DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

1952-53.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXXI.

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.

Some Military Aspects of Roman Scotland.

By ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

In two earlier volumes of these *Transactions* I have discussed the character of Dumfriesshire in Roman times, and certain aspects of the Roman occupation of Scotland. In the present paper I wish to consider a more general problem, which underlies the whole question of the Romans' military activities in the north of Britain. The title which I have selected for it may serve to show the measure of my indebtedness to Haverfield's epoch-making study of Roman Wales—and I shall find it necessary to say something about that frontier district (to which Dr. V. E. Nash-Williams has recently devoted a stimulating and important book) in the course of my discussion of Roman Scotland; but I do not propose to follow Haverfield's example by analysing the evidence for individual Roman sites in Scotland, one after another. Such an analysis would require more space than could be devoted to it here, and would involve a mass of detail such as must inevitably tend to obscure the main points to which it is my purpose to direct attention; it will be sufficient to note that enough work has already been done on individual sites, to provide a basis for a general appreciation of their significance; and though much more work, in the field and in the study, is still needed before we can be satisfied with all the details of the picture, its outlines are nevertheless clear enough to permit and indeed to demand a critical appraisal of its meaning.

A convenient starting-point is provided by the late M. P. Charlesworth's stimulating little book, *The Lost Province, or the Worth of Britain*. In that, he asked (and attempted to answer) two main questions: first, what was the value of Britain to the Romans, to induce them to retain that outlying province for so long a period; and, second, what was the legacy of Rome to Britain. As far as the first question is concerned, Appian of Alexandria might seem to be

giving the official answer, with special reference to the North, in the passage which Charlesworth cited: the Romans hold the most important part of Britain, but "do not need the rest of it, for even the part which they do occupy is not profitable to them." The inference is that the Romans struck a balance of income and expenditure, of profit and loss, in deciding what territory to occupy and what to leave outside their frontiers. No doubt there is a certain amount of truth in that, at least if we think of the early Principate, which still possessed the initiative in military matters. But it would be a mistake to suppose that economic and financial considerations were all that mattered; that is a mistake which Decianus Catus made, and Boudicca's rising was to show that it must not be repeated in Britain. Yet Charlesworth's question is an apposite one, if it makes us pause to think what the Romans were trying to do in the north of Britain, and to what extent they were influenced by economic or by military considerations. It is with the latter that I shall be mainly concerned in the present paper, though it will become apparent, before long, that in Roman times the two considerations were closely intertwined, at least in the development of Roman frontier policy.

That policy deserves closer attention than has sometimes been given to it. Until relatively recently, there has been a tendency to think of the lines of the great rivers—Rhine and Danube and Euphrates—or great artificial barriers such as Hadrian's Wall or the Antonine Wall in Scotland (to name only the examples most familiar to ourselves), as the equivalent of the defensive lines of World War I., as barriers along which the massed armies of the Roman Empire stood at bay, to ward off the massed assaults of outer barbarism. No Victorian artist could paint the Wall of Hadrian in any other guise. Now there is undoubtedly a certain convenience in a clear-cut picture such as that; but closer investigation will reveal that it bears little resemblance to the truth. R. G. Collingwood was the first to point out that, in the palmary case of Hadrian's Wall, the most elaborate artificial frontier of them all, the traditional view was quite unten-

able; the Wall was not a fighting-platform, and the units of the Roman army which were stationed on it were not trained to stand and fight on it, but to measure themselves against the enemy in the open. The Wall might mark the division between the Roman province and the barbarian North; it might serve to facilitate passport control and the collection of customs duties, and to make border raiding risky and unprofitable. But it was not in essence a military work at all. Subsequent study has only served to underline the correctness of Collingwood's assessment. It is now generally recognised that the milecastles and turrets on the Wall were intended to house frontier guards, not detachments of the field-army, and that (in a military sense) the Wall was the base-line for military operations, not their scene. Even in the time of Hadrian himself there were outpost forts to the north of it, at Bewcastle and Netherby and Birrens; in the third century two more such forts were maintained at High Rochester and Risingham in Northumberland, and the Romans clearly exercised effective military control of a considerable area north of the Wall. And in any case, for much of the time between Hadrian's death and that of Severus, the Roman frontier lay far to the north of Hadrian's Wall, with an artificial barrier between Forth and Clyde and a number of outpost forts northwards as far as Inchtuthil on the Tay.

Mr J. P. Gillam has recently devoted an interesting paper to a discussion of the governorship of Calpurnius Agricola, and to the ebb and flow of the Romans' military activity in the north of Britain, at one time resting content with the Hadrianic frontier system, at another reverting to something approaching Agricola's conception of the way to deal with the problems of the North. My purpose in the present study is to see what light may be thrown on the fluctuating movements of such activity by a consideration of Roman frontier policy generally.

It may be premised that changing ideas, and changing conditions (not least the decline in the efficiency and strength of the Roman army), were to bring with them corresponding

changes in the physical character of Roman frontier dispositions, and that any general picture must necessarily be a composite one. But it will be worth while to attempt at least an outline of a general picture, before we turn to examine the special situation in the north of Britain.

As far as demarcation of their frontiers was concerned, the Romans in one place or another might adopt one of three different types of line: (a) The natural line provided by a river, effective as a barrier, easy to patrol, and affording a convenient route for the movement of troops or the transportation of stores by ship; the flotillas on Rhine and Danube, like the *classis Britannica*, must have been as much used for moving troops and stores as for checking unauthorised crossings by barbarian raiders or by refugees from Roman rule, let alone for operations against an active enemy: and it was not until the appearance of the first Saxon pirates, some time in the third century, that the British fleet had naval operations in the strict sense to undertake. (b) The artificial barrier, like the two Walls in Britain, or the Upper German and Raetian *limes*, in effect defining the line across which traffic might only move at a limited number of points, under Roman control; in essence, its construction presupposed the absence of strictly military problems, and the ability of the Roman army to keep hostile armies far beyond the sphere of direct control which it marked clearly for all to see: within it, the Roman peace, and economic exploitation of provincial land, could have full play, while military operations, if they were needed, would take place beyond it. Where we can follow the course of events in detail, it seems clear that the purpose of such barriers was as much to facilitate the economic exploitation of the lands which they enclosed, as to simplify the machinery of frontier control in a world where peace was still the rule rather than the exception. (c) No line at all, apart from a road and the appropriate minimum of guard-houses and signal-towers, would serve where deserts defined the profitable limits of economic expansion, and where frontier control could be carried out economically enough, in a sparsely populated district, without the

aid of any artificial definition other than that provided by the road itself.

But these three basic types, which between them accounted for all the main frontier sectors of the Empire in its prime, were liable (increasingly, as the military initiative passed to Rome's enemies) to be overlaid by what it will be convenient to think of as the military network of a security zone. If the tribes beyond the frontier were too restless, or the inhabitants of the frontier district within a province were insufficiently amenable to Roman discipline and the charms of the Roman way of life, it might be necessary to reinforce the basic structure of the frontier line with a series of forts, linked together by a series of strategic roads, either as outposts beyond the frontier proper, or on the lines of communication stretching backwards from it into the interior of the province; and in the main it is fair to say that the military situation on any particular frontier can best be elucidated by a consideration of the extent to which its basic structure was elaborated by the provision of such a network.

One of the tasks of Military Intelligence, in the months before the Allied invasion of Europe in 1944, was to analyse the military dispositions of the German armies in France and the Low Countries, not merely to assess their total strength and their value for war, but with a view to deducing their defensive plans. If we examine the Romans' dispositions in a similar way, we may hope to arrive at a more realistic understanding of the military problems with which they had to contend. The general deterioration in Rome's military position can be emphasised, on frontier after frontier, by a study of the increasing extent to which its security zone was extended deeper and deeper into the interior of the provinces —and of the extent to which the artificial frontiers, beyond the great river-lines, were given up under the pressure of military combinations such as the Franks and the Alamanni, or the renascent power of Persia in the East. There is no need for us to turn our eyes to distant provinces, however, when we have the example of Roman Britain before us.

Tacitus himself, recounting Agricola's measures to con-

trol newly won territory in the north of Britain, gives a perfect description of the security zone in operation; and it is a commonplace, which a glance at the Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain will readily confirm the truth of, that a similar system was established, not only throughout the north of Britain, from Derby northwards, but also in Wales, where a network of military roads, with forts for its knots, had the effect of dividing the hill-country into convenient segments, which could easily be cordoned off and then " drawn " for unruly elements by the Roman security forces. But the Ordance Survey map cannot be expected to show how long any given part of the network continued fully manned and in working order, and that question can only be answered by reference to the results of excavation on individual sites.

In the case of Wales, such an examination was first attempted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in his very stimulating essay, " Roman and Native in Wales: an Imperial Frontier Problem." In it, he came to the conclusion that the Roman garrisons were largely withdrawn from Wales, some in the early years of Hadrian, when new forts were being built on the Wall or in its immediate neighbourhood, and the rest at the time of the reoccupation of Scotland, fifteen or twenty years later; and that thereafter the Romans entrusted security arrangements in Wales, at least in part, to selected native authorities (for further details, it will be sufficient to refer to his paper). If he was right, as may well be the case, the Welsh security zone was in effect reduced in size and in importance; but how long were the Romans able to keep it so? Reference to the dating-evidence from Hadrian's Wall in general, and from Corbridge in particular (where in recent years it has been possible to make a substantial advance in our knowledge of the chronological development of figured samian styles, and of the relative periods of activity of individual potters), suggests that several of the Welsh forts abandoned or reduced to a care and maintenance basis in A.D. 140, or earlier, were reoccupied *circa* A.D. 160 (Segontium, for example, is a case in point); and if that was

the case, it might help to explain the need for a reconsideration of the distribution of Roman forces in the north of Britain. Mr Gillam, in the paper to which reference has already been made, states in summary form a very strong case for supposing that the Antonine Wall, and many of the forts which had been established as part of its rearward security zone, were evacuated *c.* A.D. 160, Hadrian's Wall once more becoming the main frontier-line; we cannot exclude the possibility that events in Wales, or in the Pennines (or both), rather than the specific situation in Scotland, were largely responsible for the withdrawal and re-grouping of forces. But what was the situation in Scotland?

According to Charlesworth, the very success of Hadrian's Wall was what led to the establishment of a new frontier between Forth and Clyde in the early years of Antoninus Pius: behind the earlier Wall, the task of pacification had made such progress that it now seemed possible to repeat the experiment further north—"and from the large new area brought under control more native troops could readily be enlisted." But many years' attention to the problem have brought me to an entirely different interpretation of the evidence. The sequence of events in Hadrian's own lifetime, with more and more units of the army of Britain stationed on the line of the Wall itself, or on its western flank, suggests to me an increasing need to provide more military insurance against interference from the free and untamed inhabitants of the territory beyond the Wall; and a consideration of the Order of Battle of Roman forces in the North makes it plain that the main threat which they had to face lay in the south-west of what is now Scotland. It was in the West that three outpost forts were established, at Bewcastle, Netherby, and Birrens (all of which have yielded Hadrianic inscriptions): and though it may be the case, as I have suggested previously, that the initial purpose of these three forts was to control and protect a strip of Brigantian territory which it had been found geographically necessary to leave outside the new artificial line, the fact that they were established at least suggests that

there was some military threat to be provided against. That suggestion is reinforced by the fact that the fort at Stanwix was occupied by a cavalry regiment a thousand strong (the *ala Petriana milliaria*), the strongest unit of the Wall command, the commander of which was the senior officer north of York; his position, astride the trunk route into Annandale and northwards to the northern isthmus, will serve to emphasise the crucial importance of the western line of penetration, and of the threat to Roman security which lurked in the north-western area

An analysis of Roman dispositions on Hadrian's Wall must not exclude the system of forts on the Cumberland coast, and in the hinterland of the frontier itself. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the evidence, site by site, but it can be shown that, while the Wall itself had a garrison of something like ten thousand men, its western flank and the immediate hinterland, as far as Brough-under-Stainmore, Burrow and Lancaster inclusive, contained a further seven and a half thousand, while Durham and the forts from Catterick to Bowes could add another four thousand or so; the main concentration of forces envisaged was clearly directed north-westwards, though there was provision for a cavalry brigade two thousand strong to operate in the Northumberland plain, and the hill country of the northern Pennines was in need of elaborate security arrangements.

When we turn to consider the new dispositions of troops consequent on the Lollian advance, it can be shown that something like nine thousand men (or perhaps rather more than that, if we allow for two or three forts which have not yet been discovered, though the network as known at present must remain incomplete and hard to accept as a logical whole, unless we postulate a few additional sites) were disposed in a network covering the territory between the Walls, with their greatest concentration in the western half of the area; the Antonine Wall itself may have required another six thousand men (though an exact calculation is not easy to make, that seems a reasonable estimate), and we must allow

for something like three thousand more for the forts on the line of penetration by way of Camelon, Stirling, and Ardoch to Inchtuthil, which was undoubtedly held as an adjunct to the new frontier system. In all, then, it appears that there were now something like eighteen thousand men, or perhaps more, quartered in the new forts built by Lollius Urbicus; but half that large force—equivalent in strength to the combined armies of the two Mauretanias—was deployed for control of the security zone in the first instance, and only half was specifically looking northward towards the untamed tribes of the Highlands. Here, surely, we have the strongest of hints that there is still a serious gap in our knowledge of Scotland in Roman times; for where is the archæological evidence for a population large and warlike enough to hold down as many troops as were required to garrison and defend the rich and populous province of Mauretania Cæsariensis, or of its sister province of Tingitana?

In any case, however, there was still a real security problem further south, in the hill country of Brigantia. Mr Gillam has provided a convenient conspectus of the evidence for a considerable number of forts south of Hadrian's Wall having been re-occupied *circa* A.D. 160, and it has also been noted that there seems to have been a comparable re-garrisoning of Wales at the same time. We may be justified in asking whether it was not trouble in those two security zones, and not any specifically Scottish situation, which caused the Romans to depart from the system established by Lollius Urbicus, and to revert to the Hadrianic disposition of garrisons in Britain. Such a view might well be supported by a consideration of the situation elsewhere in the Roman Empire in the early years of Marcus Aurelius: there was a major war on the eastern frontier, and the threat of an even greater crisis on the Danube; strong reinforcements had to be sent eastwards from the Germanies and from Pannonia, and it is difficult to see how the army of Britain could have been strengthened at the same time. If, then, there was serious trouble in the Pennines and in Wales, it might well have been unavoidable for the Antonine Wall

and its associated forts, to south as well as to north, to be given up—though we cannot at present be sure whether every one of the forts in the immediate outfield of Hadrian's Wall was involved in the evacuation. But we are still left in the dark on one important point: to what extent had the system of Lollius Urbicus had its intended effect? Was Calpurnius Agricola able to make a comparable arrangement in southern Scotland to that which Sir Mortimer Wheeler has postulated for Wales thirty or forty years earlier?

My own inclination is to suppose that something of the kind had in fact been done, before Roman garrisons were finally moved southward: for that would enable us to explain a curious feature of the British war of A.D. 180 and the following years. Cassius Dio records that the northern tribes crossed the wall which divided them from the Roman forces, and met and defeated a Roman commander (if we may press the point, his wording suggests that it was a governor of Britain), before they were halted and soundly defeated by Ulpius Marcellus, in a campaign which the historian rated as the most serious of all the wars of that reign. It has long been appreciated that Hadrian's Wall was not involved in disaster at that period; and the solution seems inescapable, that it was an unoccupied Wall which the barbarians crossed, and in a zone where there were no longer Roman units in garrison that they met the army of Britain in the first encounter, in which a Roman general was defeated. If I am right, the implication will be that the southern tribes, for the past twenty years, had been left to their own devices, under Roman supervision no doubt, as in the case of Wales, and that they were already looked on as "friendlies," rather than as the potential menace which they seem to have been in Hadrian's day.

Such an interpretation of the case may well be strengthened by a consideration of two further points. Professor Richmond showed, in his study of "The Romans in Redesdale," that the policy of Caracalla, in his final withdrawal from Scotland and reversion to the Hadrianic frontier system, had the effect of producing almost a century of peace

in the North, and involved the creation, at least in embryonic form, of the two client states which in late Roman times came to assume the main responsibility for defence against the northern enemies of the province; and the late Professor Chadwick, in his posthumous book, *Early Scotland*, drew attention to a marked northward advance, in the Roman period, of southern British language and culture, up to the line of the Antonine Wall. It is for consideration, I think, whether the decisive stage in the advance may not have come in the time of Lollius Urbicus, rather than in the following century.

It may be noted that there was on any showing, in the third and fourth centuries, a continuing military problem in the region of Hadrian's Wall. I estimate its garrison, at least as regards its establishment (or, as the Americans would say, its Table of Organisation), at something like twenty-six thousand, including five thousand men in the outpost forts, together with an indeterminate force of frontier scouts; and the main danger visualised was clearly still in the north-western region, as may be seen by the fact that Netherby, ten miles north of the key-fort of Stanwix, is described in the Antonine Itinerary as *castra exploratorum*— the fort *par excellence* of the frontier scouts. But it may well be that by now the army of the Wall was intended to operate in support of friendly northern neighbours, rather than to control troublesome districts immediately to the north of the Wall. That, at least, would explain the remarkable growth, in the third century and the first half of the fourth, of the civilian settlement—straggling and undefended—outside the fort at Housesteads, and the matching development of civilian settlements elsewhere in what is now the North of England. I shall be having occasion to discuss the evidence for this development elsewhere, in the near future, so that I do not need to give details in the present paper. But it seems worth while to stress the fact that there was undoubtedly considerable development of civilian activity in the region protected by the Wall, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the troops stationed in the district had progressively less

need to concern themselves with local security, except against raiders from Ireland—or in support of the friendly states north of the Wall against enemies further to the north.

But that will have had the effect of making the army of the Wall and its immediate hinterland vulnerable to a wholly different adverse factor. The third and fourth centuries were a period of increasing military difficulties for the Roman Empire as a whole; and in a series of crises, it was necessary for peaceful provinces to be drained of their garrisons, by detaching vexillations for service in the improvised field armies of the third century, or their permanent successors in the fourth. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the establishment strength of the northern units must have been drastically reduced—not by the evacuation of individual forts, but by such a process of weeding out all the best troops (though not, I think, at one fell swoop) as Kipling visualised in *Puck of Pook's Hill*. The forts themselves remained garrisoned, but by only a handful of troops; the detachments sent, at intervals, to join one expeditionary force or another, were not returned to their parent units, and all the likeliest recruits were drafted into the armies in the field. It is a process of that kind which can best account for the paradox of the fourth century; Constantius Chlorus restored the Wall and its associated forts on much the same lines as before, and he may well have restored the strength of the Army of the North. But it was not long before Constantine made his bid for power, and his *de facto* field army must have contained many detachments from the Wall —such as the Tungrian archers who appear as a unit of the field army in the Notitia Dignitatum, and who may best be explained as a detachment drawn from *coh. I Tungrorum* at Housesteads (at least in the third century), which a tombstone shows to have included men armed with the bow. Drastic " milking " of the Wall garrisons will help to explain the dramatic collapse in the year of the barbaric conspiracy (as Ammianus Marcellinus terms it) of A.D. 367.

