.*, V., f. 200, v.
[44] *Pitcairn*, I., 165, *

1536, that he received a Crown remission for intercommuning with rebels.[45]

In 1536 the Crown issued a Commission to Thomas to capture, try and punish John Kirkpatrick and other named tenants of the lands of Closeburn.[46] It must be concluded that he did capture them, for in April, 1537, 20/- was paid to a messenger for passing from Edinburgh to Dumfriesshire to charge Thomas to present at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh two thieves taken by him on 9 May.[47]

On 6 Sept., 1538, there is an entry in the *Exchequer Rolls* recording that Thomas Kirkpatrick was infeft in the barony of the £10 lands of Brigburgh and the 40/- lands of Alisland which had been in the hands of the Crown for non-recovery of sasine.[48] This might well imply that he had died in 1536 and was succeeded by a son of the same name, but as Thomas only married in 1528 a son and successor must have been a minor in 1538, and there is not a vestige of evidence to show a long minority of 12 years. The lands may have been alienated and only recovered in 1536. That certainly occurred to the lands of Auchinlek, which in 1538 were stated to have been in the hands of the Crown for recognition for 25 years. In that year Auchinlek was claimed by James Sinclair of the Ley, then spouse of Margaret Sinclair, and by Oliver Sinclair, his son, as assignees of one James Spens as donator of the Crown.[49] The court proceedings must have petered out, for on 12 May of that year Thomas Kirkpatrick received a Crown charter of the lands of Auchinlek and Newton, in the barony of Tibbers, reciting the recognition and adding that his father, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, had compounded with the late Andro Bishop of Caithness as Treasurer for a new infeftment but had died before payment.[50]

[45] *ibid.*, 248, *
[46] *Ex. R.*, XV., p. 612.
[47] *L.H.T.Ac.*, VI., 313 and *Pitcairn*, I., 287, *
[48] *Ex. R.*, XVII., 760.
[49] *A.D.C. et Sess.*, X., f. 97 and 99.
[50] *R.M.S.*, 1513/46, 1788. The lands had been recognised by the Crown in 1512 (*A.D.C.*, XXIV., f. 62, v.

It is not known when this Laird's first wife died, but by 1541 he had been married to Dame Janet Stewart, Lady Caldwell.[1] This lady was the relict of John Mure of Caldwell.

Janet Stewart may have been a lady of some character, for she seems to have persuaded Thomas Kirkpatrick to reorientate his outlook on current politics. Scotland was still a Roman Catholic country, whereas England was in the midst of its Reformation. But Scotland could not fail to be influenced by what was going on across the Border, and political realignments were already taking shape before the death of James V. Janet Stewart was a member of the Lennox family, though the exact relationship has not been established, and her influence must have caused Thomas to incline politically to the Lennox faction. That nobleman, Matthew 4th, Earl of Lennox, had entered the service of France in 1532, and on his return to Scotland early in 1543 was involved in the intrigues arising from the death of James V., first on the side of France and then on that of England. On 24 November, 1542, came the rout of Solway Moss. Oliver Sinclair[2] commanded the Scots, and we may be sure that Thomas Kirkpatrick was in the host though he is never named as present at the field of battle. His mother-in-law was a Sinclair, and Sir Wm. Sinclair of Roslin had been one of his curators. That alone should have been sufficient to ensure that Thomas figured in the Scottish ranks. A great number of prisoners were taken, especially of the landed class, but only a few names are on record. The Laird of Closeburn is not amongst them.

In Lodge's *Illustrations*, Vol. I., p. 37, a list of prisoners is given:

> Oliver, James and Alexander Syncler being of small lands and good substance, their pledge — the Lorde Closeborne's

[1] *A.D.C. et Sess*, XV., f. 55 and XVI., f. 94 v., and *R.P.C.*, I., p. 9.

[2] Oliver Sinclair was third son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin (*Book of Caerlaverock*, I., 185). Later he was knighted and known as Sir Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairnes, near Dysart (Douglas, *Baronage*, 247).

soune and heyr, whose father is of £100 sterling lands and more.

From this it is clear that the Sinclairs were released, and young Closeburn was lodged in England as pledge for their ransom. Robert, Lord Maxwell, was not pledged at all but held at Carlisle. He was far too valuable a political prisoner. Lord Carlyle was held at Pontefract Castle. Other names are:

The Larde of Ancastle (Maitland of Auchingassill), a freeholder to the Larde of Drumlanrig, of £20 sterling of land or more, his pledge his brother [lodged] with Thomas Wentworth.

The Larde Johnston, a gentillman of 100 merks sterling or above; for whom the King's Majesty hath paid 100 merks in part of payment for his ransom to his taker and remaneth himself at Pontefract Castle.

Indeed, the only Kirkpatrick mentioned as a prisoner was the Laird of Kirkmichael, who was taken at Solway and ransomed at once without leave.[3]

The above list is followed by another one, entitled

"Pledges received for the King's Majesty's service and the numbers for whom they were delivered."

The phrase *for the King's Majesty's service* clearly indicates that the list did not refer to prisoners but to those who had escaped from the rout and found that further resistance to the English forces was unavailing, for the Western March lay open to the invader and everyone made haste to make their peace with England. Caerlaverock Castle was surrendered but re-taken a few months later. Lochmaben Castle for a time stood firm, whilst in the north of the county only Drumlanrig and a few others, like the doughty old Thomas Johnstone of Cragoburn, refused to yield.

In making their peace with England the Scottish landowners of Dumfriesshire entered "the service of the King's Majesty" and were known as "assured Scots," because they had to hand over pledges as an assurance of their good faith and that of their followers—thus:

[3] *Hamilton Papers*, I., 325.

The Larde Carlisle for his service beside that he is prisoner as aforesaid—his pledge, his son and heyr [lodged] with Lord Latymer.

The Larde of Applegarth of 200 merks sterling and more —his pledge, his cosyn, with Mr Magnus.

The Larde of Kyrkmychell, of £20 lands—his pledge, his cosyn, with Sir Wm. Fairfax.

Again there is no reference to Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn; but the Carlyle and Kirkmichael entries are sufficient to establish that this list is one of " assured Scots " and not of prisoners.

The last list from the same source, undated as are all three lists, is from internal evidence of later date, probably 1548. It is entitled:

" Pledges lately bestowed in Yorkshire by the Counsaile there."

Here at last there is reference to Thomas Kirkpatrick:

John Maxwell [Lord Herreis] the Lord's brother answers for all his brother's [Lord Maxwell's] lands, having at that time no lands and now by marriage [in March, 1548] faire lands—his pledge, Hew Maxwell his nephew, for 1000 men.

The Larde of Closburne, of £100 sterling and more—his pledge, Thomas Kirkpatrick his cosyn, for 403 men.

The Larde of Lagg, of 100 merks lands — his pledge, Roger Grere his cosyn, for 200 men.

Then follow the towns of Kirkcudbright (36 men), Dumfries (221 men), and Lochmaben (47 men). It is evident that this list has nothing to do with prisoners but relates to assurances given after the battle of Pinkie (10 Sept., 1547). Even the towns were called on by England to become assured, though the names of their pledges are not recorded.

In all this turmoil Thomas Kirkpatrick was far better placed than other landholders close to the Border. His near neighbour, Drumlanrig, was never assured and was at hand to protect him, should he be so disposed. On the other hand, there is definite evidence that Thomas treated with the English through the medium of the Earl of Lennox. On his return from France Lennox did not dally long in Scotland, but went south at the close of 1543 and threw in his lot with England, marrying on 6 July, 1544, a niece of Henry VIII.,

for which the following year he was pronounced in Scotland guilty of treason and his estates forfeited. For Lennox had joined the Earl of Hertford's expedition to Leith in 1544, landing there on 4 May and burning the whole town of Edinburgh, Holyrood Abbey and Palace on 7 May. With him was Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn. The Crown at once declared the moveable goods of Thomas escheated for the slaughter of John Johnston and the burning of the houses of Cuthbert Johnston of Cowringis (Courance), " and for coming treasonably arranged in battle against our Sovereign Lady and her tutor with the Earls of Lennox, Angus and Glencairn at Leith in [May] by past."[4] Kirkpatrick's goods were granted by the Crown on 11 Nov., 1544, to William Mure, brother to John Mure of Caldwell, a relation by marriage.[5] The escheat must have been more formal than real, for in Jan., 1544/5, an extant record narrates that

> The English Crown has seen Lord Wharton's advertisements of the order taken by him with the Laird of Closbern and Olyver St. Clare, and taketh the same in good part.

With tongue in cheek, Thomas Kirkpatrick at once took steps to demonstrate his Scottish loyalty, subscribing to the Act of Parliament in June, 1545, that declared for renewal of the French Alliance and the invasion of England, a policy wrecked three months later at Pinkiecleuch.[6] After that battle, so disastrous to Scotland, the English decided that the time had come to chastise Drumlanrig for his contumacy in refusing to become " assured "; and again Lennox was in the forefront. Writing on 26 Dec., 1547, to the Duke of Somerset, Lennox returned thanks for leave to enter Scotland and begged a grant of the Abbacy of Holywood for his cousin, the Laird of Closeburn.[7] The raid took place in February, 1548, and Wharton was accompanied by Lennox; John, Master of Maxwell; and other assured Scots. The force bivouacked for the night near Durisdeer, and after

[4] *R.S.S.*, III., 956.
[5] *ibid.*
[6] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, II., 595.
[7] Thorpe's *Calendar of State Papers*, I., 73.

dark Maxwell slipped away and met Drumlanrig in Keir Chapel and came to terms. His bargain was that he would join Drumlanrig in attacking Wharton if he were allowed to marry the Herries heiress. Next day at a given signal the assured Scots changed sides and the English were driven southward. Amongst these assured Scots Thomas Kirkpatrick must have found a place. Situated as his property was close to Drumlanrig, it would be surprising if he had not been a party to, or even the instigator of, the bargain. But Wharton had shot his bolt; and the strong hand and aggressive policy of Henry VIII. had been removed by death. It was the last English raid of any size or moment into Dumfriesshire. All the Scots at once forsook their assurances, and on 28 March, 1548, a Crown remission was granted to Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn and a host of other Lairds for treating with the English.[8]

All this time Margaret Sinclair, old Lady Closeburn, was still alive, and as late as 18 July, 1549, with her third husband, James Sinclair of the Lee, was successfully pursuing for rents the tenants of the 5½ merkland of Clenry in Sanquhar barony pertaining to her in terce.[9] It is not known when she died, but her terce rights must have been an ever-present burden on the Closeburn estate.

In June, 1550, Thomas Kirkpatrick was a witness to a bond of manrent by the Crichtons to Robert, Lord Maxwell,[10] and on the 28 July himself gave a similar bond to Maxwell.[11] In October of that year Thomas and Janet Stewart received a Crown grant of certain lands in Kyle, in which John Mure, "now of Caldwell," her son, had refused to enter her though ordered to do so by the Lords of Council in March, 1542.[12]

A year later Thomas Kirkpatrick was dead. He must have passed away early in 1551, for on 31 May, 1552, the

[8] *R.S.S.*, III., 2698.
[9] *Acts and Decreets*, III., f. 154, and IV., f. 175. Margaret was still alive on 22nd Jan., 1567/8 (*Closeburn Writs*).
[10] *Book of Caerlaverock*, II., 477.
[11] *ibid*, 478.
[12] *R.M.S.*, 1546/80, 531.

Sheriff, in giving sasine to the son of the defunct, answered in the Exchequer for £144 for the fermes of the £48 land of the barony of Closeburn in the Crown's hands for one year through non-recovery of sasine.[13] A year later the Sheriff answered for £225 for the fermes of the £10 land of Brigburgh, 40/- lands of Alisland, and the £18 lands of Auchinleck and Newton in the barony of Tibbers in the hands of the Crown for two years and a term.[14] The executors to the dead Laird were his son, Roger, and John Grierson of Lag.[15]

Only two sons of Thomas Kirkpatrick are recorded:

1. Roger Kirkpatrick, of whom hereafter.
2. James, accused of adultery with Roger's wife. He had from his brother a 19-year tack of Barmure, and married as her second spouse Margaret Cairns, lady of Orchardton and relict of William Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael. He died in Oct., 1575 (*Edin. Tests*), and Margaret married, thirdly, Edward Maxwell of Tinwald. No issue is recorded.

ROGER KIRKPATRICK OF CLOSEBURN was almost certainly a son of Janet Grierson, the first wife. At his father's death he was still under age, and the ward and nonentries of the estate with the marriage of Roger himself were gifted by the Crown to Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of Grizzel Sempill, who had to pay the Crown 800 merks as composition in October, 1552.[16] No sooner were the legal formalities of succession completed than, with the consent of his curators, John Grierson of Lag and William Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, he married the above Elizabeth Hamilton, stated to be daughter of the deceased James Hamilton of Stanehouse. The contract was dated 3 Feb., 1552/3, and the

[13] *Ex. R.*, XVIII., 541. Sasine followed on 4th June, 1552 (*Closeburn Writs*).
[14] *Ex. R., ibid*, 557.
[15] *Acts and Decreets*, XVIII., f. 1, 1558, July 14th.
[16] *R.S.S.*, IV., 1713. £533 6s 8d was paid to the Lord Treasurer (*L.H.T.Ac.*, X., 6), followed by a further sum of £133 6s 8d (*ibid*, p. 7).

tocher was 600 merks.[17] Her father had been Provost of Edinburgh and Director of Chancery, a connection which might have added lustre to the Closeburn pedigree. But her mother was a very different and wanton type. She was Grizzel Sempill, eldest daughter of Robert, 3rd Lord Sempill, and her infidelities were remarkable even in that licentious age. In October, 1532, William Wallace of Craigie "was requisitioned to marry her." About 1539 she married James Hamilton, who divorced her prior to 1546, at which time she was the avowed mistress of James Hamilton, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom she had numerous legitimated offspring. Whilst still mistress of the Archbishop she contracted, in 1551, to marry the Provost of St. Andrews provided he could divorce his wife. In 1561 she was ordered by the Town Council of Edinburgh to remove from the town, and when she died in 1575 she was styled in her testament with delicate irony "ane honourable lady, Gryssall Sempill, Lady Stanehous.[18] Such was the lady whose daughter, Elizabeth Hamilton, married Roger Kirkpatrick. But the blood of the mother ran in the veins of the daughter and disaster lay ahead.

In 1557 Roger received a remission for abiding from the army ordered to convene at Lochmabenstane for a warden meeting.[19] Five years later, for some unknown cause, there must have been almost a pitched battle between Kirkpatricks and Carrutherses, for John Carruthers of Holmains was dilated for injuring Roger and the slaughter of three other Kirkpatricks.[20] The following year (17 April, 1564) he received from Edward, Lord Crichton, belated infeftment in a 12 merkland in the barony of Sanquhar.[21] In April, 1566, he infeft Roger Kirkpatrick of Auldgirth-Drumduffe

[17] *A. and D.*, VIII., f. 226.

[18] *Scots Peerage*, VII., 545-7. In a letter from Scrope to Burghley, it is stated that the Laird of Closeburn was married to the [Arch] Bishop of St Andrews's daughter (*Border Papers*, I., p. 72).

[19] *Pitcairn*, I., 398, *

[20] *ibid*, 431.

[21] *MS. Cal. of Drumlanrig Writs*, p. 68.

in a merkland of Carne,[22] and the following year redeemed the 33/4 lands of Clauchannoch and Margmany, in the parish of Glencairn.[23]

Then the marital storm broke. We know of only one co-respondent, but there were certainly others. By May, 1566, Roger sought a divorce before the Commissaries of Edinburgh. The process must have gone on for the best part of a year, and Roger appealed to the Privy Council against an order of the Commissaries that he should pay Elizabeth 8/- a day for her expenses during the plea, extending to £110, or enter ward in Blakness Castle. The Privy Council were obdurate, and he had to pay £40 within six days and the rest before Whitsunday and find security.[24] Elizabeth retaliated with a counter-action for adherence, in which it is stated (erroneously) that they were married in 1555 and she had had six bairns by him, yet he had expelled her from the Place of Closeburn and charged her with adultery with James Kirkpatrick, his brother. Perhaps Roger could not prove the charge, for he was decreed to adhere to her.[25] The last known episode of Elizabeth was with Cuthbert Amuligane of Dempstartoun, dilated for adultery with Elizabeth within the Place of Closeburn. They were admonished on 8 March, 1576/7, but continued in their conduct. This time Roger commenced proceedings in the Justiciary Court, whose sentence delivered on 18 February, 1578/9, banished Cuthbert from the realm, under penalty of 1000 merks if the offence was renewed.[26] Divorce followed,[27] and on 1 April, 1580, Roger contracted to marry Margaret Gordon, daughter of Alex. Gordon of Troquhane.[28]

In 1564 Roger was fined £26 13s 4d for not entering to the Justiciary Court one John Wilson charged with the

22 Protocol Books of Herbert Anderson, II., No. 2.
23 Protocol Books of Herbert Anderson, II., No. 40.
24 *R.P.C.*, I., 458.
25 *Edin. Commissary Decreets*, Vol. 2.
26 *Pitcairn*, I., pp. 78 and 80.
27 *Scots Peerage*, VII., 547.
28 *Kirkpatrick Notes, penes R.C.R.*

slaughter of the deceast Robert Macmorhame.[29] In 1567 he subscribed the Band recognising James I. as lawfully crowned,[30] and in 1572 was curator of Alexander Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael.[31]

Roger Kirkpatrick died on 16 January, 1582, and from his Testament can be learnt some details of his family. His second wife seems to have predeceased him, for he left her clothes to his daughter.[32] He left the following issue:

1. Thomas Kirkpatrick (vii.), who succeeded
2. William, to whom he left a 19 year tack of the 40/- lands of Barmure.
3. Alexander, mentioned on 7 February, 1562/3, in a tack of the teinds of Dalgarnok.[33] He probably died young.
4. Roger, mentioned on 31 July, 1585.[34]
5. Richard, brother of Thomas.[35]
6. James Kirkpatrick is named in 1590 as brother german of Thomas.[36]
7. Mr Samuel mentioned in his father's testament. In 1607 he agreed to dispone to his brother, Thomas, all his lands and possessions unless he had lawful heirs male.[37] By 1615 he had married Elizabeth Stewart, relict of John Johnston of Newby,[38] who survived him. He died in September, 1641.[39]
8. Alexander, son of Margaret Gordon, to whom he was infeft heir in an annual rent of 100 merks from the £10 land of Bridburgh.[40] On 20 January, 1615, Alexander was

29 *L.H.T.Ac.*, XI., 301.
30 *Book of Caerlaverock*, I., 519.
31 *R.M.S.*, 1546/80, 2423.
32 *Edin. Tests*, Vol. 13.
33 *Closeburn Writs*, of date.
34 *ibid*, of date.
35 *Closeburn Writs*, 5th Sept., 1577.
36 *Closeburn Writs*, 2nd Nov., 1590.
37 *Closeburn Writs*, 13th Sept., 1607.
38 *ibid*, 10th Aug., 1615.
39 *Dumfries Tests*, Vol. I.
40 *Closeburn Writs*, 5th Feb., 1585/6.

contracted to marry Jean, daughter to John Kirkpatrick of Friars' Carse.[41]

9. Margaret, daughter of Margaret Gordon, mentioned in her father's testament.

THOMAS KIRKPATRICK (vii.) OF CLOSEBURN, the last of the family to be recorded in these notes, was infeft in 1585, the Sheriff answering to the Exchequer for £288 for the fermes for 2 years of the £48 lands of Closeburn and other sums for the other lands.[42] He married in 1577 Jean Cunynghame, daughter of William, Earl of Glencairn, who was infeft in the £10 land of Auchinleck resigned by Roger.[43] On 9 March, 1585/6, he was granted by the Crown the powers of a Justiciar within his lands and baronies in order to deal with a named list of thieves and vagabonds,[44] and in 1590 was given by Robert, Lord Creichton, as Sheriff, a commission to act as sheriff depute, coroner depute, and bailie of the barony of Sanquhar.[45] In his capacity as sheriff depute, Thomas, on 27 March, 1591, was sitting in his fenced court at Penpont when Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig with an armed force entered and removed one John Wilsoun in Haghill from the court, where he was standing his trial for theft, an episode that arose from a conflict of baronial jurisdictions.[46] Sir James had to find surety not to harm Kirkpatrick.[47] Two years later, for somewhat kindred reasons, Thomas received Crown exemption from the jurisdiction of John, Lord Maxwell's powers of Wardenry and Justiciary.[48] In 1594 he decided to obtain a new Crown Charter of all his lands. It appears that both he and his father had been retoured as holding of the Crown by ward

41 *ibid*, of date.
42 *Ex. R.*, XXI., 513 and 515.
43 *R.M.S.*, 1546/80, 2702. Jean was relict of George Haldane of Gleneagles (*Scots Peerage*, IV., 243).
44 *Closeburn Writs*, of date.
45 *ibid*, 2nd Nov., 1590.
46 *Pitcairn*, I., 259.
47 *ibid*, 265.
48 *ibid*, 298.

without exhibiting their foundation charter of the 13th century, which is stated not to have been in their hands at that date, and which clearly established that they held by Knights service. Somehow Thomas had retrieved the original charter and was now in a position to resign all his lands into the hands of the Crown in favour of himself and his heirs male of the name and arms of Kirkpatrick. A new charter was issued accordingly, ratifying the charter by King Alexander to Ivo de Kirkpatrick and held by the service of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Knights fee. Further, it dissolved the parish churches of Closeburn and Dalgarnok from Kelso and Holyrood Abbeys and united their advocations to the barony of Closeburn, all incorporated in a free barony.[49] From thence onwards the Kirkpatricks were the patrons of both livings till they were united in one parish. This, of course, enhanced the status of the family socially.

Thomas Kirkpatrick in 1591 served on the Assize that found Francis Earl Bothwell guilty of rebellion,[49a] and was a Member of Parliament for Dumfriesshire in 1593.[49b] Between September, 1594, and 25 August, 1596, he was knighted, being so described in a transumed sasine of the latter date.[49c] He was certainly alive in 1621 when a decreet of apprising in the sheriff court against him is recorded,[49d] but he was dead by 20 May, 1635, when his son was served his heir special.[49e] Unfortunately the document does not give the date of his death or the length, if any, of non-entry. Burke (1938) gives Sir Thomas as marrying, secondly, in 1614, Barbara, daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies, a lady unknown to *Scots Peerage*. Light may perhaps be thrown on her identity by a discharge dated 17 June, 1648, by Col. [William] Stewart of Culchruchie (Kilcreuchie or Castle Stewart) to John Kirkpatrick in

[49] *R.M.S.*, 1593/1603, 155.
[49a] *Scots Acts Parl.*, III., 537.
[49b] *ibid.*, IV., 7a.
[49c] Closeburn Inventory, No. 13.
[49d] *ibid.*, No. 14.
[49e] *ibid.*, No. 18.

Gratney, " my sister's son," for £40 13/- sterling uplifted by him in name of Alexander Kirkpatrick, his brother.[49f] This suggests that Barbara was daughter of Alexander Stewart of Clarie.

4. Kirkpatrick Seals.

Amongst the Closeburn writs are three documents with the seals still attached. As these seals throw some further light on the family they are reproduced here. Very few Kirkpatrick seals are on record.

Ragman Roll (1296) provides two seals—that of John de Kirkpatrick, a saltire and chief; and of Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, in a trefoil compartment three shields joined at base, each charged with a saltire and chief.[50] According to Nisbet most of the feudal surnames of Annandale carry the Bruce arms, a saltire and chief, gules. The Kirkpatricks, like the Johnstones, carried these arms, the only difference between them being in tincture. The Closeburn arms give *argent*, a saltire and chief azure, the last charged with three cushions *or*. It is not known when the three cushions were added. To a document dated 26 September, 1357, the seal of Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick of that Ilk is appended, and has been described as follows—within tracery a couché shield with saltire and chief; crest on a helmet barred, a wolf's head and neck, tongue protruded; letter R on dexter and E on sinister side of crest.[51]

Nisbet further affirms that in a Closeburn seal of 1435 the escutcheon is supported with two lions *gardant*, and that the next generation in 1470 carried the same. But the seal of 1435 must be accepted with the utmost caution. Nisbet attributes it to a Roger Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, to whom no other reference has been found. In 1434 and again in 1438 the laird was a Thomas. The two lions *gardant* as supporters may well have been mistaken for the two hounds

[49f] Greirson Papers at Ewart Library.
[50] Bain, II., p. 545 and 531.
[51] Bain, III., p. 302.

which the family have long used as supporters, and which may perhaps have been derived from the wolf's (? hound's) head that surmounted the helmet in the crest of Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick of that Ilk in 1357.

Against this uncertain armorial background the three seals from the Closeburn Writs provide a clear sequence:

(i.) 1545, August 2. Charter by Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburne lord of Auchinlek and Newtoun to Thomas Padzane of Newtoun.

Seal—Saltire, on a chief, 3 cushions (upright instead of diagonal), in base a four-footed animal *passant*. Legend—S. TOME KIRKPATRICK. This is the traditional arms of Closeburn with a *difference*, the animal in base.

(ii.) 1577, Sept. 4. Charter by Roger Kirkpatrick of Cloisburne implementing his marriage contract with Jean Cunynghame.

Seal—Saltire and on a chief three cushions. Legend—S. ROGER KIRKPATRICK DE CLOSBURN.

(iii.) 1605, Sept. 17. Precept by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closburne lord of Auchinlek and Newtoun to Thomas toun.

Seal—as in (ii.) the undifferenced arms of Kirkpatrick. Legend—S. DOMINI. THOMA KIRKPATRIK DE CLOSBURNE MILITIS.

It will be observed that the seal of 1545 is differenced by a quadruped (horse, unicorn or whatever it be) in base. Such a difference is assigned in heraldry to a junior branch. But in the seal of 1577 the difference has disappeared. This is a clear indication that in 1545 Thomas Kirkpatrick did not then consider he was chief of the Kirkpatricks. But by 1577 his son, Roger Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, uses a carefully made seal which differs from his father's seal by omitting the quadruped, yet carefully including his title of Closeburn, omitted from his father's seal.

The change cannot be accidental, and imports that between 1545 and 1577 the Laird of Closeburn had come to represent Kirkpatrick of that Ilk, and this infers that between those dates the Lairds of Closeburn had established that their house had come to represent (presumably as collateral heirs male) the original stem and extinct senior branch of Kirkpatrick of that Ilk.

An examination of the pedigree of Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid may demonstrate how the devolution of chieftainship was attained.

5. Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid.

When the direct line of Kirkpatrick of that Ilk failed in heirs male at the beginning of the 15th century and the estates passed through heiresses to other families, there were still heirs male of line who held some of the lands in feu on both the estates of Torthorwald and Auchencas. Thus the Kirkpatricks of Rocalheid carried on the line and were entitled to use the arms of that Ilk till they in turn failed in heirs male.

This branch of the family must have originated at the close of the 14th century, but the first recorded member was R[oger] de Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid, whose son, David, on 4 May, 1426, acted for Robert Lord Maxwell when a transcript of a 1420 charter by Albany was drawn up.[52] David in turn was succeeded by a Roger who served on an assize on 14 February, 1453/4.[53] This Roger was followed by another David Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid, who was a witness in 1477.[54] His position as heir of line of this ancient baronial family would seem to have been generally recognised, for in 1468, along with the Laird of Drumlanrig, a David Kirkpatrick (undescribed) attended Parliament as representative of the sheriffdom anent taxation for the King's marriage.[55] In 1481 he received a Crown lease of Over and

[52] *Book of Caerlaverock*, II., 422.
[53] *ibid.*, 432.
[54] *ibid.*, 438.
[55] Acts. Parl. Scot., II., 91.

Nether Kelton with its island (Inch), which would indicate that the lands were in Galloway,[56] which lease was renewed in 1488.[57] In January, 1503/4, John Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid is named as one of the chief free tenants of William Lord Carlile, who sought relief from the Crown of a band which Carlile had given "for the weil of the cuntrie and good rule to be kepit in the samyn."[58] It would seem that this John was succeeded by another John Kirkpatrick, who witnessed two Carruthers deeds in 1516,[59] and was alive on 20 April, 1531, when Herbert Kirkpatrick, brother german to John Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid, granted to Sir Alex. Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael all the rights he had in the 40/- lands of Dargavell held in tack by him from the Abbot of Melrose.[60] John, however, was dead by November of that year, when Andro Kirkpatrick in Rocalheid as executor to the deceast John Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid secured a decreet against certain parties for spoliation of stock from the lands of Dargavell.[61] Andro, however, was determined to get back the lease of Dargavell or Lochar Moss, in which William Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael was now rentalled by the Abbot, and raided the lands. William summoned him before the sheriff, but the action was advocated to the Lords of Council on 9 July, 1546.[62] The troubles had started in 1543 when William had right to the lands by apprising, which Andro sought to have annulled.[63] Again in 1549 William sought a sheriff court eviction of Andro, who again advocated the cause to Edinburgh.[64] When the case was called William did not appear and Andro's protest was admitted.[65] In 1550

[56] Ex. R., IX., 583.
[57] Ex. R., X., 657.
[58] Acta. Dom., XV., f. 184.
[59] Drumlanrig Papers, p. 61, Hist. MSS. Com.
[60] Fraser Papers at Register House.
[61] Acta. Dom., XLIII., f. 81, v.
[62] A.D.C. et Sess., XXI., f. 39.
[63] Acts and Decreets, VI., f. 516.
[64] *ibid.*, III., f. 147, v.
[65] *ibid.*, III., f. 253, v.