I am conscious that I have only touched on a few of the problems which I had in mind when I began to write

this paper, and that many of them really require a fuller and much more detailed treatment, if they are to be disposed of satisfactorily. But I hope that I have been able to draw attention to a number of points which do require a great deal of attention, if some of the paradoxes of Roman military dispositions in the north of Britain are to be explained. I have of set purpose dispensed with footnotes, aiming at a sketch rather than a detailed picture; but some readers may find it convenient to be able to refer to the main works which I have had occasion to mention, and I append a select bibliography.

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ARTICLE 2.

Roman Roads in S.-W. Scotland.

(1) AT GLENLOCHAR.

By O. G. S. CRAWFORD, C.B.E., D.Litt.

Dr. St. Joseph's fine air-photographs of the Roman fort and marching-camps at Glenlochar, near Castle-Douglas in the Dee valley, Kirkcudbrightshire, published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (XLI., 1951, Plates 6 and 7) and in *Antiquity* (XXVI., 1952, opp. p. 57), stimulated me to go there and see whether any further traces of the Roman road could be found by field-work. Though the results were almost entirely negative, they should be recorded. A road is plainly visible on one air-photograph going out of the north gate of the fort; and on May 6th, 1953, I started out to follow it on foot through the grounds of Glenlochar. A stony ridge is plainly visible in the corn-field between Glenlochar House and the bridge, passing beneath a large tree (marked on Kirk. 42 N.-E.). The alignment passes through the house itself, and the low raised mound is visible, following a slightly different alignment, immediately north of it, on the west running roughly parallel to but converging towards the drive. It then disappears, but there is a very stony patch in a potato-field between North Lodge and the Castle-Douglas road, and it comes right on the alignment. Beyond this point nothing could be found though I walked all over the fields round Drumskelly. There is a stony belt (but no mound) in a field of corn just south of the drive from Danevale Park to the Castle-Douglas road, and a hump where it crosses the drive to enter the potato-field. The course thus described seems to be no more than a faint possibility to be tested by air-photography and excavation. I doubt very much whether the alignment, if such it be, could have been maintained beyond (N.-E. of) the Castle-Douglas road, because then some traces would surely have survived. One of the fields through which the alignment runs has the appear-

ance of having recently been ploughed for the first time, but it contains not the slightest trace of any road.

A possible explanation would be that the modern road from Castle-Douglas to Crossmichael and New Galloway is on the lines of a Roman road, the one at Glenlochar being merely a short branch leading to the fort there. This modern road has been slightly diverted, when the railway was constructed; the old course was east of the railway here, continuing the alignment of the road at Drumskelly, where now it turns abruptly S.-W. to cross the railway. The old road can still be seen quite plainly, east of the level crossing at North Lodge, ascending Gibbet Hill. This theory would imply that there was an objective in the south, probably on the coast. The northern termination of such a road would presumably be the same as that (still unlocated) of the Loudoun Hill road at or near Irvine. The road at Dalmellington, once claimed as Roman, was proved by the excavations of Dr. James Macdonald to be of much later date—a conclusion with which, after walking along it, I am in complete agreement. Indeed, if I had been in Dr. James's place I should not, after seeing it, have needed to do any digging.

From Milton to Gatehouse-of-Fleet.[1]

Dr. St. Joseph suggested that an old road 3½ miles in length diverging from the Old Military Way just south of Milton might be Roman, and he marks it on his map with a query. I thought the same, as it was aiming at Glenlochar, not Castle-Douglas, and I had great hopes of it, but they were doomed to disappointment. I walked the whole length of it, and satisfied myself that no part of it was or ever had been of Roman construction. But it was certainly part of an important old thoroughfare—probably the main western road; and it is therefore worth a short description.

The deep inlets on the coast oblige what would otherwise

[1] As a Roman origin has been suggested for this road we here include the description of the line by Mr O. G. S. Crawford, who has examined it [Eds.].

be a coastal road to follow a route far inland. The old road after leaving Dumfries passed north of Lochrutton to Milton and Bridgestone; to-day the old track diverges from the Old Military Way 500 feet south of Bridgestone School, but the old traffic-marks show that originally it left it at Bridgestone itself.[2] Hence to East Glenarm it is now much overgrown and impassable except on foot for the first quarter of a mile. It then becomes better, being occasionally used by farmers, and from East Glenarm to West Glenarm it is good and kept in repair. Then for half a mile it becomes a footpath only by the side of the field-walls. Across the grassland east of Barr it is plainly visible as a raised metalled road which has the form of a double-lynchet-way between former arable on each side. It passes by a small cottage, continuing as a footpath towards Barr Bridge; in one place where it crosses a hollow (marked by the 300 foot contour) the causeway is about four feet high, but it is *not* a Roman causeway; and on the hill beyond it becomes a hollow-way with a positive lynchet on the north side. On the level ground east of Barr Bridge it has been used to dump stones from the field on the north. Barr Bridge is still in use, and consists of a single arch of stone across a streamlet flowing southwards. The bridge is now blocked by a dilapidated gate. It is obvious that the bridge was built for the road which can be seen approaching it from both directions; it would appear to date from the 18th century. On the right bank immediately south-west of it is an old quarry, doubtless made to obtain the stones for it. The road continues as a footpath past Hermitage and Old Hermitage (36 N.-W.), having a marked *residual* causeway formed as the result of ploughing away the soil on both sides north of Old Hermitage, where it crosses a streamlet on a pile of stones built over a small culvert. It can be traced along a field-wall, curving round to the west as far as Miss Aitken's

2 The air photograph (plate I.) shows an old road line with side ditches diverging from the Old Military Road immediately west of Courthill Farm. This can be traced on the ground through Milton o Bridgestone and probably forms part of the road described by Dr Crawford [Eds.].

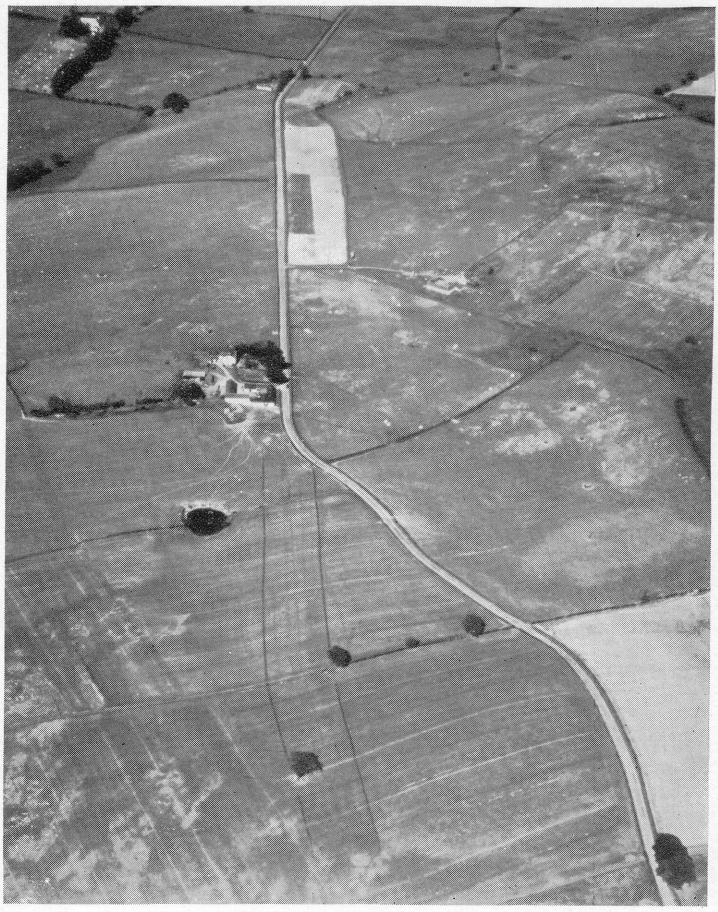

Plate I.

The Military Road at Courthill farm looking east. At the top just outwith the illustration is Barnbauchel Hill.

Photo by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph. Crown copyright reserved. Published by permission of the Air Ministry.

Wood (36 S.-W.), along whose northern edge it can be followed; then it is lost, but I have no doubt at all that it was making for the Old Bridge of Urr. It must have passed through Croys, and been obliterated when that fairly modern house and grounds were made. The bridge is a fine two-arched structure which would appear to be of about the same age as Barr Bridge.

The course of the old road then coincides with the modern one to Clarebrand, just south of which at Maxwellfield the road forks; our road took the right-hand fork, following the same course as the existing one past Ringanwhey to the Castle-Douglas road, which it joins at the school at Lower Burnside, south of Crossmichael.

I have not traced it further on the ground, but on the map its probable course seems clear enough. It crossed the Dee either at a point west of Crossmichael Manse or else at Kin Ford, a little further south; and at Balmaghie it continued as the Kirk Road past Morrison and Dornell Loch to Laurieston. Thence it probably followed the modern road by Darngarroch to Gatehouse-of-Fleet.

Throughout its course this old road conforms to all the usual practices of ancient thoroughfares, selecting that route which was at the same time both the easiest and the shortest —not always the same. Thus it circumvents natural obstacles like Clarebrand Hill or Bell's Round and the difficult mountainous country S.-W. of Laurieston, and it chooses the best way down steep hills and across streams. It follows what is obviously the best route from Dumfries to Gatehouse, and may be much older than it looks now. The Romans certainly did not make it, but there is no evidence to show whether it was in use in those days or not.

(2) FROM NITH TO DEE.

By J. A. INGLIS, M.A.

The problem of this Roman road cannot be definitely solved till the Roman fort at Dalswinton has been excavated. Carzield was an Antonine fort for cavalry; no traces of

Flavian work was found. It is natural to assume, in absence of proof, that Dalswinton fort belongs to the Agricolan era and will show no signs of Antonine occupation; and as Glenlochar has been shown to be both Flavian and Antonine it may be inferred that in Flavian times Dalswinton and Glenlochar were directly connected by road and that during the Antonine occupation, when Dalswinton was not in use, a branch road must have been formed between Carzield and some point on the Dalswinton-Glenlochar road. At the conclusion of the Summer School in Archæology at Dumfries I spent the best part of two weeks of field-work on the likely lines of both road and divergence. The obvious starting point was at Courthill, where air-photography has shown at a bend of the modern road traces of what looks like a Roman road continuing straight on at the bend. Following the alignment westwards, it leads to Milton, and thence it was followed to just short of Bridge-of-Urr, as described in Dr. O. G. S. Crawford's notes. No definite indications of Roman origin were observed, but, in view of the air-photograph, it should be tested. Eastward of Courthill the alignment leads past the summit of Barnbauchle Hill, where a signal station has been sought in vain both by ground work and air-photography. The line heads straight for Dalquhairn Hill overlooking Kirkpatrick-Irongray Church. That line would take it east of Shawhead, whence an old track marked on O.S. leads over the shoulder of Dalquhairn Hill down past Horse Bog Loch to the modern bridge beside the church. This seems the most likely route amongst several that were explored, and somewhere on Dalquhairn Hill close to the track one might expect to find a signal station. Just across the bridge is the site of a Roman marching camp, whence the modern road leads almost straight to Gateside and the flats of the Nith opposite Bankhead Farm where the Dalswinton fort is sited.

Much time was spent quartering the country south and east of Shawhead, but no evidence of a road was found. But if the necessity of a branch road to Carzield be accepted, it probably diverged from the older Dalswinton road in the

vicinity of Loaninghead and passed through Lochfoot, for a long line of drystone dykes runs to, and is continued beyond, the waterworks as far as Nunland. Along this stretch there seems to be far more surface stones than on the rest of the fields. From Nunland the line seems to have passed by Millhill Farm, passing obliquely down the valley to Cargen Water, where there is an old ford across the stream. That ford has clearly been used as an access to the lower Glen Mill, but it is suggested here that the Mill was placed where it is because of the prior existence of a ford. The ford is situated at the obvious spot for a Roman road crossing. Further down, the track entered the plain, and cultivation has rendered it untraceable.

(3) THE TWEEDSMUIR ROAD.

By BEATRICE BLANCE and HELEN BAILEY.

The problem of Roman activity in Upper Tweeddale has for some time been a thorny one. Why should a large marble head of Roman workmanship be found at Hawkshaw when the nearest Roman structure was the road between Milton and Little Clyde?[1] Was it part of a statue to mark some victory? Or was it just loot? Was there any more of it at Hawkshaw? With this in mind, Mr R. C. Reid led an excursion to the Hawkshaw district to try and trace the burial ground where the head was said to have been found, and also to explore two tracks which strike off across the hills, one going from Carterhope to the farm of Ericstane, and the other from Hawkshaw to Fingland. No trace of the burial ground was found, but it was decided that the road from Carterhope to Ericstane should be walked, as on the map it showed Roman tendencies, in that it kept to the watershed, though below the actual skyline, and changed direction at points following a zig-zag course.

Thus in April of 1953, on a cold, sunny day, we followed the course of the road. I have to thank Mr R. C. Reid for his help to us in transporting us to Carterhope and back from Ericstane.

[1] D. and G. Trans., Vol XXIX. (1950-51), p. 61.

Before starting on the road itself we made enquiries at Carterhope about it, but unfortunately the inhabitants had not been long there and did not know anything about it.

The road itself began fairly promisingly by climbing up the hillside. At this point it had been used by carts and was thus obvious. Shortly after passing through the last enclosed field it petered out. Unfortunately a drainage machine with caterpillar wheels had recently been in the area, which was around Dry Gill and Priesthope Burn, and any signs which there might have been of the track were completely obliterated. In the ditches dug by the machine there appeared a band of stones, some of them quite heavy, being about 2 lbs. in weight, and these exposures appeared in several ditches and appeared to follow a reasonably straight line, but we soon came to the conclusion that they were the result of soil creep, and this idea was strengthened by the fact that the areas of stone were heading for low ground round the Glencraigie Burn. We crossed a stretch of ground below 1500 feet, and got on to the slopes of Ballaman Hill. According to the map, the road made for " Resting Stones," and we could see on the skyline lumps of stone which we presumed to be them; we made for them, but could see no sign of the road whatsoever, and the Resting Stones proved to be an outcrop of the local rock. From them there was a good view of the county on all sides except the east, which was hidden by Ballaman Hill. The main road between Moffat and Tweedsmuir was visible at various points, and among the hills beyond we could distinguish Green Lowther by its radar station.

Passing the Resting Stones, we continued on round the Hillside, zig-zagging about the slope, looking for traces of the road, and hoping to pick it up where a fork was marked on the map, but there was not a sign of it. We knew it had to cross the Glencraigie Burn somewhere near its source. So from high up on the slopes of Ballaman Hill and also along the burn itself we looked carefully for traces of a crossing place. After crossing the burn the road had to go up the opposite hillside through a well marked coll; there

was, however, further up the hillside, a bevel, over which it just may have gone. We made for that, and looked back down the hillside; but even from this angle no traces were visible. We then walked down to the coll, feeling that if we were to find it anywhere it would be at this point. The coll, however, was extremely wet and marshy, as it gives rise to a tributary of the Powskin Burn. We then followed the line of the road as indicated by the map, and crossed the two burns on the slopes of Garelet Hill and Whitehope Knowe. The gradient here is steeper, and we thought that any terraces made by the road would be fairly obvious, but again there were no indications of the road. The road then has to cross the Whitehope Burn; and this it does at the easiest point, just below a small gorge which the burn had cut for itself in the local rock. After crossing the burn the road then crosses the county boundary into Dumfriesshire, and begins the steep, difficult descent of the Spout. Before coming down, however, we climbed up the slopes on either side of the supposed line of the road, to Spout Crag and Chalk Rig Edge, to see if there were any signs of structures on these hills, and also to look back on the line of the road to make sure that a different angle wouldn't reveal it. There was a very extensive view from this point, and we could see the top of Criffel. We followed the line of the road down the Spout as far as Broad Tae, where we left it to inspect the fort there and also the one at Whitehill.

On arrival at Newton Spring we learned from the local shepherd that the road had been in use, when he was a boy, by carts going over to Carterhope, but he agreed that no traces of it remained except at one point.

Probably the only course remaining to us now is to find out exactly where the road is still extant and take a section across it, and pursue its course by the use of a probe. Another problem is, where does it go after Carterhope? The nearest fort in that direction is Lyne, near Peebles. But it may be worth remembering that a Roman brooch was found at Ericstane Brae. But from the results of our walk it would be quite impossible to say whether the road was Roman or not.

(4) From CASTLEDYKES (Corbiehall) TO CRAWFORD.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, R. C. REID, J. ROBERTSON, and A. E. TRUCKELL.

The most recent survey of the Roman occupation of South-Western Scotland reveals one anomaly, the absence of a road leading directly from the south to Castledykes (Corbiehall), near Carstairs. "From its position and size the fort would seem to have served as a base for the western part of the isthmus system, as the fort at Newstead appears to have done for the system as a whole."[1] If Mr Miller's conclusion be accepted one would expect the Annandale road to continue beyond the fort at Crawford directly to Castledykes, even though it forked north-east towards the Forth at Inveresk. No direct road between the forts at Crawford and Castledykes has been recorded. It was therefore decided to make a preliminary examination of the route; the results are recorded in this note.

The latest excavations (1953) at Castledykes showed a road passing through the south gate; this was traced for some yards.[2] The course of the Clyde below the fort has changed and the present straight channel, though it follows the parish boundary for most of its length, appears to be artificial. No search was made in the valley or on the southern slopes. The contours suggest a course rather east of south, in the general direction of Sherrifford[3] Cottage and then up the north-west slope of Carmichael Hill to cross the saddle about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile west of the summit (O.D. 1157). The cultivated land near the school at Westgate looks unpromising and no search was made.

The east slope of the Carmichael valley south of Burn Bridge shows a straight track line running south approxi-

1 *The Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland*, edited for the Glasgow Archæological Society by S. N. Miller, part V., pp. 195-212.
2 Information from Miss Anne Robertson who directed the excavations; for earlier work on the site see *ibid.*, part III., pp. 127-171.
3 Place names and heights are taken from 1 inch O.S. (Popular) Edition, Scotland sheet 79; for part of the route sheet 26-93 of the 1: 25,000 is also available.

mately on the line of the 800 foot contour. The line is marked by a scatter of stones in the turf but has no distinctive character. The track has long been abandoned and is earlier than a disused track which runs obliquely up the hill leaving the modern road north of Burn Bridge. The line continues south on the east slope of the valley. Its Roman date is an assumption based on its position between Castledykes and Howgate Mouth.