Andro was granted damages for £16 Scots.[66] Final decreet was given in July, 1550, in favour of William, but Andro was assoilzied from the profits of the lands.[67] The Lords then remitted the action back to the sheriff.

Andro Kirkpatrick of Rocalheid was alive in 1552, but dead by 19 May, 1556. On 20 October, 1552, he resigned the lands of Kellobank in the lordship of Auchencas, and they were granted by Michael Lord Carlyle, the superior, to James Johnston of Kellobank. Similarly the same superior granted to Johnston the 40/- lands of Caldrimon and West Quarter and the lands of Holmheid and Tathill, fallen into Carlyle's hands through the death of Andro.[68] Andro may have had no heirs or it is possible that the grant under which he held was in favour of heirs male only. It is not known how Rocalheid was held of Lord Carlyle, but the next owners after Andro were the Irvings of Bonshaw, who may have acquired through an heiress.

Thus the last heir male of line of the Kirkpatricks of that Ilk still holding part of the ancient patrimony of their race came to an end in 1556.

[66] Acts and Decreets, IV., f. 83, v.
[67] *ibid.*, IV., f. 172 and f. 284, v.
[68] Acts and Decreets, vol. 330, f. 271.

ARTICLE 5.

Upper Nithsdale and Westwards in Roman Times.

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

In August, 1952, after a serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease had rendered inadvisable the projected excavation of the Roman site at Carronbridge, recently identified by Dr. St. Joseph, the writer took opportunity to conduct a short reconnaissance of Upper Nithsdale, an area so far completely barren of evidence of Roman penetration.

Recent discoveries in the Field and general considerations of Roman methods of occupation combine to make this apparent barrenness suspect. We have travelled a considerable distance since the late Sir George Macdonald in his Presidential Address to the Classical Association in 1932, speaking of Annandale and the country west of it, expressed the opinion that the Romans " never mastered this part of Scotland " and questioned whether they ever seriously attempted to do so, criticising their strategical scheme which left the whole south-west as a " heel of Achilles " to the security of their occupation further east. Since that time evidence has accumulated that the Romans did indeed penetrate the south-west, and we are now at the stage when we begin to have, as it were, a skeleton framework of the occupation of this area with many details and, one suspects, many essential cross-links still missing.

The first step was made in 1938, when an earthwork up the Kirk Burn near Durisdeer was proved to have been a road-post of the Antonine period and to have guarded a Roman road running from Nithsdale over to Clydesdale in the neighbourhood of Crawford. The presence of this road-post clearly implied a Roman occupation of Nithsdale up to Durisdeer at least, and proof was almost at once produced in a remarkable series of discoveries by Dr. St. Joseph from the air and in the excavation of an Antonine cavalry fort

by Dr. Richmond and Mr Birley at Carzield.[1]

In summary, we now know of a remarkable concentration of Roman works in Lower Nithsdale. Northwards from the cavalry fort of Carzield we have in succession within the short space of ten miles a small temporary camp at Gallaberry, a large and complicated site at Dalswinton of such obvious importance that it has been aptly described as a "second Newstead," a road-post at Barburgh Mill, a signal station on the outskirts of Thornhill village, a group of three Roman structures at a Nith ford at Carronbridge, and at Durisdeer two large camps, one inside the other.[2] Of all these works Carzield alone has been examined with any completeness, and we do not know whether they all belong to the same period of occupation; their concentration within so short a space makes it probable that they do not, and the size and closeness of Dalswinton to Carzield (which is known to be Antonine) very strongly suggests that this station at least is Flavian. Whatever the truth of the matter may prove to be, the concentration remains, a circumstance which makes the barrenness of Upper Nithsdale the more striking.

Nor has the advance in knowledge been confined to Lower Nithsdale. Elsewhere in the present volume Dr. Richmond describes part of the large complex of forts and camps recently revealed by air photography deep in the heart of Galloway at Glenlochar. Here preliminary excavation has already proved more than one phase of permanent occupation in the Flavian period, followed by occupation in the Antonine period. And ten miles further south-west, in the neighbourhood of Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Dr. St. Joseph has identified what appears to be a road-post, with the implication that the road linking the nodal area around Dumfries with Glenlochar ran on to the western sea. Some evidence of that road

[1] The story of these discoveries may be read in *The Roman Occupation of South-West Scotland*, ed. S. N. Miller, 1952. Dr St. Joseph's work is summarised in Journal of Roman Studies, 1951, pp. 52-65. For Carzield, see Dumfries and Galloway Transactions for 1942, pp. 156-63.

[2] *Journal of Roman Studies for 1951*, pp. 60-61.

has been noted at a point near Milton, some ten miles west of Dumfries.

On the northern confines of our area an equally important discovery has been made. At Loudoun Hill, close to the boundary between Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, Dr. St. Joseph has identified and excavated a Fort which supplies evidence of occupation in both Flavian and Antonine times.[3] It is linked with Castledykes by a road running eastwards down the Avon valley, and, though the western continuation is not yet identified, its existence to the sea in the vicinity of Irvine is clearly implied.

Thus the long-standing crux of Agricola's fifth campaign when, according to his biographer, Tacitus, Agricola stationed troops in that part of Britain which looks towards Ireland,[4] approaches reasonable solution. For long the apparent absence of Roman remains in Galloway or Ayrshire has raised a doubt whether this, the most obvious area, was indeed the scene of the concentration of which Tacitus speaks.[5] That doubt can exist no longer.

But though the initial doubt is removed, serious difficulties remain. What we have ascertained so far is no more than a framework or skeleton of the scheme of occupation; indeed it is scarcely even that, but rather a definition of that occupation along two main lines at the north and south of the area. Had the evidence of Glenlochar and of Loudoun Hill indicated temporary encampments only, then we might conceivably have reasoned from the words of Tacitus that no permanent occupation ever took place. In the passage of Tacitus already referred to, the author says that the movement of troops was made in expectation (of a proposed invasion of Ireland) rather than from fear. It might be argued, therefore, that in Agricola's opinion the south-west did not require the imposition of permanent garrisons and

[3] *Roman Occupation of South-West Scotland*, p. 188 ff.

[4] Tacitus, *Agricola*, Cp. 24; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem . . . .

[5] For instance, Collingwood arguing for a concentration on the coast of Cumberland, *Archæologia*, lxxi., pp. 1-16.

that his personal opinion, conveyed to Tacitus, his son-in-law, explains the slighting reference to Galloway and the paucity of Roman remains there. But the argument is completely hypothetical. The fear of which Tacitus speaks is fear of possible interference *from Ireland*, and Glenlochar and Loudoun Hill, so far from being temporary encampments, were the sites of permanent garrisons both in the first century and in the second. Moreover, the language of Tacitus in speaking of the campaign of the previous year implies that the whole area south of the Forth Clyde was then firmly occupied.[6]

There is no ground, therefore, for supposing that the occupation of Galloway followed a different pattern from that found elsewhere. That pattern is one of main lines of communication with forts or smaller posts at intervals and cross links between nodal points, and an occasional fort thrown out as a terminal point of a road of penetration into difficult country off the main line. The pattern stands out clearly in the map of the military area of north England and central and south-east Scotland. It is equally recognisable in the map of Roman Wales. The lines of the roads are determined by a combination of geographical and strategical considerations and the result is sometimes encirclement of tribal areas,[7] sometimes penetration of them.

That pattern has not yet been revealed in south-west Scotland except in Lower Nithsdale where a loop encloses the hill country south of the Dalveen Pass. All we have at the moment is the main line through Glenlochar in the south, the main line through Loudoun Hill in the north, and an eastern line up Lower Nithsdale as far as Durisdeer. A very brief examination of the map reveals the extent of territory apparently untouched and uncontrolled. It embraces much of Kirkcudbrightshire, all Wigtownshire, nearly all Ayrshire, and sizeable portions of Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire. However sparse the population may have been—and there is

[6] Tacitus, *Agricola*, Cp. 23; omnis propior sinus tenebatur.
[7] Tacitus, *Agricola*, Cp. 20; civitates . . . praesidiis castellisque circumdatae.

no ground for believing that it was abnormally sparse, rather the contrary in some districts—it is inconceivable that the hand of Rome should have lain so lightly on the land. The function of the well-known pattern of roads and forts was not merely to control warlike movements but to administer, and each fort was the centre of administration, both legal and fiscal, in the area it served.[8] During the long years of reasonably peaceful conditions, which fell within the first period of occupation, and still more in the second, we must suppose that the normal machinery existed for administration here as elsewhere within the military area, and that machinery had as its visible symbol, and indeed as its means of operating at all, the familiar pattern of forts and roads which here is still to seek.

It is not proposed here to enter into speculation as to that pattern in the south-west as a whole, but only to consider Nithsdale. And the starting point seems naturally to lie in the region of Durisdeer and Carronbridge. We do not know in detail the course of the road up to this point, though for most of the distance from Carzield the general line is certain enough. Doubts begin beyond Barburgh Mill. The road appears here to run some 500 feet east of the fort,[9] and Royal Air Force photographs contain a strong suggestion that it continued northwards by way of Closeburn Mill, Gatelaw Bridge, Ridings and Morton Mains, directly to the camp sites just south of Durisdeer. If that is so, the Carronbridge site lies off the main line, and a question at once arises as to the function of the posts there. So far as can be seen, we have there a smallish temporary camp and either one or two small permanent posts. The site commands a ford on the Nith, near the junction of that river with its tributary, the Carron.

[8] The speed with which annexes attached themselves to the forts, even early in the occupation, is noticeable. Such annexes occur in all Flavian forts so far examined in Scotland, and natives as well as camp followers clearly frequented them. They must quickly have become centres, not only for official purposes, but for ordinary purposes of trade and barter, in their areas.

[9] *Journal of Roman Studies for 1951*, p. 59.

It is therefore possible that the site is connected with a road running westwards into Galloway.

Tradition, for what it is worth, speaks of such a road which is said to have passed by Stenhouse on the Shinnel Water, Tererran, Drumloff, and thence by way of Conrick over the desolate moorlands to the Upper Ken at Holm of Dalquhairn.[10] Thence it is said to have gone to the neighbourhood of Dalmellington in a direct line over Polwhat Rig. The writer, to whom the most useful lesson of many years of field work has been an open mind and a suspense of disbelief, took the trouble in August, 1951, to penetrate these remote uplands and see for himself whether any such road existed and of what kind it was. He reasoned that the absence of cultivation should have left it recognisable if it ever existed.

It can be said at once that a road exists, clearly traceable over the north shoulder of Colt Hill (698992, O.S. lin. 83) and on westwards to Black Hill and Coranbae Hill. The descent to the Ken is not plain, but the road can be picked up again, climbing the north shoulder of Mid Hill of Greenhead and on over the south shoulder of Windy Standard. But though there is a road beyond question, and though to

[10] Chalmers, *Caledonia Romana,* vol. v., p. 236 (1887 ed.). Another version in vol. i., p. 138, takes the road up the Scar Water. It should be mentioned that in the *Book of Saint Mary of Melrose,* vol. i., p. 183, in a charter recording a gift of land by Affricia, Lady of Nithsdale, to the Abbey of Melrose in the thirteenth century, mention is made of a via regia which formed part of the boundary of this land. The place names are altogether obscure and the writer so far has been unable to determine where exactly this royal road was. The determination might be very useful, for it appears probable that, if indeed a Roman road ran hereabout, the royal road of the thirteenth century would give a clue to its course. The passage runs " from the cross that is called Crossgarriauch which is a boundary mark between the lands of the monks of Dercongal (i.e., Holywood) and Derrengorran, going up along the road as far as Durreswen and descending from there by a cairn to a small stream called Pollelogan, and going up the Pollelogan as far as the Royal Road by which men go from Dercongal to Glencarn, and along that road to the ford of water-course (or marshy expanse, lat. sicus), called Athenwerran ... ."

all appearance it is an ancient road, its Roman origin must be admitted to be doubtful. It does not conform to our usual ideas of a Roman road. It is but ten feet wide, with a lightly metalled surface under the peat which, on the average, is rather more than a foot thick over it. Yet it has a character quite different from the tracks which, even in remote places, are commonly found wandering over the moor. In distinction from them it drives a purposeful course, sometimes standing out as a gently hummocked causeway, sometimes cut out through an intervening rise of ground.[11] In the ascent of Mid Hill of Greenhead there is one quite considerable cutting, in no way resembling the hollow way of a long-used cattle road. Holding fast to commonsense and seeking to envisage the practical problems of Roman troops, the writer is disposed to ask whether we may not have here, not a regular road, but perhaps a patrol track for cavalry keeping a routine eye on what was happening in the moorland expanses. Granted no such patrol tracks have been noted elsewhere (nor for that matter mooted as a possibility), it nevertheless seems certain that something of the kind must have been in use.

However that may be—and time doubtless will tell—this moorland track does not appear to be what we seek on the assumption that Carronbridge is a ford-fort whence a link road runs into Galloway. That link-road, if it exists, must surely run by Moniaive either to Carsphairn or Dalry area, there joining another link-road up the Ken valley from Glenlochar to the Ayrshire sea-base implied by Loudoun Hill.

There is also the question of a possible extension of the Roman road northwards from the Carronbridge-Durisdeer area. As we have seen, there is definite evidence of an extension from here through the hills over to Clydesdale and of an Antonine road-post on this extension. We have also seen

[11] Compare the most interesting account by Mr Angus Graham in *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. lxxxiii., pp. 198 ff. of an old road in the Lammermuirs. Speaking of such roads, he describes them "with their tracks running side by side, criss-crossing among themselves and spreading out or contracting into wider or narrower belts as the lie of the ground dictates." Our road is not like that at all.

that the course of the road as it approaches Durisdeer, the starting point of this extension, is uncertain, the air photograph rather favouring a direct approach to Durisdeer, with the Carronbridge site off the main line. Any extension up the Nith valley from the Carronbridge site, if that extension followed the east side of the river as it does in Lower Nithsdale, would be most difficult and would involve a wide swing north-eastwards from Carronbridge to clear the quite impossible obstacle of Dalpeddar Hill.[12] For that reason also it seems that any extension northwards must start from around Durisdeer. That such an extension must exist seems almost inevitable. Otherwise a vast area bounded by the Clydesdale road on the east and the Castledykes-Loudoun Hill road on the north remained unpenetrated and uncontrolled.

With that thought and armed with some Royal Air Force air photographs of the area, the writer took to the hills along the east side of the Upper Nith last August. A test site seemed to be provided by some faint indications in a field on the farm of Buttknowe, a half-mile north-west of Kirkconnel—grid reference 724130 on 1 in. O.S. 84. By the kind permission of the farmer, Mr Crone, a series of cuts was made where the air photograph showed what might be the south-east corner of a fort or camp. A regular ten foot ditch was found and followed for 130 feet along the east side of the enclosure, round the south-east corner, which was evenly rounded as an arc of 25 feet radius, and for 70 feet along the south side. The ditch, though regular, was a slight affair, descending sharply to a depth of three feet on the outer side and rising gradually to its inner edge. There was no recognisable rampart, which must have consisted of an upcast mound now ploughed away, nor were there any finds. The evidence appears to be consistent with a temporary camp of smallish

[12] The western slope of Dalpeddar Hill, descending to the Nith, is an excellent example of the terrain which Roman roads avoided at all costs. Troops moving along the narrow strip by the river, which in any case would have been unsuitable because it would be marshy and overgrown, would be liable to ambush. To have carried the road along the slope by a terrace would have been equally unsuitable because of the danger from rocks rolled down the slope, a familiar device in primitive warfare.

size; we were not at liberty to examine except over the length described, but the south side, from the air photograph, appears to be some 500 feet.

Within the last few weeks information has come from Dr. St. Joseph that he has seen what may be a small fort on an air photograph of the farm lands of Bankhead, a mile south-east of the Buttknowe site. Recent examination of the actual ground by the writer and Mr W. A. Anderson confirms this. The fortlet from surface indications seems to be about 110 by 100 feet. It is very much ploughed down, and it must be tested by the spade before even its existence can be taken as proved.

Obviously, however, we are on the way to lighten the darkness which has shrouded Upper Nithsdale. The genuineness of the Buttknowe site is beyond reasonable doubt. The proof of the Bankhead site, if established, will involve much more, for a small fort of the type which this appears to be implies a road. And the existence of the road here will give a point from which we can confidently work back to a connection with Lower Nithsdale and forward to a connection with the north-west.

At the moment the possible course of the road, if road there be, seems to be determined from Sanquhar to New Cumnock by a convenient terrace on the gentle hillsides east of the Nith. Along this terrace the road could run with no serious gradient at any point, its direction laid upon the hill of Corsencon, between Kirkconnel and New Cumnock. Mr Truckell of Dumfries Burgh Museum was good enough to draw my attention to a possible stretch beginning at a point of grid reference 657149 on 1 in. O.S. 83 and running towards Watsonburn. This stretch can be found if one takes the side road running east from New Cumnock and follows it for about three miles to the farm of Glen, just beyond a house with the significant name of Street. The stretch will be clearly seen behind a cottage on the opposite side of the road from Glen farm. A cut made across this stretch gave a width of 16 feet, with solid bottoming of large cobbles and side ditches to an over-all width of 24 feet. The surface was covered with a ten inch layer of peaty soil. This road did not

seem to have any of the features of an eighteenth century road, such as sharply scarped margins, nor does it fit into any known scheme of such roads. It is not explained by old coal workings at Watsonburn, for these discharged by a road directly down the hill past Mounthope. Tentatively, therefore, it may be registered as a possible stretch of Roman road.

On that assumption search was made for a continuation south-eastwards without immediate success, except in a field of growing corn on Glen farm where the line was continued by a band of stunted and prematurely yellow growth, Nothing further significant was noted over the terrace on the south shoulder of Corsencon, but a further possible stretch appeared on the farm of Buttknowe immediately south of the temporary camp already described. If we are on the right trail, the line must run past the farms of Glenmuckloch, Crichtons, and Hillhead. A mile further south-east another stretch can be traced on the same line (which is 50 degrees west of north) in a field just east of Bankhead farmhouse, running past the hypothetical fortlet there. Beyond that it is lost till we come to the old quarry on the hill-road from Crawick, where again there is evidence.

An examination of the terrain, even on a map, will show that, if the road indeed ran this way, it must have passed through the gap between Dalpeddar Hill and Auchensow Hill. And evidence of it was observed in growing corn in a field about 600 yards east of Mennock road and north of Auchensow Burn. From there, if our conjecture is sound, it must have gone by Glenim to the neighbourhood of Auchenlone Burn and somehow down to the Carron valley and Durisdeer—somehow, for in any case the descent would be a problem; no easy way exists.

One readily admits that all this awaits proof, and, indeed, that much may be wrong. But it is a step, and a necessary step, towards filling in the serious gap in our knowledge of Roman activity in these parts.

One final comment. In the course of the reconnaissance the writer visited a reputed Roman site at Sheriffcleuch on the Duneaton Water. There is nothing here to suggest Roman origin, though the site itself is suitable enough.

ARTICLE 6.

The Proudfoots of Annandale.

By W. A. J. PREVOST.

The name Proudfoot is found in the early records of both England and Scotland.

Bardsley writes that it is a common entry in the English *Hundred Rolls* of the thirteenth century; and G. F. Black in the *Surnames of Scotland* finds that the spellings Proudfut, Prowdfut and Prudfut were common in the parish of Carnwath in Lanarkshire.[1]

One of the earliest references to an individual of the name is found in Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Documents* when in 1269 the Prior of Tynemouth sued a hundred and thirty persons, including a John Prudfote, for coming to his mills at Seles (? Shields), burning them and doing other damage.

Bain also records an Inquisition, held in Dumfries in 1303, by Robert of Moffate, Patrick Proudefote and others as to the lands of John de Hirdmanstone who had land called Ardry in the tenement of Preston in Galloway.

After a long interval the name Proudfoot appears in Ireland, and between 1584 and 1650 there are ten entries in the City of Dublin Freeman Roll, most of them referring to one family, the head of which was described as a merchant. Evident in the list are the Christian names Patrick, John and James, favourite names in the Proudfoot family.

However, the Ulster King of Arms states that the family of Proudfoot was not indigenous to Ireland, and the only record in the Ulster Office is of a John Proudfoote of Proud-

[1] There also seems to have been a colony of Proudfoots in Methven parish for two testaments, both dated 11th July, 1576, and recorded in Edinburgh Testaments, vol. IV., f. 221 and f. 222, mention a Nicole Proudfute in Drumcarne, his son, Peter, in Dalcruif, and Peter's son, Patrick. A third testament dated 12th October, 1582, refers to a James Proudfute in Sauchtoun; see also *The Court Book of the Barony of Carnwath*, p. 53, etc.

foottowne in the County of Meath Gent, who was buried in the parish church of Dowth on 2nd February, 1634. This John was the son of a Robert Proudfoote of the same place.

It is from Proudfoots of Proudfootstown, perhaps from the Robert mentioned in the preceding paragraph, that the Annandale Proudfoots are descended.

Both the Irish and the Annandale Proudfoots bore arms. The arms displayed on a tomb to the memory of Irish Proudfoots, which was erected in an old Dublin church, consisted of "Vert, a leg in armour embowed and couped at the thigh proper, under the foot a bezant charged with a cross moline, a crescent for difference." The crest: "A plume of feathers." There is no inscription, but the date 1619 is on the pediment.

The arms of the Annandale Proudfoots are the same, with the exception of the crescent, which is not included. Their crest: "An arm embowed in armour proper, holding in the hand an arrow of the last," and the motto, "Audaces Fortuna Juvat."

The connection between the name Proudfoot and the "leg in armour embowed" in the arms seems obvious, but whether the name originated from the arms, or the arms from the name, is problematical. It has been said that the name originated from the pride with which the first Proudfoot regarded his foot, encased in burnished mail, with a polished and very shiny spur.

Though it is certain that the Annandale Proudfoots[2] came from Ireland, the origin of the Irish family is unknown. There are no records of Proudfoots in the College of Arms in London, nor is there evidence in the office of the Lord Lyon in Edinburgh of their arms having ever been matriculated. Nevertheless it may not be unreasonable to suppose that about the fifteenth century Proudfoots left the south of Scotland for Ireland, and that after a lapse of years found it either necessary or convenient to return to the Borders, for it is quite certain that Proudfoots from Proudfootstown are

[2] Pedigrees of James of Barrock, 1913. Privately printed. Compiled by H. E. M. J. and W. A. J.

found in 1600 occupying the lands, farm and mill of Miltons in Upper Annandale.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the name Proudfoot was common in Annandale. The kirkyards and the old kirk session minutes and registers contain many references to persons of that name and to their connections.

Proudfoots were well established in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, in which the farm of Miltons lies, and one of the oldest stones in the Kirkpatrick-Juxta kirkyard records the death of Alexander Proudfoot in 1711 and of his wife, Lilias Johnston in Annandholm, who predeceased him in 1685.

In the same churchyard are the graves of the Proudfoots of Miltons, of whom there is no doubt, if traditional evidence be accepted, that they were the original family of that name to leave Ireland and to settle in Dumfriesshire.

There were many off-shoots of this family. Proudfoots, in the eighteenth century, were in Nether Garrel and Marchbankwood. They were long in the farms of Hillhouse[3] and Wamphraygatehead. Proudfoots operated wauk mills in Wamphray and Poldean, and the old mill at Dumcrieff. There were Proudfoots in Moffat.

It is the Miltons Proudfoots and their descendants, however, who are of particular interest, since their occupancy of Miltons from 1600 to 1814 is authenticated, and from then on their association with Moffat and Moffat parish is well established.

The dates 1600-1814 are carved on a sandstone lintel which was originally part of the structure of the mill at Miltons. The mill was demolished some years ago and the sandstone lintel was removed and built into an adjacent stone dyke, where it still survives.

Also chiselled on the stone are the initials of the Proudfoots who in course of time followed each other in succession as heirs male of the business and tenancy of Miltons.

The Christian names Peter, John, Peter, Thomas, John,

[3] Patterson, *Wamphray*.

Thomas, John were well known to an old lady who had lived in Hopper-Tooty all her life, and she related how as a child she heard them called out by the village children when passing by the old mill on their way to school.

Besides the evidence on the stone there is a reference in the *Register of the Privy Council* to a Patrick Proudfoote " in Miltons " who in 1631 " violently prevented them from uplifting the mart in the parish of Kirkpatrick "; and Thomas and John " of Miltons " are both mentioned in the Kirk Session Registers as having been ordained elders in 1722 and 1758 respectively. The last Proudfoot in Miltons was John (1773-1828), who left there in 1814.

Meanwhile John's brother Thomas (1785-1830) had left Scotland and entered into business with a cousin, James Carfrae, in London, where they traded in wool and other goods with South Africa. He prospered, and, having made a small fortune, returned to his native land and purchased the small estate of Craigieburn, whither he retired in 1819.

Thomas married Jane Wilson (1789-1860), of whom more hereafter, by whom he had four sons—Thomas, James, William, and John. After his death in 1830 the estate of Craigieburn devolved from brother to brother in succession till at length it came into possession of the youngest son, John. This was an unusual chance, for John was the only one of the four brothers to marry. It is also remarkable that John's heir and only child, Emma, did not succeed to the property till almost exactly one hundred years after her grandfather's death.

The connection of these four brothers with Moffat is noteworthy, and there is also some cause for pride in the careers of James and William in Natal, for Professor Hattersley, a Natal historian, has stated that these two Dumfriesshire men had much to do with the early settlement of that colony.

Thomas (1818-1849) practised law in Moffat. In 1846 he took into partnership Thomas Tait, a native of Lochmaben. Mr Tait afterwards became the Town Clerk of Moffat, an office which he held for thirty-seven years till his resignation in 1901.

James (1819-1873) studied farming with Mr Welsh of Braefoot, and when only seventeen years of age left Scotland and went out to Port Elizabeth to farm in South Africa.

He was of an adventurous disposition, and in 1842 sailed from Port Elizabeth to Port Natal fully equipped for big game shooting, with the intention of hunting elephant in the interior. Natal was then a very uncivilised and unsettled country, for the Boers had only recently defeated the Zulu army and slain Dingaan, their king, but in 1843 the British Government interfered and declared Natal a crown colony.

James Proudfoot afterwards took up land in Natal and became one of the colony's leading men. He was selected by the colonists as their representative on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred in 1860. He returned to Moffat in 1863 and proceeded to take an active part in the social life of the district. He became the first Provost of Moffat, an office which he held from 1864 to 1867.

William (1823-1890) went out to Cape Colony in 1841 and took up a farm on Bavianns River. He rendered particularly active service along with the government troops during the Second Kaffir War, which began in 1846.

After some nine years' residence in the Cape he decided to settle in Natal, and he started farming at Reit Vlei, where he became known as a successful stock-breeder. He was appointed Captain of a troop of Carabineers,[4] which he commanded with singular efficiency and led on service in 1861 when Cetawayo with an army of Zulus was advancing on the Tugela River and threatening Natal. William was chosen as A.D.C. to Prince Alfred on the occasion of his visit to Natal.

He died on his farm, Craigieburn, at Reit Vlei, in 1890, and a brief account of his life, written some years after his death, records " that there was not a more highly respected or venerated man in the colony, and that he well deserved the name of the Garibaldi of Natal."

[4] *The Diary of John Shedden Dobie,* 1862-66. Published by the Van Riebeck Society in 1945. Edited by Professor Hattersley, see also A. F. Hattersley *Carbineer* (1950) and *The British Settlement of Natal* (1950).

Although he was separated for forty years from Scotland he retained the kindliest feelings towards the place of his birth, and in token of this willed his estate to "the working men of Moffat."

His intention had been to provide a reading-room for their use, but the bequest amounted to over twenty thousand pounds, and the trustees, who were the Provost and magistrates of Moffat, were enabled to go in for a much larger scheme. There was already a reading-room in the town, and when the manner of dealing with the Proudfoot Bequest was being considered the two sets of trustees consulted together and concluded that it would be best for the Proudfoot Trustees to buy up the other institute and let the price be applied in some other way for the benefit of the working men and women of Moffat.