The point next examined was the crossing of the Lochlyock Burn. At a point 100 yards east of its confluence with the Carmichael Burn there is extensive evidence of a paved surface running south outside the west fence of a felled plantation. A drainage ditch cut along this line shows many flattish stones up to 8 in. x 6 in. x 3 in. lying on the spoil heaps and similar stones can be seen under the peaty turf on the sides of the cutting made by the burn. In the streambed there is a small waterfall at this point suggesting that the watercourse is gradually cutting back into the hard stone surface of a ford. The road can be seen running up the slope beyond the plantation; it is either Roman or recent and is not recorded on early maps. The line chosen follows the centre of a ridge of boulder clay avoiding swampy ground on either side.

The saddle at Howgate Mouth is the easiest crossing of the high ridge which blocks the direct route south from Castledykes. The modern road crosses the lowest point of the saddle through a deep narrow defile. The northern approach is complicated by a tumbled mass of glacial moraine rising into steep sided conical hills. These impede any approach to the shelf overlooking the eastern side of the defile; on this a number of short hollow ways and tracks were noted but no through line. On the west side an artificial shelf 16 ft.—20 ft. wide is cut along the edge of the defile where the slope begins to flatten out. It runs about 150 feet above the base of the defile and is aligned in short straight stretches. There is a medieval hollow way following approximately the same line and in places cutting into and across the shelf. North of the ridge the hollow way turns north-west

but the older road can be seen continuing N.N.-E. across the flatter ground. It is aligned to pass south of Howgate Farm but cannot be seen near the cottage (O.D. 1032).[4] At about 1150 O.D. it shows as a slight mound about 20 feet wide. The ground between Howgate Farm and the Lochlyock Burn was not examined but the ridge of boulder clay would form an easy way up the slope. The lay-out of the road across the ridge is typically Roman and its relation to the later medieval hollow way establishes the date.

From the ridge the road can be traced down the south slope making for the centre of Sornfalla Farm. The last $\frac{1}{4}$ mile shows as a lighter stretch of vegetation marked by a modern ditch. South of Sornfalla the modern farm road appears to mark the line. South of the modern road B 7055 and across the valley of Garf Water no trace was visible but a closer search beside the stream bed might be fruitful. About $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the modern crossroads on B7055 an old road line can be clearly seen about 200 yards west of the modern road just beyond and above the small watercourse; it runs nearly parallel to the modern road and is aligned between Sornfalla and the stretch next described.

South of Limefield beyond the last quarry a stretch of nearly 150 yards is clearly visible a few yards west of the modern road. There, on ground sloping gently to the west, the Roman road is very clear. It is about 15 feet wide, slightly cambered, with a ditch on either side. On the east the ditch is 10 feet wide and 2 feet deep, with the ground sloping gently up on the far side. The west ditch is 6 feet wide and 1 foot deep, with a hard bottom, ascertained by probing, 1 foot further down. Outside this ditch is a spread bank 5 feet wide and 1 foot high. Probing disclosed a solid road surface under several inches of peaty turf. North of the first quarry the ditch line can be seen continuing across the moor. South of this point the Roman road coincides with the modern line. Its continuation north of Muirhead Farm was not traced.

[4] 1: 25,000 map only.

Finally an attempt was made to identify the crossings of the Roberton Burn and of the Clyde. Castle Dykes (Roberton) lies west of the village on a small steep-sided knoll on the north bank of the stream. On the far side a dry hollow separates the knoll from the south slope of Dungavel Hill. The main western part of the knoll has a flat top surrounded by slight ramparts which appear to represent a small fort of the sub-Roman or early medieval period. The interior is irregular with slight mounds and hollows and, though the site would be suitable for a small fort, there is no trace of any Roman work. On the east the defences overlook a saddle, beyond which the knoll falls irregularly down towards the village. A narrow modern track runs up from the village along the south flank, crosses the saddle and continues along the hollow on the north slope of the knoll. On the saddle and down the north slope this track is set over an old straight road which crosses the hollow and runs on a shelf, now some 16 feet wide, obliquely up the slope of Dungavel Hill. The alignment is north-west towards Muirhead and would link up with the Roman road located south of Limefield.

The course of the Roberton Burn by Castle Dykes has been disturbed. It now runs east below the road and is separated from the foot of the knoll by flat ground. Opposite the saddle it turns sharply north against an isolated boss of rock and then east over a fall by Roberton Mill. The rock on both banks above the fall and at the foot of the boss has been artificially split, the edges remaining sharp. The natural course would be south of the boss, where the channel is now filled to a depth of between 6 and 8 feet. The east or lower side of the boss is also cut in an artificial shelf, now inaccessible; if the stream ran south of the boss this shelf would link up with the slope north of the present bed to form a roadway running up to the saddle where it would join the older road. The plan and levels suggest that this road ran down the slope to cross the hypothetical older course of the stream by a bridge and continue south towards the Clyde. The original diversion of the stream may possibly be explained

as an attempt to supply water for Roberton Mill which lies immediately below on the north bank of the burn. The diversion of the stream must be medieval, for two later leads follow the foot of the south slope of Castle Dykes. The more recent, straight and rock-cut, is of the late 18th or 19th century; the older, a shallow channel following the contour, is unlikely to be earlier than the 16th century.

The Roman date of the older road at Castle Dykes, Roberton, is not yet proved. If accepted, it would suggest a crossing of the Clyde by a bridge on the line of the old ford opposite the Woodend Burn. Rock on the west bank would form a good abutment at this point, but there has been much erosion by the river and no traces were discernible.

Though the north end is unsurveyed and the south end doubtful, the remains recovered in the central sector, on the ridge above Howgate Mouth and on both sides, are sufficient to establish the former existence of a direct road between the Roman forts at Crawford and Castledykes. In view of the important early occupation of Castledykes it can hardly be doubted that the road is of Flavian origin and formed part of the original Roman road system in southern Scotland. It provides a direct line of communication from the south to Castledykes (Corbiehall), forming a more logical approach to the fort, which is held to have been the main western base, parallel to Newstead in the east.

ARTICLE 3.

Locus Maponi.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

The British section of the Ravenna Cosmography has recently been edited by Professor I. A. Richmond and Dr. O. G. S. Crawford, who illustrate the text with a full and learned commentary. The Cosmography is a document of the 7th century, drawn up with the object of furnishing a "list of the countries, towns and rivers of the known world, compiled from Greek, Roman, and Gothic authors." The British list is, as the editors convincingly demonstrate, based on classical itineraries and exhibits no trace of post-Roman influence. Following the towns of Britain, and placed before the rivers, is a rubric headed: "there are also in the same Britain, diverse places (*diversa loca*), of which we will name several"; there follows a list of eight, of which the first is Maponi. The editors comment on this passage:

> "Nowhere else in the Cosmography is there a class of this kind, the nearest approach being Patriae, used for countries. The application seems to be to meeting places, and the last four names, Taba, Manavi, Segloes, and Dannoni, have a clear connection with the ancient names Tay, Manau Gododin, Selgovae, and Damnonii, in the Lowlands of Scotland. On the strength of this, it has been suggested that the first name of all, Maponi, referred to the Clochmabenstane, which was the site of a megalithic monument and the great traditional meeting place of early medieval folk on the Western March. Greek sources suggest that locus was the term applied by Rome to such tribal or religious meeting places; and these Scottish examples may well have been the places of lawful assembly recognised by Roman treaty or regulation, perhaps in the third century, when the Lowlands were patrolled rather than garrisoned by Roman troops."

In a commentary on the place name itself Sir Ifor Williams says: "Maponus, whose name is cognate with Welsh maben, 'son,' 'youth,' was a North-British deity equated with Apollo, worshipped by high Roman military officials and thus of some standing (Arch. Ael., IV., xxi., 208)." The mean-

ing of the name would, therefore, be " the place of the youth god."[1]

These conclusions afford a valuable insight into native organisation on the fringe of the Empire. But the identification of Locus Maponi with the Clochmabenstane needs further examination. The megalith, which stands near Gretna, at the north end of a ford across the estuary,[2] was a meeting place for the settlement of frontier disputes between the Scots and English. It is so mentioned in the provisions of 1398[3] and the practice can be traced back to the beginning of that century. Earlier records, in particular the provisions of 1249,[4] name as the meeting place the ford itself, the Sulwath.[5] Geographically this marks no appreciable change, but the break in the use of the name weakens the argument in favour of the identification proposed. Records earlier than 1200 are lacking, but it seems unlikely that meetings of this character at either the Sulwath or the Clochmabenstane would go back before 1092, when William Rufus captured Carlisle and advanced the English frontier to the Tweed-Cheviot-Solway line. Earlier centuries saw many changes in these debatable lands. In 926 the River Eamont appears to have been the frontier, for it was there that Constantine, King of the Scots, and Eugenius of Strathclyde made their submission to King Athelstan. Sir Frank Stenton comments on this meeting: " It was in accordance with the ideas of the age for a king to receive a formal submission of this kind on the border of his own country."[6] In function the meeting on the Eamont, with its concomitant discussion of disputes between the parties, was a predecessor of the late medieval meetings on the frontier. An even earlier instance in this area probably lies behind the well-known story of St. Kentigern's preaching at Hoddom, when both the British king, Rhydderch of Strathclyde, and the heathen Angles were

1 *Archæologia*, xciii., 1-3, 15, 19 and 39.
2 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Dumfriesshire No. 263.
3 Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, i., 413-6.
4 Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, iv., 109.
5 For fuller details see Glasgow Arch. Soc., Trans., N.S., iii., 278.
6 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Westmorland, 1-li.

present in the congregation.[7] These facts show that there can have been no continuity in the tradition of the Clochmabenstane as a meeting place. We may now examine the earlier records.

The best known of the pagan Celtic assemblies is perhaps the spring meeting at Tara. The fullest account is that in the early Life of St. Patrick, written by Muirchu in the late 7th century, some 250 years after the events which it describes. "It happened in that year," he writes, "that the heathen were worshipping and celebrating the pagan festival on the same night as St. Patrick celebrated Easter; the heathen were accustomed to celebrate this festival with many incantations and magic divinations and divers other idolatrous superstitions, the kings, rulers, commanders, princes and nobles of the people, and above all the priests, magicians, soothsayers, diviners of every kind and of every deceit, and learned men having been summoned to Tara before Loigaire, even as they were once summoned before Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon."[8] At a much earlier date Caesar records an annual meeting of the Gaulish Druids in the territory of the Carnutes.[9] If Locus Maponi—the form has not the authority of the Cosmography, but if we accept the editors' interpretation, it is a reasonable restoration—was a Celtic tribal or religious meeting place, we should expect it to represent a Celtic sanctuary like Tara.[10] There is, as Mr Reid has suggested, an alternative to the Clochmabenstone, Lochmaben, which appears also to preserve the name Maponus.

There are two places to which the name Lochmaben applies. The modern village, with a mote,[11] lies a short distance from the north-west shore of the loch; here was the medieval church of St. Mary Magdalene, mentioned as early as *c.* 1200[12] The later castle stood on a promontory on the

7 Cf. *Antiquity*, xxvii., 154.
8 Vita S. Patricii, cap. XIV. in *Analecta Bollandiana*, i., 561.
9 Caesar, *de bello gallico*, vi., 13.
10 Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, III., xxix., 161 .
11 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Dumfriesshire, No. 445 (1).
12 Registrum Episcepatus Glasguensis, i., 83 (Bannatyne Club).

south shore of the loch.[13] The surviving stonework is late medieval, probably of the 15th century. But the lay-out of the ramparts and ditches shows that these are older; they must be identified with the timber pele of the War of Independence.[14] To this date belong the earthworks round the stone building, with the angular court in front of it. A more extended rampart running from the west shore of the promontory to the Valison Burn probably marks the enclosure of the burgh.[15] There are also a bank and ditch, set slightly in front of the angular court. These run on a different alignment and have no real function in the planning of the castle. By comparison with the undoubted medieval works they are badly denuded, and, as the published plan shows, shorter and related to a higher level of the lake—with the water-level indicated by the medieval works they would not reach the shore and could have been outflanked at either end. Everything points to this enclosure dating to a period before 1100.

It is suggested that this enclosure formed the temenos of Maponus. Lochmaben lies in the centre of the natural region comprising Nithsdale, Annandale, and the encompassing uplands. The promontory with its marshy shore and a small island off the point recalls the Celtic predilection for sanctuaries in pools and marshes. This has been recently illustrated by the great bronze find of Llyn Cerrig bach in Anglesey.[16] In his discussion of this find Sir Cyril Fox quotes Professor Richmond, who had drawn attention to the parallel with the Gaulish treasure taken by the Consul Caepio at Toulouse in 106 B.C., some placed in sacred precincts, some in sacred pools. "The words used," he adds, "for sacred precincts and pools could also mean fenced enclosures and marshes respectively."[17]

13 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Dumfriesshire, No. 445 (2).
14 Glasgow Archæological Society, Trans., N.S., Vol. II., pt. 2, p. 121.
15 Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, III., xxix., 88.
16 Fox: A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig bach, Anglesey, 53.
17 Strabo, *Geographia*, iv., i. 13.

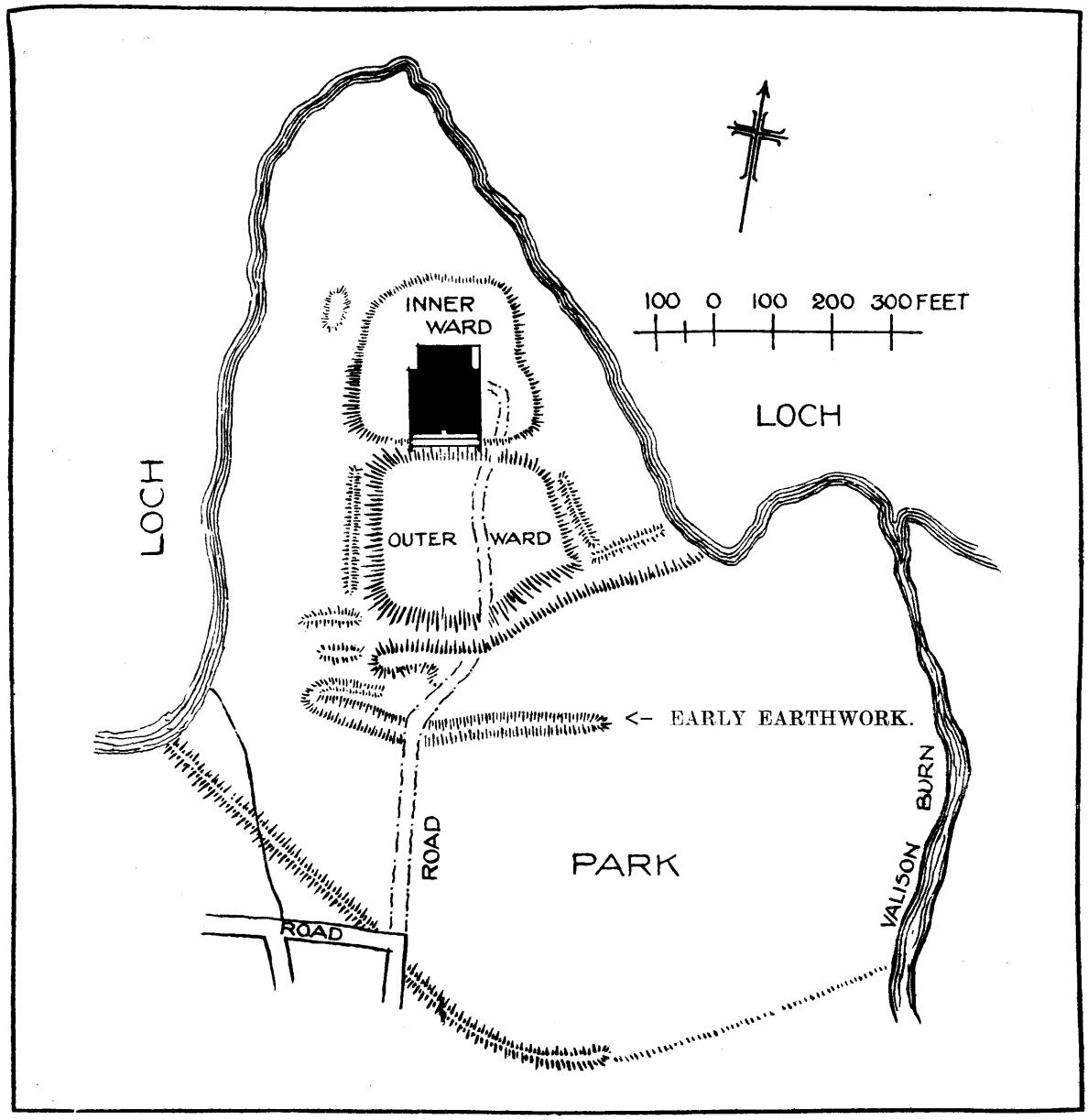

Fig. 1.—LOCHMABEN CASTLE—PLAN SHOWING OUTWORKS. With acknowledgment to the Ministry of Works for the loan of the block.

ARTICLE 4.

Maponus, the Epigraphic Evidence.

By ERIC BIRLEY.

The best modern discussions of Maponus are by the late R. G. Collingwood in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (= Oxford History of England, Vol. I., 2nd ed., 1937, p. 265, and by Professor I. A. Richmond in the course of three separate papers primarily devoted to other subjects.[1] Five dedications to this god have been found so far; three of them come from, or are attributable to, Corbridge in Northumberland and are assignable on internal evidence to the second half of the second century: the dedicators are a *præfectus castrorum* of the Sixth Legion, a military tribune and a centurion of the Sixth respectively. A centurion of the same legion set up an altar to Maponus at Ribchester in Lancashire during the reign of Gordian (A.D. 238-244), and a group of four men who describe themselves as Germans, but specify no military connection, appear as his votaries on an altar found at "Brampton in Gillesland" (according to Bishop Nicolson, our earliest authority for the findspot), which Haverfield thought likely to mean the Wall fort at Castlesteads, but it seems perhaps better to take it as the Roman site near Brampton Old Church: the style of this last text best fits the first half of the third century.[2] The Brampton altar calls him Maponus only; the other four equate him with Apollo, and Professor Richmond has pointed out that the sculptures on the back of one of the Corbridge altars and on the sides of that from Ribchester show him to have been identified specifically with Apollo the harpist rather

1 "The Romans in Redesdale" (*Northumberland County History*, xv., 1940), p. 97; "Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples and religious cults" (*Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., xxi., 1943), pp. 207-210; "The Sarmatæ, *Bremetennacum veteranorum* and the *regio Bremetennacensis*" (*Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxv., 1945) pp. 18f. and 27f.

2 Corbridge: CIL., VII., 1345=Dessau, ILS., 4639; CIL., VII., 471, with JRS., xv., p. 248; CIL., VII., 483, with *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, IX., p. 579 and JRS., xxxiii., p. 78. Ribchester: CIL., VII., 218, with JRS., xxxv., p. 18 f. Brampton: CIL., VII., 332=ILS., 4640, with EE., VII., 964, and EE., IX., p. 566.

than Apollo the hunter, but that they also portray Diana the huntress, indicating that there was a goddess associated with him.

It is commonly assumed that he was a purely British deity; Holder went so far as to call him Brigantian (on the basis, no doubt, of the distribution of the dedications), and Sir George Macdonald accepted that view.[3] But that is clearly going too far. For one thing, as Professor Richmond points out, the name and something of the tradition of Maponus survived into the heroic age of Wales: in the Mabinogion Mabon appears as a mighty hunter, and his name is undoubtedly derived from the same Old Celtic word, **maqono-s*, meaning a boy or youth (as Holder points out); the cult must have been observed in a wider area than that which has produced epigraphic evidence of it. Indeed, it may be questioned whether it was not to be met with on the Continent as well; Maponus appears as the name of a South Gaulish potter of the first century, and of an actor whose tombstone, from Bourbonne-les-Bains, Haute-Marne, seems best assignable to the third century,[4] and Holder cites a document of *circa* 1090, from the cartulary of the abbey of Savigny, Rhône, which mentions *de Mabono Fonte*, implying a sacred spring to Maponus in south-eastern Gaul. It will therefore be wisest to suppose that we are concerned with a Celtic, but not with a merely local deity.

It was Collingwood who first suggested that Maponus was a local god of the north " whose shrine seems to be recorded by the entry Maponi in the Ravenna Cosmography "; Professor Richmond (to whom I fancy that Collingwood owed the idea) elaborated the argument in his study of the Romans in Redesdale, pointing out that, while some of the *loca* in the Ravenna list give the names of tribes or territories in the eastern Lowlands, the *locus Maponi* must surely be equated with a cult-centre; we need have no hesitation in following him in that, though Mr Radford's

[3] Holder, *Altcelttscher Sprachschatz*, ii., col. 414; Macdonald, Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, xiv., col. 1413.

[4] The potter: Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps, etc.*, pp. 184 and 401 (wrongly deducing the nominative form MAPO), cf. CIL., XIII., 10010.1262; the actor, CIL., XIII., 5924.

paper, in my judgment, demolishes the case for locating the *locus* at the Clochmabenstane on the north shore of Solway, and puts forward a far more attractive candidate in the Lochmaben site. I am greatly impressed by his case for seeking a shrine of Maponus at Lochmaben. But the existence of such a shrine, if it can be established by the spade (as I hope that it may be), does not necessarily imply that Lochmaben was the *locus Maponi*; the territorial analogies already referred to suggest to me rather that a district is implied. The district no doubt had its administrative centre, and, once the hill-town on Burnswark had been eliminated, Lochmaben seems well suited to have become the native centre for Annandale; one may be pardoned for wondering whether, in this detached strip of Brigantian territory, the priests of Maponus may not have acquired a measure of political authority, the name of the *locus* signifying that the district was no longer subject to tribal rulers.

Collingwood pointed to the not dissimilar case of the Cumbrian god Cocidius, whose shrine is specifically mentioned, as *Fanum Cocidi*, in the Ravenna list. Dedications to Cocidius occur as far south as Lancaster in the west and Ebchester (where he has the additional name Vernostonus) in the east; along the line of the Wall, from Housesteads westwards almost to Carlisle; at Hardriding in the valley of South Tyne, and at the outpost fort of Risingham in Redesdale; but the main concentration of them comes from Bewcastle, to which as many as seven are to be assigned.[5]

5 Lancaster: CIL., VII., 286. Ebchester: CIL., VII., 9* with EE., IX., p. 681 and Mr R. P. Wright's confirmation of its reading and authenticity in JRS., xxxi., p. 140. On the Wall: CIL., VII., 642=ILS., 4723, 643, 644 with JRS., xv., p. 249, 800, 801, 802=ILS., 4722 (with my note in *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, p. 58f.), 803, 804, 876, 886=ILS., 4724b with EE., IX., p. 604, 914=ILS., 4724 with EE., III., p. 136 (and my note, *op. cit.*, p. 128), and EE., IX., 1177. Hardriding: CIL., VII., 701 (shown under Chesterholm, but there is no real reason to connect it with that fort). Risingham: "The Romans in Redesdale," pp. 86 and 139 (with a useful discussion of his iconography and his equation with Silvanus on some of the Northumbrian stones). Bewcastle: CIL., VII., 953=ILS., 4724a (assigned to Netherby, but I show reason, in a paper to be printed in Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions*, N.S., liii., to believe that it was really found at Bewcastle), 974, 977, EE., III., 113 and IX., 1227=ILS., 4721; JRS., xxviii., p. 203f. (two inscribed silver plaques, from the headquarters building of the third-century fort).

It is customary to identify Bewcastle as the *Banna* of a number of ancient documents (though a strong case might, I think, be made out for allocating that name to the fort at Carvoran, *per lineam valli*); the shrine of Cocidius cannot have been far away, even if it was not at Bewcastle itself. But its specific mention, as a shrine, contrasts markedly with the indeterminate *locus* associated with the name of Maponus; in the former case, a Romano-Celtic structure may be inferred with confidence, and the group of texts from Bewcastle, taken in conjunction with the general distribution of dedications to Cocidius, leaves us in no doubt that the centre of the cult was in the Bewcastle region. In the case of Maponus, however, if we took the inscriptions as our guide it would be more reasonable to suspect, as Professor Richmond has observed, that the centre of his cult was in the legionary fortress at York. The apparent contrast may well be misleading, however, and it is to be hoped that excavation at Lochmaben may lead to the recovery of inscriptions to Maponus there—and perhaps to enlarge our knowledge of his range of votaries.

It may be worth while to point out that, for all the differences between the two deities, they had at least one element in common, namely, their power to attract dedications from senior officers, centurions and legionary soldiers; in this respect they contrast markedly with another North British deity, Belatucadrus, whose cult centred in the Penrith district, or with the cult whose votaries differed among themselves as to the spelling, the sex and even the number of its godhead and who may ultimately have come to think of it as one of the old gods generally—I mean Huitris or Vithris; the great majority of dedications to Belatucadrus and Huitris are by men who mention no military rank or connection, and who have the single names appropriate to *peregrini*.[6]

6 For Belatucadrus, cf. my observations in C. and W. *Trans.*, N.S., xxxii., p. 137, and Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 266; for Huitris, cf. Collingwood, *op cit.*, p. 268 f.

ARTICLE 5.

Maponus in Mediæval Tradition.

By JOHN MACQUEEN.

In Welsh the sole detailed reference to Mabon, son of Modron, the hero whose name corresponds philologically to Romano-British Maponus, occurs in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, a saga which in its present form dates from the eleventh century. The saga tells how Kulhwch won as his wife Olwen, daughter of Ysbaddaden Penncawr (" Chief Giant "). Before he will give Olwen to Kulhwch, Ysbaddaden demands that Kulhwch should perform certain tasks, the principal of which is to obtain the comb and shears from between the ears of the boar, Twrch Trwyth, without which Ysbaddaden's hair cannot be dressed on his daughter's wedding night. There are a large number of subsidiary conditions. Twrch Trwyth, for instance, cannot be hunted until Kulhwch obtains Drudwyn, the whelp of Greid, son of Eri. And when Drudwyn is obtained—" There is no huntsman in the world can act as houndsman to that hound save Mabon, son of Modron, who was taken away when three nights old from his mother. Where he is is unknown, or what his state is, whether alive or dead."[1]

Much of the interest of the latter part of *Kulhwch* turns on Mabon, and afterwards on the hunting of Twrch Trwyth. Mabon was taken from his mother in the remotest past; his prison is only discovered when Gwrhir Gwalstawt Ieithoed (" Interpreter of Languages "), who knew all tongues, finds the Oldest Animal, the Salmon of Llyn Llyw, who has lived long enough to be able to help him. The prison is a Caer, which by the time *Kulhwch and Olwen* was written down, had been identified with Gloucester (Caer Loyw). Mabon can be rescued only by fighting, and during the siege, Cei carries him from the Caer on his shoulders, probably because

1 Translation of Gwyn and Thomas Jones, *The Mabinogion*, Everyman edition, p. 118, text in *White Book Mabinogion*, edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, p. 242.

Mabon was bound or fettered so that he could not move. Later Mabon pursues Twrch Trwyth into the sea, and takes the razor (*yr ellyn*) from between his ears. (Ysbaddaden, incidentally, made no mention of a razor to Kulhwch.)

The same story evidently underlies Triads 7 and 49 (*Tri goruchel garcharawr*—) from the fourteenth century *Red Book of Hergest*.[2]

Although the story of Mabon is obviously older than its present setting, and must once have been a separate saga, not much of the material preserved by *Kulhwch* and the triads can be regarded as ancient (by which I mean pre-Christian). Mabon's name is regularly derived from British and Gaulish Maponus, "the son god"; his mother's from Matrona, "the mother goddess"; the connection between them is thus very possibly original. But it would not be safe to assume, for instance, that because Mabon's presence is required at the hunting of Twrch Trwyth, Maponus figured in Celtic mythology as a hunter deity, like the classical Apollo with whom he is identified on extant inscriptions. In stories that preceded *Kulhwch*, Mabon may have been a hunter, but equally his prowess may be the invention of the author of *Kulhwch*, one of whose aims seems to have been to draw as much British saga material as he was able into the orbit of his story. Again, W. J. Gruffydd may be right in his contention that the story of Mabon, as it is presented by *Kulhwch*, fundamentally is identical with the story of Pryderi, as that is presented in the first and third branches of the *Mabinogi*. He is much more likely to be wrong when he suggests that the stories of Mabon and Pryderi preserve a pagan Celtic equivalent of the classical myth of Demeter and Persephone; almost certainly wrong when he compares the myth of Cybele and Attis. The Irish parallels do not suggest such an interpretation; the relationship of the Waste Land *motif* to the saga of Pryderi has not yet been certainly established, and Gruffydd seems himself misled by his misleading translation of Matrona as "the great Mother," whom he then assumes to be identical with the Asiatic Magna Mater. *Kulhwch*

2 Printed by Rhys; *Y Cymmrodor*, III., p. 55, p. 59.

and Olwen, besides, is separated by more than half a millenium from the period of British (Welsh) paganism; the Welsh, it should be remembered, were Christian long before the arrival of Augustine in Kent. Gruffydd's work,[3] nevertheless, is by far the most stimulating on the subject, and is full of acute observations.

Another Mabon, son of Mellt, mentioned in *Kulhwch*, is almost certainly a duplication of Mabon, son of Modron, whose story is also duplicated as that of his kinsman, Eidoel, son of Aer.

Mabon, son of Modron, and Mabon, son of Mellt, are named in the poem *Pa gur*, from the twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen* (p. 94), a poem which bears some kind of relationship to *Kulhwch*, and which, like the other poems mentioned in this note, must be considerably older than the MS. in which it appears. In the thirteenth century *Dream of Rhonabwy*, which, too, may be related to *Kulhwch*, Mabon, son of Modron, is one of Arthur's counsellors.

The grave of Mabon, son of Modron, " in the uplands of Nantlle " (a valley of Carnarvonshire) is mentioned in one of the Verses of the Graves.[4]

In the poem *Kat Godeu*[5] Modron is mentioned in what seems a list of great enchanters.

A number of Welsh churches are dedicated to Mabon,[6] and, as Sir John Rhys remarked,[7] it is quite possible that the Mabon of the dedications is Maponus in a Christian disguise. Matrona, too, may have entered Welsh hagiography as Madrun.[8]

In the *Book of Taliesin* (p. 47, l. 9) the infant Christ is

3 Most conveniently consulted in *Rhiannon*, 1953, published at Cardiff by the University of Wales Press; see also *Math vab Mathonwy*, Cardiff, 1928, and the articles " Mabon ab Modron," *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII. (1912), 452 ff.; " Mabon vab Modron," *Y Cymmrodor*, XLII. (1931), 129 ff. On the name Maponus, see Appendix.

4 Peniarth MS., 98B, 50; it is not included in Skene's *Four Ancient Books*.

5 *Book of Taliesin*, a MS. of the thirteenth century, p. 26, l. 2.

6 S. Baring Gould and J Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, III., 391.

7 *Celtic Britain*, edition of 1884, p. 302.

8 Baring Gould and Fisher, III., 398; compare Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*, 98-9.

referred to as Mabon. It is often assumed[9] that the word in question is *mabon*, a common noun meaning "a boy," "a male child," a belief which is due more, perhaps, to a Victorian sense of propriety, than to intrinsic probability. In a discussion of Maponus,[10] Rhys seems himself to suggest that the place of the Madonna and the infant Christ in mediæval tradition had to some extent been prepared by the paganism that went before, and specifically by the cult of Maponus, son of Matrona.[11]

So far there is no evidence to connect the events in the story of Mabon, son of Modron, with the North, or to suggest that the saga was transferred, as were so many others, from southern Scotland to Wales. But Sir John Morris Jones[12] mentions a poem (*Kychwedyl am dodyw*, *Book of Taliesin*, pp. 38-40) in which several references are made to a Mabon who, he suggests, is perhaps to be identified with Owein, son of Urien of Rheged, a prince with whose exploits the poem is concerned, and whose connections were certainly with the north of England and the south of Scotland. The poem itself seems to describe a raid on the Clyde valley and a battle in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton (Alclud). Unfortunately, no critical edition has yet appeared, and its difficulties are such as to make any final judgment for the present, at least, impossible. Mabon, however, is certainly connected with the modern Scotland in a poem which may date from the sixth century. One may, moreover, as Morris Jones tentatively suggested, compare Triad I., 52,[13] a member of the group which J. Loth[14] describes as "de sources diverses." The provenance of the triad is therefore doubtful, but at least it bears no evident marks of lateness. To the best of my knowledge, no English translation has yet appeared, but a slightly amended text might be rendered thus: "Three white

9 Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 21.
10 *Celtic Britain*, edition of 1884, p. 302.
11 Compare *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 102-3.
12 "Taliesin," pp. 198-9, *Y Cymmrodor*, XXVIII.
13 *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 392.
14 *Les Mabinogion*, edition of 1889, II., 392.

(or ' holy ') pregnancies of the Island of Britain. Urien and Eurddyl, children of Cynfarch the Old, who were in the same pregnancy in the womb of their mother, Nefyn, daughter of Brychan. The second, Owein, son of Urien, and Merwydd, his sister, who were in the same pregnancy in the womb of their mother, Modron, daughter of Afallach. The third, Gwrgi and Peredur and Ceindrech Pen Ascell, children of Elifer Gosgorddfawr, who were in the same pregnancy in the womb of their mother, Eurddyl, daughter of Cynfarch." Here, it will be noticed, Owein, who is not called Mabon, is son of Modron, and all the names in the triad are connected with the North—they represent, indeed, three generations of the same family. One might, in fact, conclude that originally the three pregnancies were one, the story of which was variously attached to different members of the family, and also, perhaps, that the basis of the triad was a tale about the goddess Modron, rather than about one of the other women in the triad.

A parallel to this may be provided by a Welsh folk tale, recorded only in the sixteenth century, but obviously older, where Urien of Rheged lies with a woman whom he found at a ford in the modern Denbighshire. One year afterwards she bore him a son and a daughter, Owein and Morfudd (Merwydd in the triad). The original setting of the story must have been the North, and it seems probable that in some earlier version the woman, whose name is not given, was called Modron.[15]

Loomis argues with some considerable plausibility that further parallels are to be found in the twelfth century *Yvain* (that is, Owein) of Chrétien, and its Welsh cognate, *The Lady of the Fountain*, in both of which the setting is probably Lothian; in the combat at the ford in the early thirteenth century *Didot Perceval*, where Perceval's opponent is Urbain (Urien); in the twelfth or thirteenth century lai

15 Text in J. G. Evans, *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, I., 911; translation and some comment by Gwenan Jones in *Aberystwyth Studies*, IV., pp. 105-9; further comment by R. S. Loomis in *Modern Philology*, 43, p. 67; *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 270.

of *Desiré*, where the setting is Lothian, and, perhaps most significantly, in the fragmentary twelfth century *Vita Kentegerni*, where the setting is again Lothian, and Owein is the protagonist. A spring or a ford figures in all these traditions, and all, Loomis suggests, are variants of a single tradition, by which Urien was Modron's paramour, and their child was Owein.

A rather more remote parallel, for which I can only give a reference to S. Baring Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, edition of 1894, pp. 471-523, is perhaps to be found in the fourteenth century legend of Melusine, a water fairy who married into a French noble house, and bore a son, Urian. Here once more there are unmistakable Scottish connections (see Baring Gould, p. 481). Melusine is half a fish, and with this trait in her one should perhaps compare chapter vii. of the fragmentary *Vita Kentegerni*.[16]

Yet more striking is the parallel provided by the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, a German poem, probably based on an earlier French (Anglo-Norman?) poem, and in the opinion of Gaston Paris[17] itself to be dated to the closing years of the twelfth century. The French poem must thus have been almost contemporary with, or earlier than, that of Chrétien. Nothing about *Lanzelet* would seem to indicate a lowland Scottish setting, nor is there any direct mention of the family of Urien of Rheged. The important features are that the Lady of the Lake appears by a spring and snatches away the infant Lancelot to her Island of Women. There she rears him to be the rescuer of her son Mabuz (that is, beyond doubt, Mabon; as Gaston Paris noted, he is not given a father), who is held prisoner by the giant Iweret. Mabuz, however, himself lives in a castle, which has been enchanted, so that everyone who enters becomes a coward. To this enchantment Lancelot succumbs, but he is afterwards persuaded to challenge Iweret, which may only be done by striking a cymbal suspended from a

16 Forbes, *The Historians of Scotland*, Vol. V., p. 250.

17 *Romania*, X., 471. See also the edition by K. T. Webster, New York, 1951. (Note from Mrs Bromwich.)

lime-tree above a well in the forest. Iweret appears, and is killed by Lancelot, who marries his daughter, Iblis. In due course he takes Iblis to Arthur's court at Caradigan, where she is awarded the Mantle of Chastity.