This was accordingly arranged, but there was considerable opposition to the scheme, and the case was taken to court, who overruled the objections. The scheme was allowed to be proceeded with, though the court had ruled that the proceeds of the sale of the old reading-room should be handed back to the original subscribers. This was done, and the money so realised was donated by the subscribers towards the building of the Moffat Cottage Hospital.

The Proudfoot Trustees built a new and imposing building, which is known as the Proudfoot Institute.

John (1830-1914) joined his brother in Natal, mined for diamonds in the diggings at Kimberley, and then settled on a farm near Greytown. He returned to live in Moffat after the death of his brother James. He was a J.P., but in his latter years took an unobtrusive though generous part in Moffat affairs.

The connection of the Proudfoots and Moffat with the Kirkpatricks of Conheath is of great interest.

Jane Wilson (1789-1860), who has previously been mentioned as the wife of Thomas Proudfoot of Craigieburn, was born in Moffat, the daughter of Thomas Wilson, W.S., of Nether Mill, who was the son of the Doctor of Moffat Academy, a Burgess and Guild Brother of Glasgow and some-

time chief magistrate of Moffat. Her mother was Mary Kirkpatrick (1757-1835) of Conheath, near Caerlaverock, the eldest of a family of nineteen children, of whom six died in infancy, and of the brothers only one had issue. This was William Kirkpatrick (1764-1837), who was intimately connected with what must rank as one of the greatest romances of modern times.

William, perhaps realising that he had little chance of prospering in Dumfriesshire, departed to Malaga in Spain and entered a business in fruit and wine run by a Baron de Grivegnée, an emigrant from Liège. The venture was a success, and he was joined in 1809 by a brother, Thomas Kirkpatrick. Meanwhile William embraced the Catholic religion and married his employer's daughter.

Through the influence of a business friend in Massachusetts he was appointed American consul in Malaga, while Thomas was appointed consul to the Duke of Oldenburg, so that the two brothers were well protected by diplomatic immunity from the attentions of the French should they have occupied that part of Spain. William made himself very useful to the commissariat department of the British army during the Peninsular War, but by this time he was already the father of three daughters whose brilliant complexions and fair hair were the admiration of the Spanish dons, one of whom was captivated and caught by the charms of Maria Manuela, the most brilliant and talented of the trio.

The don was the Count de Teba, the younger brother of the Count de Montijo, the representative of one of the oldest families in Spain, and of a house which was already distinguished in 1291.

De Teba had followed the Napoleonic army back to France and had fought at the defence of Paris in 1814, an action which did not add to his popularity in his own country since he had taken the invaders' side. However, by 1817 he had returned to grace sufficiently to feel justified in asking for permission to marry the daughter of the wine merchant —permission which was granted on the strength of the

Kirkpatrick claim to descent from the old sovereigns of Scotland.

To satisfy the Spanish Court that the marriage[5] was not a misalliance, the services of a well-known Border antiquary, Mr Kirkpatrick-Sharpe, were called upon, and he produced a pedigree of the family which was considered by the Spanish authorities as sufficient proof of the lady's noble blood, and qualified her to be the wife of a Spanish grandee.

Kirkpatrick-Sharpe showed a connecting link of the Conheath family with the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn who were descended from Robert the Bruce; and in case further proof was needed, as indeed it seemed to have been, it was pointed out that in the fifteenth century the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn had received the grant of the Barony of Kirkmichael, and part of this barony, the lands of Over and Nether Glenkilns with Lambfoot and Blackcleugh, were still in the possession of William Kirkpatrick of Conheath in 1784.

On the death of his elder brother in 1834, the Count de Teba succeeded to the vast estates and to the numerous titles of the Count de Montijo, an inheritance which was made possible by the foresight of his wife Maria, who had frustrated a possible attempt to introduce a changeling[6] into her sister-in-law's bed.

This change in the fortunes of the de Teba family came at a time when they were living in poor circumstances, but it was all the more welcome to the Countess, who was thus enabled to break away from her husband and to leave for Paris with her little son and two daughters, Paquita and Eugenia.

The Countess, with her two sisters, had spent nine years of her girlhood in Paris, and meantime had visited England. She may have wished to give her two daughters a similar education, for they remained in Paris for some years and the two girls spent two years at a school in England. It is not certain if the Montijo family visited Dumfriesshire,[7] but

[5] C. L. Johnstone, *Historical Families of Dumfriesshire.*
[6] Robert Sencourt, *The Life of the Empress Eugenie.*
[7] J. M.-Bulloch, *The Curious Career of the Kirkpatricks.* Article in "The Sketch," 16th March, 1896.

it is possible that it was about this time that they paid visits to their relations in Scotland. It is related that Eugenia had once stayed in Moffat, and that her grandfather, William Kirkpatrick, was responsible for the planting of the trees along the old Edinburgh road, that part of which is now called Beechgrove.[8]

Henceforward the story of a remarkable mother and her equally remarkable daughter is almost fantastic. How the Countess introduced Eugenia to the French Court, her tactics in dealing with Napoleon, and the amazing skill with which she concluded her campaign are all written in the pages of history. Her ambitions were fulfilled in 1853 when Eugenia was married to Louis Napoleon and became Empress Eugénie of France.

It was only natural that such an alliance of a lady whose grandfather was Dumfriesshire born and bred created a considerable stir in the county, and the Kirkpatricks of Conheath soon discovered that their family circle had become surprisingly enlarged. Interest in the connection of the Conheath family with that of Closeburn was again revived, and doubts were cast on the correctness of Mr Sharpe's pedigree by Dr. Rammage, the historian. Mr J. Campbell Gracie[9] was therefore asked by William Sharpe of Hoddam to endeavour to trace out the connecting link, and he was given access to the late Kirkpatrick-Sharpe's papers to assist him to do so. Apparently the results of his search satisfied the public, and copies of the pedigree chart were obtainable in Dumfries from Campbell Gracie himself, who had the honour of presenting a copy to Her Imperial Majesty on the occasion of her visit to Scotland in 1860.[10]

During his researches he was assisted by Mrs Jane Proudfoot of Craigieburn, who was then the nearest relation of the Kirkmichael family residing in the district. It is unfortunate that no other records connecting the Empress with Moffat

[8] *Knight's Penny Guide to Moffat.*

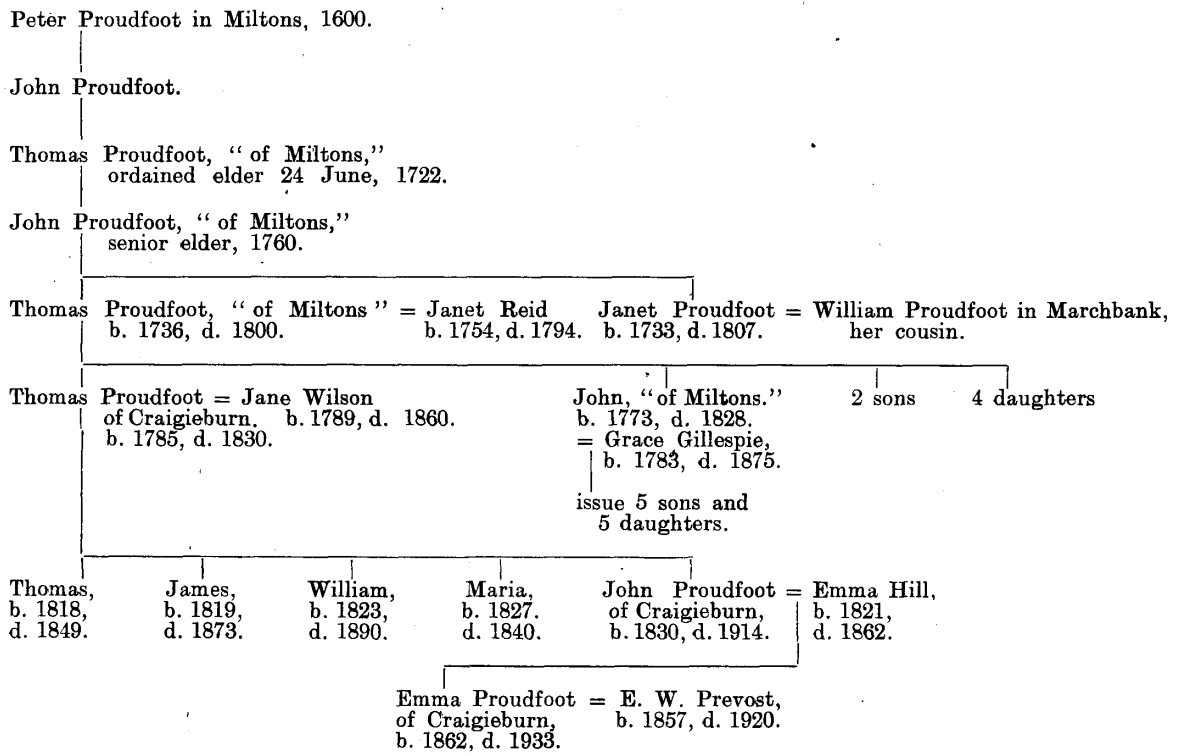
[9] J. C. Gracie in *Dumfries and Galloway Notes and Queries,* " Annandale Herald," 7th June, 1873.

[10] " Dumfries and Galloway Standard," 18th December, 1860.

have survived, for it is known that at some time John Proudfoot (1830-1914) visited Paris and was received by Eugénie, whose relationship to him was that of second cousin.

John Proudfoot also possessed a silver bowl which was said to have been used at the infant Eugenia's christening.

PROUDFOOTS OF MILTONS.



ARTICLE 7.

An Early Coschogill Writ.

By R. C. REID.

Whilst preparing a calendar of the Monreith charters there was found mixed up with them a number of titles of the lands of Adamton, in the parish of Monkton, Ayrshire, which for several centuries had belonged to the Blairs of Adamton. That family ended in an heiress, Catharine Blair, who married in 1776 Sir William Maxwell of Monreith. In due course the Maxwells sold Adamton but retained all the early titles.

Amongst these Adamton charters was an interesting document, given here, relating to Coschogill, in the barony of Drumlanrig. Hitherto the earliest Coschogill document known was dated 1474. This one is 20 years earlier, and carries the history of those lands back a further century. It also gives us a view, which we get nowhere else, of what happened at a sitting of a Justiciary Court of Drumlanrig in mid 15th century. The document recording the proceedings is at the hand of Thomas Burn, presbyter of Glasgow diocese and notary public. Unfortunately the " several arguments and points of law " moved between the parties have been omitted, but otherwise the record is complete.[1]

22nd January, 1454/5.

In a justiciary court of Drumlangrig, proclaimed in advance by the space of forty days, held there in virtue of regality by James Douglas of Drumlangrig, substitute and depute of Sir Robert Crechtoune of Sanchar, justiciar of the said court specially substituted and deputed by the lord thereof, after several arguments and points of law had been moved between Thomas Grahame, forespeaker for John Blare of Adamtoun, pursuer on the one part in a plea of a brieve of mortancestry obtained by the said John on the lands of Coschogil, lying within the barony

[1] For details of " several arguments and points of law " raised in a local court we have to wait another century. The fortunate survival of a process in the Baron Court of Glenluce in 1556 is given *in extenso* in these *Transactions* (1936-8), vol. XXI., p. 292.

of Drumlangrig and sheriffdom of Drumfres, and Thomas Thomson, forespeaker for James Lorane, defender on the other part, on the termination of the said brieve, the said Thomas Grahame spoke in such words as these to John Irland, serjeant of the court: "I, Thomas Grahame, forespeaker for John Blare, principal, pursuer in this cause, say on his behalf that the plea of the brieve of the said lands of Coschogil ought, for certain reasons assigned by me above, to be admitted this day to the cognisance of an assise; for the affirming hereof I find a pledge in your hand and another pledge hereon for greater security; and the first pledge found by me is lawful and of sufficient strength and effect because neither the said James Lorane nor any other on his behalf says anything lawfully or in form of law in lawful contradiction or gainsaying of my pledge whereby my pledge can of law be in any way rendered less effective." When these matters had been uttered, proponed and alleged as said above by the said Thomas Grahame, the said Thomas reverently said to the said James Douglas: "Lord substitute and depute, you have heard how many reasons, allegations, and propositions I have proponed and alleged in your worthy presence on behalf of the said John Blare and for the defence and conclusion of his cause of the said brieve, and no one for the other side compears to bring up any impediment in the contrary of my allegation, whereby the plea of the said brieve, according to the proofs and my allegations, may be lawfully admitted this day to the cognisance of the assise and may not be further repelled by the assise: wherefore I beg you, lord substitute and depute, and strictly charge you in virtue of your office, as you may be willing to answer before our sovereign lord the king, that you admit the plea of the said brieve to the cognisance of an assise, choosing a faithful assise by whom the truth of the ambiguity of the said brieve may this day be lawfully and justly concluded." The said James Douglas, understanding the request of the said Thomas to be just and being instructed and informed by his own understanding and by the advice of the court, caused an assise to be gathered of the most trustworthy of the country then assembled there, whose names follow, viz. Robert Dalyel of that ilk, Gilbert Makmath of Dalpeter, John Boile of Wamfray, Cuthbert Molmorsone of Arestroane, John Blak Patonsone of Blakwod, Patrick Blak of Templand, George Douglas, John Menzies of Achincol, George Were of Snar, Rothald Dalyel, Gilchrist Greresone, David Johnstoune, Fergus Donaldsone, Richard Edgar of Inglischtoune, Alan MakRath, Rothaldus Banachtine and James Braune of Dalvene; and these men abovewritten, being chosen and sworn as an assise, understanding and taking into account all the points proponed to them by the said Thomas Graham for the conclusion of the said brieve, went out of doors and, waiting there for a certain time ripely examining, searching and discussing what was to be

concluded in the said case, agreed unanimously on all points and thus with their declaration entered to the assise [i.e., court]. Then, for the final conclusion of the whole of the said case, Rothald Dalyel, chancellor of the assise, for himself and his fellows who were on the said assise, said that the deceased Sir John Blare, grandfather of the said John Blar, pursuer of this brieve, died last vest and seised as of fee at the faith and peaçe of our lord the king in the said lands of Coschogil with the pertinents and that the said John Blar, pursuer of the said brieve, is nearest lawful heir of the deceased Sir John Blare, his grandfather, in the said lands with the pertinents, and that he is of lawful age. When this had been heard, the said Thomas Graham charged John Russell, dempster of the court, that he should perform his office, and the said John Russell, at command of the said Thomas Graham, gave for doom that the said John Blare should have suchlike sasine in the said lands of Coschogil with the pertinents as the deceased Sir John Blare, grandfather of the said John, had in the said lands on that day on which he was alive and dead. When this judgment had thus been given in form, the said James Douglas gave a rod to the said John Blar in token of sasine of the said lands with the pertinents, charging the serjeant of the court, John Irland, that he should without delay pass personally to the chief messuage of the said lands and, being there personally present, give heritable sasine of the said lands to the said John or to his certain attorney. When this had been said, the foresaid John Irland passed to the chief messuage of the said lands and there, taking up earth, stone and wood as use is, gave and delivered heritable sasine of the said lands with the pertinents to the said John Blar, and invested him in the same.

Witnesses: Edward Crechtoune, Simon Ker, Donald Huntar, George Dalyel, George Were of Carkow and Alexander Abernethy, esquires, sirs John Bel, John Gerland, Archibald Cuke and Thomas Quhelp, chaplains, and Robert Kere.

The document[1a] presents some points of unusual interest. It is most unusual for a brieve of mortancestor to go before a Justiciary Court. The usual service was before a sheriff, and the only brieve likely to go before a Justiciary Court was a brieve of Perambulation, which this document certainly is not. Normally the brieve should have been served before the Sheriff of Dumfries sitting at Dumfries unless the barony was also a regality with its own "chapel," which

[1a] I am indebted to Dr Gordon Donaldson for assistance in the translation of this document.

was not the case of Drumlanrig. Sometimes on complaint of enmity, feud, or partiality a special depute would be appointed by the Lords of Council or the Lords themselves would hear the case and serve, or a sheriff *in hac parte* would be appointed by them on commission.[2] The sheriff, of course, might himself decide to appoint a special depute for that particular service,[3] and in some cases might ordain the brieve to be served not in the sheriff court but on the land debateable.

"In virtue of regality" is puzzling, for there was no regality in the normal use of that term. Possibly the scribe meant in virtue of a royal writ or commission, and when he goes on to say that James Douglas of Drumlangrig was specially deputed by Sir Robert Crichton of Sanquhar, it looks as though there may have been a commission issued by the Lords of Council (which is not on record—and indeed very few commissions do get on record even in later times when they are supposed to be entered in the Books of Responde) to Sir Robert Crichton, authorising him to decide this difficult service, giving him power to appoint deputes, and also probably giving him general powers of justiciary (as such commissions usually did). The later reference to the judge being answerable to the king looks like a reference to a special commission.

It must therefore be assumed that this was a court held by James Douglas of Drumlangrig, specially appointed as depute by Sir Robert Crichton of Sanquhar, who had been given a commission of justiciary. This is supported by the "space of forty days," which is a legal *induciæ* which would have to be given for a special diet of a special court, since otherwise the parties would not have been adequately warned, and which therefore strengthens the suspicion of a court held under a special commission. It looks, too, as though the court were held *super fundum debatabilem*. Moreover, it will be noticed that *assisa* is used instead of the customary *inquisicio*—possibly because the court was treated as a

[2] Sheriff Ct. Bk. of Fife, pp. LXIX. ff.
[3] ibid LVII.-LVIII.

justiciary court. It is similarly highly exceptional to find the dempster " giving for doom " in a general service such as this, and there is no other parallel—again suggesting a justiciary court by commission. Also, the " giving of a rod " to the serjeant of the court is unusual. Serjeants normally hold a rod of office given to them when they take over office and swear the customary oath of faithful service. Thus, the giving of a rod to the sergeant in this case suggests that he was only a serjeant *ad hoc*, and again suggests a special meeting of a special court.

That is, it looks like a court of commission regarded as a justiciary court (possibly because the commission itself so ran or possibly to strengthen the finding of the court and in particular the service made by the jury). Possibly the very forthright Thomas Graham had applied to the Lords of Council for the issue of a commission, and there was probably some " hidden history " behind the case whereby it was considered more desirable that it should be served in this way instead of going through the more normal procedure of the sheriff's court at Dumfries.[4]

Of the parties mentioned, Sir Robert Crechtoun of Sanquhar was appointed Sheriff of Dumfries on 6 November, 1452,[5] in succession to Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, deceased, an office that was to become hereditary in the Crichton family. The pursuer, John Blare of Adamton, claimed the lands of Coschogill as heir to his grandfather, Sir John Blare of Adamton, who was a younger son of James de Blare of that Ilk, who was son of a Hugh de Blare identified with that Hugh de Blare of Ayrshire who figures in *Ragman Roll*.[6]

To the defender, James Lorane, it is not yet possible to give a similar pedigree, but he must have been a direct descendant, probably grandson of Eustace de Lorane, who had been a prominent figure on the Marches of Scotland in the first half of the 14th century.

[4] Professor W. Croft Dickson, *per litt.* 17.11.52.
[5] *Scots Peerage*, III., 220.
[6] Douglas, *Baronage*, 197.

The lands of Coshogle (Corschogill is the earliest of many variants), with other unascertained lands on the Border, had belonged to Eustace, had been forfeited from him, "our notorious enemy and rebel," and granted to Hugh de Blare.[7] Hugh was dead by 12 April, 1357, on which date King David granted Coshogle to James de Blare, son and heir of Hugh,[8] "to be held in chief of the Lord of those lands."[9] Nigh 20 years later James de Blare received another charter of the lands of Heroude and others unnamed in the sheriffdoms of Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Ayr, forfeited by Eustace de Lorane.[10]

James de Blare acquired Adamton in 1362 by excambion with Sir Robert de Erskine[11] for Blair's lands of Mallerbey in Perthshire, and at his death left his northern estates to his heir and his southern lands to his younger son, Sir John Blare of Adamton.[11a] This explains how this document came to be amongst the Adamton writs.

From the Blairs Coshogle must have passed to the Wallaces of Carnhill, for on 14 November, 1474, Annabel Stewart, spouse of Mathew Wallace, renounced the lands in favour of Archibald Douglas, who had previously held by tack from Mathew.[12]

The earliest notice of the family of Lorane occurs *c.* 1190, when Hugo de Lorens and Eda, his wife, confirmed charters by Roger de Auldtoun to Kelso Abbey.[13] Eda or Ida was

7 R.M.S. 1306/1424, App. II., 1038.

8 This charter together with its Confirmation by Robert II. on 28th May, 1374 (see R.M.S. 1306/1424, App. II., 479), is engrossed in a notarial instrument at the hand of Thomas Twy, N.P., dated 8th June, 1431, amongst the Adamton charters.

9 The "lord of those lands" in 1357 must have been William, first Earl of Douglas whose grandson, William Douglas of Drumlanrig, received a gift of the barony of Drumlanrig between 1384-88 from his father, the second Earl.

10 R.M.S. 1306/1424, 463. Original amongst the Adamton charters.

11 Erskine had been given a charter of Adamton by Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, c.1351 (R.M.S. 1306/1424, app. II., 1286).

11a R.M.S. 1306/1424. App. II., 1467, original in Adamton charters.

12 Drumlanrig Inventory.

13 *Reg. de Kelso*, I., 63.

the daughter and heiress of Symon Fraser, and had brought to her husband the south-eastern portion of the lands of Keith-Hundeley in East Lothian.[14] Of this marriage there was only one daughter, Eda de Lorens, who. *c.* 1200, married Philip de Keith, ancestor of the Keiths, Earls Marshal of Scotland. This Eda is believed to have died in 1200. But she can scarcely have carried to the Keiths all the lands of her parents, for in 1233 a Roger Loran witnessed an agreement relating to the church lands of Hurchard, a prebend of Elgin,[15] and also witnessed, as Loreng, an undated charter to Newbattle.[16] The next man with this name was William fitz Lorance of the county of Ayr, who figures in *Ragman Roll* as swearing fealty in 1296 to Edward I.[17] Perchance he may be the William Loran, nephew of Sir John Butler, who was slain by Sir William Wallace at Schortwodschawis, according to the romantic poem of Blind Harry (*Book* IV., 583, 657).

The parentage of Eustace de Loreyn has not been established, and the first mention of him is as a witness to a charter by Walter the Steward of Scotland, dated provisionally 1320-26.[18] Though a Scot, Eustace, like many more of his countrymen, was never out of touch with England, and, even during the latter part of the reign of Robert the Bruce, was in correspondence with Scots in England. Thus on 20 November, 1323, Edward II. granted a safe conduct to Tassyn de Loran, "a Scotsman about to come to England to speak with David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol," on condition that he did not enter farther than ten leagues over the Scottish Marsh.[19] Whether that visit took place with the knowledge and consent of the Scottish authorities or was a clandestine journey on his own account may never be cleared up. But he certainly was accepted as a true Scot in Scotland, for

[14] *Scots Peerage*, VI., 28, and VII., 418.
[15] *Reg. de Moray*, p. 97.
[16] *Reg. de Newbotle*, p. 26.
[17] *Bain II.*, 205 and 265.
[18] *Miscellany of Scots. Hist. Soc.*, vol. V., p. 9. Original charter at the Register House.
[19] *Bain* III., 822

when, on 15 December, 1333, Edward III. ordered a new valuation to be prepared of Castle, County, and Town of Berwick by four Scots and four Englishmen, Eustachius de Maxwell and Eustachius de Lorreyne are named amongst the Scots.[20] At that time just after Halidon, Berwickshire, and much else, was in English hands, and an Englishman, William de Felton, was constable of Roxburgh Castle. In January, 1336, Edward granted a pardon to Eustachius Loreigne along with others for breaking the King's peace by homicide and robbery perpetrated by them in Scotland.[21] About the year 1340 Eustace slew one Robert Lauder, and received from the Scottish Crown a remission for the crime,[22] but in the interval he had probably been forfeited and gone over to England, for on 20 May, 1343, Edward III., in recompense for the sufferings of *his liege*, Eustace de Loreyng, who had lost his lands in Scotland for his allegiance, granted him 100 merks yearly till he recovers his lands.[23] It seems likely that this grant became inoperative through the Scottish remission to Eustace. Yet it throws a somewhat sinister light upon his character.

In 1346 was fought the disastrous battle of Neville's Cross or Durham, where David II. was captured, and on 30 October an indenture of treaty for settlement of the Border was entered into by the two countries. Eustachius de Lorrenz with other laymen and abbots represented Scotland.[24] Further resistance by Scotland was hopeless, and Eustace de Loren, who was in command of Roxburgh Castle, surrendered it to the English.[25] Then apparently the double dealing of Eustace came to light, and the Scottish Crown granted to Hew Blare the forfeiture in general of Eustace Lorene.[26] This is the last that is heard of Eustace.

20 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 260.
21 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 400.
22 R.M.S., 1306/1424, app. II., 753.
23 *Bain* III., 1410, quoting Patent Rolls.
24 *Acts Scots. Parl.*, I., 180.
25 *ibid*, I., 172. Embodied in a later declaration of 17.3.1368/9 anent the rights of the Dischington family to the lands of Ardross.
26 *R.M.S.* 1306/1424, App. II., 1038.

About the year 1354 James de Lorreyn, believed to be a son of Eustace, witnessed the endowment charter of a priest to serve in the church of St James of Roxburgh, which charter was confirmed by David II. on 1 April, 1354,[27] and between 1350 and 60 a James de Lorreyne was a witness of a charter by Sir John Neville, younger of Raby, to Melrose Abbey, all the other witnesses being English.[28] James, too, was a witness on 5 Feb., 1357-8, of the second charter of Altonburn by John of Coupland to John Kerr of the Forest of Selkirk. On 1 June, 1357, Edward III. granted to James de Loreyne of Scotland, who had lost his heredity in Scotland, £20 yearly till he recovered his lands.[29] This grant was repeated on 28 May, 1358,[30] and was extended afresh on 6 February, 1358-9, by this addition—granting to him the barony of Cavertoun in Co. Roxburgh forfeited by Edward from William de Coucy, "our enemy of France, which is worth in times of peace £58 p.a. and at other times is worth £8 p.a. on account of destruction, as found by inquisition of Robert de Tughale, chamberlain of Berwick-on-Tweed. But if the barony is restored to William de Coucy or his heirs the King is not bound to make compensation to Lorreyne."[31] The annual grant of £20 had been derived from the customs of Kingston-on-Hull, 50 merks yearly. On 18 November, 1361, Edward substituted for this grant the custody of the lands of the deceased Nicolas de Sancto Mauro, in the barony of Old Roxburgh, till the heirs came of age. At the end of the minority James de Lorein was to give up the custody and revert to the 50 merks.[32] Another member of the family, Alexander de Loreyn, also made his peace with Edward, receiving the custody of the lands of the deceased Richard de Kirkbryde held in chief of the King of Scotland during the minority of the heirs.[33] It

[27] *Reg. de Kelso*, II., 387.
[28] *Reg. de Melros*, p. 439.
[29] *Bain*, III., 1634.
[30] *Rot. Scot.*, I., 825b.
[31] *Rot. Scot.*, I., 834.
[32] *Rot. Scot.*, I., 858.
[33] *Rot. Scot.*, I., 834.

is not known where these lands lay, though Coschogill is in the now extinct parish of Kirkbryde.