Mabuz as prisoner is to be compared with Mabon in *Kulhwch*. On the other hand, the summons to combat at a spring, and the subsequent marriage of Lancelot with the daughter of the man he has killed, are strikingly reminiscent of the central episodes in *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*, episodes which themselves, as Loomis has noted, are variants of a story linking the child of Modron with the family of Urien of Rheged, and so with the North. None of those other stories, however, contains the name Mabon, the presence of which in the *Lanzelet* serves thus to confirm the theory that the story underlying the whole group, Latin, Welsh, French, and German, is one of Mabon and Modron, and that the setting of the story is to be placed with some confidence in southern Scotland. Again, the mechanics of the summons to battle in the *Lanzelet*, the *Yvain*, and *The Lady of the Fountain* closely resembles that of the capture of Pryderi and Rhiannon in *Manawydan*, the third branch of the *Mabinogi*, a coincidence which may go some way to confirm Gruffydd's hypothesis that a vital relationship subsists between the saga of Pryderi and Rhiannon, and that of Mabon and Modron. Finally, Iblis, daughter of Iweret, who receives the Mantle of Chastity, seems[18] to be the Welsh Eveilian, wife of Gwydyr Drwm, one of the Three Chaste Ones of the Island of Britain.[19] The third Chaste One is Emerchret, wife of Mabon, son of Dewengen, the latter a figure unknown save for the reference in this triad, but who must surely be Mabon, son of Modron, under the slightest of disguises. In such circumstances, the grouping in this triad of Eveilian with a Mabon may not be fortuitous.

In the thirteenth century *Bel Inconnu* and its English cognate, the fourteenth century *Ly Beaus Desconus*, Mabon

18 Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, edition of 1891, p. 129.

19 *Eneilian*, Triad 47, *Red Book of Hergest*, *Y Cymmrodor*, III., 59; read *eveilian;* compare Triad I., 55., *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 392.

and another sorcerer, Irayn or Evrayn, imprison the Lady of Sinadon under the form of a dragon in their enchanted castle, and lay her city empty and desolate. In the opinion of F. Lot[20] the names of the same two enchanters have been compounded into one, that of the giant Mabonagraine, who in Chrétien's *Erec* is an enchanted prisoner in a garden surrounded by a wall of air (a hedge of mist in the Welsh *Gereint*, which does not, however, name the prisoner). Mabonagraine and Mabuz of the *Lanzelet*, who are themselves both prisoners and owners of a castle or of territory, and who imprison or kill all who approach their domain, form, as it were, a connecting link between the Mabon of *Kulhwch*, who is enchanted prisoner only, and the Mabon of the *Bel Inconnu*, who is captor and enchanter only. A possible explanation of the transition is given by Gruffydd.[21] One must also stress the occurrence in the *Bel Inconnu* of the Waste Land motif—" la Gaste Cite." This is perhaps to be compared with the destructive shower in *Yvain* and *Owein*, and also with the desolation of Dyfed in *Manawydan*.

M. E. Philipot[22] very reasonably suggests that Irayn-Evrain is the same as the Gware Gwallt *Euryn* of *Pwyll* and *Kulhwch*, the Gweir of the triads (and also the *Book of Taliesin*). This is all the more likely because Gware was himself celebrated as a prisoner. But he is surely wrong to cite in support of his suggestion a couplet from the continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*:

Et li biaus fius le roi Urain
Que on apieloit Mabounain.

The reference he gives is to Potvin's edition, Volume III., v. 16306, one which I have unfortunately not been able to consult. In the latest edition, however, that of Roach and Ivy,[23] the couplet which seems to correspond is rather different:

20 "Celtica," *Romania*, 24, pp. 321-2.

21 *Rhiannon*, p. 94.

22 'Un Episode D'Erec et Enide," *Romania* 25, 1896, pp. 258-94; compare Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*, p. 94.

23 Vol. I., p. 249; Vol. II., p. 389.

Vol. I. (MSS. T.V.D.) Sagremors et Mabonaigrain
Qui niés estoit le roi Quirain.
Vol. II. (MSS. E.M.Q.U.) Sagremors et Maboagran,
Qui fu niés lou roi Urïen.

Whatever the explanation (which may be provided by later volumes), Mabonaigrain or Maboagran is the same as the Mabonagraine of the *Erec*, and King Urain, Quirain or Urien can scarcely be other than Urien of Rheged. The couplet is thus further evidence that Mabon was believed to be connected with the family of Urien, and therefore with the North.

For a fuller examination of the continental traditions about Mabon, the reader is recommended to M. Philipot's article.

The relationship of the *Yvain* to *The Lady of the Fountain*, the episode of Mabonagraine in *Erec*, and *Lanzelet*, is discussed by C. B. Lewis in *Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance* (1932), a book equipped with a useful, but partisan and, for the time of writing, not wholly up-to-date bibliography. Lewis finds the source of the romances in the classical legend of Theseus and the Minotaur (which he describes as Cretan, although it is surely Athenian?), and in rites which he maintains were practised in the precincts of Zeus at Dodona. His explanation of the process by which in *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* a destructive thunderstorm is made to break over the spring, may well be correct, and, if it is accepted, is also illuminating for a study of *Manawydan*. But despite Lewis (see his Chapter II.), the process is scarcely, or at least not merely, a survival of a rain-making ritual. Wherever it occurs, the storm at the spring is not fertilising but destructive, and that, no doubt, is why in the source common to the *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*, the destructive power of thunder was raised by the sound of a gong. Thunder is no essential part of a rain-making ceremony, as is proved by the classical example, the rain-making rite performed on Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia.[24] In classical times, indeed, any attempt

24 Pausanias 8, 38. 4, quoted by Lewis, p. 44, also discussed by Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 183-4, a book to which Lewis nowhere alludes.

to control thunder would probably have been regarded as a gross impiety, and this in itself is sufficient to discredit Lewis's theory. But even on internal evidence the theory cannot stand. To prove the identity of the scene at the spring in *Yvain* with the ceremonies at Dodona, Lewis first alters such information about Dodona as has been preserved and forces it into a correspondence with the *Yvain*; this on no better grounds than that a correspondence exists. Whatever in the *Yvain* then retains its individuality, he forces into a similar correspondence with the Dodona material. Afterwards he exclaims that the two are identical, and that therefore the ritual at Dodona must be the origin of the scene in the romances. Clearly, not even the last stage of his argument can be admitted. A similar method is used to introduce the Minotaur and Theseus. Lewis's discussion of the relationship between *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* is wholly based on his own erroneous arguments, and is therefore valueless. But despite the grave faults everywhere apparent in the book as a whole, Lewis's explanation of the thunderstorm possesses genuine value.

To return to the primary Welsh sources, a poem from the *Book of Taliesin* (30, 11-2) names a Mabon in a context which suggests that he figured in a Northern tradition; the place name Aeron, for instance, may be that of the modern Ayr—Aeron, at least, was in the North, probably in Scotland. This poem, too, may date from the sixth century.

The *Myvyrian Archaiology* (p. 407, Triads 3, 61, *Tri theulu teyrnedd*, " Three families of kings who were brought into prison from great-great-grandfather to great-grandsons without one of them being allowed to escape ") preserves a triad which is clearly a variant on the *Red Book* triads quoted above.[25] The first and third families are those of Llyr Lledyaith and Gair ap Geirion, names which correspond to the Llyr Lledyeith and Geir vab Geiryoed (Gweir vab Gweiryoed) of the *Red Book* triads. But where the *Red Book* has Mabon vab Modron, the *Myvyrian* has Madawg ab

25 7 and 49, *Tri goruchel garcharawr*, *Y Cymmrodor*, III., p. 55, p. 59. For Aeron, see Morris Jones 'Taliesin' pp. 75-7.

Medron; "the second, the family of Madawg, son of Medron, who were imprisoned by the Irish Picts in Alban." For Madawg one should clearly read Mabon. The third series of triads in the *Myvyrian* is late and suspect, but it is at least possible that this one preserves an old tradition associating the imprisonment of Mabon with Scotland (Alban). M. Philipot[26] discusses some evidence which indicates that a corruption of Mabon to Madawg may be old.

R. S. Loomis[27] suggested that as late as the twelfth century Norman or Breton conteurs brought the story of Mabon to Scotland, and there gave it a fresh setting. "From Wales the tradition passed—to Brittany: it was then brought back and localized in S. Scotland." The evidence, however, is surely much more indicative of a legend which originated, as did many others, in the British kingdoms of southern Scotland, and thence was transferred to Wales and the continent.

Mabon, son of Modron, is never himself credited with a father, unless, indeed, the Mellt of Mabon, son of Mellt, is his father, whose name on this occasion has usurped the place of Modron. But even if this is so, Mellt was certainly not regarded as his father from the beginning; his name has no place in the constellation of Maponus and Matrona. Gruffydd (p. 99, *Rhiannon*) makes some attempt to prove the existence of a consort of Matrona named *Vironos, "the husband god"; but the source from which he supplied the name is untrustworthy in the extreme, and, even were it not, the name which would correspond to the others is not *Vironos, but *Patronos, "the father god." Nor is it, in fact, necessary that Matrona should have had a husband; to quote Professor Rose,[28] "the important thing is that (such goddesses) should be fertile, not that they should be wives." It is in accordance with all that is known of early religious belief that Maponus should have been the son of Matrona, and that the question of his paternity should not have

26 *Romania*, 25, 1896, pp. 285-7.
27 *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 273.
28 Article "Demeter" in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

arisen. The infant Christ, it will be remembered, is once called Mabon; in the absence of a definitive edition no certainty is possible, but the significance may be that Mabon, like Christ, was believed to be the son of a virgin.

As Loomis has shown, there exists some connection between the fragmentary *Vita Kentegerni* and other legends in which a member of the family of Urien of Rheged was regarded as Mabon, son of Modron. The compiler of the legend believed, or wished to believe, that Owein was Kentigern's father, but his narrative preserves several traces of an earlier version in which the conception was brought about by supernatural means, without the instrumentality of a mortal father—possibly without a father at all. In chapter i. (Forbes, *Historians of Scotland*, Vol. V., p. 245), Thaney's prayer is to be likened to the Virgin " in her virginity and in her bringing forth " (*in virginitate et in partu*). Again, while in chapter iv. (p. 248) she seems to recognise that her prayer was not granted, in chapter v. she believes that her pregnancy was caused by an angel. A similar story seems also to underlie Joceline's *Vita Kentegerni*.[29] It is possible that several versions of the story have been conflated to form the present texts, but one at least, it may be suspected, was a legend of the conception of Maponus-Mabon by his virgin mother, Matrona-Modron, a version in which the setting was the southern part of modern Scotland, possibly Lothian, but, given archæological evidence, conceivably Lochmaben in Dumfriesshire, not far from Hoddam, the church of Kentigern.

Of this some slight confirmation is perhaps to be found in the word *gwyn*, " white " or " holy," the key-adjective of the triad (*Three white pregnancies*) which has already been quoted. Where it occurs, it is certainly the oldest element of the triad, and in its present context seems to mean a pregnancy of which the issue was twins or triplets. But the key-adjectives were always particularly liable to misunderstanding,[30] and it is not impossible that originally

29 Forbes, pp. 159-242.

30 Mrs Bromwich, " The Historical Triads," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 12, pp. 1-15, especially pp. 4-6.

the meaning was " a virgin pregnancy," " one not caused by the meeting of the sexes," and so in comparison with others white and holy.[31] Such an interpretation would perhaps harmonise better with the normal use of the word *gwyn* than would one which sought to connect the phrase with the birth of twins.

In such legends of virgin births—they are to be found in every country—conception is seldom spontaneous, and it is often believed to be caused by bathing in, or drinking from, a particular river or pool. Of this many instances will be found in, for example, Hartland's *Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894). One should not, therefore, miss the possible significance of the spring or ford or well which figures in almost all the traditions, British and continental. It may be important that in Gaul Matrona seems to have been regarded as a river deity, whose name is preserved, to quote only one instance, in that of the modern river Marne. One should also perhaps note the surname *de Mabono Fonte*, part of a signature in a charter of about the year 1090, published in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Savigny, Rhone* (edition of A. Bernard, 1853-6), Volume I., pp. 444-5. See the note by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue Celtique*, XIV., 1893, p. 152.

Appendix: The Name Maponus.

British *Mapŏnus* (*Mapŏnos*) seems to be connected with the modern Welsh word for a son, *mab*, British **mapos*, cognate with Irish *mac*, " a son," and itself to have developed regularly into the Welsh proper name *Mabon*, and the common noun *mabon*, " a boy," " a male child." (Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures, 1886*, p. 21.) The meaning of the name is scarcely " the great son," " the great youth," as W. J. Gruffydd first asserted in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 33, p. 454. Although *—ŏnus* in *Mapŏnus* almost certainly is an indication of divinity, Gaulish suffixed *—ŏnus*, *—ŏna*

[31] In this connection it is interesting to note that Owein is the first *gwyndeyrn* (white lord) of the third triad in Peniarth MS. 16, edited by Mrs Bromwich in the article quoted above.

do not necessarily mark a god or goddess, and to translate "the great son" is certainly to introduce over-many alien connotations. With *Mapŏnus*, *Bratrŏnus* (a personal name, possibly connected with Welsh *brawd*, "brother"), *Carantŏnus*, *Epŏna*, *Divŏna*, *Sirŏna*, *Matrŏna*, *Ritŏna* (the latter all apparently river-goddesses, and hence names of rivers; the quantities may sometimes be established from Latin poetry, and also from the later development of a word where it survives as a place-name), one should perhaps compare Latin *Annōna*, *Bellōna*, *Pomōna*, *matrōna*, *patrōnus*. Latin *matrōna*, for instance, is probably a lengthened form, derived from an older stem **matrōn—*, where *—ō—*, however, has been generalised from the long o—grade of a nominative **matrō(n)* to take the place of an earlier oblique stem with short o—grade (as frequently happens in Latin. With *Catō*, for instance, genitive *Catōnis*, compare a parallel Greek formation *Mémnōn*, genitive *Mémnŏnos*). The earlier stem would thus be **matrŏn—*, from which the Gaulish derivative, parallel to Latin *matrōna*, would regularly be *matrŏna*. The meaning of *Annōna*, *Bellōna*, and *Pomōna* seems to be respectively the goddess of the year's produce (*annus*), of war (*bellum*), and of fruit (*pomum*); *matrōna* and *patrōnus* seem originally to have been lengthened, more dignified and respectful forms of *mater* and *pater*, their presence in this group perhaps to be explained by the possession of *numen*, the almost divine status which in early times was accorded the *pater* and *mater familias*.

In such a connotation, the meaning of Maponus is probably "the son god," "the divine son."

The Indo-European—*e/on*—suffix was used to lengthen words without any specialised semantic significance. But it would be natural for the longer word to acquire the more dignified meaning, and so, perhaps, in the Italo-Celtic group one class of words thus lengthened came to be used of supernatural beings or powers. The further expansion to *—ona*, *—onos* perhaps began with the names of beings whose nature was felt to be feminine, a distinction which the *—ōn* suffix could not of itself express; the introduction of an analogical

masculine formation in *—onos* one would then presume to be later.

(On Latin nouns in *—ōnus*, *—ōna*, see the appropriate entries in Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*; also Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de Grammaire Comparée des Langues Classiques*, pp. 410-3. The Gaulish names in *—ŏnus*, *—ŏna* may be found in Dottin, *La Langue Gauloise*.)

ARTICLE 6.

Edward I.'s Pele at Lochmaben.[1]

By R. C. REID.

Lochmaben has two sites, to both of which the term castle is applied, and, though the stone castle on the southern shore of the loch may be taken to be a foundation of the 15th century, the compilers of the Inventory of Ancient Monuments hesitate in ascribing it to Edward.[1a] Dr. George Neilson, however, believed that Edward's Castle stood on the Castle Hill at the northern end of the loch.[2] That view is based on the seemingly analogous site at Selkirk where an early mote hill was surrounded by Edward with a Pele or palisaded entrenchment. It is, however, dangerous to found a theory on a single analogy, for it must be remembered that at Dumfries there was already a mote hill at Castledykes which Edward ignored, preferring the open and higher ground for his Pele. At Linlithgow Edward found some sort of fortified site already existing, now covered by the Palace. Around it, upon a headland jutting into the loch, he constructed a palisaded and moated close—his Pele.[3] At Lochmaben the early historical references have been obscured by uncertainty, and it is necessary to reassess them.

The mote at Castlehill is clearly a 12th-13th century site. The plan of it given in the Inventory is perhaps not as complete as might be, for vestiges of a forecourt omitted from the plan can still be identified. Close by is the site of the mediæval church. Here is the complete lay-out of early feudal days, and the Castlehill must be attributed to one of the early de Brus or to one of his knights. It is open to question whether the Brus of 1298 ever regarded it as a castle. He must have been quite familiar with what in his day was

1 According to the Oxford Dictionary the spelling is Peel, but the Inventory for Westmoreland prefers Pele which is adopted here.
1a Dumfriesshire Inventory, p. 151.
2 Trans. of Glasgow Archæological Society, new series (1893), Vol. II., pt. II., p. 122.
3 *Ibid.*, 128.

known as a castle, for by 1300 a mote hill must have been, in his eyes, quite out of date. The Edwardian castle, though frequently incorporating an earlier mote hill, was a very different conception, imported by Edward himself from the continent. In 1273 that King was in Savoy visiting his relative, Count Philip of Savoy, who was engaged in building the Castle of St. George D'Espéranche, commenced in *c.* 1268. It was already partly in use by 1271, and, though unfinished, Edward stayed there. He actually saw it in building. Amongst his entourage were Sir Otto de Grandison and one Robert de Clifford. Returning to England, Edward launched out on his Welsh campaign, and from 1277 to the end of the century was busy building what are known as Edwardian castles of stone at strategic points in Wales. This tremendous building programme was placed under the skilled guidance of a Savoy architect, Master James de St. George, and under the general supervision of Sir Otto de Grandison.[4] It is of significance that Edward's Pele at Lochmaben was erected whilst Sir Robert de Clifford was captain of that castle.

In Wales Edward built his castles of stone—for all time—as he aimed at both conquest and permanent occupation of the country. But in Scotland his purpose at first was not conquest, and permanent occupation seems never to have been his aim. He sought by temporary occupation to secure amalgamation of the two countries. Accordingly he did not build castles of stone. Peles of wood he constructed on the stone castle model, and such a pele[5] he undoubtedly erected at Lochmaben—but not on the Castlehill. That site has been described as a family fortress.[6] It was never anything else, and, though Annan was probably the original caput of the Lordship of Annandale, after the disaster that occurred to its mote hill[7] there is reason for thinking that Lochmaben

4 *Antiquaries Journal*, XXXIII., p. 33. The arguement of Mr A. J. Taylor, F.S.A., very convincing.

5 A moated palisade usually rectangular with wooden towers in the corners. See George Neilson's *Peel: Its meaning and derivation.*

6 Inventory, p. 151

7 Most of the Motehill of Annan at an early date must have been swept away by the river, as at Staplegorton.

became the virtual caput of the Lordship. Certainly Brus himself regarded it only as a residence. When in 1315-21 he as King granted the lands of Mouswald to Thomas de Carruthers the reddendo was a pair of gilt spurs delivered *apud manerium nostrum de Lochmaben.*[8]

The English chroniclers assert that when Edward was returning south on his way to Lochmaben after his victory at Falkirk (22nd July, 1298) he devastated Selkirk and then turned west to Ayr, where the younger Brus burnt the castle and took to flight.[9] Edward was at Ayr on 31st August, at Treskuer (Troqueer) on September 2nd, and must have inspected the Castledykes site at Dumfries. Next day he was at Dalgarno and Tibbers, where he must have seen the stone castle being built by Sir Richard Siward.[10] On September 4th and 5th he was at Lochmaben.[11] It was characteristic of the intense energy of Edward that in this by no means leisurely withdrawal across the Border he should find time to mark down and inspect the sites of the first three Peles which he was to erect in Scotland—Lochmaben, Dumfries, and Selkirk.

Rishanger affirms that Edward "took" the Castle of Lochmaben, i.e., Brus's mote hill by the church. In this he is followed by modern historians.[12] But Knighton makes no mention of a capture. It is by no means clear who was Lord of Annandale at this time. The elder Brus was at peace with Edward, the younger Brus was on the run. If the elder Brus was Lord of Annandale, the mote hill may have been occupied, scarcely "taken"; if the younger Brus was the feudal owner there was not likely to be resistance in his name seeing that he had burnt and fled from Ayr. The evidence for ownership is conflicting, and will only be established by considerable research in English sources. In

8 R.M.S., 1306-1424, 92.
9 Hemingford, alias Hemingburgh, was an Austin Canon of Guisborough Priory and died in 1347. In view of the Brus connection with that house, his evidence is important.
10 Bain, II., 1005.
11 Gough, p. xiii.
12 Rishanger, *Chronica* (Rolls Series), 185-188; Andrew Lang, I., 188; Tytler (1841), I., p. 107.

any case the mote hill was unsuited for the lay-out of an Edwardian Pele, and Edward had to look around for another site. The ancient Iron Age site at the south end of the loch must have attracted his attention.

From earliest times Lochmaben had been of strategic importance. To get from Carlisle to Galloway by land the Romans had found it necessary to go up Annandale and branch off towards Dumfries, passing within half a mile of the future township of Lochmaben. Possession of Lochmaben was of cardinal importance to an enemy.[21] Edward realised this no less than the early de Brus had done, so he chose the site for his Pele at the southern end of the loch on a peninsular surrounded by the loch on three sides, land access to which could easily be cut off. Once that Edward had made the decision he lost no time in putting the work in hand. Some forces he must have left behind at both Dumfries and Lochmaben in charge of Sir Robert de Clifford, who was appointed captain and lieutenant " to repress the Scots enemies," and on 25th November, 1298, Edward ordered all the good men of Annandale to aid and obey him.[22] Clifford was already in charge at Dumfries.[23] On 25th December Robert de Cantilope was appointed as Constable (*custos*) of the Castle.[24] The work must have been well started by then, and on 28th December whatever local labour was being utilised was augmented by 48 workers from Cumberland " to erect a Pele at Lochmaben " at a wage of 2d *per diem.* Twelve other skilled craftsmen also were sent, sawyers and carpenters.[25] On 2nd February, 1299, Clifford wrote to the King's Treasurer at Carlisle, asking that, as he had ordered the crossbow men to remain at Lochmaben under the Constable there, they should receive 15 days' pay in advance along with further crossbowmen coming from Carlisle, with 3d daily each owing to " the great dearness in the country."[26] In August Clifford agreed to

21 Inventory, XXXI.
22 Bain, II., 1032
23 *Ibid.*, 1028.
24 Stevenson, II., 357.
25 *Ibid.*, 361.
26 Bain, II., 1057.

continue his " ward of Lochmaben " till his reappointment was intimated by letter.[27]

The Constables of the Castle. [27a]

ROBERT DE CANTILUPE did not long hold the important office of Constable. On 2nd February, 1299, he sought a protection for a companion serving with him in the Castle,[28] and supplies of wheat and wine were sent to him on 11th May.[29]

SIR ROBERT DE FELTON must have succeeded Cantilupe by mid-summer, having previously been stationed there in February with the mobile forces.[30] In October, as Constable he reported the Castle had been attacked by the Scots from the garrison of Caerlaverock. The attack was repulsed, and amongst the slain was Robert de Cunynghame, Constable of Caerlaverock, whose head was set up by Felton as a grisly token on the great tower of Lochmaben.[31] That tower was almost certainly of timber. Perhaps the attack had revealed weaknesses in the structure, for on 16th November Edward called in Richard Syward, who had built the stone castle at Tibbers, to strengthen " the palisade of the close of Lochmaben Castle."[32] With Syward was conjoined Master Richard de Abyndon, the King's Receiver at Carlisle for financial purposes, and the lieges were ordered to aid them. Clearly the Scots had given the garrison a nasty jolt. The attack had been delivered between August 1st-25th by

27 *Ibid.*, 1086.

27a It is not certain that all the names on this list were Constables. They are referred to as *constabularius*, *custos* or *guardianus*. At least one of them was both *constabularius* and *custos*. The jurisdiction of a Constable was confined to the Castle, but *custos* may have a wider significance. A *guardianus* (warden) had a jurisdiction which probably covered the whole of Annandale and its holder must often have been absent from the Castle, not so the Constable who was responsible for the Castle in his master's absence.

28 *Ibid.*, 1058. Cantilupe's request was backed up by Clifford, *ibid.*, 1064.

29 *Ibid.*, 1068.

30 *Ibid.*, 1057.

31 *Ibid.*, 1101.

32 *Ibid.*, 1112. The words *castrum de Loghmaben* are written upon an erasure (Stevenson, II., 404).

the Earl of Carrik, who, unlike his father, had no great estates in England to risk by such action. The accounts of Mr Richard de Abyndon have been preserved, and give details of the garrison of the Castle. The static section of the garrison consisted of six esquires, six hobelars, and nine foot, and the mobile section of four Knights—Sirs Humphrey de Jardine, Hugh Mauleverer, William Heriz, and Thomas de Torthorwald, described as Knights of Annandale (i.e., holding Knights' fees under de Brus), along with 10 esquires. From time to time this was augmented by temporary forces gathered at Lochmaben for a raid, such as the raid into Galloway under Sir William de Latimer. There is no mention of purely English forces, such as crossbowmen and the like, whose wages were likely to be entered in another *Compotus*, perhaps in London. The victuals of the Castle were in part shipped from Ireland to Skinburness, and thence across the Solway to Annan.[33] In an allowance for the expenses of the Bishop of Carlisle, dated 3rd December, 1300, but referring to the previous year, occurs mention of 26/- paid for eight crossbows *ad pedes* and two *ad turnum* delivered that year to Robert de Felton, Constable of Lochmaben, but the following item, £98 1s 10d allowed for 11 Galloway hostages lodged by John de Warrene, Earl of Surrey, in the Castle in October, 1597, must surely refer, as do other items, to the Castle at Carlisle.[34]

Edward seems to have been nervous as to conditions at Lochmaben, for on 2nd January, 1300, Sir Robert de Clifford was instructed to abide with 30 men at arms with Sir John de St. John at Lochmaben, and if he had any cause to depart he was to leave there the men at arms and " that the houses which he had made in the Pele of Lochmaben shall remain to him and his men without being further disputed by any-

33 Bain, II. 1115. Stirling Castle that year had a garrison, including non-combatants, of about 90 (Bain, II., 1119), and in November, 1300, the combined garrisons of Dumfries and Lochmaben at the King's wages were 20 men at arms, 150 foot, 50 crossbow men and 150 archers (*ibid.*, 1170). The garrison at Tibbers was Sir William de Felton and Sir Lawrence de la Rivere with 13 esquires and light archers (*ibid.*, 1141).

34 Bain, II., 1179, and Stevenson, II., 425.

one."[35] Edward himself was apparently there in July, 1300, on his way to the siege of Caerlaverock, for various siege implements were forwarded there from Lochmaben.[36]

SIR ROBERT DE TILLIOL was Constable in 1301, and reported on 10th September that the apprehensions of Edward had been well-founded, for Sir John de Soulis and Sir Ingelram de Umfrayville with forces numbering more than 7000 Scots had " burnt our Pele toun and assailed our Pele." Of the attackers, Sir David de Brechin and Sir John de Vaus were wounded, whilst of the defenders Sir William de Heriz was taken prisoner at a sally.[37] The " toun " here mentioned cannot refer to the modern burgh site, but refers to the outer ward of the Inventory's plan of the site, or even to the wider enclosure denominated " Park " bounded by earthworks of this period which present a much wider frontage to an enemy than the forecourt.[37a] Thereafter quiet

35 Stevenson II., 407. By November, 1300, St. John was English warden of the marches and had replaced Clifford as Captain and Lieutenant of Lochmaben and Annandale (Bain, II., 1169).

36 *Inventory*, p. 25. Tytler (1841), I., 157, asserts that Edward took the Castle of Lochmaben again in July, 1300, quoting from Walsingham (*Historia Anglicana*, Rolls Series, I., p. 81), *Rex Anglie Profectus est in Scotiam et cepit castrum de Lowmaban.* Walsingham derived from an earlier St Albans Chronicle given in Rishanger (Rolls Series, p 439), which supplies a very circumstantial account of how Edward entered " Sulwat Landes," which is the march between England and Scotland, " *postea Anande; ibi fixit tentoria sua. Deinde Loucmaban castrum obsedit et de facili possedit.*" On the other hand the chronicle of Lanercost, Knighton and other contemporary authorities do not mention this siege and capture. The fact that the heavy items of Edward's siege train had to be transferred, especially the Robinet from Lochmaben to Caerlaverock might be put forward to support Tytler's statement but does not imply their use in a siege of Lochmaben. The lighter siege train and all provisions and equipment were brought across the Solway from Skinburness (George Neilson, *Annals of the Solway*). The heavier items could only be transported by road and in view of the obstacle presented by Lochar Moss had to come round by Lochmaben and Dumfries. Obviously the Robinet had been sent up to Lochmaben in advance to join the concentration forming there under Sir John de St. John pending the arrival of Edward himself. It is significant that Edward seems to have followed the Roman Road up Annandale. His itinerary is known—at Annan, July 4th; at Applegarth, July 6th; at Tinwald, July 8th; Dumfries, July 10th, and at Caerlaverock, July 12th (D. and G. Trans, 1894-5, p. 163). This gives no time-space for or indication of a siege of Lochmaben where Edward must have been on 7th July, 1300.

37 Stevenson, II., 432.

37a The town burnt by the Scots might equally well have been the older settlement of the church, the manor house of the de Brus.

descended on the scene, and little is heard of the Castle till Bannockburn. Sir John St. John was dead and Sir Richard Syward was acting in his place by September, 1302,[38] till Sir John Botetourte, Justiciar of Galloway, became Warden.[39] Scotland lay helpless at the feet of Edward. Then came the murder of Comyn at Dumfries, and at once the district was ablaze. Brus, the future King, at once seized Dumfries. Wynton says that Brus set out from Lochmaben to meet Comyn. If so, he must have stayed at his manor house. Immediately after the murder he seized Dumfries Castle, and must have done the same with Lochmaben before turning north to be crowned. Edward's reaction was swift, and on 13th July, 1306, the Prince of Wales announced that Lochmaben Castle had surrendered to him unconditionally on July 11th.[40] Annandale, the Castle, and all other Brus lands were forfeited and Lochmaben and Annandale granted by Edward to Humphry de Bohun.[41]

It is not known what was the condition of the Castle when the Earl of Hereford took possession of his new domain. Brus may not have developed at that date his well-known policy of castle destruction, or his followers may not have had time to carry it out. De Bohun was at Lochmaben on 15th February, 1307,[42] when he granted Huttoun and Lokardbi to Sir Bartholomew Denefeud for life in return for faithful service, and Edward II. ordered his Sheriffs to protect the men of de Bohun in his Honour of Lochmaben Castle and Annandale till the King himself arrived in Scotland.[43] We know that in 1311 Lochmaben, Buittle, Dalswinton, and Dumfries Castles had English Constables,[44] but their names have not all been recorded. Lochmaben certainly was garrisoned. It was not in danger of attack, for

38 Bain, II., 1325. The death of John St. John at Lochmaben is given exactly as 6th September, 1302 (*Chronicles, Ed. I. and Ed. II.*, Vol. I., Rolls series, p. 128).
39 Bain, II., 1399.
40 *Ibid.*, 1803.
41 *Ibid.*, 1757. On 10th April, 1306.
42 Bain, II., 1899.
43 *Ibid.*, III., 226.
44 *Ibid.*, III., 218.

Brus at first was only strong enough for a guerilla war. But after Bannockburn the position was very different. At that battle Sir Humphrey de Bohun was made a prisoner by the Scots. The field army of England no longer existed; only the garrisons remained hemmed around till starved into submission. For the lack of victuals and supplies even more than the pusillanimous indecision of Edward II. was a major factor in the Scots success. The Castle of Dumfries surrendered to de Brus on 7th February, 1313.[45] Whether Lochmaben was captured or evacuated is not known. A pay sheet of the garrison is extant down to 24th October, 1313. The name of Sir Thomas de Torthorwald figures in it. A year later (November, 1314) he was in the garrison of Carlisle.[46] In the interval he had some horses killed in a raid from Carlisle on Pennersax. In this sheet occurs the name of

JORDAN DE KENDALE, who is described as Constable of the Archers.

Twenty years were to elapse before another Englishman was in Lochmaben Castle. There was probably no destruction of the Castle by the Scots. Some sort of Scottish garrison must have been in occupation till 1333. Indeed, no less doughty a warrior than Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale was the Scots Keeper of the Castle in 1333. That autumn, in revenge for a devastating raid by Archibald Douglas on Gilsland, Sir Anthony Lucy and William of Lochmaben (surely a renegade) with 800 men penetrated into Scotland, and on their return were met by Sir Wm. Douglas. Lucy was wounded and Douglas defeated and captured. Amongst the slain were Sir Humphrey Jardine and Sir Humphrey Boys and William Carlisle.[47]. The Knight of Liddesdale probably tried to intercept their return, and may have left the Castle perilously under-manned under charge of Patrick de Charteris. That July (1333) was fought the disastrous battle

45 *Ibid.*, III., 304.
46 *Ibid.*, 403.
47 Tytler (1841), II., p. 21, quoting Walsingham, p. 132. The battle was fought hard by the ancient Sulewath Ford, see George Neilson, *The Battle of Dornock* (*D. and G. Trans.*, 1895-6, p. 154).

of Halidon Hill, where Sir Archibald Douglas "Tyneman," the Guardian, and many of the nobility were slain. King David, aged 10, was at once sent to France, and Edward III. over-ran Scotland. Edward de Bohun reoccupied Lochmaben Castle, then held for Scotland by Patrick de Charteris, who surrendered on terms which included restoration to him and his wife of their lands in Roxburgh.[48] De Bohun's possession was at once challenged by Henry de Percy of Alnwick under a grant by Edward Balliol of the Castle and Annandale on 29th July, 1333.[49] Edward III. at once ordered Sir Henry Beaumont and Sir Ralph Neville to take charge of the Castle pending settlement of the dispute, with instructions dated 3rd March, 1334, to deliver it to

WILLIAM LE ENGLIS (or Lenglis) as Constable[50] The dispute was settled in favour of de Bohun in 1334, Percy being compensated with lands elsewhere.[51] That year Adam de Corry was English Steward of Annandale.[52] For the next 50 years the Castle was in English hands.

WALTER DE SELBY was Constable in October, 1343, sustaining a siege of the Castle by the Scots (see separate article on p. of this volume).

ROBERT OGGLE was appointed Constable in November, 1343,[53] and by 1346 was Steward (*seneschallus*) of de Bohun for his Annandale estates, residing in the Castle.[54] It was essential to him to have a Constable in charge of the Castle when he was absent, so on 9th May, 1346, Oggle as Attorney for de Bohun entered into an interesting indenture.

RICHARD DE THIRWALL was the other party, and signed on as Constable for one year. He was to receive as fee £266 3s 4d for all costs, including the keep of the Earl's servants, carpenters, and garrison. He was to retain one-third of the fines of Annandale. Any prisoner of rank or

48 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 274. a.
49 Percy Chart, p. 448.
50 Bain, III., 1123.
51 Percy Chart., p. 449.
52 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 274. a
53 *Ibid.*, 643. b.
54 Bain, III., 1464.

estate over £100 was to be given up to the Earl in return for £100. The ransom of lower grades of prisoners were to be the perquisite of Thirwall. In some cases there was to be no ransom without the Earl's express permission. No one was to be received within the Pele except the garrison; and no brewerers or others within the close ("cloisture") of the Pele was to have fuel or herbage without doing seignory. Structural repairs to be paid for by the Earl, saving the workmen's diet. Thirwall was to have the right to fish in the lake, and, if besieged, the Earl had to relieve him within three months.[55] Within six months of appointment Thirwall's duties must have become far less onerous, for on 17th October, 1346, the battle or Durham or Neville's Cross was fought and King David led captive into England.

RICHARD DE WHITPARYS (Whiteparish) succeeded Thirwall. He and another had been appointed on 22nd November, 1347, to survey the Castle of Lochmaben and the state of the de Bohun lands in Annandale and Moffat.[56] At an unknown date he became Constable, demitting office on 10th October, 1352, in favour of

SIR RICHARD DE DENTON, whose position as Constable is not clearly stated.[57]

RICHARD DE THIRWALL again figures as Constable, having been appointed by the Crown, at request of de Bohun, to that post on 18th July, 1356.[58]

JOHN DE DENTON, on the death of Humphrey de Bohun, was appointed by the Crown as custos on 14th March, 1362,[59] and may have continued in that office till 30th May, 1365, when to

ROBERT BRUYN was delivered "the keeping of Lochmaben Castle (viz., the stonework there)" for a year, receiving 300 merks under the same conditions as Thirwall.[60]

55 Bain, III., 1459.
56 Bain, III., 1516.
57 *Ibid.*, 1566.
58 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 795. b.
59 *Ibid.*, 861. b.
60 Bain, IV., 98.

This is the first reference to stonework, and apparently de Bohun, under cover of the Great Truce, was reconstructing the Castle within the Pele. The Inventory (p. 151) suggests that the barbican was early 14th century, and this reference of 1364 supports that conjecture based on the structural remains.