From 1361 to 1454 is a big gap in the family pedigree at present unfilled, but it is almost certain that the James Lorane of the proceedings of the later date was a direct descendant of Eustace, and, though he failed to recover these lands of his forebear, he in turn must have left descendants, for the surname, though scarce, has survived both north and south of the Border.[34]

In the *Pedigree of Loraine of Kirkharle* (*Northumberland*) it is suggested that the family had a continental origin and may be derived from Robert de Lorraine, Bishop of Hereford, 1079-95, who is believed to have been given lands in Northumberland and Durham in the reign of William Rufus; it is added that a son of Sir Eustace, fighting on the English side, was taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, at which James Loreyn, a banneret, was slain; in the covenants for delivering up Roxburgh Castle to the victorious English made between Henry de Percy and Ralph de Neville on the part of England, and Sir Eustace Loreyne, one of the wardens of that Castle in name of William Douglas on the part of Scotland, it was agreed that Edward III. should pay £40

34 A Eustace Lorane is mentioned in the Lag Charters c. 1400; a Robert Lorane served on a Lauder retour, 27th June, 1424, and again on 31st October, 1440, on a retour of George Ker of Samuelston (*Home MSS.* p. 121 and 161). On 7th February, 1428/9 there was an indenture between Patrick Lorane, son and heir of Robyn Lorane and Janet of Rutherford, wife of George of Rutherford of Chattow, annent the recovery by Patrick of his father's lands. Patrick was uncle (Eme) of Janet (*R.H. Supplementary Charters*). On 2nd November, 1507, James Lorein of Herwod served on an assize (*ibid*), so it looks as if this James of Herwod had got back some of the land of Eustace of Heroude. In 1537, Patrick Lorane served as a chaplain in Rothesay Castle (*Ex.R.*, XVII., 53) and in 1550 another Patrick was a notary, and in 1583 Edward Lorane of Harwod was surety in £1000 that William Douglas of Caveris, sheriff of Roxburgh, would account in the Exchequer for the dues of that Sheriffdom (*Ex.R.* XXI. p. 578). As late as 1729 the family of Lorran was still represented as skinners in Duns (*Duns Castle MSS.*, p. 47) and in 1774 James Lorain of Angelraw was sheriff clerk of Berwickshire, receiving a grant of Arms.

for the ransom of the captured son of Eustace, the King's order dated 28 January, 1347, being for payment of that sum to Robert Bertram, who had captured him in the fighting at Durham.[35] Sir David Lyndesay records as the arms of Lorene of Hairwode—argent, three laurel leaves, vert.[36]

[35] *Rot. Scot.*, I., 685
[36] R. R. Stoddart, *Scottish Arms.*

ARTICLE 8.

A " Fort " in Mochrum Parish.

By JOHN FIDDES, M.A.

1. Introduction.

In the parish of Mochrum in Wigtownshire there are a number of approximately circular stone-walled enclosures. These sites occur from Corwall in the north to Airyolland in the south on the seaward slope toward Luce Bay (Plate 1): most of them are marked on O.S. 6 in. maps (Sheet Wigtownshire, 25 S.W.), and recorded in the *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway* (H.M.S.O., 1912). The purpose and date of these enclosures are not known.

The site chosen for excavation, on Chippermore farm, did not appear to have been robbed for dyke-building nor had its interior been ploughed. (No. 191, *Inventory*.) It proved to be egg-shaped (long axis 111 feet) and divided into two platforms with an entrance to the lower on the South-East (Fig. 1). A low cairn occupied the centre of the upper platform which had been dug back into the slope and the spoil used to build up the downhill sector. The outer wall was well preserved to a height of 2 feet except on the North-West, although washed soil had obscured the East side.

A complete section was first cut along the line of slope (Long Cut Figs. 1, 2, 3). The cut was not in the same line throughout in order to avoid large boulders: it passed from the lower to the upper platform up a ramp (built-up artificially). The lower platform was then cleared East of the cut. The entrance area was examined. The cairn was stripped quadrant by quadrant and layer by layer down to bedrock and indications of an underlying structure were followed up toward the entrance. The North-West sector of the outer wall where it appeared to be much thicker than elsewhere was sectioned in a number of places.

2. The Outer Wall.

No evidence was found of robbing for dyke-building. On the contrary, stones cleared from the surrounding field

had been added to the outer tumble on the West side and built up in a small heap on the South-East. These additions could be identified by an admixture of stones with unweathered fractured surfaces; under the heap, a large fragment of wood was found in a good state of preservation.

The structure of the wall varied in detail, but at all points except on the North-West it consisted of well-laid inner and outer facings and a careless filling. From the number of chips and flakes the filling was probably thrown in after the facings were laid. The bottom course rested simply on subsoil. The walls were about 8 feet thick and originally stood 4 to 6 feet high at the up-slope facing (Fig. 2). The collapse was so complete that the upper courses probably consisted of alternate layers of turf and stones. A suggestion of leached turf was found on the surface of the subsoil under the wall and for a few feet down-slope.

On the North the wall also served as revetment for the bank overhanging the upper platform. The outer face consisted of large stones set upright, standing 2 to 3 feet high. The inner face was built up of medium stones on a base of flat slabs laid on a ledge cut into the slope. The filling was careless.

The East side, North of the entrance, was distinguished by the size of the facing-stones ($3\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 x 2 feet), of which only the bottom course remained. The filling was not examined. The level of the top of the facing-stones immediately North of the entrance was that of the upper platform. Soil washed down among the tumble on the outer side formed an easy ramp by which a cart could reach the upper platform. Along the South side the facings were of laid medium stones, and the carelessness of the filling was most marked. In one section (H, Fig. 2) the infilling was of small stone chips mixed with seashells. The wall was unusually thick (9 feet) owing to a deep inner facing (3 feet). In this facing the shells occurred only among the upper courses. In the infilling they occurred in the underlying subsoil as well as among the stone chips. The outermost 2 feet of the section might be an addition when the wall was repaired or its course altered:

Plate I.—AERIAL VIEW OF CHIPPERMORE FARM.

shells only occurred in the subsoil. It is probable that the wall was built over an area where shells were scattered and the filling was from a near-by dump of seashells and small stones.

In the North-West large and medium stones covered a large area, one or two deep. No wall-chamber was found to account for an increased thickness of wall, although there was one clearly defined area of heavy paving with shells on and under the flat slabs (Fig. 1). The shells occurred within a semi-circular area in Cut G near its centre and along Cut J as far as a stone set upright (height $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet) in the paving. North of this the paving continued, but there were no shells. The paving ended at a 6 inches rise in the subsoil topped by two courses of stones ($\frac{1}{2}$ x $\frac{1}{2}$ x $\frac{1}{2}$ foot) neatly laid. The evidence suggested a hut. The Cut G struck heavier stonework where the hut-walls should run, and the convexity of the outer wall base at this point was difficult to explain on any other grounds.

The outer wall base was not convincing in Cut C, but more definite in Cut B. In Cut A the wall was undisturbed except for tumble. The inswinging wall base in Cuts C, B, and A was well-defined: this wall appeared to be later than the outer. There were indications of this wall, too, in Cut K, obscured by the wall of the upper platform. The areas in Cut A marked " P ?" appeared to be paved, but more lightly than the shell area.

In Cut A the inswinging wall of the lower platform was well-built of large stones exclusively: its south face rose vertically 3 feet from the platform and its top formed the paved surface at the join of A and G. In Cut F, the rise of 3 feet occurred between the boulder outcrop at the south end and the south face of the wall. This slope was revetted with stones set in the subsoil; the wall ran along the top of the slope. In Cut F the wall was an interior partition 6 feet thick and at most 2 feet high, but in Cut A it was a very substantial revetment. This wall was never reconstructed : it cannot have been intended as a defence, the large stones in Cut A probably being used merely because they were close at hand, in the

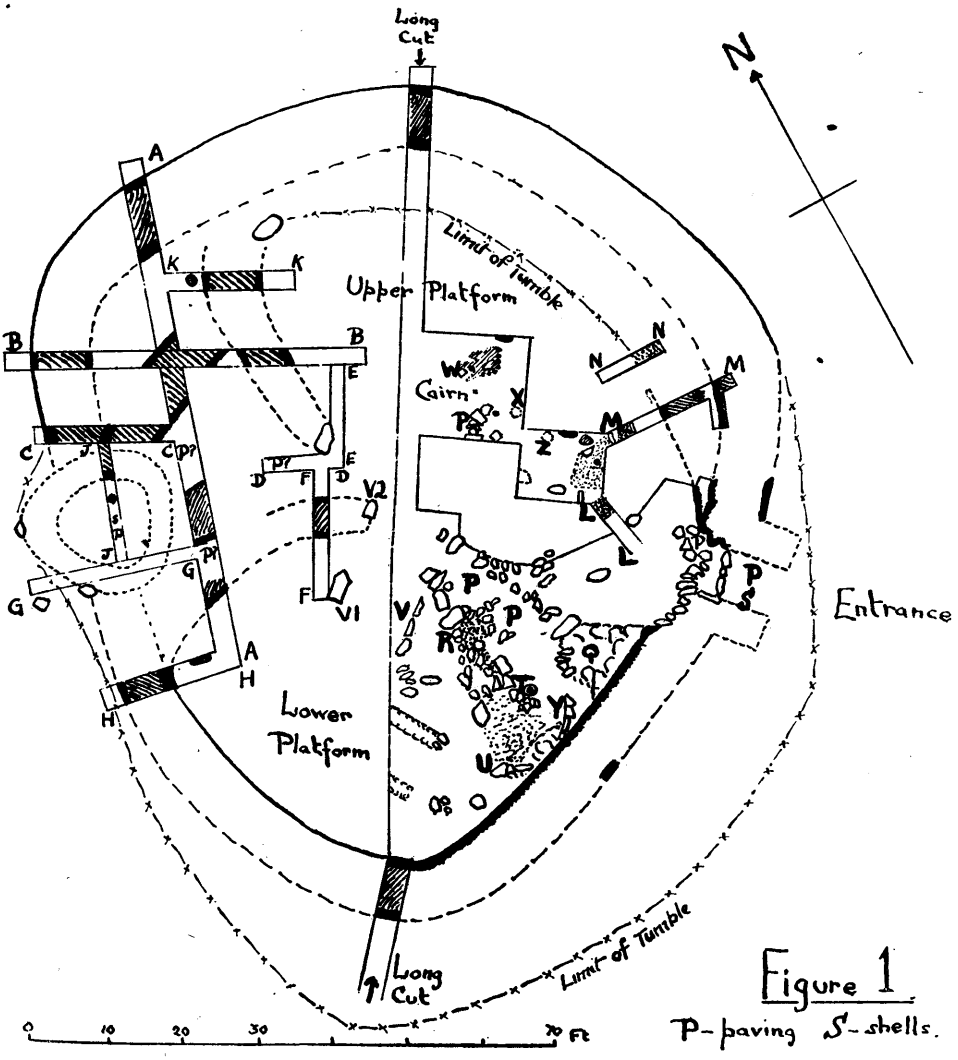
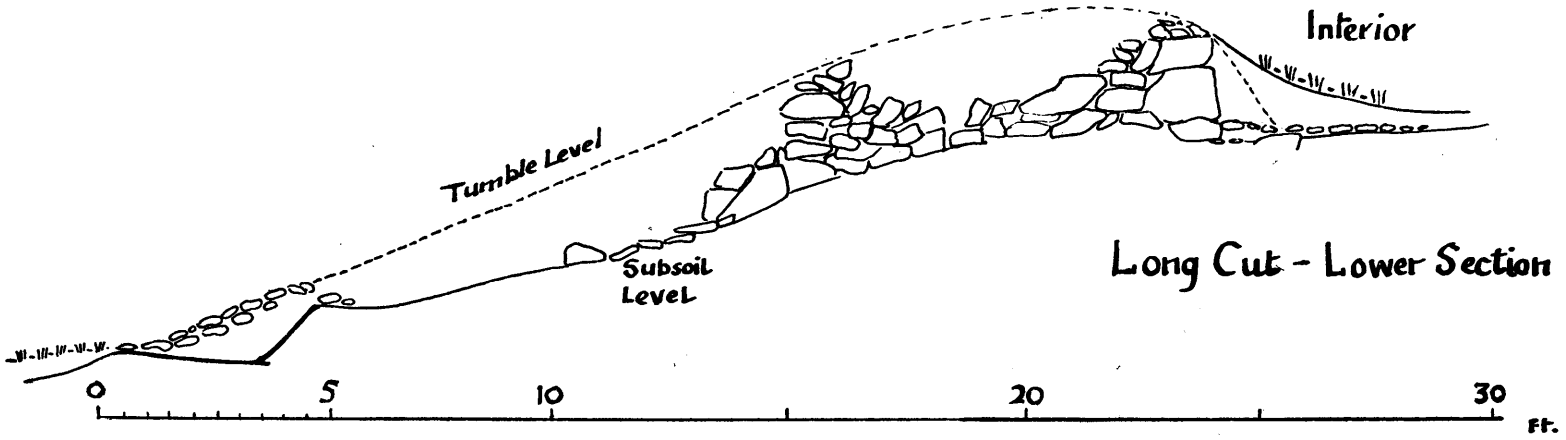


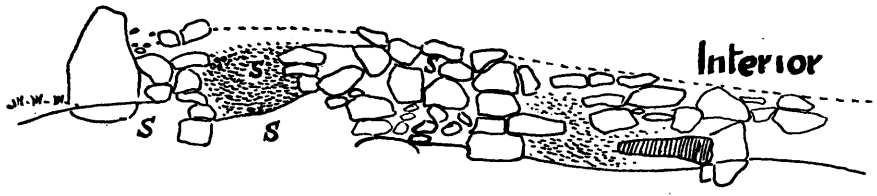
Figure 1

P- paving S- shells.



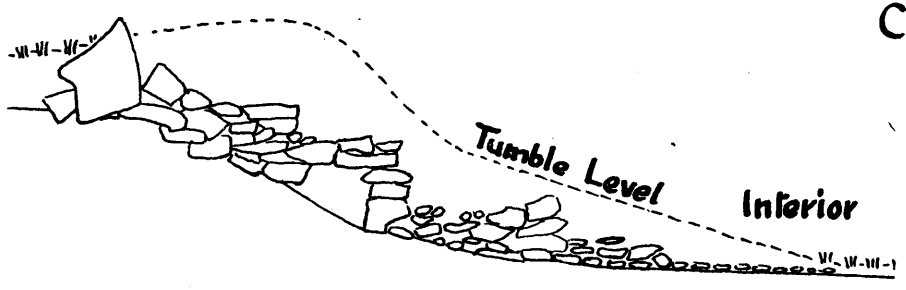
Long Cut - Lower Section

Vertical Scale
same as horizontal



Cut H

S - Seashells
Decayed vegetable matter



Long Cut - Upper Section

Figure 2

Sections of Outer Wall

ruins of the hut in Cuts G and J or of the outer wall in that area.

The inswinging wall of the upper platform also remained undisturbed. It was about 8 feet thick but not more than 2 feet high. The facings were of medium stones and the filling of medium (Cut K) or small (Cut B).

3. The Lower Platform.

The lower platform was natural, although a few boulders had been dug out. A number of large stones lay on the surface, in 3 main groups (Fig. 1) (1) tumble on the slope to the upper platform; (2) a pier (Q) projecting from the outer wall; and (3) a straight length of wall (R). The pier Q was formed of tumbled stones and not built on to the wall, but its shape was suggestive. A short well-built pier (Y), built on to the wall, consisted of two or three courses of flat slabs and stood about 1 foot high. The wall R was undoubtedly laid but very roughly: the bottom course was a single line of large and medium stones lying on subsoil. The upper courses, of medium stones, had collapsed, but the height cannot have exceeded 3 feet. At the south end of this wall a number of flat stones were probably originally placed one on top of the other to form a precarious column at T. Immediately to the east of T, lying on the subsoil, was a flat stone (diameter 4 inches) with a $\frac{1}{2}$ inch depression in it (diameter 2 inches), which may be a post socket. South-West of the pier Y tumble from the outer wall extended to a suggestion of another pier (U), of which only a few stones remained. West of this pier, running into the unexcavated area, were the foundations of two walls about 2 feet thick (small stones set in the subsoil). A ridge of natural rock projected at V. The area between T and U (dotted, Fig. 1) was covered in a fairly thick scatter of small stones. The area to the west was clear of stones, and the scatter was markedly less between R and Q. In the latter area two unidentifiable fragments of medieval pottery were found. Between R and the tumble on the slope to the upper platform there was a rough paving of large slabs laid at close intervals on the subsoil.

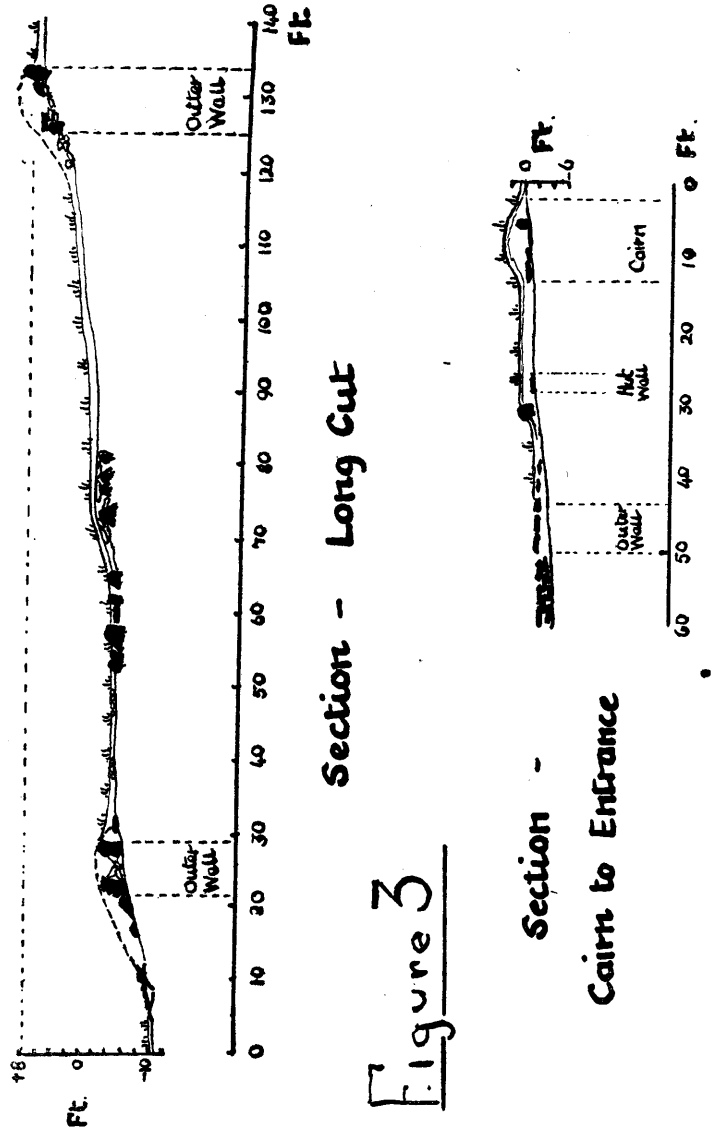
No occupation levels were found. The wall R was probably part of a medieval shelter. There may well have been an inswinging wall on the line of Y and Q to match that on the North-West side of the lower platform, but, if so, it was demolished to build the shelter.

Where the long cut ran up to the outer platform the slope was more gentle than elsewhere, due to a rock outcrop—a long ridge (V) on one side and two large rocks (V1, V2) on the other defining a natural ramp. The hollows in the rock between were packed with small stones, and in one hollow a number of beach pebbles were found at the foot of the filling. Toward the upper platform the filling was surfaced with flat stones (Fig. 3). A natural ramp appeared to have been adapted as a passage from one platform to the other.

4. The Entrance.

The entrance passage and the area immediately within it were paved with heavy slabs. The passage was on the same level as the interior with a step down of 2 inches on the line of the outer face of the wall. There was a strong indication that an arm projected from the outer face on either side to increase the length of the passage. The width was 6 feet. Time did not allow a full examination of this area, and it is not certain that the full width of the entrance was cleared. The North-East side was certain but not the South-West. Inside the entrance there were only one or two layers of paving, extending North-East of the entrance. In the passage there were a number of layers (Fig. 3) reaching 13 inches down to the subsoil: under the uppermost and between all the others down to bedrock there were large quantities of seashells. The area over which they occurred did not cover the whole passage but only the South-West side. They were also associated with the paving extending North-East, but in smaller quantities.

At some stage the entrance had been blocked with stones set upright almost but not quite on the line of the outer face of the original wall, suggesting a new wall swinging very slightly inwards from the old as it ran up the slope. Such a


Ft.
Outer Wall
Outer Wall
Ft
Section - Long Cut
Figure 3
Section -
Cairn to Entrance
Ft.
Cairn
Hut Wall
Outer Wall
Ft.

wall was traced to the North-East and on the upper platform: the inner face was of loosely laid stones, and the outer was formed by the old wall, the filling being very careless.

The shells and paving underlay the new wall and the gate blocking. They also underlay what was accepted as the South-West side of the entrance passage. North-East of the gate they occurred in pockets between the large facing stones of the old wall at base leved, but no shells could be found under these stones. Owing to their size, no attempt was made to move them.

The area of the lower platform west of the entrance showed no signs of structures or occupation.

5. The Upper Platform.

The upper platform was bounded on the east and north by the outer wall and on the west by the low partition wall. On the south, except at the ramp, the slope to the lower platform dropped 3 feet in about five feet, and was well revetted with large stones set in the soil. There were no traces of a wall along the top. In the centre of this platform was a small cairn-like structure, 12 feet in diameter and two feet high at the centre (Fig. 3). The ring of stones which might be expected to define the sides of the interior cavity was convincing only in the west quadrant. Two large slabs were laid horizontally over the centre, but these rested on soil and small stones and not on any convincing uprights. The infilling was a deep black humus, in which one small fragment of unidentifiable bone was found. The space was so restricted that only a cremation burial could be expected. Microscopic examination of the infilling showed only decayed wood fragments in a clay silt, such as might be expected to form naturally on this site, which was overgrown with bracken. The infilling was so complete that the structure must antedate the local field-clearings. There was no possibility of it being a collapsed hut of any description.

Along its West and North-West rim the " cairn " rested on bedrock. The South-West quadrant was first cleared down to this level, the base of the humus, then the North-West.

A small area of burnt clay was uncovered in the centre of the " cairn " under the humus and extending to the North-East. This quadrant was then cleared and the clay area scraped and plotted (Fig. 1). The layer of clay proved to be about 2 inches thick and to overlie bedrock. The fragments of wood (hazel twigs up to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter) mixed with the clay were not in sufficient quantity to prove a collapsed wattle and daub screen, but some clay lumps bore imprints of twigs. Round the East and South-East sides of the clay area greater quantities of twigs were found, a number being short lengths (up to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch) set vertically at fairly regular intervals, suggesting supports for a screen. In the South-East corner of the clay area a flat stone about 1 foot square had its upper surface level with the top of the clay layer. This stone and all others showing at this level had their surfaces covered with a thin layer of decayed vegetable matter. On the west boundary of the clay area a stone in the shape of a truncated pyramid was set small end downwards in a socket lined with well-laid small flat stones (W, Fig. 3). The base of the pyramid formed a horizontal platform 8 x 5 inches about 1 foot above the clay level. Close alongside to the east was a post hole 3 x 3 inches dug 10 inches down into a pocket of natural ground: the hole was lined with stones projecting 4 inches above the clay level to give a total socket depth of over 1 foot. This post may have provided support for a rude wattle and daub shelter open to the north and west: if so, neither post nor screen decayed *in situ*. The set stone forms a comfortable seat.

The South-East quadrant of the cairn was stripped to the level at which the clay occurred elsewhere. In this segment the bedrock slopes gently to the south (Fig. 3). A number of large flat slabs (2 x 1 x $\frac{1}{4}$ feet) were lying in and over black silt. This silt overlay the bedrock to a depth of a few inches. Near the paving a post-hole was found similar to that in the clay area: the packing stones were set in the silt down to bedrock and projected several inches above this level. At one point the bedrock appeared to have been chipped to form a circular post-socket of diameter 4 inches (X, Fig. 1).

A further area of the upper platform was examined between the cairn and the entrance, and cuts were made from this area toward the lower platform (L) and toward the outer wall (M). The platform was here built up 1½ feet with subsoil very lightly mixed with humus. In the build-up a number of beach pebbles were found of the type called " limpet scoops " and " pot boilers." No signs of any structure or occupation were found until bedrock was reached. At this level traces of a hut were discovered. The wall was built on a base of small stones set in a distinctive white clay: only this base survived in Cut L, but in Cut M the outer face was defined by a stone 1 x 1 x ¼ feet set on edge. In the interior, in an area sunk 6 inches (dotted, Fig. 1), one unmistakable post-hole was found, in which a few inches of post had decayed. Nearby was a small area of burnt clay and another of decayed vegetable matter. The surface of the bedrock was curiously uneven, as though it had been fashioned by the hut-dwellers. One probable post-socket had been chipped out and lined with flat stones (Z), and another possible socket. The entrance faced toward the cairn and linked up with the probable post-socket in bedrock in the cairn area (X). The paving stones in this area were probably laid in a drainage area as stepping stones to the hut entrance. The clay area may represent a subsidiary shelter used for cooking or heating the " pot-boilers." These and the beach pebbles generally must be associated with the hut. Some searching was required on the neighbouring beaches to find either type found on the site. The hut was not occupied for any length of time, and was thoroughly cleared, presumably when the platform was built.

Of the " limpet scoops " only a few showed slight signs of wear in the tips. Some of the smaller spherical stones were ironstone: the larger were quartz and nearly all cleanly fractured into quadrants along approximately diametrical planes.

A cut (M) from the hut area confirmed the reconstruction of the east wall: at this point the inswinging wall stood 3 feet high, and there was no tumble from it. The inner

facing was of large stones and the filling of medium. A parallel cut farther north (N) revealed no trace of the inner wall. Instead it showed a slope of subsoil well revetted with stone (dotted, Fig. 1). Time did not allow further work in this area. It appeared the inswinging wall was never completed.

6. Summary.

No dateable material was found below the turf-line except the medieval pottery on the lower platform. Traces of occupation were found only under the upper platform and in the shell areas.

The levelling of the upper platform was associated with the building of the outer wall on the north and east, and at least the south side of the enclosure was completed at that time together with the entrance on the south-east. In a later reconstruction, which was never completed, this entrance was blocked.

The hut and the occupation associated with the north-west shell area both antedate the enclosure. The deposit of shells in the entrance was earlier than the reconstruction and probably earlier than the original enclosure. All these occupations were either intermittent or of very short duration. The hut-dwellers used fire, but apparently not the eaters of shell-fish. The hut-dwellers used " limpet scoops " and " pot-boilers," the former presumably to pound their food. The shells were those of whelks and limpets, plentiful on the shores of Luce Bay: the mussel appeared only recently.

The cairn was too insignificant to account for either the building of the enclosure or the reconstruction, and must be a later intrusion. It contained no burial of any kind.

No convincing explanation could be found for the state of the outer wall on the north-west. Both possible wall-bases in this sector were of the normal width (8 feet), but all the stones scattered in the area would barely have sufficed to build the wall to the normal height. Also, these stones were all of medium size, with a complete absence of the smaller stones used for infilling elsewhere. Perhaps neither the

original wall nor the reconstruction was ever completed in this sector: this would explain the absence of any internal structures or occupation associated with the enclosure. Or perhaps the reconstruction was more drastic in this sector than elsewhere, and was not completed. Finally, stones might possibly have been carted from this part of the wall when the dyke was built south of the site.

7. Acknowledgments.

The stones were examined by Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, of the Royal Scottish Museum; the bones by the late Miss D. M. Platt, of the Royal Scottish Museum; and the wood fragments by Mr M. Y. Orr, of the Royal Botanic Garden. The excavation was financed by the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. The working party were housed in Port William School, by kind permission of the Education Authority of Wigtownshire and Mr Hugh Fleming, headmaster. Tools and survey instruments were loaned by the County Roads Department and County Architect. Excavation was carried out by permission of the Ancient Monuments Commission and Mr J. Hamilton of Chippermore, who rendered every facility for the work.

ARTICLE 9.

A Stone Head in the Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

By Professor J. M. C. TOYNBEE, F.S.A.

The remarkable stone head, which forms the subject of this note,[1] was presented to the Dumfries Burgh Museum in September, 1951, along with two Roman altars which had been found in the *vicus* of the Roman fort at Birrens in 1816[2] and 1886[3] respectively. All three objects had been preserved together at Burnfoot House, Birrens, Annandale, for over a century; and the Irvings, who owned the property until 1950, always believed that the head, like the altars, had passed into the hands of their family from the adjoining fort. Indeed, the discovery at Birrens of other ancient heads, carved in the round, has been recorded;[4] and the material, local reddish sandstone, from which our piece is cut, is identical with that of some of the Roman altars from Birrens in the Burgh Museum. External evidence thus suggests for the Dumfries head a Roman origin, to which the internal evidence of the sculptured stone itself points no less strongly. It is patently not modern; and no mediæval work in any way resembling it is known in this district of southern Scotland.

The head is slightly under life-size[5] and has been snapped

1 This note is an abbreviated version of that published by the present writer in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xlii., 1952, pp. 63 ff. The photograph on plate I. is by L. P. Morley, of the Museum of Archæology and of Ethnology, Cambridge, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

2 *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, ser. 3, vi., 1895-6, 152-3, no. 16, figs. 21-3.

3 *ibid.*, 159, no. 21, fig. 28.