SIR THOMAS DE ROSS OF KENDAL, under indenture of 22nd May, 1365, again based on Thirwall's, undertook the charge of the Castle for two years.[61] He had been English Warden of Annandale since 1360. In May that year, as Warden, he entered into a remarkable agreement with John Stewart of Dalswinton, the Scottish Warden, whereby, for settling conditions in Annandale, it was agreed to divide equally between the Scottish Crown and the Earl of Hereford and Northampton all the fermes and court issues of Annandale except for the vill of Lochmaben and a few others reserved to the Earl. All the lands were to be jointly let at the sight of officers of both parties and the rents divided. The Earl had right to repair and victual the Castle, and the Scottish Warden guaranteed the Castle, its warden, and garrison against all damages by the Scots. The agreement was to last for one year. It was signed at Rokelle (Rockhall) in the Border of Annandale (English) and Nithsdale (Scottish), and so much importance was attached to it that King David himself was present.[62] Presumably this was renewed. Though almost doomed to failure, yet it worked. Certainly, on 25th August, 1364, a further similar indenture was agreed to,[63] amplified again on 13th December, 1366.[64] So successful must it have been that it was incorporated in a treaty between the two countries upon a renewal of truce for 14 years in 1369.[65] That this policy was duly carried out is established in the accounts of William Henrison, elder, Chamberlain of the Castle for the year 1375.[66]

61 *Ibid.*, 109.
62 Bain, IV., 47.
63 *Ibid.*, 100.
64 *Ibid.*, 127, 128.
65 Rymer, VI., p. 632, and Andrew Lang, I., 266.
66 Bain, IV., 223.

Ross was still in charge on 22nd May, 1365, when Humphrey de Bohun reappointed him for two years on similar terms to those of Thirwall.[67] It is evident that some structural work on the Castle was being undertaken during the Constableship of Ross, for on 11th January, 1367, Edward granted license to de Bohun to import victuals to the Castle and also "*cementarios, carpentarios et alios operarios*" for repair and emendation of defects in the Castle.[68] The use of the word *cementarios* once again would imply stonework.

SIR HUGH DE REDEHOO was appointed to the charge by de Bohun on 31st May, 1368, for two years. The conditions again conformed to Thirwall's but were more stringent and detailed as to provisioning,[69] which period was extended for a further six months on 10th February, 1370.[70]

WILLIAM DE STAPLETON succeeded Redehoo on 20th March, 1371. There was, however, some variation in his fee. Previous holders of the office had received 300 merks or £200. But conditions were now quieter and less responsibility was involved, so the fee was reduced to 200 merks in peace or 500 merks in war. There was also a modification as to ransoms. The ransoms of prisoners of humble origin made by the garrison were now to be subject to a rake off to the Earl, being a third of a third of the amount. The Earl was also to receive all such profits made by the men of Annandale, but not by the garrison. Similarly the Earl was to have a third of Stapleton's "gayne" from such sources. Otherwise the conditions of service were the same as Thirwall's. The indenture was for six years.[71] On 26th April, 1374, the arrangement was extended for another year, to terminate 11th May, 1376, and the Constable had to maintain in victuals a Chamberlain, masons, and carpenters, whose wages were to be paid by the English Crown during

67 *Ibid.*, 109.
68 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 908. a.
69 Bain, IV., 144.
70 *Ibid.*, 161.
71 *Ibid.*, 178.

the minority of de Bohun.[72] Again the mention of masons is suggestive. It is probable that there was a further extension of a few months, for on 1st May, 1375, Stapleton certainly vouched for the *compotus* of the Chamberlain, and it was not till early in the following year that he was replaced. The Chamberlain of the Earl was one William Henrison, elder, who had been residing in the Castle since 1366.[73] His *compotus* or accounts for 1375 throw more light on the Castle. The expenses side shows that £4 was spent on large timber for a bridge, a bretasch and houses in the Castle. Two towers were roofed, 3000 spikyngs (nails) being used. Hemp ropes were supplied for the [draw]bridge, and a spade and four scholyrns for making the bank (*ripa*) of the Castle. The bridge was made *de novo* by a master carpenter and four others. The bretasch was a repair. The large timber was felled and prepared in Ramyrscales wood. Horses and men were hired from Carlisle. 400 boards from Inglewood forest were needed for roofing the towers, another 300 were transported without cost by the men of Gretna and Rainpatrick. Twenty-eight waggon loads of reeds from Ousby were needed to thatch the towers, and thatchers and daubers were employed for covering and daubing the roofs (£18 7s 8d). John Rothur as ditcher of the Castle had an all-round-the-year job, but only got 40/- for his labour, whilst the " artilar " for half a year received 13/4.[74] The *compotus* for the following year was much the same. Three carpenters worked 13 weeks on the new front called La Pele. Eleven roods of planking had to be sawn up for that purpose, and for four weeks a mason was employed on the " stanewerke " of the Castle.[75]

WILLIAM DE CULWEN was appointed by the Crown on 4th March, 1376, as Constable of the Castle and also Justiciar of Annandale,[76] and the following day was given

72 Harleian Charters, 56. E. 17. This indenture was renewed on the same date in 1375 (Bain, IV., 224).
73 *Ibid.*, 128.
74 Bain, IV., 223.
75 *Ibid.*, 231.
76 *Rot. Scot.*, I., 975. a.

license to purchase in Ireland victuals for the Castle. In this license he is described a *custos*. Culwen's tenure was of the briefest, and on 1st December, 1376,

RADOLPH BARON GRAYSTOK was appointed Constable by the Crown.[77] This was obviously a stop-gap appointment, for on 30th January, 1377,

SIR THOMAS UGHTRED received a protection in order to go and take charge of Lochmaben Castle.[78] He must have been an aged man if he was the same Sir Thomas who, after a long siege, surrendered Perth to the Scots in 1339. He may have hesitated, for on 28th July, 1378, he received another protection to set out for Scotland to remain in charge of the King's Castle of Lochmaben.[79] On 2nd April, 1379, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the King's Council that owing to the perilous state of the Western March the guardian of the Castle of Lochmaben was no longer willing to remain there and that the writer had therefore instructed an esquire of Cumberland to take charge and Sir Thomas to demit office.[80] It looks as if the aged Sir Thomas Ughtred had lost his nerve.

AMAUND DE MOUNCEUX was the name of the Cumberland esquire who as Constable replaced Ughtred. He was formally appointed on 1st April, 1379,[81] but someone more experienced was called for, and on 30th May, 1379,

SIR THOMAS DE ROKBY was appointed Constable.[82] He was at Lochmaben by 12th October, when a protection was given to Adam de Corry, then a member of the garrison.[83] The rats were deserting the sinking ship. Sir Thomas himself was granted a protection on 25th August,

77 *Ibid.*, 978. a.
78 Bain, IV., 237.
79 *Ibid.*, 267.
80 *Ibid.*, No. 260 and p. 402. This document is given in full in the *National MSS. of England* where it is assigned to the year 1378. The year is clearly wrong, see D. and G. Trans., 3rd series, VI., p. 142, n.14.
81 *Rot. Scot.*, II., 15. a.
82 *Ibid.*, 15. b. British Museum Harleian Charter, 55. D. 50., is an indenture re-appointing Rokeby as Constable on the usual terms, dated 12th March, 1379-80.
83 Bain, IV., 280.

1380, which may indicate that he had resigned office.[84] His successor was

ALEXANDER DE FETHERSTANHALGH, who, described as Captain of the Castle, gave a receipt for malt delivered there on 4th January, 1384.[85] He was the last Englishman to command the garrison. At the close of January, 1385, Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, invested the Castle, and, after a siege of nine days, captured it on 4th February, 1385, " razing it to the ground."[86] The terms of surrender are not known, but Fetherstanhalgh was not retained as a captive to ransom. He was apprehended, probably before the fall of the Castle, by the Sheriff of Cumberland, that same Amaund de Mounceux who had been a previous Constable there, and sent up to Windsor as a prisoner, special precautions being taken to prevent a rescue by his friends.[87] Thereafter the Castle is believed to have remained a Scottish fortress till the 17th century, when it was abandoned.[88]

One last echo of English occupation must terminate this notice.

William Henrison, elder, the faithful servant of the de Bohuns from 1366 to the fall of the Castle, and their Chamberlain for many years, was a local man. Lochmaben has long been the central habitat of Hendersons in the south-west (Henrison is the early form of the surname). Apart from his official duties, Henrison owned some property in the lordship of Lochmaben. When the Castle fell he was driven out of his lands and retired to England. He was dead by 1395, when William Mounceux, his son [? in-law] petitioned the English Crown and received an annuity of 10 merks in recognition of Henrison's services.[89] The surname of Mounceux still lingers in the Lochmaben district in the modern form of Muncie or Mounsey.

84 *Ibid.*, 293. For an account of how Rokeby earned his knighthood, see Tytler (1841), I., 342.
85 Bain, IV., 331.
86 Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, p. 162.
87 Bain, IV., 331.
88 But see *Rot. Scot.*, II., 151. b., where on 23rd October, 1399, King Henry IV. appointed Thomas de Neville Lord of Furnival as *custos* and constable of the Castle of Lochmaben on the West Marches.
89 Bain, IV., 464.

ARTICLE 7.

A Siege of Lochmaben Castle in 1343.

By A. A. M. DUNCAN, M.A.

We are told by Thomas Walsingham, the late fourteenth century St. Albans chronicler, that in 1343 " Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, with the Earls of Gloucester, Warwick, Northampton, and Oxford, the Lord of Stafford, Robert de Ufford the younger, and many others with a numerous army, set out for Scotland to raise the siege which the Scots had laid round Lochmaben Castle. This castle had been committed to the custody of the Earl of Northampton, William de Bohun, who had made a knight called Walter de Selby *custos* of the castle in his place. But by the valour (*probitas*) of the said Walter, of the Bishop of Carlisle and of the Lord of Lucy, it had been delivered from siege before the aforesaid heroes came, so that they went back, having done nothing."[1] Walsingham is unfortunately our only informant about the name of Bohun's Constable of Lochmaben, and we are likewise unable to check his account of other parts of this story. On the movements of Henry of Lancaster, Knighton, the Leicester chronicler, is more reliable. He tells us that Lancaster went to Spain in this year, and on his return set out for Scotland in the matter of a truce.[2] Record evidence shows that he was given commissions to negotiate with the Pope and Castille at the end of August, 1343,[3] and again, at the end of November in the same year, to negotiate with the Pope.[4] Between these commissions he seems to have been in Spain. There is therefore no time, in the later half of 1343, in which he could have led an expedition to Lochmaben.

The expedition seems to have taken place late in September and early in October, 1343, and to have been led by de

1 Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, (Rolls Series), i., p. 254.
2 *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, (Rolls Series), ii., p. 28.
3 *Foedera*, ii., pp. 1228, 1232-3.
4 *Foedera*, ii., p. 1239.

Bohun, to whom the castle belonged. On 8th September royal letters were sent from Nottingham to the Sheriff of Cumberland, ordering him to requisition carriage for victuals being taken by the Earl to raise the siege of Lochmaben.[5] We have no other indication of when the siege began, but it may well have been some months before this date.

More evidence is available about the raising of the siege. As we have seen, Walsingham tells us that it was revictualled from Cumberland before the relieving army reached Carlisle. Two other authorities deal with the matter. The Anonimalle Chronicle of St. Mary's Abbey, York, written in French, directly contradicts Walsingham: "In the year 1343 during the truce in Brittany Sir William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and several magnates of England, took their way to Scotland to revictual Lochmaben Castle, about [18 October]. They assembled at the town of Carlisle and then afterwards by leave of the Scots they revictualled the said castle."[6]

Between these two sources is the Chronicle of Lanercost, whose Latin cloaks an ambiguity. Under the wrong year (1344) it gives an account almost identical to that of Anonimalle. Its last phrases are "Karliolum convenerunt rec ulterius processerunt, data licentia a Scottis predictum castrum pacifice muniendi,"[7] which is translatable as "they reached Carlisle and went no further since license had been given by the Scots peacefully to revictual the aforesaid castle." But does the author mean that license was given to the Earl on his arrival, or to others some time before he arrived? Walsingham would support the latter interpretation, *Anonimalle* the former.

It has, however, been shown[8] that for the period 1334-46 *Lanercost* and *Anonimalle* are derived from a common Latin original, and that *Lanercost* more faithfully represents this source. Hence the text of *Anonimalle* is almost certainly a

5 *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1343-6, p. 233.
6 *Anonimalle Chronicle*, ed., V. H. Galbraith, p. 18.
7 *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 340-1.
8 *Anonimalle Chronicle*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

mistranslation into French of this Latin original which equally well bears an interpretation in accordance with the account given by Walsingham. The castle, then, was provisioned before Northampton arrived at Carlisle.

This was done by permission of the Scots, which would be given for one of two reasons. The Scots may have agreed with the garrison for the surrender of the castle unless previously relieved (as, e.g., the agreement over Stirling Castle in 1314). The arrival of Northampton at Carlisle might well be regarded as equivalent to relief of Lochmaben. Alternatively, the Scots may have known of the approach of Northampton, and hoped that he would turn back, as he did, if the siege had been lifted. In favour of the former hypothesis is the curiously precise date given by the Lanercost and Anonimalle chroniclers—" about the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist " (18th October)—for the expedition of Northampton. This may represent the date by which the castle had to be relieved. In either case the Scots achieved what was probably their intention — the avoidance of an invasion by a private, and probably freebooting, army.

We do not know where Northampton raised his soldiers, but it is probable that at least some came from the Northern sanctuaries, such as Tyndale, which yielded large numbers of refugee criminals as adept at plundering as at fighting. The slow reconquest of Annandale by the Scots which was going on at this period would receive a set-back not only by the driving off of the besiegers of Lochmaben, but also by the depredations of the relieving army. So soon as the Scots heard of the approach of Northampton, they would know that their chances of taking Lochmaben would be small. Setting these chances against the disadvantages of an English invasion, they probably chose to avoid the latter and give up the former.

On 4th October, 1343, William le Saghier, purveyor to Northampton, entered into a bond with Robert Shilvington (a Newcastle merchant) at Carlisle, borrowing £40 10s to victual Lochmaben Castle.[9] Le Saghier was not one

9 Bain, iii, 1421.

of the Annandale officers of the Earl and must therefore have come to Carlisle with, or ahead of, his master to buy provisions. This loan perhaps represents victuals sent in by license of the Scots, but is more probably later than that, being for provisions sent in after the siege had ended, and when the Earl sought to replenish his castle.

The problem of keeping the castle stocked was obviously a great one. In October, 1344, Henry le Clerk, the Earl's receiver in Annandale, borrowed 40 merks from Shilvington for provisions.[10] Very shortly afterwards, and not in 1346 (as Bain suggests), Henry le Clerk reports that he has only these 40 merks and cannot afford the stores collected for him at Carlisle. The debt to Shilvington now amounts to over £200, he reports, and his letter closes with an anxious plea for attention to the affairs of the castle.[11]

10 Ibid., 1440.

11 Ibid., 1464. My friend Mr G. W. S. Barrow, very kindly checked these last three calendared documents with the originals in London. He could find nothing to add to Bain's summaries, but agrees with my redating of no. 1464

ARTICLE 8.

The Cannan Family in Galloway.

By D. V. CANNON and R. C. REID.

Introduction.

The Cannans, or Acannane which is the early form of the surname in Galloway, may well have come over from Northern Ireland as, from earliest times, a great trade route from Ireland passed through Galloway towards the North-east coast of Scotland.

The name of O'Canannan is to be found in County Galway from the 10th to the 13th centuries, the family being described as Lords of Tirconnell and descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages is claimed.[1] It is said that O'Cannane probably means a descendant of Cannane (a diminutive of Cano a wolf cub).[2]

The earliest reference to the name in Galloway occurs in a Crown Remission dated 18th April, 1477, in favour of Nevin Cannan, certain Gordons and others, for the slaughter of Gilbert Rorison.[3] However, it was not until the middle of the 16th century that the name occurs again in the person of Fergus Acannane of Killochie, which family seems to have provided the main stem.

Though the principal branches of the family, and some others, are dealt with in the following notes, it has not yet proved possible to connect them all together into a single pedigree. Each family is, therefore, dealt with separately.

In course of time, no doubt, more facts will become available, for there is no finality in genealogy, and should any reader of these notes be in a position to offer fresh information, or indeed corrections, the Authors will be most grateful if he will communicate with Mr D. V. Cannon, 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex.

The Arms of Cannan are recorded in Robson's *British*

1 *The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell,* translated by D. Murphy.
2 P. Woulfe: *Irish Names and Surnames.*
3 Culvennan MSS., Vol. 5, p. 44, quoting Kenmure Inventory.

Herald (1830) as " Cannon (Scotland). Gules, a two handed sword in bend sinister between three mullets argent. Crest: Out of a crescent argent a buckle azure. Motto: Qua Ducitis sequor."

Since neither the College of Arms nor the Court of Lord Lyon had any official record of the Arms, a petition was made by the late Thomas Cannon that the Arms be granted to him and his descendants. A grant was eventually obtained which differs from the unrecorded Arms only in the motto, which was altered slightly on the advice of a Latin Scholar.

The Authors wish to make grateful acknowledgment of the assistance they have received from many kind friends, in the compilation of these notes. In particular, they want to thank the Town Clerk of Edinburgh for granting permission to search the Mardroquhat papers in the Corporation record room, and the Librarian of the Ewart Library, Dumfries, for providing facilities to search the Gordon manuscripts, and Major-General Aymer Maxwell, C.B., of Kirkennan, for access to the Kirkennan Titles. Their grateful thanks are also due to the Minister of Kells for giving permission to clean some of the tombstones in the kirkyard, and, lastly but by no means least, they acknowledge the great help obtained from the Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court Deeds published by the IVth Marquess of Bute and Lord David Stuart.

Abbreviations.

B.M. Add Ch.—British Museum Additional Charters.
Ex. R. —Exchequer Rolls.
G.R.S. —General Register of Sasines.
P.R.H. —Particular Register of Hornings, Kirkcudbrightshire.
P.R.S. —Particular Register of Sasines (Dumfriesshire).
R.P.C. —Registers of the Privy Council.
R.M.S. —Registrum Magni Sigilli.
R.S.S. —Registrum Secreti Sigilli.
S.C.D. —Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court Deeds. 3 Vols. Published by the Marquess of Bute.

Killochie.