4 J. Macdonald and J. Barbour, *Birrens and its Antiquities*, 1897, 15; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, ser. 3, vi., 1895-6, 198, figs. 49, 50. Apropos of the second reference, it should be noted that Middleby and Birrens are identical (information from A. E. Truckell, Curator of the Dumfries Burgh Museum, correcting *JRS*, vol. xlii., 1952, p. 63, note 4).

5 It measures *c.* 8½ inches high, *c.* 4½ inches wide across the face, and *c.* 6½ inches from the back of the head to the bridge of the nose.

Plate I.—STONE HEAD IN MUSEUM.

off at the neck from a bust or statue. The end of the nose has been rubbed or broken away, and there are two minor abrasures, one just above the brow and the other near the tip of the chin, while there is another loss on the left side of the face, to which reference will be made later. The eyeballs are flattened in a manner unparalleled, so far as the writer is aware, elsewhere in Roman work, and show no trace of the rendering of pupil or iris. The upper lip is long and slightly protruding, the mouth rather tight-set and drooping, the jaw somewhat heavy and square. The expression is intriguing—serene, absorbed, dignified, and serious.

The most puzzling feature of our piece is the hair or headdress. It conceals the ears and forms a thick roll projecting above the brow and flaring out on the right side to form a roughly triangular "wing," the corresponding "wing" on the left side having been broken away. The over-all effect is that of a "Dutch bonnet"; and it suggests that the head is that of a woman, since no known helmet or civilian male headgear or male coiffure of any kind, Roman or mediæval, in any way corresponds with it. The absence of all indications of locks, curls, or waves of hair on the crown of the head suggests further than the woman is wearing a close-fitting cap or hair-net, under which the hair is bunched up over the forehead and on either side of the face. The nearest parallels to such an arrangement known to the writer are from the Rhineland region, first on a female stone head carved in high relief on the fragment of a *stele* from Neumagen, now at Trier,[6] where the hair is enveloped in a species of tight-fitting "bathing-cap," and, secondly, on a small bronze female head in the round at Bonn,[7] where an elaborate hair-net confines a sausage-like roll of hair encircling the crown. Between these provincial female coiffures from Roman Germany and that of the Dumfries head there is at least some affinity.

Schematic as it is, in some respects, the face of our piece

[6] *JRS*, vol. xlii., 1952, pl. ix., I.

[7] *ibid.*, p. 65, fig. 4.

is sensitively modelled, combining the naturalism of Graeco-Roman sculptural tradition with an air of spiritual detachment more Celtic (?) than classical. Who is she? Probably not, if she comes from the Birrens *vicus*, a human woman from a *stele*, but perhaps a goddess venerated by the soldiery who manned that distant outpost.

ARTICLE 10.

Bronze Age Cairn and Cist, with Food Vessel, at Mollance, near Castle-Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire.

By J. C. WALLACE, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

The site of the cairn is on land belonging to Dryburgh Farm, and about a furlong north of the ruined mansion of Mollance (Nat. Grid Ref., NX/777663—6 in. O.S., Kirkc. XXXVI. SW. and Fig i.).

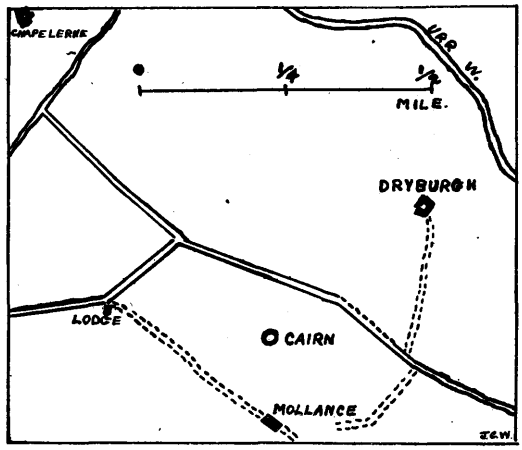


Fig. 1

The terrain is composed of glacial sand and gravel, with dumps of greywacke, a hard sandstone, which have been carved into roughly circular mounds by the interaction of the Southern Upland and Highland ice sheets. In these dumps are also found micaceous sandstone and some carboniferous shale.

It was in August, 1951, that the cairn was discovered by Dr. Steer and the author. The cairn attracted attention because of its perfect dome shape, although this was somewhat obscured by the fact that it is built on one of the

glacial mounds aforementioned, and also covered by a plantation of trees. On closer investigation, the possibility of a cairn was strengthened by the sight of a large granite capstone. This capstone was, unfortunately, badly tilted, which led the finders to believe that the cairn had probably been robbed and that a full-scale excavation would not be justified.

Accordingly, on the 15th and 16th of April, 1952, Dr. Steer and Mr Feachem, both of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Scotland), together with the writer, removed the capstone and partly excavated the cairn, revealing a cist with a food vessel.

The Cairn.

The cairn, about 52 ft. diameter x 3 ft. 6 ins. high, proved to have been built on a glacial mound, and was formed of boulders of greywacke, ranging in size from about 9 ins. diameter to 2 ft. 6 ins. x 1 ft. 6 ins. x 1 ft. (See Figs. 2 and 3). Also present were pieces of micaceous sandstone of about the size of roofing tiles, and a few small pieces of carboniferous shale which appeared to have been burned. About 5 feet to the south of the cist were revealed two particularly large stones, 33 ins. x 22 ins. x 15 ins., and 36 ins. x 18 ins. x 12 ins., which seemed set in position. Around the cist a rough walling of flatter stones appeared to have been built to support the capstone.

The Cist.

The sides of the cist, which is of oval shape, 3 ft. long x 2 ft. deep, are formed of slabs of micaceous sandstone 2 ins./ 5 ins. thick, arranged vertically, and wedged in position by floor slabs of the same material, 24 ins. to 36 ins. square and 2 ins. to 4 ins. thick (see Fig. 4), the upper surface of the flooring being broken into " slates " by the action of weather and plants. The flooring slabs rest on the natural sand and gravel. These sandstone slabs may have been taken from the glacial drift, but their large size suggests that they had not been carried by the ice, but had

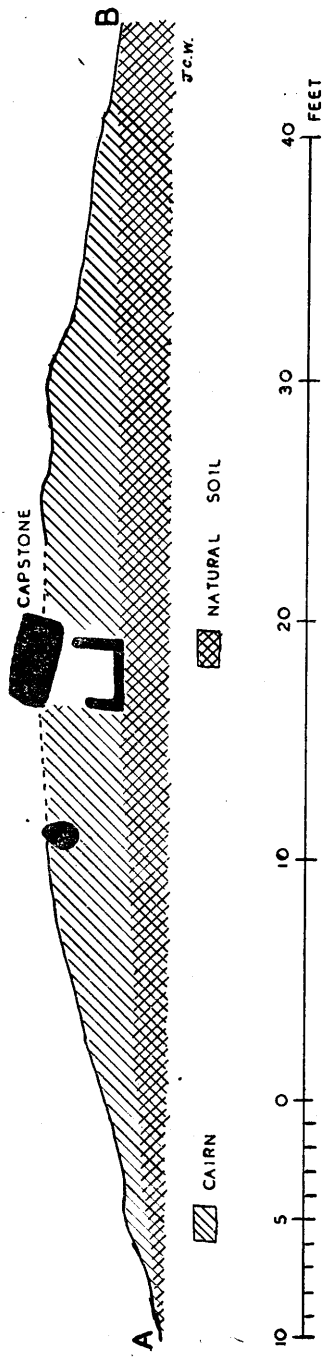

B
F.C.W.
CAPSTONE
NATURAL SOIL
CAIRN
A
40
30
20
10
0
5
10
FEET

Fig. 2

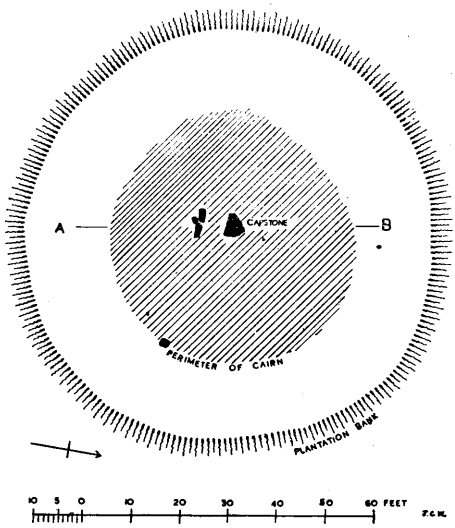

A
B
CAPSTONE
PERIMETER OF CAIRN
PLANTATION BANK
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 FEET
F.C.W.

Fig. 3

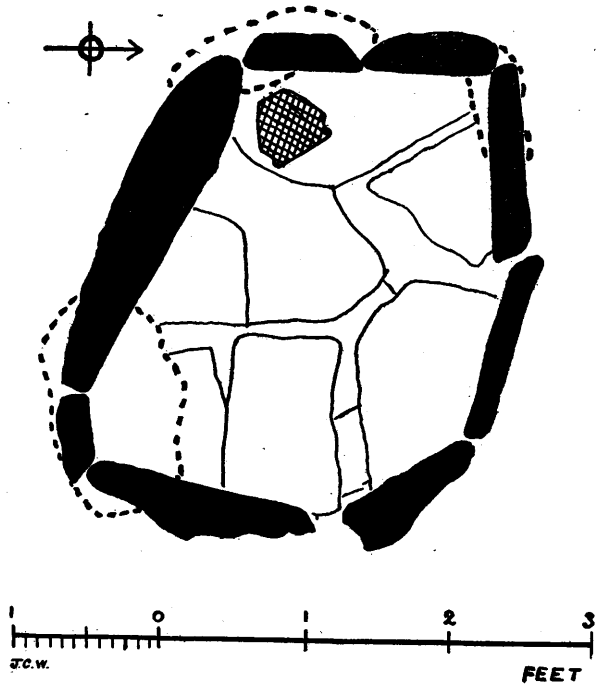


Fig. 4

been brought by the builders from an outcrop on the Solway shore. The capstone is of pink Dalbeattie granite and unusually large, being a rough triangle about 4 ft. 6 ins. x 4 ft. x 5 ft. and from 18 ins. to 24 ins. thick, its estimated weight being 12 cwts. This granite block might have been in the glacial drift; otherwise, it must have been brought from a quarry about five miles away. The capstone seemed originally to have been about 2 ft. above the level of the cist, which thus was not sealed, with the result that the cist was filled with earth, into which plant roots and animals had penetrated, to the detriment of the food vessel. Covering the south-east corner of the cist was a fragment of a sandstone slab, which might suggest that the original lid had been of flat sandstone. In the cist, apart from the food vessel, were found two fragments of pottery, apparently

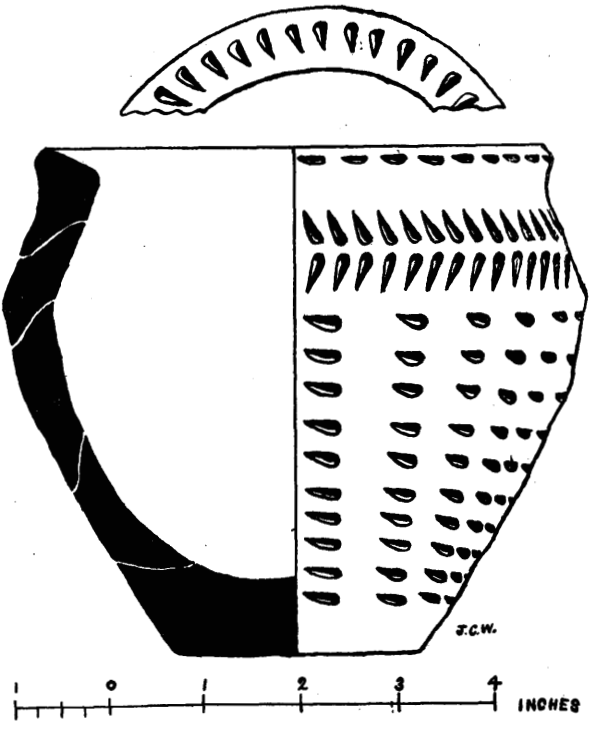


Fig. 5

of an earlier date, and a tiny piece of carbonised hazel wood, hazel being vegetation natural to the region.

The Food Vessel and Sherds.

The food vessel was found lying on its side in the south-west corner of the cist. It was in a soft condition and broken by the pressure of the earth which filled the cist, and also by small roots which had penetrated the fabric of the vessel. The paste is of poor quality, containing large grits, which make it very friable. The vessel has been reconstructed, and may be described as of vase shape, grooveless, and classified under Professor Gordon Childe's "B" type ("Scotland Before the Scots," page 9). The vessel had been built in sections, comprising a base and four circular strips, the joints

between the sections being indicated on Fig. 5. Owing to faulty manufacture or the pressure of the earth in the cist the mouth and shoulders are not circular, but elliptical. External measurements are from $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches to 6 inches at the rim, 6 inches to $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the shoulders, and about $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches diameter at the base; the height is 5 3/10th inches, and the inside depth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The colour varies from grey to biscuit on the outside, is dark grey on the inside, the core being black. Decoration is of a cuneiform stab design, placed radially on the bevel of the rim, horizontally on the edge of the lip, in herringbone fashion on the lower part of the neck, and horizontally in vertical columns on the body of the vessel.

The other pottery fragments, each about one inch square and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, are of a light brown colour on both sides, with a black core. The paste is much finer than that of the food vessel, and the outside surfaces take a polish when brushed. The appearance of the sherds suggests that they are of an earlier date and may be the remains of a beaker.

Conclusion.

The discovery of a cist with food vessel in Kirkcudbrightshire is of some interest, as the south-west of Scotland has, so far, produced few such relics compared with other parts of the country. Of beakers there have been found fewer still. (See "Scotland Before the Scots," pp. 45 and 53.) The present discovery is significant, inasmuch as there is evidence of a beaker burial before that of the food vessel. It is possible that the cist and cairn were built by the Beaker Folk, *ca.* 1700 B.C., the cist having a lid of sandstone slabs. Some 200 years later the cist seems to have been broken open by the Food Vessel Folk and used to inter one of their own number, the remains of the former occupant being cleared out, except for two small sherds of his beaker. The lid having been destroyed, a rough walling was built around the cist to support the new granite capstone. All this is surmise, but cists at Banchory and Chirnside were found to contain both a food vessel and a beaker: thus, there is evidence of one culture having used the burial place of the other.

Acknowledgments.

Thanks are due to Mr Wm. Craig of Dryburgh Farm for permission to excavate and for the use of his tractor; to Dr. F. W. Anderson, of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, who identified the stones; to the Keeper and staff of the National Museum of Antiquities for their help in reconstructing the food vessel; to Dr. K. A. Steer and Mr R. W. Feachem for their assistance in the work of excavation and surveying; and to Mr M. Y. Orr for identifying the fragment of hazel wood.

ARTICLE 11.

Moths taken at Light in 1951 in Dumfriesshire and Eastern Kirkcudbright.

By A. B. DUNCAN and D. CUNNINGHAM.

This list covers the families Sphingidæ to Noctuidæ only, since the Geometridæ do not appear to be attracted so consistently as these families are by mercury vapour light. Duncan operated mercury vapour light regularly from May to November at Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfriesshire, among mixed deciduous woods, mainly oak, with wide expanses of meadow and a large garden. He also worked for three nights at Southwick on the Kirkcudbright coast. Cunningham used an electric lamp near sallow bushes in March, April, and May in various localities in Eastern Kirkcudbright; and mercury vapour light desultorily in June and July and once in September in a patch of bog on Tinwald Downs airfield, Dumfries. The main botanical features of this locality are heather, andromeda, bilberry, cranberry, cottongrass, sweet gale, birch, sallow, Scots fir, an occasional oak and chestnut, and the grasses and plants of marsh and of dry banks, since the boggy patch is surrounded by firm ground, some of it farmed, but most of it given over to the runways of the airfield. Cunningham also worked with mercury vapour light at Closeburn in Dumfriesshire on one night at the end of July.

The listing of *Diarsia florida* separately from *D. rubi* is not intended as an expression of opinion on the question of its specific status.

Laothoë populi Linn. Common.
Deilephila porcellus Linn. Frequent.
Deilephila elpenor Linn. Common.
Cerura furcula Cl. Tynron, one.
Cerura vinula Linn. Tinwald Downs, two.
Drymonia dodonæa Schiff. Tynron, two. An addition to the Dumfriesshire list.
Drymonia ruficornis Hufn. Tynron, one. An addition to the Solway list.

Pheosia tremula Cl. Tinwald Downs, one.
Pheosia gnoma Fab. Frequent.
Notodonta ziczac Linn. Frequent.
Notodonta dromedarius Linn. Common.
Lophopteryx capucina Linn. Common at Tynron, occurs at Tinwald Downs.
Pterostoma palpina Cl. Tynron, three; Tinwald Downs, one.
Phalera bucephala Linn. Common.
Thyatira batis Linn. Infrequent.
Euproctis similis Fuessly. Closeburn, one. An addition to the Dumfriesshire list.
Poecilocampa populi Linn. Tynron, common.
Philudoria potatoria Linn. Common.
Saturnia pavonia Linn. Occasional females.
Drepana falcataria Linn. Tinwald Downs, frequent.
Drepana lacertinaria Linn. Tinwald Downs.
Cilix glaucata Scop. Infrequent.
Bena prasinana Linn. Southwick, one.
Spilosoma lubricipeda Linn Common.
Spilosoma lutea Hufn. Frequent.
Phragmatobia fuliginosa Linn. Infrequent.
Diacrisia sannio Linn. Infrequent.
Arctia caja Linn. Frequent.
Hypocrita jacobaeae Linn. Southwick, Tinwald Downs.
Nudaria mundana Linn. Tynron.
Cybosia mesomella Linn. Tinwald Downs.
Eilema lurideola Zinckner. Closeburn. An addition to the Dumfriesshire list.
Colocasia coryli Linn. Tynron, frequent.
Apatele leporina Linn. Tinwald Dawns, one.
Apatele tridens Schiff. **or psi** Linn. Infrequent.
Apatele menyanthidis View. Tinwald Downs, infrequent.
Apatele rumicis Linn. Common.
Craniophora ligustri Schiff. Infrequent.
Cryphia perla Schiff. Tinwald Downs, not infrequent.
Agrotis segetum Schiff. Common.
Agrotis exclamationis Linn. Abundant at Tinwald Downs (111 in one night). Common at Tynron.
Agrostis ypsilon Rott. Tynron, common.
Euxoa tritici Linn. Tynron.
Lycophotia porphyrea Schiff. Abundant.
Peridroma saucia Hb. Tynron, one.
Graphiphora augur Fab. Not infrequent.
Amathes glareosa Esp. Tynron, common.
Amathes baja Schiff. Common.
Amathes c-nigrum Linn. A few only, usually common.
Amathes ditrapezium Borkh. Tynron, common.

Amathes triangulum Hufn. Infrequent.
Amathes umbrosa Hb. Common.
Amathes xanthographa Schiff. Common.
Diarsia brunnea Schiff. Common.
Diarsia festiva Schiff. Common.
Diarsia rubi View. Frequent.
Diarsia florida Schmidt. Frequent.
Ochropleura plecta Linn. Abundant.
Triphæna comes Hb. Common.
Triphæna orbona Hufn. Tynron, common.
Triphæna pronuba Linn. Abundant.
Triphæna janthina Schiff. Tynron. Closeburn, common.
Lampa fimbriata Schreb. Tynron.
Axylia putris Linn. Common.
Anaplectoides prasina Schiff. Tynron, frequent.
Polia nebulosa Hufn. Tynron, frequent.
Mamestra brassicæ Linn. Frequent.
Diataraxia oleracea Linn. Common.
Ceramica pisi Linn. Common.
Hada nana Hufn. Tynron, common.
Hadena thalassina Hufn. Common.
Hadena contigua Schiff. Tinwald Downs, six. An addition to the Solway list.
Hadena glauca Hb. Frequent.
Hadena cucubali Schiff. Frequent.
Tholera popularis Fab. Common.
Tholera cespitis Schiff. Tynron.
Charæas graminis Linn. Common.
Pachetra sagittigera Hufn. Tynron.
Thalpophila matura Hufn. Frequent.
Dryobota protea Schiff. Tynron.
Bombycia viminalis Fab. Common.
Hypa rectilinea Esp. Tynron, one.
Aporophila nigra Haw. Tynron.
Dasypolia templi Thunb. Tynron, one. An addition to the Dumfriesshire list.
Antitype chi Linn. Tynron.
Eumichtis adusta Esp. Tynron.
Eumichtis lichenea Hb. Tynron. An addition to the Dumfriesshire list.
Allophyes oxyacanthae Linn. Common.
Griposia aprilina Linn. Tynron, common.
Euplexia lucipara Linn. Common.
Phlogophora meticulosa Linn. Common.
Mormo maura Linn. Tynron.
Phalaena typica Linn. Tinwald Downs.
Xylophasia furva Schiff. Common.

Xylophasia remissa Hb. Common.
Apamea sordens Hufn. Common.
Xylophasia crenata Hufn. Common.
Xylophasia lithoxylæa Schiff. Common.
Xylophasia monoglypha Hufn. Abundant.
Celæna secalis Linn. Abundant.
Procus strigilis Cl. Abundant.
Procus fasciunculus Haw. Abundant.
Celaena haworthii Curt. Infrequent.
Celaena leucostigma Hb. Tynron.
Hydraecia oculea Linn. Common.
Hydraecia lucens Freyer. Common.
Hydraecia micacea Esp. Common.
Rhizedra lutosa Hb. Tynron. An addition to the Solway list.
Nonagria typhæ Thunb. Tynron. An addition to the Dumfriesshire list.
Leucania pallens Linn. Common.
Leucania impura Hb. Abundant.
Leucania comma Linn. Abundant.
Leucania lithargyria Esp. Common.
Leucania conigera Schiff. Common.
Laphygma exigua Hb. Tynron.
Rusina umbratica Gœze. Common.
Amphipyra tragopoginis Cl. Frequent.
Cerastis rubricosa Schiff. Common.
Orthosia gothica Linn. Common.
Orthosia cruda Schiff. Common in one spot, rare elsewhere.
Orthosia stabilis Schiff. Common.
Orthosia incerta Hufn. Frequent.
Orthosia munda Schiff. Two, one at Mabie, one at New Abbey.
Orthosia gracilis Schiff. One, New Abbey.
Cosmia trapezina Linn. Frequent.
Atethmia centrago Haw. Tynron, one.
Anchocelis lunosa Haw. Tinwald Downs, common.
Agrochola lota Cl. Tinwald Downs, one, Tynron.
Agrochola macilenta Hb. Frequent.
Agrochola circellaris Hunf. Tynron.
Anchoscelis helvola Linn. Tynron.
Anchoscelis litura Linn. Tynron.
Tiliacea aurago Schiff. Tynron.
Citria lutea Strom. Common.
Cirrhia fulvago Linn. Tynron. Tinwald Downs, one.
Conistra vaccinii Linn. Tynron.
Conistra ligula Esp. Tynron.
Eupsilia transversa Hufn. Common.
Xylocampa areola Esp. Dalskairth, three.
Xylena vetusta Hb. Tynron.

Cucullia umbratica Linn. Several.
Eustrotia uncula Cl. Tinwald Downs, frequent.
Plusia chrysitis Linn. Common.
Plusia bractea Schiff. Frequent.
Plusia festucæ Linn. Frequent.
Plusia iota Linn. Common.
Plusia v-aureum Hb. Common.
Plusia gamma Linn. Common.
Plusia interrogationis Linn. Southwick, one. An addition to the Kirkcudbright list.
Abrostola triplasia Linn. Tinwald Downs, three.
Abrostola tripartita Hufn. Frequent.
Zanclognatha tarsipennalis Treit. Tynron.
Zanclognatha grisealis Schiff. Tynron.
Hypena proboscidalis Linn. Common.

ARTICLE 12.

Notes on Archæological Material from Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtownshire, in the Bishop Collection.

Part I.—Districts other than Luce Sands.

By Miss ANNE H. STEVENSON, M.A.

In 1951 Mr A. Henderson Bishop presented to the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University, his collection of prehistoric antiquities. This included some material from the counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, and Wigtownshire. By permission of the Hunterian Museum, and by arrangement with the Under-Keeper, Miss Anne S. Robertson, I have been able to examine and make descriptive notes of this material. In presenting these notes here, I wish to acknowledge the help given by Dr. Ethel Currie, Assistant Curator in Geology in the Hunterian Museum, in identifying the objects of stone, and the encouragement and guidance of Miss Robertson.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.

Bankfield, Beattock.

1. Flint, grey and white, length 1¼ inches, breadth 1⅛ inches, thickness ¾ inch at widest. This is a flint core from which other flints have been struck off to make arrowheads, scrapers, etc. Part of the cortex, the outer skin, is still remaining. Late Stone Age or Bronze Age (?).

2. Two pieces of quartz. (a) Piece of quartz pebble. Length 2⅞ inches, breadth 2⅛ inches, thickness 1⅛ inches at widest. One end is shaped naturally to a point. It may have been used as an implement. (b) Piece of quartz. Length 3⅛ inches, breadth 2⅛ inches, thickness 1½ inches at widest.

Hillfield, Beattock.

Small flint, grey. Length 1⅛ inches, breadth ¾ inch, thickness ½ inch at widest part. Part of a flint core from which at least one flake has been struck off. The core itself may have been used as a crude implement. It is slightly pointed at one end and fairly sharp. Late Stone Age or Bronze Age (?).

Witches Wate, Beattock.

1. Small stone implement (?), shaped like an axe. Length 3 inches, breadth 2¼ inches at widest, thickness 1 inch at widest. The stone is probably a grit, with a rough surface, flattened on one face and curved slightly on the other. One of the side edges looks more worn than the other, and the narrow end appears to be abraded. Although it has the appearance of a small axe, this stone may possibly owe its shape simply to natural causes rather than to human hands. Even so, however, it may have been used as an implement, possibly for pounding or hammering.

2. Soil samples, scraps of charcoal and bone.

Beattock.

Three stone pounders. (a) Is a large smooth pebble, probably of a decomposed igneous rock. Length 5 inches, breadth 4 inches at widest, thickness 2¼ inches. Both ends have had pieces struck off. It may possibly have been used as a pounding stone. (b) Is a large oval-shaped pebble, probably of a decomposed igneous rock. Length 5¾ inches, breadth 4½ inches, thickness 2 inches. One end has a piece broken off and the other end is slightly abraded. Possibly used as a pounding stone. (c) Is a pebble of greywacke, larger and rougher than the first two. Length 6¼ inches, breadth 4 inches, thickness 2¾ inches. Both ends are chipped. This stone is less likely to have been used as a pounding stone than the first two.

No. 1 Camp, Beattock.

1. Small stone ball made of an acid igneous rock. Diameter 1¾ inches. The ball is not completely spherical, but has a flattened base. It has a very rough surface which looks as if it had been pecked out. The ball was undoubtedly manufactured for some purpose, but for what purpose is not known.

2. One iron ring. Overall diameter 1⅞ inches, diameter of central hole ⅝ inch, thickness ⅛ inch. The ring is flat, and the edges of both outer and inner circles are very regular and sharp. Its purpose is uncertain. Although oxidised, it is not more than a few centuries old.

3. Scots coin of Charles II., found "among the riddlings of the Gateway the surface stones only removed. Depth not exceeding 6 inches."[1] The coin is a silver merk piece, dated 1672.

Obverse: CAROLUS · II · DEI : GRA. Bust of Charles II., laureate and draped, with small thistle below.

Reverse: MAG BRI · FRA · ET · HIB REX · 1672. Four escutcheons, the first and third bearing the arms of Scotland, the

[1] A. H. Bishop.

second the arms of France and England quartered, and the fourth the arms of Ireland. In the four angles between the escutcheons,)(interlaced and crowned. In the centre, the mark of value, XIII./4 (13/4).[2]

At this time Scottish coins had twelve times the nominal value of contemporary English coins.

Sibbaldbie.

Eighteen flint flakes. Lengths 1½ inches to ¼ inch. Some of these flakes have been carefully worked at the edges, probably for use as scrapers. Others do not seem to have been worked at all.

Thornhill.

1. Flint scraper. Length 1¾ inches, breadth 1½ inches at widest, thickness ⅜ inch at widest. This flint, struck off a core, has a very marked bulb of percussion. It is finely flaked along three sides. Late Stone Age (?).

2. Three modern flints. (a) Strike a light. Length 2¼ inches, breadth 1⅜ inches, thickness ½ inch at widest. (b) Gun flint. Length 1 inch, breadth ¾ inch, thickness ⅜ inch at widest. (c) Gun flint. Length 1 inch, breadth ¾ inch, thickness ⅜ inch at widest. These three flints were made for sale. In 1920 such flints were still in stock in an ironmonger's shop at Thornhill, Dumfriesshire.[3]

Torthorwald.

Stone pounder of a decomposed igneous rock. Length 3½ inches, breadth 2½ inches, thickness 2½ inches at widest. This pounder is a flattened oval with two opposite faces smooth and flat and the other sides more rounded. The ends do show signs of having been used for pounding. The pounder was probably used for both pounding and smoothing. Probably Iron Age.

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.

Lochrutton.

1. Two whetstones. (a) From Lochrutton Mote Farm. A smooth, grey whetstone, probably lamprophyre (a hypabyssal ultrabasic rock). It is perforated at one end. Length 5½ inches, breadth ⅞ inch at widest, thickness ½ inch. This whetstone is broken at the perforated end and is slightly worn at the other end. (b) From Lochrutton Mote (Farm?). A smooth whetstone (?) of micaceous sandstone. It is unperforated. Length 6½ inches, breadth 1 in, thickness ⅞ inch. This stone is rather

[2] E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (3 vols., 1887), Vol. II., 496.
[3] A. H. Bishop.

soft for a whetstone. Parts of the surface have worn off or have flaked off. The purpose of these whetstones was for sharpening or polishing. Bronze Age or later.

2. Three bronze objects. (a) Pinshaped object of bronze. Length 1⅜ inches, breadth ⅛ and ¼ inch, thickness ⅛ inch. The bottom half inch of the " pin " is round in section and is brought to a narrow point like a nail. The pin then flattens out for the other ⅞ inch. It may have had a specialised use. (b) Hook-shaped handle, probably of a small bronze pot or jug. Length 1⅝ inches, breadth ⅛ inch. The hooked handle has a flattened terminal with a small hole in it. The handle would be attached to a small bronze vessel by a rivet passing through the hole. (c) Semi-circular handle. Width of semi-circle 1 inch, thickness of bronze ⅛ inch. The ends are flattened and rounded and both are perforated. Iron Age, possibly Roman (?).

3. Four potsherds from Lochrutton Crannog. (a) Length 3⅜ inches, breadth 2⅜ inches at widest, thickness ⅞ inch at widest. Medieval green or yellow-glazed pottery. Part of the ribbed handle of a large vessel. (b) Length 1⅝ inches, breadth 1 inch, thickness ⅜ inch. This sherd, of green or yellow-glazed pottery, is part of the rim of a pot or jar. Some of the glaze has worn off. (c) Length 3⅝ inches, breadth 1¾ inches, thickness ⅜ inch at widest. This medieval green or yellow-glazed pottery is a fragment of a jar, showing a fingerprint from the part where the handle joined the body of the jar.[4] From the appearance of the fragment it looks as if the jar had been large. (d) Length 1⅝ inches, breadth 1⅛ inches at widest, thickness ⅜ inch. This is a scrap of soft red pottery with a thick brown glaze on it. The fragment is part of the rim of a vessel, with a thick ridge just below the rim. There is no pattern or design. The fragment shows that the rim has curved outwards slightly.

These four potsherds are all medieval, possibly 13th or 14th century.[5]

New Abbey.

1. Large stone perforated axe-hammer, almost certainly of a decomposed igneous rock. Length 8¾ inches, breadth 4⅛ inches at widest, thickness 2⅞ inches. Length of hole 1¾ inches. Weight of axe-hammer 7 lb. 11 oz. This hammer is boat-shaped—blunt at the one end and sharp at the other. The blunt end has been used for hammering, pounding, or smoothing, so much so that it is quite flattened and smooth. The sharp end is abraded and a

[4] S. Cruden, Glenluce Abbey: *Finds Recovered During Excavations,* in the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Transactions, Vol. XXIX. (1950-51) pp. 177, ff.

[5] S. Cruden, *op. cit.*

large piece has been broken off one side. One method of perforating stone tools was to drill a hole straight through, and another was to bore two holes opposite one another on either face of the tool and continue boring till they met. This is sometimes called the "hourglass" perforation. It is just possible that this latter method was used with the New Abbey axe-hammer, because there is a very slight ridge midway down the wall of the perforation. The usual size of these axe-hammers is from 6 to 7 inches long. This example is particularly long and particularly heavy, too. Massive axe-hammers are found chiefly in south-west Scotland.[6] They probably date to the Bronze Age or later.

2. Stone perforated hammer, probably of a decomposed igneous rock. Length 3⅛ inches, breadth 1⅝ inches, thickness ⅞ inch at widest. Length of hole ¾ inch, breadth ½ inch. This is a well-finished, pillow-shaped hammer with "hourglass" perforation. Both ends are slightly abraded. Bronze Age.

3. "Incense pot" or "pigmy cup" of coarse red clay. Height 2¾ inches, diameter of inside of rim 2½ inches, thickness of rim ¼ inch. Greatest diameter 3¾ inches. The vessel is biconical in shape, with a very small base. It has four small holes round it at its greatest width. The holes are almost an even distance apart, with a space of 2¾ to 2⅞ inches between each hole. The cup has no designs or markings, and is rather unusual in this respect. Most of these cups have impressed patterns on them, often in the form of lattice work designs. The purpose of these cups is uncertain. Because of the holes (which render the cups useless for any practical purpose) it has been suggested that they were used for burning incense—hence the name. There is, however, no evidence for this.[7] The cups are usually found with cinerary urns containing burnt bones, but several have been found alone. Bronze Age.

Cumloden Castle, Newton-Stewart.

Stone axe of greywacke. Length 5¼ inches, breadth 3¼ inches at widest, thickness ¾ inch at widest. This is a finely polished axe, skilfully made. One face is slightly more rounded than the other. It has only one cutting edge which is now slightly chipped. There are a few abrasions on the side edges and on the narrow blunt end, but these have been worn smooth. Late Stone Age or early Bronze Age.

Kirkcudbrightshire (exact location unknown).

Three stones of uncertain use. (a) Small triangular-shaped

[6] R. B. K. Stevenson, in *A Short Guide to Scottish Antiquities (1949)*, p. 8.

[7] W. F. Grimes, *The Prehistory of Wales*, (1951), p. 98.

stone, probably trachyte. Length 3⅞ inches, breadth 2⅞ inches at widest, thickness 1⅛ inches. It is not fashioned in any way, but it does have markings on one face which suggest that either it has been used to hammer something or that it has been hammered against. (b) Stone, probably of decomposed igneous rock. Length 4 inches, breadth 2⅛ inches at widest, thickness 1⅜ inches at widest. The stone has a shape which makes it suitable for grasping in the hand and it may have been used as a pounder. It is doubtful if it has been shaped. (c) Large, smooth, quartzite pebble from the Old Red Sandstone. Length 5 inches, breadth 4 inches, thickness 2½ inches. This pebble shows slight abrasions at either end. Possibly used as a pounding stone, but it has not been shaped.

WIGTOWNSHIRE.

New Luce.

Four spindle whorls. (a) Spindle whorl, much worn, of mudstone. Diameter 1⅝ inches, thickness ¼ inch, diameter of perforation ½ inch. (b) Spindle whorl of mudstone, neatly finished off. Diameter 1¼ inches, thickness ¼ inch, diameter of perforation ⅜ inch. (c) Spindle whorl of mudstone. Diameter 1¼ inches, thickness ¼ inch, diameter of perforation ⅜ inch. (d) Spindle whorl of mudstone. Diameter 1½ inches, thickness ⅛ inch, diameter of perforation ¼ inch. Spindle whorls were used to give momentum to the spindle in spinning. Iron Age or later.

Stoneykirk.

Two flints. (a) Is a grey-brown flint. Length 2 inches, breadth 1⅛ inches at widest, thickness ¼ inch. Finely flaked flint, slightly curved, and coming to a point at one end. The tip is broken. The other end is 1⅛ inches wide and has a straight edge. Late Stone Age or Bronze Age. (b) Is a cream-coloured flint. Length 1⅛ inches, breadth ⅝ inch at widest, thickness ⅜ inch. Flint struck off a core with part of the cortex remaining. It is doubtful whether it has been worked.

Part II.—Surface-finds from the Luce Sands, Wigtownshire.

By R. J. C. ATKINSON, M.A., F.S.A.

The material described below is housed in a single cabinet of seven shallow drawers. As a whole it forms a fairly representative sample of the range and proportions of the various human artefacts commonly found on the Luce Sands. In particular, the collection is notable for containing a high proportion

of waste flint, material which is very abundant on the Sands, but is not usually proportionately represented in similar collections elsewhere.

The material is comprised under the following headings:

1. Stone (other than flint).

A small number of fragments of greywacke, mostly broken and all much weathered by sand-blasting, with one or more slightly concave surfaces apparently produced by grinding. None of these appears to be part of a saddle- or saucer-quern. They may, however, have been used in the finishing, by grinding, of stone axes. In some instances the abraded surfaces may be the product of natural weathering.

A small number of similar fragments, each exhibiting a small depressed abraded patch on the surface, the result of use as an anvil-stone in the manufacture of flint tools.

Thirteen quartzite hammer-stones, oval pebbles with one or both of the narrow ends abraded by use.

2. Flint.

By far the greater proportion of the flint consists of waste chips and small discarded cores. All this material appears to be derived from beach-pebble flint of local origin, the commonest scource of flint at Glenluce. The worked flints include the following types:

Leaf-shaped arrowheads: two, one broken.

Transverse arrowheads (*petit tranchet* derivative): one.

Scrapers: numerous small circular examples, less than 1 in. in diameter, with domed upper surface and very steeply-flaked working-edge; six examples of "tanged" scrapers, evidently intended to be hafted in a wood or bone handle. The type is common locally.

Point: broken fragment of the end of a (?) leaf-shaped blade, with secondary flaking on both faces; possibly, though not necessarily, the point of a crude flint dagger.

3. Jet, Lignite and Pitchstone.

Two fragments of jet or lignite, unworked.

Eight small chips of pitchstone, unworked.

Both these materials are characteristic, though not common, on the Sands, and were presumably imported in the raw state for the manufacture of small objects. Neither occurs naturally in the immediate vicinity.

4. Pottery.

Several types of prehistoric ware are represented, in each case by small sherds only. The surface of many of these has been severely abraded and eroded by sand-blasting, which increases the difficulty of identification:

Beaker ware: twelve small sherds of fine reddish ware decorated with fine cord-impressions; this is the typical beaker pottery of the Sands.

Secondary Neolithic ware: a number of sherds, including rims, of a coarse fabric tempered with large grits, decorated with cord and other impressions. Pottery of this type is known, from the 1951 excavations on the Sands, to be contemporary with Beaker ware and earlier than Food Vessels of the Middle Bronze Age. The chief types represented are:

Four plain undecorated rims.

One thick, heavy, everted rim, undecorated.

Three similar rims decorated with coarse cord-impressions, a type common in the Irish Sandhills.

Rim of a bowl, tapering to a narrow edge, decorated below with a band of oblique scratches.

Two sherds decorated with applied cordons, in one case running vertically, in the other with the addition of oblique scored grooves.

Late Bronze Age ware (probably): numerous fragments of very coarse gritty ware, including a slightly expanded, flat-topped rim. Such rims and coarse fabric are characteristic of, though not confined to, the final stages of the late Bronze Age (500 B.C. onwards) in the Highland zone of Britain.

5. **Bronze, etc.**

Two fragments of parallel-sided bronze strip, c. 1.5 mm. wide and 0.5 mm. thick, one end of one fragment being slightly expanded. These cannot be closely dated, but are unlikely to be earlier than the 1st century A.D.

Larger fragment of (?) copper ore. This, if it is ore, confirms other evidence for the smelting of copper on the Sands.

6. **Slag, etc.**

Five fragments of slag, almost certainly the product of iron-smelting. In some areas on the Sands such slag covers the surface; all examples hitherto analysed have proved to be iron-slag.

Fragment of a clay crucible or smelting-hearth, vitrified by heat.

Apart from the remains of metal working (which may be of any period from Romano-British to mediæval) and the late Bronze Age pottery, the majority of the material described above appears to date from the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

ARTICLE 13.

Glenluce Abbey: Finds Recovered During Excavations.

PART II.

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

Part I. of this paper, which was published in the preceding volume of these *Transactions*, dealt with the mediæval pottery recovered in the clearance of the abbey ruins by the Ministry of Works. The following account deals with the remaining miscellaneous finds worthy of note. Of them the illustrated selection of floor tiles and fragments of painted window-glass are the most important items.

Altogether some 1200 square feet of tiling was recovered *in situ*, the tiled areas occurring throughout the church and conventual buildings. Most of the tiles are square and undecorated, save for glaze on the upper surface. These plain tiles were undisturbed and remain where found; some are protected (and hidden) by the turf laid down over the floor levels, others remain exposed. The decorated tiles were lifted; the best of these form the subject of this note.

Mediæval floor tiles of most frequent occurrence in Britain are *inlaid* or *printed* (the difference is hard to detect and strictly technical). Less common but nevertheless fully developed types with local popularity and sporadic occurrence are the *mosaic* tiles especially associated with the 13th century Cistercian abbeys of the north of England and the Borders (Byland, Rievaulx, Fountains, Newbottle, Melrose, etc.), and the *embossed* tiles of wide distribution and varied character.

The latter were introduced to Britain from the Rhineland and Switzerland in the 13th century, and have been most frequently found in the Fenland and the northern part of East Anglia. A kiln site and kiln wasters attest local manufacture of this type at the 13th century convent of North

Berwick, the only known site of their manufacture in Scotland.

Neither kiln nor wasters of any type were discovered at Glenluce, but some plain tiles disfigured by a dog's paw-mark, imprinted on the clay when wet, do suggest that some tiles were made there.

All types are rare in Scotland, their distribution is limited, and in only one other monastic site, Melrose, have specimens been found in position.

The Melrose collection and the subject of Scottish mediæval tiles in general has been fully discussed,[1] but this account of 1928-29 was written before the discovery of the majority of the Glenluce tiles. Since then other publications have added to our knowledge of the subject,[2] but, with the exception of two tiles found in 1898, the Glenluce specimens, to be described below, are wholly unrecorded.

The decorated tiles from Glenluce are of two kinds—embossed, and incised or *sgraffito*. No mosaic or inlaid tiles occur.

The hexagonal embossed tiles (Figs. 1-6), to which the term *embossed* is particularly appropriate, are excellent specimens of their kind. The design is simple and well conceived; it is competently and clearly executed with a considerable degree of moulding in rounded high relief: the field is slightly convex: in all cases it is contained within a moulded border. The pattern was impressed upon the wet clay by a stamp, probably of wood. The sides of each tile are obliquely undercut to ensure tight joints, to provide a key for the sand in which they were embedded, and to facilitate handling. The fabric of the tile is about 1 in. thick, hard fired, and coated with a thick orange-red glaze.

They must have been exceedingly uncomfortable under-

[1] J. S. Richardson. Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., Vol. LXIII.

[2] e.g. (a) Arthur lane, *Victoria and Albert Museum. Guide to the Collection of Tiles.* 1939.
(b) *London Museum: Mediaeval Catalogue.* 1940.
(c) J. B. Ward Perkins. *English Mediaeval Embossed Tiles.* Arch. Journal., Vol. XCIV., 1937.

foot and uncommonly liable to damage. On the Continent they were more often than not used to embellish wall surfaces, but only at St. Albans is there direct evidence that they were so used in Britain,[3] although bricklayers, when they first appear upon the pages of documentary evidence at the end of the 15th century, are featured as "tile-wallers," as at Beverley in 1461.

These tiles cannot be dated with certainty. Four half hexagons with the oak leaf acorn motif were found (apparently *in situ*) in the south chapel of the south transept during a clearance of the site in 1898. Unfortunately the account of their discovery is ambiguous.[4] They are said to have been rearranged along the secondary partition wall erected at an uncertain later date to divide the late 12th century transeptal chapels one from another. This account also states that the oak leaf and acorn was the design used in the quire, another half-hexagon being found at the east gable at that time. During the more recent clearance yet another (Fig. 1) was found upon the tiled floor of a small chamber within the reconstructed frater; closely associated with it was a small jar of 15th or 16th century date which is described with the pottery in Part I. (Plate XIII.) of this paper. The plain glazed tiles of this chamber remain and are exposed to view.

The other devices employed are borrowed from heraldry and used in purely decorative way. They have no heraldic significance, save perhaps Fig. 6, which may doubtfully be a free rendering of the crowned lion rampant of Galloway. The lion motif is not uncommon in mediæval art—it occurs among the North Berwick embossed tiles, for example[5]—but this treatment of the theme is rare: The lion leaps to the sinister side at a plant-like device which may be a badly modelled pot of lilies or something of the sort. Now an inlaid tile from Chateau-Thierry[6] has a remarkably similar design,

[3] Ward Perkins, op. cit., p. 129.
[4] Arch. Coll. Ayrshire and Galloway. Vol. X., 1899, p. 203., pl. I.
[5] Richardson op. cit. fig. 16., p. 301.
[6] Forrer. *Fliesen-Keramik. Strasbourg.* 1901. pl. XXVI. 4

that of an uncrowned lion leaping to the sinister side and *over* a similar foliaceous feature. The attitude of the lion in both is curiously alike, being " saliant," not " rampant," as the lion of Galloway should be. This close parallel of an unusual composition suggests that the device was an accepted decorative motif of literary significance. The French tile is dated 14th-15th century.

In 1898 in the chapter-house there was found the half of an embossed tile of different and unusual character; this is now in the National Museum of Antiquities.[7] Further examples have since come to light (Figs. 7-10). These square tiles with relief patterns are smaller and thinner than the hexagonal tiles, the repeating design is flat, and in low relief upon a flat field.

The tile Fig. 7 is quartered by four impressions of the same stamp of a mounted horseman with widespread arms. Fig. 9 shows a variation on the theme with a reindeer for the horseman, while Fig. 10 shows the reindeer within a rounded medallion. The margins of the repeated designs are variously decorated with crudely drawn indentations made with a pointed tool, or with impressions of circles. 13th century parallels to these tiles occur in the Dale Abbey (Derbyshire) collection, and both groups can be compared with a similar small group of continental examples of which specimens are to be found in Strasbourg.[8]

Of quite another character and artistic quality are the incised or *sgraffito* designs drawn free-hand on the wet surface of the clay with a pointed tool, and thereafter glazed (Figs. 11-18).

This technique is common in pottery but rare in tiles, and when occurring, as at Tring Church, Hertfordshire,[9] and Prior Crauden's Chapel, Ely, the drawing is of great merit, so much so that the London Museum Catalogue[10] asserts that

[7] Richardson op. cit. fig. 1. page 304.
[8] J. B. Ward Perkins. op. cit. p. 142.
[9] Lane, *Victoria and Albert Museum. Guide to the Collection of Tiles.* p. 28., pl. 19, 1.m.
[10] *Mediæval Catalogue.* p. 253.

these tiles were in fact made with stamps, and that the free-hand characteristics are more apparent than real. There can be little doubt, however, that the Glenluce specimens are genuine free-hand drawings. Each is crude and is unique, whereas each of the embossed tiles described above occurred in quantity, as recovered fragments additional to those described clearly prove. It is not improbable that the artist swiftly and deftly sketched upon the wet clay a chequered pattern, a chalice, or an inscription, as the fancy took him, and laid them, perhaps haphazardly, to enliven an area of otherwise monotonous plain tiling.

In addition to the tiles and other objects described, many coins and some fragments of mediæval painted window-glass were recovered. The coins include several Edward I. pennies (London and York mints), Crossraguel pennies, a Robert III. groat and half-groat, and sundry coins of James I., III., IV., VI., and later reigns.

The glass is grisaille, the brushwork being a dark brownish-black upon a greenish-white clear ground. The selected pieces illustrated on Plate VI. show a variety of foliage and border patterns which date the glass to the stylistic transitional period of the late 13th-early 14th century. The cross-hatched background of the earlier tradition persists, but the solid background characteristic of the 14th century occurs also, while the foliage patterns have lost their vigour and are rendered flatter and more naturalistically than before.

As it is distressingly easy to summarise what mediæval painted glass has survived in Scotland, even in fragments, these pieces from Glenluce have an added interest and a scarcity value.

Description.

TILES.

Fig. 1.

Hexagonal tile: red glaze: embossed with stylised oak leaf and acorn within raised indented border: 1 in. x 7 ins. x 6¼ ins.

Fig. 2.

Hexagonal tile: orange-red glaze: embossed three fleur-de-lis within raised border; 1 in. x 7⅛ ins. x 6⅛ ins.

Fig. 3.
Broken hexagonal tile, orange-red glaze with shield motif and initial "M," all within a raised and indented border.

Fig. 4.
Hexagonal tile: red glaze: a shield charged with three martlets, behind a crosier, all within a raised border: 1 in. x 7½ ins. x 6½ ins. (The accompanying section is standard for all those hexagonal tiles.)

Fig. 5.
Half of tile similar to above but with maker's mark incised.

Fig. 6.
Square tile, orange-red glaze, with sunken hexagonal field inaccurately impressed: embossed lion, etc.: 1 in. x 7½ ins. x 7 ins.

Figs. 7-10.
Square tiles, olive-green glaze, each quartered with identical imprints of horsemen or reindeer: margins decorated with crude indentations and/or impressed circles: dark olive-green glaze: ⅝ in. x 4½ ins. x 4½ ins.

Fig. 11.
Crude inscribed reproduction of a metal (?) candlestick with two loop handles: olive-green glaze: 6 ins. square, 1⅛ in. thick.

Fig. 12.
As above with crudely inscribed chalice.

Fig. 13.
Crudely inscribed abbreviated inscription (? Jesu Maria): olive green glaze: 6 ins. square, 1⅛ in. thick.

Fig. 14.
As above with defective inscription.

Fig. 15.
As above with defective inscription (? initials "M.R." for Jesu Maria).

Figs 16-20.
Square tiles with crude geometrical patterns: one (20) ornamented with impressions of two keys.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

Fig. 21. (Pl. IV.; 3, 6.)
Enlarged drawing of lead token or counter.

Fig 22. (Plate IV., 1.)
(a, b). Both sides of coin-weight (enlarged).

Plate I.

Candlestick: 15th century. There is a similar example in the Cluny Museum, Paris, illustrated in the London Museum Mediæval Catalogue, 1940, Page 178 (Fig. 4), and by A. O. Curle in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., LX. (1925-26), Fig. 1, No. 2. 7¼ ins. high; basal diameter 3½ ins.

Plate II.

Small bronze bell: probably a "squilla." The "Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc" (edit. Knowles. 1951) frequently stipulates the use of the smallest bell, called a "squilla" ("quam skillam nocant"): probably 13th century: aperture diameter 1½ in.

Plate III.

Enlarged impression of the pendant seal (Plate IV., No. 2): crudely drawn stag passant; cross between antlers: illegible inscription round margin. (Stevenson: "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," Vol. LX. (1925-26), p. 218 et seq. discusses seals bearing stag-head emblem, including one of Nicolas de Galway.)

Plate IV.

1. Bronze coin-weight: ⅜ in. square (see Fig. 22 a, b, for enlarged drawing). Coin-weights commonly carried a reproduction of the principal type of the coin to which they corresponded. The weight appears to be for a foreign gold coin, probably Dutch. None of the English or Scottish coins of gold value 5/6 of the time of James VI. and I. (which must be about the date of this specimen), carried the lion rampant as a principal type. (I am indebted to Mr Robert Kerr of the Royal Scottish Museum for this information.)
2. Pendant seal with pierced top (see Plate III. for enlarged impression). 1⅛ in. high, ⅞ in. diameter.
3. Bronze token or counter of unknown use, bearing in low counter relief a shield charged with a "star-fish" device and a coronet (see No. 6 and Fig. 21 for enlargements): the other side is greatly worn: ½ in. square.
4. Three brass buckles. (14th or 15th century) (cf. London Museum "Mediæval Catalogue," Pl. LXXIX., p. 277).
5. Lead bullæ for attachment to textiles (bales of cloth, wool, etc.) (For the abbey's commercial contacts, vide Part I., p. 184). That with the fleur-de-lis is French.
6. Enlargement of No. 3.

Plate V.

1. Pointed copper bullæ.
2. Seven brass tags (? lace-ends).

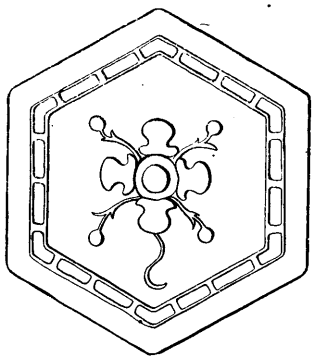
3. Ornamental bronze or copper plate: panels of yellow enamel: pierced for attachment, probably to casket: 2½ ins.
4. Copper pin with rounded head: 2 ins. long.
5. Bronze boss with tang behind, of decorative but indeterminate use: ½ in. square.
6. Bronze implement, unknown use.
7. Bronze implement, probably surgical.
8, 9, and 10. Copper hinge-plates.

The small objects of this plate. which are not described above, include a bead and sundry small metal clasps, etc., of no great significance.

Plate VI.

Mediæval painted window-glass (see Page 183).

This paper has been published with the aid of a grant from the Ministry of Works, to whom the Society acknowledges its indebtedness.—Ed.



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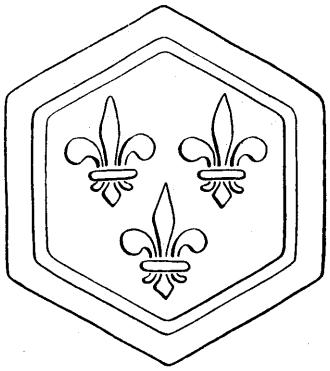

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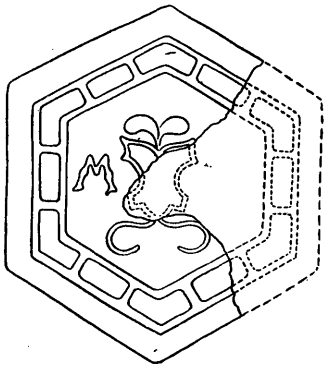

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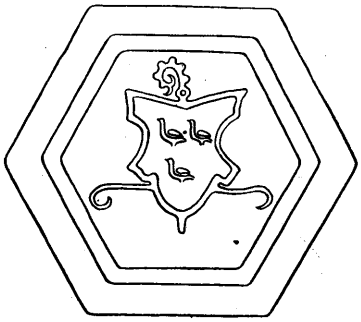

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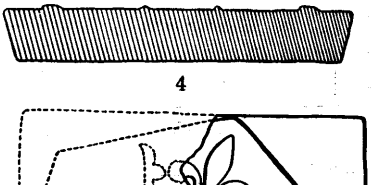

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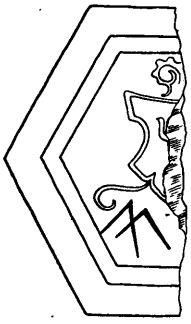

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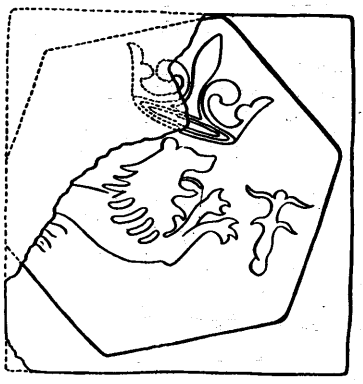
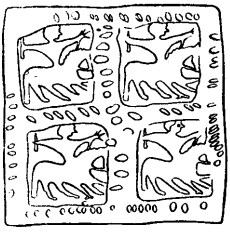


GLENLUCE ABBEY: TILES.



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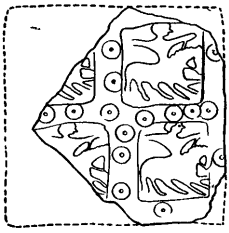

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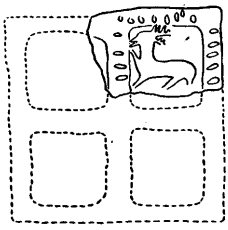

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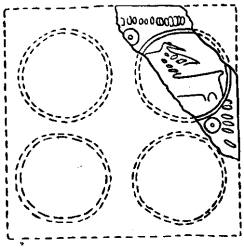

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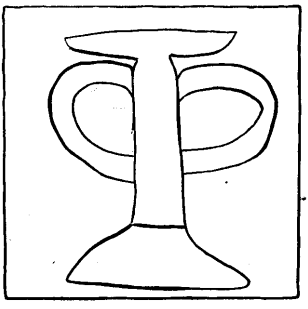

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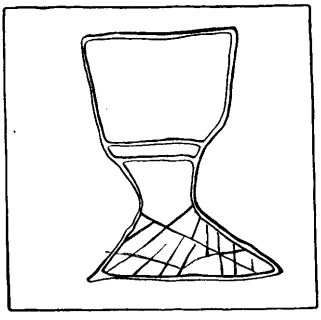

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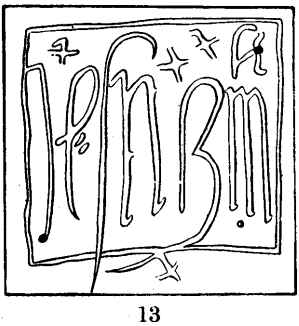

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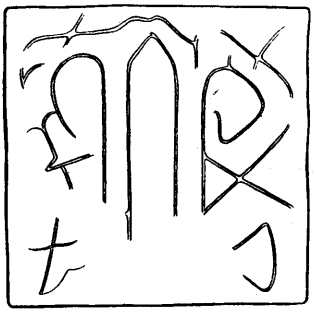

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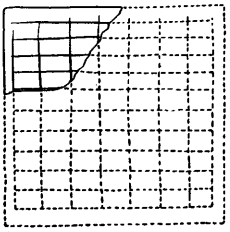

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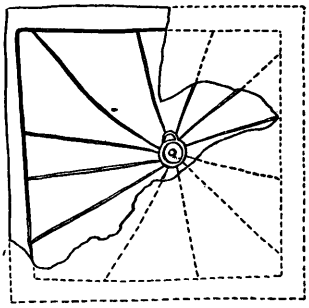

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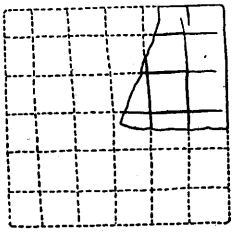

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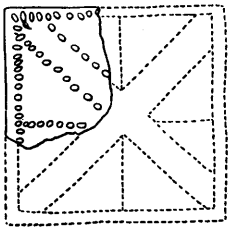

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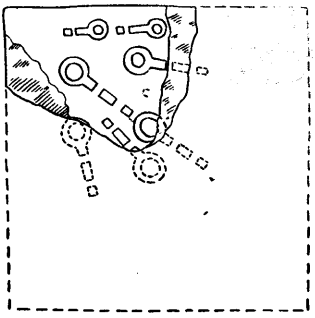

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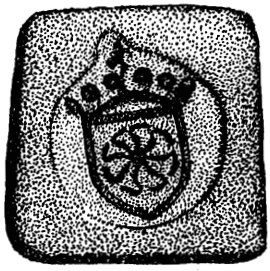

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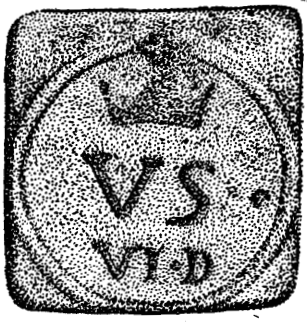

22a

22b

GLENLUCE ABBEY: COIN-WEIGHT AND COUNTER.

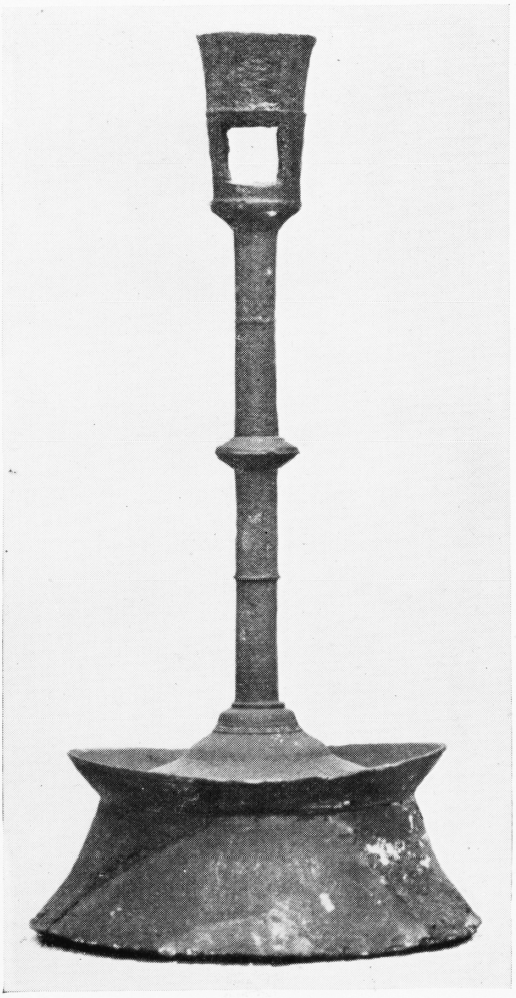

Plate I.

Plate II.

Plate III.

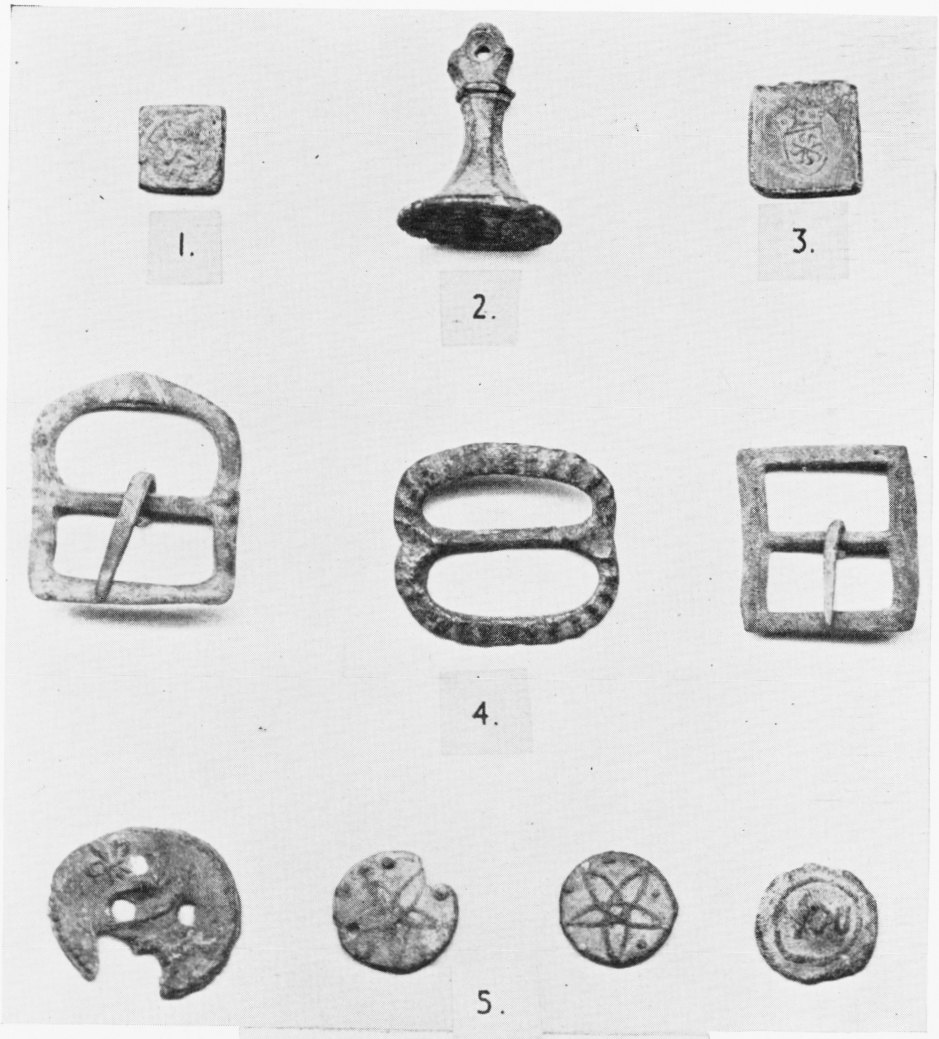

Plate IV.

Plate V.

Plate VI.

GLENLUCE ABBEY: PAINTED GLASS.

ARTICLE 14.

Addenda Antiquaria.

1. A Whithorn Miracle.

By Rev. JAMES BULLOCH, M.A., B.D.

Accounts of early Christianity in Southern Scotland are so scanty that even the slightest may deserve mention. One such is found in the writings of Paschasius Radbertus. Born at or near Soissons about the close of the eighth century Radbertus became a Benedictine monk at Corbie near Amiens in 814, assuming then the name of Paschasius. In 844 he became Abbot but his severity compelled his resignation in 851. He is best known as a commentator; his exegesis of St. Matthew occupies close on a thousand columns of the Patrologia Latina, and there are others by him on Lamentations and on Psalm XLIV. (Psalm 45 in our English version) as well as writings on the Virgin Birth, the Christian Virtues, the Passion of St. Rufinus and St. Valerius, and Lives of St. Adalhard and his brother Wala, predecessors of Radbertus as Abbots of Corbie; but the work which has best preserved his name is his treatise on the nature of the Eucharist written in 831, *Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*. This treatise and another of the same name, but very different outlook, have a high place in the development of mediæval sacramental doctrine; this second treatise was written by Ratramnus, a monk of the same Abbey, and, wrongly attributed to Erigena, was condemned at the Council of Vercelli in 1050, leaving that of Radbertus to hold the field.

A lesser interest of this work—for Scottish readers—may be found in his account[1] of a miracle at Candida Casa. Arguing for the reality in all respects of the change in the consecrated elements, Radbertus devotes his fourteenth chapter to several accounts of miracles in which the change in the consecrated elements has been made visible to the celebrant or to worshippers. He divides such cases into two categories, those granted for the benefit of the unbelieving, and those granted to the prayers of the faithful for their confirming in the faith. Among the former he recounts how, when St. Basil was celebrating the sacrament there was present a certain Jew who saw the Holy Child in the hands of the celebrant and found the chalice filled with blood; returning home, he related to his wife what he had beheld, and on the morrow he confessed his faith to St. Basil and was baptised. A second instance is drawn from the life of St. Gregory where the miracle took place at the prayer of the celebrant who had withdrawn the wafer from a woman who had laughed at it on recognising bread which she herself had pro-

1 P.L., cxx., Sancti Paschasii Radberti Opera Omnia, col. 1319-1321.

vided. A third case is related on the authority of the Abbot Arsenius—evidently his predecessor Wala under another name—who told of an aged man of Scythia who asserted that the sacramental change was but figurative, but because of his devotion received a similar vision to instruct him in the truth.

These stories are of a familiar mediæval type, and a Scottish parallel may be found in the Life of St. Waltheof, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelyn of Furness,[2] but Radbertus recounts a fourth instance located at Whithorn. This incident has been drawn, either directly or indirectly and most probably the latter, from the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (section XIII., lines 373-449) and follows it closely in detail. A certain priest named Plechils frequently celebrated mass at the burial place of St. Ninian, "Bishop and Confessor," and often besought God that He might reveal to him the body and blood of Christ. This he did, not out of unbelief, but from devotion, for he was a man who for love of the service of God had left his own country, *ut Christi mysteria exsul sedule disceret.* Daily he prayed for a revelation of the nature of the substance of the consecrated bread and wine. On a certain day as he was celebrating mass he prayed, "I pray, Almighty God, that Thou wilt reveal to me in this mystery the nature of the body of Christ, that I may be permitted to behold Him with my eyes, and to touch with my hands the form of the Child Whom once His Mother's bosom bore." At this an angel appeared and told him that his prayer was granted. Terror stricken he raised his head and saw the Holy Child above the altar. At the angel's command he took the Child into his trembling arms; he kissed Him and restored Him above the altar, then prayed that the form of the sacrament might be restored; this was done.

Radbertus wrote this in 831, and the story must be presumed to be considerably earlier. The name "Plecgils" may be compared with Pechthelm and Pechtwine,[3] Bishops of Whithorn; possibly the first syllable was originally the same. Its second syllable may be compared with the names of Fridegils,[4] Hildegils,[5] and Kynegils.[6]

II. Re-dating a Whithorn Document.

By ROBERT J. BRENTANO, M.A.

The subjection of the see of Whithorn to the metropolitan see of York has recently been traced by Dr. Gordon Donaldson.[1] The connection

2 Vita S. Walthevi. Acta Sanctorum, 3rd August, para. 23.
3 Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, v. 23. Symeon of Durham, R.S., ii., 29, 43, 46.
4 Adelwulfi de Abbatibus cellae suae, in Symeon of Durham, R.S., i., 275.
5 ibid., ii., 62.
6 ibid., i., 349.
1 Trans. D. and G., 3d ser., xxvii., 127-154.

was established most firmly in the Whithorn vacancy of 1293-4, after the death of Henry of Holyrood. During this vacancy the jurisdiction of the spiritualities of the see was at first disputed. It was claimed by the Premonstratensian chapter of Whithorn, by the archdeacon of Galloway, and by John Romeyn as archbishop of York. Romeyn's victory in the dispute and his mode of administering the vacant see are recorded in a series of documents in his register. The most important of these is numbered 1392 in the register as it is edited by William Brown and printed in the Surtees Society.[2] This document records the meeting in the archbishop's chapel at York, now the chapter library, of the archbishop with his council and John Nepos, the curate and, in fact, the nephew of the archdeacon of Galloway and a doctor of civil law. The archbishop conducted the conference with considerable acumen and finally confounded Nepos with certain extracts from the register of Archbishop Gray. Brown dated this document 13th February, 1294-5, because of the *nonagesimo quarto* of the register. This year date is, however, immediately suspect. The document lies between two other documents dated respectively 12th February, 1293-4, and 1st March, 1293-4. It is placed in the section *de anno nono* of the *de episcopis suffraganeis* portion of Romeyn's register, and Romeyn had been consecrated on 10th February, 1285-6. Romeyn's itinerary, the days of the week, and the general chronology of the vacancy all demand that the year be 1293-4, not 1294-5. The explanation of the *nonagesimo quarto* in the register is indicated in a note which Brown himself would seem to have appended to another document (1390).[3] The document (1392, like 1390) was quite obviously the copy of an instrument of a notary who used the papal style of beginning the year at Christmas rather than Lady Day. Romeyn's registrar did not change the date, but he placed the document in its correct chronological order in the register. Its proper date is 13th February, 1293-4. The chronology of the vacancy thus becomes understandable, and the most important document of the vacancy, and one of the most important documents in the history of the ecclesiastical administration of mediæval Whithorn, is fitted into its proper year.

III. The Year of Cunedda's Departure for Wales.

By Rev. A. W. WADE EVANS, M.A.

That Maelgwn Gwynedd died in a great pestilence cannot be gainsaid, but it is evident that 547 as his death year (as given in the Welsh *Annals*) is considerably postdated. This is proved by the fact that his famous descendant in the *fifth* generation, Cadwallon, the ally of

2 The Register of John le Romeyn, ii., 119-124.
3 ibid., 117, n., 2.

Penda of Mercia, perished at Rowley Water in 634. Cadwallon was the son of Cadfan, the son of Iago (died 615), son of Beli, son of Rhun, son of Maelgwn (Harleian Pedigree. I.).

I submit that the pestilence in which Maelgwn died was that *famōsa pestis* mentioned in the *De excidio Britanniae* (22) which was so sudden and sharp that the living were unable to bury the dead. It occurred in, or shortly before, 514.

Moreover, had Maelgwn died in 547, he could not possibly have been the greatgrandson of Cunedda Wledig (as we know he was), who, with eight sons, had headed an expedition from the Firth of Forth into Wales 146 years even before his reign began, whenever that was. But as pointed out in Foord's *Last Age of Roman Britain* (pp. 120-1), there seems to be a deliberate synchronisation of Maelgwn with Ida of Bernicia (mentioned in a previous section), whose reign is invariably stated to have commenced in 547. So in the phrase " CXLVI. annis antequam Maileun regnaret " (Nennius, 62), read *Ida* for Maileun or at least understand the passage to refer to him.

One may conclude, therefore, with some assurance that Cunedda and his sons withdrew into Wales from Manaw of the Votadini in A.D. 401 at the direction of Stilicho. As the withdrawal seems to have been made by sea it may be suggested that use was made of the flotilla unit, Cohors Aelia Classica, stationed at Tunnocelum in the Irish Sea, supposed to be St. Bee's Head.

IV. A Stone Axe from Watcarrick.

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

There has been presented to the Observatory Museum by the Roads Committee of the County Council of Dumfries a stone axe 6⅞ inches long with an oval cross section of 3 inches x 1½ inches. Originally the implement may have been longer and reduced in length when resharpened. The cutting edge is markedly oblique and the axe must therefore have been set obliquely in its haft. Dr. Waterston of the Royal Scottish Museum to whom it has been submitted, describes it as made of hornblend-felspathic rock, but it is not possible to say where the stone originates till there has been a petrological survey of Scottish stone axes. There is nothing quite like it in the National Museum of Antiquities and it therefore does not seem likely to have come from a factory site.

It was found by Andrew Graham, roadman, at Ecclefechan, on the lands of Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir, north-east of Blackburn Bridge on the western side of the road whilst it was being widened. It was resting in peat approximately four feet below the present surface.

V. A Thirteenth Century Seal Matrix.

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

Our member, Captain Keith R. Murray, of Parton House, has presented to the Museum a matrix and a seal made from a very good impression. The legend reads: S. HAWISIE DNE DE KEVEOLOC.

When the donor succeeded his uncle, the late George R. Murray, of Parton, the mansion and most of its contents had been destroyed by fire. Amongst the furnishings saved was a desk in which matrix and seal were found loose in a drawer. Nothing is known of its history, but the donor's godfather, Mr W. G. Richards, was Welsh and a great friend of George Murray, to whom he may have given it.

Hawise is a fairly common lady's name of the 13th-14th centuries, but the place name Keveoloc presented difficulties as it is not a local place name. Mr Ralegh Radford suggested it might be Welsh and accordingly a Welsh authority was consulted. Mr W. J. Hemp, late Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Wales, at once recognised the matrix as that of Hawise, lady of Keveoloc, daughter of John le Strange and wife of Griffith ap Gwenwynwyn " Prince " of Powys—or what is now known as Welshpool. On her husband's death c. 1283 she succeeded to the " principality " (or whatever it was called) and held it as guardian of her son, Owen de la Pole, until her death c. 1310.

The shield in the lady's right hand is that of Powys, representing Cyfeiliog, and that in her left hand her paternal coat of Strange. The lion is gules and the field or—the arms attributed to Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, " King " of Powys. The bottom point of the seal is missing and presumably it had flaked away where the strings passed out of it before the cast was made.

A drawing of the seal appears in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1853, p. 72, and there is a reference in the same publication, 1852, recording the exhibition of the impression to the Archæological Institute in 1851. The drawing is reproduced in A.C. 1892, p. 11, with a pedigree.

The Society is indebted to the Cambrian Archaeological Society for the loan of this block.

VI. The Building Date of M'Clellan's Castle.

By R. C. REID.

Above the entrance doorway of Kirkcudbright Castle—often known as M'Clellan's House—is a much weathered coat of arms described by the compilers of the Inventory of the *Ancient and Historical Monuments Commission* as—Quarterly 1st and 4th, a saltire with a label of three points in chief (for Maxwell); 2nd and 3rd, three urcheons (for Herries). Above the shield are the letters G. M. (for Grissel Maxwell) and the date 1582 in relief.

These arms on the sinister panel presented the compilers with some difficulty. Sir Thomas M'Clellan of Bombie, the builder of the mansion, married Grissel, daughter of Sir John Maxwell, who, in right of his wife was Fourth Lord Herries. Their marriage contract, which was ante nuptial, is dated January, 1584-5. Lord Herries died in 1582 at which date Grissel was not yet 14 years of age and the inventory offers as the possible explanation of this date 1582, that it may refer to an earlier marriage contract entered into before she was of age to marry.

Of such an earlier contract there is no evidence, but another explanation of the date 1582 is now forthcoming. Sir Thomas M'Clellan was twice married. His first wife was Helen, daughter of Sir James Gordon of Lochinvar. She died on 22nd November, 1581 (not 26th November, as given in *Scots Peerage*, V., 264). Her testament dative was not recorded by her husband till 11th March, 1591/2 and then only after action by the Procurator Fiscal in the Commissary Court at Edinburgh. Amongst the sums owed by the spouses at her death are some illuminating details.

> To William M'Clellane of Balmangane and William M'Clellane of Croftis, furneist to the said Laird when he passed to France in June, 1581 ..... 3200 merks.

Of this Continental trip there seems no other record.

> To Ninian Creychtoun in Clonley, for timber; to William M'Come, mason, in Kirkcudbright, for taking down Robert Forrester's " auld hous " there ..... £20.
>
> To Robert Couper, mason, in Kirkcudbright, and Alexander Couper, his brother, masons there, " for the work and labour in biging the hous in Kirkcudbright for the space of five months up to the lady's decease " ..... £1000.
>
> To John Williamsone in Nynbellie (Nunbelly), for lime and lime stanes ..... 300 merks.
>
> To Adam Merschell there and John Merschell there for the same ..... 400 merks.
>
> To John Law, Archibald Law and Mathew Law, brothers, for carrying the white stanes, free stanes and timber, 400 merks.

From these entries it is clear that building operations had started at least five months before Helen Gordon's death, probably early in 1581, prior to Thomas M'Clellan's visit to France in June of that year. He may well have left the work in charge of his wife as did Sir William Grierson of Lag, who, on 1st May, 1610, gave his wife Nicolas Maxwell a liferent charter of Rockall " calling to remembrance the cair and trubel taen be hir, upon my directioun, in the edifeing and bigging of the place of Rockall laitlie constructit be me " (Lag Charters).

No tombstone records the resting place of Helen Gordon, but the child wife, Grissel Maxwell, who succeeded her two years later as second wife of Sir Thomas, lies beside him under a striking monument in the Greyfriars' Kirk at Kirkcudbright.

The heraldic dated panel was probably the last part of the building operations and must have been added after or about the date of the marriage. But the date 1582 clearly refers to the erection of the main structure.

ARTICLE 15.

Review.

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF SOUTH-WESTERN SCOTLAND, being reports of excavations and surveys carried out under the auspices of the Glasgow Archaeological Society by John Clarke, J. M. Davidson, Anne S. Robertson, J. K. St Joseph, edited for the Society with an historical survey by S. N. Miller. Pp. xx. plus 246, 67 plates and 12 text-figures; Glasgow, 1952 (obtainable from the Joint Hon. Secretary, Glasgow Archaeological Society, 2 Ailsa Drive, Glasgow, S.2, 45s).

The full title of this long-awaited work will serve to warn readers that it does not attempt to give a complete and up to date survey of the evidence for the anatomy and history of the Roman occupation of South-Western Scotland; and the date on the title-page is itself misleading, for internal evidence shows that the main body of the book had been completed by 1948, while there is nothing later than 1950 taken into account in the preface. More serious, perhaps, is the apparently studied concentration on the work done by the Glasgow Archaeological Society and its members, to the exclusion of virtually all references to contemporary work by other bodies or individuals; the result leaves an oddly unbalanced picture, particularly in the Bibliography (pp. 192-4) and in the late S. N. Miller's Historical Survey—which would have been stimulating and helpful if it had been published ten or fifteen years ago, but in 1953 presents a distinctly old-fashioned approach to the historical problems of Roman Scotland. To readers of these Transactions, it will appear particularly unfortunate that there is no reference to anything published in them from 1948 onwards, except for a passing mention of Mr John Clarke's report on his excavations at Tassiesholm in vol. XXVI. (p. viii.) and in a footnote on page 109; for this Society has devoted much attention to the problems of the same area and period, and has been at pains to publish the results of a great deal of active research and reflection. Furthermore, " South-Western Scotland " is clearly a misnomer, in a work which has nothing to contribute about Galloway, excludes Broomholm (p. vii.)—but yet includes a survey of the course of the Roman road from Stanwix by Carlisle to the crossing of the Border. " Glasgow Archaeological Society Contributions to the Study of the Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland " would have been a fairer and more accurate title for the book.

It has not been agreeable to have to preface a review of a notable work with such adverse criticisms; but the reviewer would be failing in his duty if he were to give an unqualified welcome to a book which nevertheless gives ample value for its price. The main body of it is devoted to careful descriptions of the roads—from Carlisle to the Forth

(pp. 1-43), to Nithsdale (pp. 44-56), from Tweed to Clyde (pp. 57-59), and from mid-Clydesdale towards the Ayrshire coast (pp. 60-65), all by Dr St Joseph, and from Castledykes to the Forth-Clyde isthmus (pp. 66-87) by Mr J. M. Davidson, of the Roman bridge over the Kelvin at Summerston (pp. 88-94) by Mr Davidson, and of the forts and fortlets examined under the auspices of the Glasgow Society, or by Dr St Joseph, who contributes sections on those between the Esk and Dalmakethar (pp. 95-103), from Beattock to Carlops (pp. 111-116), three Nithsdale sites (Ward Law, Galloberry and Barburgh Mill, pp. 117-123) and Loudoun Hill (pp. 188-191); Mr John Clarke gives reports on Milton (Tassiesholm) as examined in 1938 and 1939—when attention was devoted solely to the Antonine fortlet (pp. 104-110 and pl. XXXIX)—and Durisdeer (pp. 124-126 and pl. XLII); Miss Anne Robertson describes the results of her excavations at Castledykes (pp. 127-171, with excellent plans, sections, photographs and illustrations of small finds); and Mr Davidson gives a report on the fort at Bothwellhaugh (pp. 172-187). Throughout this portion of the book there is a wealth of illustrations—air photographs and other half-tones, and sections from the Ordnance Survey maps—to enable the reader to follow the careful descriptions in the text, and to give the field-worker an opportunity of studying the courses of the Roman roads on the ground. Indeed, there could hardly be a better handbook to the practical study of Roman roads in the North of Britain than Dr St Joseph's contributions to the present volume incidentally offer us; and it is to be hoped that those of our members who are actively engaged in such study will take steps to obtain copies of it, and will use it constantly. They will find that it contains an invaluable basis for distinguishing between Roman and eighteenth-century metalled roads—and if they model their own descriptions of routes on those provided by Dr St Joseph, which are delightfully clear, they cannot go far wrong. But the mere list of the roads described in this volume will emphasise, by its omissions, how much more work remains to be done, before we can obtain a really accurate picture of the communications-system established by the Romans in South-Western Scotland. It may be noted, in passing, that the maps purporting to illustrate the early occupation (pl. LXV.) and South-Western Scotland's Roman sites and Roman roads (pl. LXVI.), were prepared by Miss Robertson and Dr St Joseph in 1946 and 1940 respectively; it is perhaps useful to be reminded what great strides have been made in subsequent years, most of all by Dr St Joseph himself, but it is to be regretted that new maps were not prepared before the book's long gestation came to an end.

S. N. Miller's Historical Survey is divided into four unequal sections, discussing the topographical framework (pp. 195-204), the early occupation (pp. 204-212), the Antonine period (pp. 212-235) and the problem of the Severan occupation (pp. 235-239). On the first three sections, the reviewer may be allowed to refer to his own papers in earlier

volumes of these Transactions (XXV., 1948, pp. 132-150: "Dumfriesshire in Roman times," and XXIX, 1952, pp. 46-65: "The Brigantian problem, and the first Roman contact with Scotland"); the former paper, at least, might have been thought worth a passing mention in the bibliography or the preface. Detailed criticism would be out of place, not only because it can no longer reach the author, but because his discussion has been overtaken by the progress of research. It may be noted, however, that he postulates the establishment of the cavalry fort at Carzield as late as the governorship of Cn. Julius Verus (p. 225)—a veiw which no seriqus student of Roman pottery can be expected to accept; similarly, the decisive pottery evidence for late third-century occupation of Birrens is ignored. In discussing the question of Severus and his campaigns in the North, Miller has adopted, and has sought to strengthen, the view first put forward by Haverfield, that the Roman forces neither occupied nor even marched through the territory between the two Walls, but reached Scotland by sea, establishing a main base at Cramond and operating against the Caledonians beyond the Forth-Clyde line from that base; but he adds a fresh point, arguing for a brief Severan occupation of the Antonine Wall. It cannot be said that his arguments carry conviction. For example, he takes the relief of Dolichenus from Croy Hill to be most probably Severan—forgetting, it must be presumed, that CIL. VII. 506, from Benwell on Hadrian's Wall, shows that that Syrian deity was being worshipped in the North of Britain as early as the time of Antoninus Pius; and it would be a tolerant critic who accepted his discussion of the case of Fabius Liberalis, who dedicated an altar at the same site. And yet the reviewer believes that Miller's intuition was right (though the arguments adduced in support of it cannot be accepted) as regards a Severan reoccupation of the Antonine Wall. Epigraphically, the building-record of vexillations from *II Augusta* and *XX Valeria Victrix*, CIL., VII., 1139, would be far more appropriately assigned to the time of Severus than to the second century (there is no such lettering on any of the inscriptions specifically assignable to the time of Antoninus Pius); and some of the pottery from the Antonine Wall or from sites in close proximity to it (such as Camelon) has obvious affinities with material from Severan deposits on Hadrian's Wall. Between the Walls, third-century occupation may not yet be clearly established, except at outposts of the southern frontier; but it may be noted that the dedication to Apollo Grannus by an otherwise unknown procurator, Q. Lusius Sabinianus, at Musselburgh (CIL., VII., 1082) could well belong to that period—Caracalla was particularly devoted to the deity in question, and in any case, the altar from Corstopitum, dedicated by an officer who was in charge of its granaries "at the time of the most fortunate British expedition" (*Ephemeris Epigraphica* IX., 1144), surely indicates that Roman armies were being supplied up Dere Street, even if the fort at Newstead was not reoccupied in the course of the campaign.

To sum up: the long delay in publication has deprived the book of much of the value which would have attached to it if it had appeared in 1940. Attempting a balanced and comprehensive survey of the Roman occupation of South-Western Scotland, it must be adjudged inadequate and, in places, positively misleading. But it provides a valuable record of field-work and excavation, particularly in Dr St Joseph's descriptions of Roman roads, and its very shortcomings should present a challenge to archaeologists to continue their investigations into the topography and the history of Roman Scotland. The time has passed, however, for tackling a problem of Roman history and archaeology as though it were primarily the concern of a single archaeological society, and entirely the preserve of Scottish archaeologists. It is all the more encouraging, therefore, to note the tribute which Miller has included, towards the end of his preface, to the work of Mr John Clarke and Miss Anne Robertson, former pupils of his in the University of Glasgow, in securing "the immediate future of Romano-Scottish archaeology"; members of this Society have long been aware of the high quality of their services, not only as excavators but also as trainers of excavators, and an English archaeologist, who is also a member of this Society and of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, may perhaps be permitted to add his own testimony to the high regard felt for their work outside the narrow limits of Roman Scotland. Equal regard, and indeed affection, is due to the memory of S. N. Miller. He was not only the chief planner of the present volume, and the guide and counsellor to whom its contributors never turned in vain, but a prime mover in the methodical study of Roman history and archaeology throughout the past generation; his reports on the excavation of Balmuildy and Old Kilpatrick, his contribution to the last volume of the Cambridge Ancient History, and his outstanding survey of "The Roman Empire in the first three centuries" in Eyre's *European Civilization*, form an abiding memorial to his scholarship and to the sureness of his judgment. It is to be regretted that the outbreak of war in 1939, the difficulties of the post-war years, and Miller's premature death, have resulted in the partial miscarriage of the project to which so much of his time and energy must have been devoted in the years of his retirement; but there is ample recompense in the positive contributions to knowledge contained in the present volume, and in the knowledge that Miller has left behind him an active school of excavators and historians, who are tackling the problems of Roman Scotland on a scale and in a spirit of scholarly disinterest that would have earned his unqualified approval.

ERIC BIRLEY.

Proceedings, 1951-52.

2nd November, 1951.—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library on this date, having been postponed a week to avoid the General Election. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted, and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. The Treasurer reported that the raising of the subscription had benefited the Society to the extent of about £80 per annum, though it had resulted in a loss of about 30 members. Mr Arthur B. Duncan then delivered a short address on "Rook Tribes of the Stewartry." He estimated that there were about 40,000 rooks in the Stewartry during the day, organised into five "tribes," with roosts at Dalswinton, Dalgonar, Auchengool, Cavens, and Markfast, near Haugh-of-Urr, and dwelt on the social organisation of birds in general (see "Standard," 7th November).

23rd November, 1951.—The lecturer was Dr. Gibson of Mauchline, and his subject, "The Birds of Ailsa Craig." Numerous slides were shown, depicting incidents in the lives of the birds and their habits (see "Standard," 28th November).

7th December, 1951.—Dr. George Pryde, M.A., delivered the second part of his work on "The Origin and Status of the Burghs of Dumfriesshire and Galloway," both parts of which were printed in these "Transactions," Vol. XXIX., Article 4.

11th January, 1952.—The subject of the lecture given by Dr. John Allan, C.B., of Edinburgh University, formerly of the Coin Department of the British Museum, was a "History of British Coins," admirably illustrated with lantern slides, being a comprehensive account of the development of our coinage.

25th January, 1952.—Mr R. J. C. Atkinson, M.A., lecturer in archæology at Edinburgh University, gave an illustrated address on his work at Glenluce Sands, which had been visited under his guidance by the Society on 7th July, 1951 (see p. 197 of last volume, and "Standard," 6th February). This important contribution to Scottish archæology will shortly appear in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

8th February, 1952.—The habits and development of fishes was the subject of the lecture, entitled "The Life of a Fish," by Dr. H. D. Bull, D.Sc., Director of the Cullercoats Marine Laboratory. All types of fish were dealt with, and the method of determining the age of fish from the ear bones was explained (see "Standard," 13th February).

22nd February, 1952.—"The Importance of Size and Shape in Bird and Beast" was the topic chosen by Mr A. J. A. Woodcock, M.Sc., F.R.E.S., who covered a wide field in his address (see "Standard," 27th February).

14th March, 1952.—This evening Mr Brian Hope Taylor, F.S.A., lectured on his first season's excavation at the Mote of Urr, which he contrasted at some length with his completed excavation of the Abinger Motte in Surrey. The second season's work arranged for 1952 had to be cancelled owing to the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, but it is hoped to complete the excavation in 1953. An interim report appeared in these "Transactions," Vol. XXIX., p. 167.

28th March, 1952.—The lecturer was Dr. Waterston, B.Sc., of the Royal Scottish Museum, who spoke on "The Scenic Evolution of Scotland," commencing some 400 million years ago (see "Standard," 2nd April).

11th April, 1952.—The last meeting of the winter session was held on this date, and two addresses were delivered. Mr John Fiddes, M.A., B.Sc., gave a careful account of his excavations at Chippermore Farm, Mochrum (see Article 8 of this volume). He was followed by Mr R. C. Reid with the challenging title of "Who was Mak Siccar?" which figures in extended form as Article 4 of this volume. This critical thesis, however, met with the disapproval of Major-General Charles Kirkpatrick, C.B., C.B.E., who upheld the traditional account.

Field Meetings.

12th April, 1952.—On a fine sunny Spring day the Society visited the excavations just completed by Professor Richmond and Dr. St. Joseph at Glenlochar on the Dee. At the site the Dumfries members were joined by a large number of local members and non-members, so that Professor Richmond had an audience of well over 100. Professor Richmond was introduced to the company by Mr R. C. Reid, who warmly thanked Mr Crosbie, the owner of the land, for his co-operation. Mr Reid said that the Society was fortunate in having the Professor, who was the leading expert in excavation and the foremost authority on the Roman occupation of North Britain, to speak to them that afternoon. The Professor prefaced his description of the site with an outline of its discovery from the air by Dr. St. Joseph, who had co-operated with him in the excavation. In the Summer of 1949, when flying up the Dee, there had suddenly swept into sight beneath him a great Roman fort, its ditches and streets showing up clearly as crop-marks; then, after pointing out the strategic situation of the fort at the only good bridge-site for many miles, Dr. Richmond sketched the sequence of occupations, from Agricolan to Antonine, which the results of the past two weeks' work suggested. He then conducted the visitors on a tour of the excavations, explaining the significance of the pits, ramparts, well, water-tank, and timber

foundations, which had been uncovered. The visitors were then free to re-visit points in the excavations which had interested them and to ask questions. Moving a vote of thanks to Professor Richmond, the Rev. J. A. Fisher, Convener of the County, humorously remarked that the excavation had confirmed what he had always believed—that Crossmichael was the centre of civilisation in these parts! As the party dispersed, Professor Richmond remarked that it was apt that the field should in a few days be returned to its normal occupant, a redoubtable bull, for the bull, as well as the eagle, was the symbol of the Roman legions. Mr R. Winter and Miss B. Blance, students, the latter a Society member, who had been assisting in the excavation, helped to conduct the large company round the site. A full report of the excavation will be found in this volume—Article 1.

10th May, 1952.—On a day of fine weather interspersed with torrential showers, the Society made a joint excursion with the Scottish Group, Council for British Archæology, to Burnswark, Ruthwell, and Caerlaverock, meeting the Group at Burnswark. The speakers at Burnswark were Mr Reid, on the Roman sites, and Dr. K. Steer, of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, on the native hill-top site. Mr Reid pointed out how the small Roman road-post had been incorporated into the "South Fort," with its three entrances on the uphill side, each covered by an enormous *titulus* perhaps used as a *ballistarium* commanding the hill-top fort, and how the "North Fort" on the other side of the hill seemed not to have been completed when the siege of the hill-top ended in success. He went on to refer to the substantial claims of the site to be regarded as the "Brunanburh" of the famous battle and quoted the Anglo-Saxon epic describing the hero's death in battle, and his burial beneath an earthen mound, pointing out the close similarity of the site described to Burnswark and the fact that on the summit there was indeed just such a mound. Dr. Steer referred to the two structural periods of the hill-top fort and related it to other similar forts in South-East Scotland. The party examined both the Roman and native sites, aided by the excellent sketch-plan circulated by Mr Feachem, Secretary to the Group. Leaving Burnswark—after a brief adventure when a tractor had to be hurriedly summoned to haul one of the 'buses out of a boggy field—the party halted at Hoddom Bridge, where the site of Hoddom Monastery was described, from the 'buses, by Mr Reid and Mr Truckell; then on to Ruthwell Parish Church, where Mr Charlton, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, gave a most interesting talk on the Great Cross; then on to Ruthwell School, where an excellent tea was served. The party then proceeded to Caerlaverock, where, despite a violent thunderstorm, the party enjoyed the expert and up-to-date description by Mr B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments

for Great Britain. The party then returned to Dumfries, where they were entertained by the Provost and Magistrates at an evening reception at the Observatory Museum.

31st May, 1952.—Quite a large party set out for Balcary Cliffs. The day was dry and slightly overcast. Mr Arthur Duncan spoke of the sea birds which were nesting on the cliffs. Outstanding amongst these was the fulmar, which nested for the first time in the Stewartry in 1952. The birds obligingly flew near enough to the watchers to show all the distinguishing features, even the external nasal tubes characteristic of the petrel family. A picnic lunch was enjoyed on slopes carpeted with rock rose and thrift. Mr James Irvine then exhibited, named, and spoke briefly on more than thirty species of plants which he and other members of the party had collected. There were no rarities amongst these. In the afternoon the sun came out, and all the butterflies to be expected in such a locality at that time of year appeared. Conspicuous among them were half a dozen Painted Ladies, showing that the March immigration of this species to Britain had been widespread. Mr David Cunningham captured and exhibited all the species obtainable, and identified and spoke of various caterpillars that he and other members of the party found.

. . . . . .

Owing to a serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, all further Field Meetings for the year were cancelled.

Presentations.

23rd November, 1951.—Stone axe from Watcarrick (see p. 194)—Presented by the Roads Committee of the County Council of Dumfries.

Stone spinning whorl found by Mr Thomas Hood whilst hoeing kale on Tonguecroft, Borgue.

OBITUARY.

The late Mr M. H. M'Kerrow was in its truest sense the father of this Society, both in the length of his membership and the part which he had played in our long history. He became a member in 1900, just 53 years ago, and five years later he became Treasurer of the Society, laying down that office after 25 years' service on his election as President in 1930. Apart from his Presidential Address, his name rarely figures as a contributor in our "Transactions," but that gives no indication of the unobtrusive, loyal, and unceasing work which he did for the Society. When he took office he found our financial affairs in a deplorable state. The total income was £67. There were no reserves, for life membership fees had been used as income. The cupboard was bare. Within two years, nobly backed by a new President, Sir Hugh Gladstone, and a new Secretary, Mr Shirley, he showed an income of £176 and a reserve of £230. That reserve was really a replacement of life membership fees, and could only have come from the pockets of Sir Hugh Gladstone and of himself. From that moment the Society never looked back, and Mr M'Kerrow lived long enough to see that reserve reach almost £800.

When the first war broke out the Society agreed to suspend activities. Realising that this decision was tantamount to burial, Mr M'Kerrow called a meeting and urged me to come up from London. We got the decision reversed, but only on condition that the subscription be reduced to 2s 6d. Nevertheless we carried on and even continued publication in very depleted form. When the second war came he again was in the forefront for continuity.

Our Past President has left behind him one permanent memorial—the Museum. In 1932 the Trustees were in difficulties and the Museum was in the market. Mr M'Kerrow stepped into the breach, and, after prolonged negotiations, arranged that the Town Council should buy the site and that the contents should be acquired partly by a grant of £200 from the reserves of this Society and other sources, but mainly, I fancy, from Mr M'Kerrow's own resources. The Museum was purged of much of its contents and modernised, as you see it to-day, and very properly he became the chairman of its Committee. As such he made his last public appearance last July when the Scottish Regional Group visited Dumfries. He greeted them in the Museum at a reception given by the Town Council.

Mr M'Kerrow rarely appeared in the limelight, which he shunned, but few have done more for this Society than himself.

R. C. R.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History and Antiquarian Society

Membership List, April 1st, 1953.

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., Brocklehirst, 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., Soulby Vicarage, Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland 1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Roberton, 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., Brocklehirst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941) 1943
Bute, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., F.S.A.Scot., Mount Stuart, Rothesay, 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

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
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 Dumfries 1950

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Airey, Alan Ferguson, Silver How, 87 South Promenade, St. Annes-on-Sea 1951
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 Hoddom, near Ecclefechan... 1948
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart ... 1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Bargaly, Newton-Stewart 1946
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries 1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries 1946
Austin, W., Glaston, Albert Road, Dumfries 1948
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries ... 1944
Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries 1944
Barclay, Rev. John, Virginhall Manse, Thornhill 1952

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, Mouswald, Dumfries 1947
Beattie, Lewis, Thrushwood, Mouswald, Dumfries 1947
Begg, Miss R. E., Crichton Royal, Dumfries 1952
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, Westmoreland 1946
Black, Robert, Strathspey, Georgetown Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Blake, Brian, Old Court, Dalston Hall, Carlisle 1953
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh 1947
Bone, Miss E., Stable Court, Castle-Douglas 1937
Brand, George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... 1942
Brand, Mrs George, Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries 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., Caerlochan, Dumfries Road, Castle-Douglas 1946
*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," Kirkcudbright 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
Chadwick, Mrs N. M., M.A., 4 Adams Road, Cambridge ... 1952
Chapman, Wm., Tower of Lettrick, Dunscore 1951
Charleson, Rev. C. J. Forbes, Hillwood Cottage, Newbridge, Midlothian 1930

Christie, Wm. C. S., Merlindale, 104 Terregles Street, Dumfries 1953
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 22 Mansionhouse Road, Paisley 1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat 1948
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, Dumfries 1911
Craigie, Charles F., B.Sc., The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael ... 1947
Craigie, Mrs, M.A., The Schoolhouse, Crossmichael 1947
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Institution, 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, Peebles... 1938
Davidson, J. M., O.B.E., F.C.I.S., F.S.A.Scot., Griffin Lodge, Gartcosh, Glasgow 1934
Davidson, Miss M., Crichton Royal, Dumfries... 1952
Denniston, J., F.E.I.S., Mossgiel, Cardoness Street, Dumfries 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, Dumfries 1937
Dinwiddie, W., Craigelvin, 39 Moffat Road, Dumfries ... 1920
Dobie, K. L., Stormont, Dalbeattie 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, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries 1926
Duncan, Mrs Walter, Newlands, Dumfries 1948
Dunlop, Mrs, C.B.E., D. Litt., Dunselma, Fenwick, Ayrshire 1952
Eggar, P. S., Denbie, Lockerbie 1951
Ewart, Edward, M.D., Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries 1946
Fairbairn, Miss M. L., Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ... 1952
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
Forrest, J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ... 1953
Forrest, Mrs J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries 1953
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
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield 1946
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan 1949
Gardiner, Dr., Merse Croft, Kirkcudbright 1952
Gaskell, Mrs W. R., Auchenbrack, Tynron, Dumfries ... 1934
Gass, R., 358 Victoria Road, Salt River, Cape Town ... 1953
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, Huddersfield 1942
Goldie, Gordon, The British Council, The British Embassy, Rome 1947
Gordon, Miss A J., Kenmure, Dumfries 1907
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan 1948
Graham-Barnett, Mrs N., Blackhills Farm, Annan 1948
Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie 1947
Gray, John M., Rosemount House, 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
Haggas, Miss, Terraughtie, Dumfries 1944
Haggas, Miss E. M., Terraughtie, Dumfries 1944
Hamilton, Mrs Fleming, Craichlaw, Kirkcowan, Newton-Stewart 1952
Hamilton, Mrs M. H., Nunholm House, Dumfries... ... 1953
Hannay, A., Lochend, Stranraer... ... ... **1926**
Hannay, Miss Jean, Lochend, Stranraer 1951
Harper, Dr. J., M.B.E., Mountainhall, Bankend Road, Dumfries 1947
Harper, Mrs M., Mountainhall, Bankend Road, Dumfries ... 1952
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie 1927
Henderson, I. G., Beechwood, Lockerbie 1951
Henderson, James, Claremont, Dumfries 1905
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., Abbey Cottage, Beckton Road, Lockerbie 1933
Henderson, Thomas, The Hermitage, Lockerbie 1902
Henderson, Mrs Walter, Rannoch, St Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries **1948**
Hetherington, W. K., B.A., The High School, Hawkey's Lane, North Shields 1949
Hetherington, Johnston, B.Sc., Dumgoyne, Dryfe Road, Lockerbie 1946
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries 1948
Hunter, Mrs T. S., Woodford, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries... **1947**
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
Jebb, Mrs G. D., Brooklands, Crocketford, Dumfries ... 1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, Mouswald Schoolhouse, Mouswald, Dumfries 1946
Jenkins, Ross T., 4 Carlton Terrace, Stranraer 1912
Johnson-Ferguson, Col. Sir Edward, Bart., T.D., D.L., Springkell, Eaglesfield, Lockerbie 1905

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
Keir, Dr. Robert, North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries ... 1952
Keir, Mrs Lindsay, North Laurieknowe House, Dumfries ... 1952
Kirkpatrick, Major-General, C.B., C.B.E., Larchwood, Pitlochry, Perthshire 1952
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., Dalswinton, Dumfries 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
M'Adam, Dr. William, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1952
M'Adam, Mrs, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1953
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'Cormick, A., Walnut House, Newton-Stewart, Wigtownshire 1905
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, J. A. B., Gledenholm, Parkgate, Dumfries ... 1952
MacDonald, I. A., H.M.I.S., Margaretta, Dumfries Road, Lockerbie 1952
Macdonald, Mr N. H., Suswa, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries... 1952
Macdonald, Mrs A. H., Suswa, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries... 1952
Macdonald, W. M. Bell, Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie 1929

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, Henry George, Whiterne, Albert Road, Dumfries 1953
M'Knight, Ian, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... 1948
M'Knight, Mrs, 4 Montague Street, 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
M'Queen, John, 92 Hermiston Road, Springboig, Glasgow ... 1952
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
Maitland, Mrs C. L., Cumstoun, Twynholm 1952
Malcolm, Mrs S. A., c/o Mrs Grierson, 3 Stewart Hall Gardens, Dumfries 1920
Mangles, Rev. J. L., B.Sc., Manse of Troqueer, Dumfries ... 1952
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries 1947
Martin, John, Ivy Bank, Noblehill, Dumfries 1945
Martin, J. D. Stuart, Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben 1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben 1946
Maxwell, Major-General Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kirkennan, 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, Dumfries 1911
Mayer-Gross, Dr. W., Mayfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries... 1945
Menzies, Mr, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1952
Menzies, Mrs, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1952
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, Col. G., Kirkmichael House 1953
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
Myrseth, Major O., Folk Museum, Dumfries 1944
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
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway 1950
Payne, Mrs, Milnhead, Kirkmahoe 1953
Penman, John S., Airlie, Dumfries 1947
Peploe, Mrs, North Bank, Moffat 1947
Piddington, Mrs, Woodhouse, Dunscore 1950
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries 1945
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
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore 1946
Reid, Alex., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dumfries ... 1951
Reid, Mrs Alex., Governor's House, H.M. Prison, Dumfries 1951
Reid, Rev. Arnold, The Manse, Holywood, Dumfries ... 1952
*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
Rodger, Dr. James, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1952
Rodger, Mrs Joyce, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1952
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries ... 1944
Salkeld, Mrs Octavia, Summerhill, Annan 1952
Scott, John, Milton, Beattock 1945

Service, Mrs C. F., Old Manse, Glencaple Road, Dumfries... 1932
Shaw, Dr. T. D. Stuart, Rosebank, Castle-Douglas 1946
Shields, Miss, Newtonairds, Dumfries 1951
Simpson, A. J., The Schoolhouse, Kirkconnel 1945
Smail, Miss Isabel, 79 Shrewsbury Street, Old Trafford, Manchester 1952
Smith, Adam, Holmhead, Mouswald 1946
Smith, C. D., Laight, Bowling Green Road, Stranraer ... 1944
Smith, E. A., M.A., Kenyon, Albert Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Stewart, Mrs Johnston, Physgill, Whithorn 1950
Stewart, Mrs J. W., Mill House, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... 1952
Sydserff, Peter, 71 College Street, Dumfries 1950
Taylor, Rev. J., Hazelbrook, Glasgow Road, Dumfries ... 1952
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
Truckell, A. E., Summerville Avenue, Dumfries 1947
Tweedie, Miss M., Carruchan, Dumfries 1952
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries 1946
Walker, A., The Cottage, Borgue 1950
Walker, Dr. Colin, Crichton Royal, Dumfries 1952
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrington, 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
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries 1951
Waugh, W., March House, Beattock 1924
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, 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, Dumfries 1950
Bowden, Craig, 17 Galloway Street, Dumfries 1946
Brand, George A. M., Parkthorne, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries 1945
Brown, Andrew J. M., Roberton, Borgue, Kirkcudbright... 1948
Brown, David D. S., Roberton, Borgue, Kirkcudbright ... 1948
Campbell, Kenneth, The Schoolhouse, Drumsleet 1945
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
Hewat, R. J., 9 Albany Place, Dumfries 1952
Irvine, James, Jun., 10 Langlands, Dumfries 1945
Landale, David, Dalswinton, Dumfries 1949
Landale, Miss J., Dalswinton, Dumfries 1949
Landale, Miss L., Dalswinton, Dumfries 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
Mitchell, David, Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir 1952
Mitchell, Malcolm, Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir 1952
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
Birmingham University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham 1953
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (H. Somerville, M.C., M.A., Education Officer) 1944
Glasgow University Library 1947
Institute of Archæology, University of London, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1 1953
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.), 77-79 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.1 1938
Niedersachsische Staats-un Univestats Bibliothek, Prinzenstrasse 1, Gottingen, Germany 1953
St. Andrews University Library 1950
The Librarian, King's College, Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne 1953
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer) 1943

List of Exchanges, 1953.

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 Terrace, Berwick-on-Tweed.

Caermarthen: The Caermarthen Antiquary.

Cambridge: University Library.

Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.

Carlisle Natural History Society.

Edinburgh: Advocates' Library and National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1.

Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, 4.

Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.

Essex: "The Essex Naturalist."

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, c/o Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man.

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.

Ulster: Journal of Archæology.
Upsala, Sweden: Geological Institute of the University of Upsala.
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, 38 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—Librarian: Room 1033, General Services Administration Building, Washington 25, D.C., U.S.A.
Vitterhets Historie och Antikvites, Fornvännen. (K.)
Yorkshire: Archæological Society, 10 Park Place, Leeds.
Cardiff: National Library of Wales, Aberystwith.
Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."
Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."
Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

For the Year ended 30th September, 1952.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

From Members—			
Subscriptions	£201 13 0		
Donations	40 0 0		
		£241 13 0	
Interest—			
3½ per cent. War Stock...	£8 1 0		
Dumfries Savings Bank...	10 19 5		
		19 0 5	
Sale of Publications		5 1 6	
Excursions—Paid by Members		48 7 0	
		£314 1 11	
Balance of Current Account, 30/9/51		178 8 6	
		£492 10 5	

EXPENDITURE.

Publications—			
Printing of "Transactions"	£217 11 0		
Engraving Blocks	41 19 11		
		£259 10 11	
Excursions—			
Hire of 'Buses	£31 17 6		
Teas, etc.	15 5 0		
		47 2 6	
Miscellaneous—			
Printing, Stationery, Postages, etc. ...	£58 3 7		
Advertising	10 5 6		
Insurance	0 10 0		
National Museum of Antiquities ...	2 4 2		
Scottish Field Studies	1 1 0		
Refund of Subscriptions Overpaid ...	3 0 0		
Lecturers' Expenses	9 11 8		
Cheque Books	0 4 2		
Typewriter	28 10 0		
Caretaker	2 0 0		
Hire of Epidiascope	1 1 0		
Repairs to Lantern	3 3 0		
		119 14 1	
		£426 7 6	

Expenditure—continued.

Balance at Credit of Current Account, 30/9/52 (Year's Loss, £112 5s 7d)		66	2 11
	£492	10	5

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

On hand 30th September, 1951—			
£230 3½ per cent. War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0
Dumfries Savings Bank—Balance	365	3	3
	£583	13	3

EXPENDITURE.

On hand at 30th September, 1952—			
£230 3½ per cent. War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0
Dumfries Savings Bank—Balance	365	3	3
	£583	13	3

A. J. M. FLINN, Treasurer.

24th March, 1953. — We have examined the foregoing Statement, and to the best of our knowledge and belief, and in accordance with the books and vouchers produced and information given, we certify this to be a true and accurate extract.

R. KIRKLAND,
J. M. MUIR, } Auditors.

INDEX.

Printed by Thos. Hunter, Watson & Co., Ltd., "Standard" Press, Dumfries.

Publications of the Society.

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings:—(a) 1862-3, *7s 6d;* (b) 1863-4, *out of print;* (c) 1864-5, *out of print;* (d) 1865-6, *out of print;* (e) 1866-7, *out of print;* (f) 1867-8, *out of print;* New Series (1) 1876-8, *out of print;* (2) 1878-80, *out of print;* (3) 1880-3, *out of print;* (4) 1883-6, *5s;* (5) 1886-7, *5s;* (6) 1887-90, *7s 6d;* (7) 1890-1, *3s;* (8) 1891-2, *out of print;* (9) 1892-3, *7s 6d;* (10) 1893-4, *7s 6d;* (11) 1894-5, *out of print;* (12) 1895-6, *5s;* (13) 1896-7, *5s;* (14) 1897-8, *5s;* (15) 1898-9, *5s;* (16) 1899-1900, *5s;* (17, pts. 1 and 2) 1900-2, *3s 6d;* (17, pt. 3), 1902-3, *2s 6d;* (17, pt. 4), 1903-4, *2s 6d;* (17, pt. 5), 1904-5, *5s;* (18) 1905-6, *7s 6d;* (19) 1906-7, *5s;* (20) 1907-8, *5s;* (21) 1908-9, *5s;* (22) 1909-10, *5s;* (23) 1910-11, *7s 6d;* (24) 1911-12, *10s 6d;* Third Series (i.) 1912-13, *10s 6d;* (ii.) 1913-14, *7s 6d;* (iii.) 1914-15, *7s 6d;* (iv.) 1915-16, *5s;* (v.) 1916-18, *out of print;* (vi.) 1918-19, *7s 6d;* (vii.) 1919-20, *10s 6d;* (viii.) 1920-21, *10s 6d;* (ix.) 1921-22, *10s 6d;* (x.) 1922-23, *10s 6d;* (xi.) 1923-24, *10s 6d;* (xii.) 1924-25, *10s 6d;* (xiii.) 1925-26, *10s 6d;* (xiv.) 1926-28, *21s;* (xv.) 1928-29, *10s 6d;* (xvi.) 1929-30, *10s 6d;* (xvii.) 1930-31, *10s 6d;* (xviii.) 1931-33, *21s;* (xix.) 1933-35, *21s;* (xx.) 1935-36, *10s 6d;* (xxi.) 1936-38, *21s;* (xxii.) 1938-40, *21s;* (xxiii.) 1940-45, *21s;* (xxiv.) 1945-46, *10s 6d;* (xxv.) 1946-47, *10s 6d;* (xxvi.) 1947-48, *21s;* (xxvii.) 1948-49, *21s;* (xxviii.) 1949-50, *21s;* (xxix.) 1950-51, *21s.*

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.*

Mr Flinn, Clydesdale Bank, Dumfries, will answer enquiries regarding the above, and may be able to supply numbers out of print.