The first member of the Cannan family recorded as a holder of lands in Galloway was Fergus Acannan, who figures as a witness to an Earlstoun resignation on 7th August, 1542.[1] On 7th January, 1553-4, he received a Crown grant of the lands of Killochie, half the lands of Knoklie and three-quarters of the lands of Loganelewin extending to a 4½ merk-land in the Parish of Balmaclellan, resigned by John McKittrik of Killochie.[2] He died in March, 1555-6, and pending the entry of the heir the nonentries of the lands were gifted by the Crown to Fergus Acannan, son and heir of the deceased Fergus Acannan of Ellerbog.[2a] This entry in the Register of the Privy Seal would imply that there were four Ferguses alive at about this date, a father and son possessing Ellerbog and another father and son of the same Christian names possessing Killochie. But the record may be faulty and till further evidence is forthcoming it will be safer to assume that the Cannans of Ellerbog were identical with Killochie, for Fergus was actually tenant of Ellerbog when he was granted Killochie. He was succeeded by another Fergus, presumably his son, who was infeft on 25th October, 1562, paying £58 10s 0d to the Exchequer for the nonentries of six years.[2b]

Fergus Acannan (ii.) of Killochie was dead by 6th March, 1565-6, when his relict, Margaret Gordon, and his son, John, gave discharge for the teinds of the Kirk of Dalry.[2c] For the following eleven years the lands were nominally in the hands of the Crown through nonentry of the heir. During nonentry the fermes of the land were due to the Crown and it was the duty of the Sheriff to see they were collected. It seems likely that the payment of £58 10s 0d in 1562 for a like purpose so strained the family resources that the heir had to submit to nonentry in 1563 for eleven

1 B.M. Add. Ch., 63899
2 R.M.S., 1546-80, 879.
2a R.S.S., IV., 3023.
2b Ex. R., XIX., 499.
2c Reg. of Deeds, VIII., pp. 238 and 295.

years. On 28th February, 1574-5, the heir, John, having paid his feudal dues, was infeft.[3]

John Acannane of Killochie, the heir, was to die, however, within two years of his infeftment, leaving two known sons:

(1) Alexander Acannane of Killochie.
(2) James Acannane of Killochie.
(3) It seems likely that James Acannane in Ellerbog was yet another son, perhaps natural, perhaps one and the same as (2). He was a witness in May, 1580, to a Crown confirmation of the lands of Holm and Mynniboy in Balmaclellan,[4] and in 1588 had a son named John witness to a Killochie charter.[5]

Alexander Acannane of Killochie was infeft on 14th February, 1576-7.[6] In June, 1578, he is found acting as a witness to a Crown charter of the lands of Crago and Dalquharne in Balmaclellan.[7] In 1583 a near neighbour was brutally murdered by William Makcaddam, a servitor of Alexander, and the Crown issued a special Commission of Justiciary to apprehend the culprit who had been declared a rebel for the cruel slaughter of John Sinclair of Erlistoun.[8] By 1588 Alexander may have felt in failing health, for on 16th August of that year he granted his estate to his brother James and his heirs male bearing the name and arms of Cannan.[9] This is the earliest reference to the family arms and it is evident that the house of Killochie regarded itself as the main stem of the family of Cannan. Alexander was dead by 1612.

James Accanane of Killochie thereby became head of the family and possessed its small estate. He figures as a witness in 1596 of the charter of the lands of Gribton (Holywood parish) to William Maxwell of Gribton.[10] This refer-

3 Ex. R., XX., 476.
4 R.M.S., 1580-93, 12.
5 R.M.S., 1609-20, 626.
6 Ex. R., XX., 510.
7 R.M.S., 1580-93, 59.
8 Ex. R., XXI., 492.
9 R.M.S., 1609-20, 626.
10 R.M.S., 1609-20, 4.

ence brought him to the vicinity of Dumfries, where he certainly had a relative, for in 1607, Killochie, James Cannan, merchant in Dumfries, and many others were charged by Cuthbert Cunynghame of Conhaithe with disturbance in the parish Kirk of Dumfries and demolishing his pew.[11] Prior to the Reformation and until some time after there were no fixed pews in churches, and the more important citizens were buried within the churches. This burial practice was first frowned on by the Reformers, who later prohibited it. Free fights occurred in efforts to prevent such burials and the Reformers encouraged fixed pews so as to completely hinder the practice.[12]

By 1601 James Cannan had obtained a lease of the lands of Armannoch, in parish of Kirkpatrick Irongray, and was that year charged to bear witness as to the resetting of Mr Gilbert Brown, sometime Abbot of New Abbey.[12a] This lease was soon to be turned into a feu, for in 1606 Killochie had been cautioner with Robert Hereis in Lawistoun for John Lord Hereis in 2400 merks and expenses to Sir William Maxwell of Cluden.[12b] Armannoch was probably the cautioner's security. But James was soon at loggerheads with Lord Hereis, who in 1613 forcibly removed James Cannan and Nicholas Rae, his woman servant, from the house and warded them at his Place of Terregles. Cannan raised an action against Hereis and his abettors, but the action was settled and Cannan duly discharged his assailants.[12c] Armannoch was held by the Cannans till 1732.

In August, 1608, James Acannane had acquired the merkland of Knafrie, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durham, which had formerly belonged to the monastery of Dundrenane, as well as a half of the Meikle Kirkland of Dalry called the "Parson's Place," formerly belonging to the rectors of Dalry.[13] The break-up of the monastic estates

11 R.P.C., XII., 512, 520, 521.
12 For the riots in St Michael's Kirk, Dumfries, see Edgar's *History of Dumfries*, p 140.
12a R.P.C., VI., 326.
12b *Herries Inventory*, 332.
12c *ibid.*, 395.
13 R.M.S., 1593-1608, 2146

at the Reformation had brought new families to the fore, all striving to acquire lands, and Killochie clearly participated in a modest way, for the Kirkland of Dalry was part of the glebe of that parish and had been occupied by Killochie's grandfather, Fergus, as far back as 1556.[14] Once again the infeftment in these two additions to the family estate purported to be in favour of heirs male bearing the name and arms of Cannan.[15] The last notice of James Cannan is in April, 1617, when he witnessed a Greirson instrument of premonition.[16] In October, 1635, his grandson was infeft as his heir general.[17] This does not mean that he was succeeded by his grandson, whose father may never have been formally infeft.

John Cannan of Killochie was still son and heir apparent to James on 8th December, 1624, when he married Janet Gordon, only daughter and heir of John Gordon of Little Kirkland.[18] The lady was reasonably dowered, for she brought with her a merkland of Todstoun, in the barony of Earlston, parish of Dalry. Her father-in-law, James Cannan, agreed to infeft her in an annual rent of 200 merks from the lands of Killochie.

In 1620 John Cannan was denounced rebel for not appearing to answer the charge of contravening the law relating to shooting of wild fowl and venison,[18a] and in 1629 gave Lord Hereis a renunciation of an annual rent of 20 bolls oats yearly furth of the lands of Meikle Beoch in return for the redemption payment of 1000 merks.[18b]

14 R.M S., 1546-80. 2789

15 R.M.S., 1593-1608, 2146. James Cannan of Killochie was Chancellor of the Assize which acquitted Thomas Maxwell of Arenyning, brother to Alexander Maxwell of Logan, of the slaughter, within the house of John Huttoun, messinger in Carlingwark, of John McNaucht of Kilquhannite. John Maxwell, son of Alexander Maxwell of Logan, was the culprit and a fugitive (Pitcairn, III., 229).

16 Lag Charters, 372.

17 Retours, 29th October, 1635.

18 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 367 (8th December, 1624).

18a R.P.C., XII., 391.

18b *Herries inventory*, No. 504. The date of this item is given as c 1630 but it must have been prior to 31st July, 1629, when the Crown gifted the land to Janet Gordon his relict, the ward and nonentry of Killochie (B.M. Add. Ch., 63880).

By 1631 John Cannan was dead and Janet Gordon is named as his widow.[19]. They left issue two children:

(1) James Cannan (ii.) of Killochie.

(2) Agnes Cannan.

James Cannan (ii.) of Killochie was served heir special to his grandfather in Killochie and Knokley on 16th May, 1643,[20] which implies that his father had never completed his titles. A minor on succession he was under the curatorship of John Cannan of Barlochan, who came to an agreement with Janet Gordon as to the provision for James and his sister.[21] For 200 merks from the estate Janet was to purchase a Crown gift of the ward and marriage of her son and was to have the care and education of the children for five years. James Cannan married (contract dated 6th August, 1642) Bessie Cannan, daughter of his curator, John Cannan of Barlochan.[22] He was dead perhaps by 1645,[23] certainly by 1648, at which date Bessie had consoled herself with another husband in the person of John Logan in Armannoch, who in turn was succeeded as her husband by William Lindsay in Barclosh.[24] The eldest daughter of this third marriage, Sarah Lindsay, in due course married William Haugh in Mekill Galtway.[25]

Only one son is known as the issue of James and Bessie Cannan:

(1) James Cannan (iii.) of Killochie.

James Cannan (iii.) of Killochie was a minor under the curatorship of Thomas Huttoun of Arkland, and in 1663 they submitted to arbitration a dispute with Lord Herries relating to Armannoch, wherein it is stated that Herries had given James a precept to be infeft in that 20/- land as

19 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 441 (21st June, 1631).

20 Retours.

21 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 441 (21st June, 1631).

22 Dal. Decreets, vol. 81 (7th July, 1680).

23 The last reference to James Cannan (ii) so far found is in a deed whereby he makes provision for Bessie on 20th December, 1643 (S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 1567).

24 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 97.

25 *ibid.* It is not clear from this deed what was the order in which her three husbands married Bessie.

heir to his grandfather, John Cannan.[26] Infeftment followed on that precept in 1671.[27] In 1668, now free from curatorship, James revoked all contracts made whilst he was a minor,[28] and the following year was given a tack of Auchtshillinglands (parish of Balmaclellan) by James Chalmers of Wattersyde.[29] In 1672 he secured a wadset on the lands of Over Dornells (parish of Balmaghie) from William Huttoun of Dornells,[30] and two years later granted his wife a liferent of that wadset,[31] which three years later he disponed to Roger Gordon of Troquhane.[32]

No member of the Cannans of Killochie is recorded as an active Covenanter, though there can be no question as to where their sympathies lay. For about 30 years, almost continuously, the estate had suffered from minorities and could not be expected to provide resolute action or leadership. So when all proprietors in 1684 were called on to sign the Test, Killochie turned up at Kirkcudbright on October 9th, along with his distant cousins, James Cannan of Kirkennan and John Cannan of Little Knox and signed the Test.[33] At the same time the fact that Patrick Erskine, one of the gentlemen under command of Col. Graham of Claverhouse, witnessed a Killochie bond on 24th April, 1684, at the Kirk of Balmaclellan, would suggest that Killochie was on good terms with the "persecutors of the Saints."

James Cannan was twice married: (1) to an unnamed daughter of Thomas Hutton of Arkland, for whom the wadset on Dornells no doubt represented the tocher,[34] and (2) Anna Gordon, sister to Roger Gordon of Troquhane. The dates of both marriages are unknown, but 31st May, 1663, the date of the disposition creating the wadset, may well

26 *Herries Inventory*, No 671.
27 P.R.S., I., f. 17. That same year (1671) James was retoured in Killochie, etc., as heir to his grandfather *James* Cannan (Retours). Such are the perplexities that face the genealogist.
28 S.C.D., 1523-75, No. 663.
29 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 218.
30 P.R.S., I., f. 17.
31 P.R.S., I., f. 311. v.
32 P.R.S., II., f. 207.
33 R.P.C., 3rd series, X., 227.
34 Dal. Decreets, vol. 78 (9th December, 1679).

represent the first marriage approximately. There is great uncertainty about the date of the second marriage. One record positively affirms that the contract was dated 13th June, 1637,[35] a date which obviously must be rejected. 1667 would seem the more likely year. They were certainly married by December, 1673.[36]

James Cannan died at the close of 1696. He was alive on 3rd August of that year,[37] but was dead by Christmas, when, in order to pay his funeral expenses amounting to £80 12s 4d, his heir and his widow had to pledge some of the live stock and the household plenishing.[38] Such was the scarcity of ready cash in the house of a small laird of the period.

By his wife, Anna Gordon, who survived him, James Cannan is known to have had two sons:

(1) Robert Cannan of Killochie.

(2) Alexander.[39]

Of Robert Cannan of Killochie but little is known. The estate was heavily in debt, and in 1698 Roger Gordon of Troquhane secured a Decreet of Adjudication against him for £4960 4s 0d Scots.[40] In 1732 he was served heir to his father in the lands of Armannoch, and the same day disponed it to James Affleck in Lochruttongate.[41] In 1734 he transferred to Alexander Cannan, writer in Edinburgh, whatever rights his father may have had to Mardroquhat.[42] There is no known record of his marriage or death.

Barlay.

The lands of Barlay were a £3 land in the parish of Balmaclellan. In 1631 the Crown granted a 20/- land of these lands to Gilbert McCornok, who had been the tenant

35 G.R.S., XVII., f. 454 (24th October, 1667).
36 P.R.S., I., f. 275 v.
37 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 3490.
38 *ibid.*, No. 3491.
39 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 1691.
40 Dalrymple Decreets, Vol. 131 (17th November, 1698).
41 P.R.S., Vol. XII., f. 200 (18th November, 1732).
42 Mardroquhat Papers, 2nd May, 1734.

in previous years.[1] The remaining £2 land or 3 merkland of Barlay must have been acquired at about the same time by James Cannan, who also had been its previous tenant. No Crown charter or other writ is known to have been preserved. There is nothing to indicate his connection with other branches of the family.

James Cannan (i.) of Barlay was still *in* Barlay in 1617,[2] but is described as *of* Barlay in 1618 when he was given by James Redik of Grange a wadset of half of the 5 merkland of Grange.[3] In 1625 this wadset was enlarged to include another 2½ merkland,[4] and in 1634 he was still collecting the rents of Grange from its tenant, Gilbert Gordon in Dryburt.[5] The same proprietor added yet a further wadset infefting James Cannan in 1630 in the 2 merkland of Chapeltown, parish of Urr.[6] It is clear that James Cannan was prosperous, though in 1634 he borrowed £1000 Scots from William Gordon in Hill.[7] It is not known whom he married or when he died. He was succeeded by:

James Cannan (ii.) of Barlay, who married Janet Gordon, daughter of James Gordon of Mackartnay (contract dated 22nd May, 1632), following which the elder James Cannan infeft his son in his estate whilst Janet was also infeft in a half of Barlay.[8] Then occurs a gap of thirty years without any record of the family till 1665, when James Cannan purchased from James Lindsay of Fairgirth the merkland of Largleir in Parton parish, James being infeft in liferent and his son in fee.[9] He was certainly alive in 1674,[10] and may have survived till 1677.[11] By his wife, Janet Gordon, he had the following issue:

1 R.M.S., 1620-33, 1854.
2 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 393 (5th June, 1627). James had previously been tenant of Blakcraig (Kirkcudbrightshire Hornings, 3rd August, 1618).
3 P.R.S., I., f. 178.
4 G.R.S., XIX., f. 27.
5 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 479 (14th November, 1634).
6 P.R.S., III., f. 100.
7 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 502 (11th February, 1637).
8 P.R.S., III., f. 185.
9 G.R.S., XII., f. 228 and Protocol Book of Alex. Cairns.
10 P.R.S., I., 297 v. (20th May, 1674).
11 P.R.S., II., f. 227 (9th October, 1677).

1. John Cannan of Barlay, of whom hereafter.
2. Anna Cannan, married (contract dated 21 February, 1670) to William Softlaw of Holm of Dalskairth.[12]
3. Jean Cannan, married (contract dated 6 June, 1678) to Herbert Biggar of Barbuy.[13] She died in 1700, as is shown by her tombstone in Irongray Kirkyard.
4. Mary Cannan, married John Maxwell of Arkland, by whom she had an only daughter, Florence Maxwell, married (contract dated 10 March, 1707) to Alexander McGhie of Airie.[14]
5. Florence Cannan, who was present at the opening of her father's charter chest at his death. She was the youngest sister.[15]

John Cannan of Barlay was infeft by his father in April, 1674, in the 3 merklands of Barlay and the 40/- lands of Cassinvey.[16] As a witness to a Barnsalloch bond on 25th August, 1677, he is described as "apparent of Barlay."[17] He was in arms at Pentland and proceedings were taken against him and many others in the Justiciary Court.[18] But he was a fugitive and the diet was frequently continued till after 1670. The proceedings must have been dropped or else he submitted, otherwise his father would scarcely have infeft him in 1674. On 26th May, 1684, he disponed his estates to a kinsman, John Cannan of Heidmark, subject to his own liferent.[19] He died in June, 1685, and his executors were his sister Florence and Homer Maxwell, second son of the deceast John Maxwell of Arkland.[20]

The next owner of Barlay was a son of James Cannan of Heidmark, in the parish of Uchiltree, who must almost certainly have been descended from a previous generation of Barlay though it has not been possible to establish this.

12 G.R.S., Vol. 26, f. 130.
13 See Testament of John Cannan of Barlay.
14 G.R.S., Vol. 92, f. 77.
15 Dal. Decreets, Vol. 104 (12th July, 1687).
16 P.R.S., I., 297 v. (20th May, 1674).
17 P.R.S., II., f. 227 (9th October, 1677).
18 Justiciary Records, I., 231, et sequa, and Wodrow. II., 36, 70.
19 Dal Decreets, Vol. 104 (12th July, 1687).
20 Kirkcudbright Testaments.

James Cannan of Heidmark had been a tenant of that merkland, being part of the lands of Knokgulrane. He married Abigail Cunynghame, and they were infeft by Mr William Cunyngham of Previck in 1654.[21] James died in 1668,[22] leaving issue:

1. John Cannan of Barlay and Heidmark, of whom hereafter.
2. Alexander Cannan, writer in Edinburgh, was the youngest and last survivor of his generation. In 1697 he received from Alexander Gordon of Shirmers a disposition of Mardroquhat and Dalshangan,[23] thereby taking over the tenancy and rights of redemption and certainly paid rent to his brother John for the lands. The brothers fell out over a bond of provision for 2500 merks made by their father, whose widow and four other children were dead by 1716, leaving Alexander and Elizabeth entitled under the provision. Elizabeth disponed her half to Alexander, who tried to enforce the bond against his brother John. His brother retaliated by securing decreet against Alexander for two years' rent of the lands. Alexander petitioned the Lords of Session for suspension but had not the money to proceed. John then brought an action for reduction of the bond of provision, and may have succeeded, for in 1720 Alexander was a prisoner in Canongate prison at the instance of his nephew, then a child of seven, for not removing from Mardroquhat. On 20th March, 1721, Alexander disponed his claims to Mardroquhat to his son Alexander.[24] As late as 2nd July, 1730, Alexander was issuing petitions against his nephew. Then he and his son are lost to sight.
3. Elizabeth, died apparently unmarried, in December, 1716, two testaments dative having been recorded in 1717 and 1733.[25]

21 Ayrshire P.R.S., II., f. 32 and G.R.S., XI., f. 186.
22 Glasgow Tests., 6th March, 1669, Vol. 33.
23 G.R.S., Vol. 114, f. 226.
24 Mardroquhat Papers.
25 Glasgow Testaments.

4-7. Robert, Anna, Margaret, and Agnes, young children at their father's death, were all dead by 1717.

John Cannan of Heidmark and Barlay (Heidmark drops out of the territorial designation) is stated to have been a Major. In 1678 he was charged with attending Conventicles and fined £24, being half a year's rent, having attended one Conventicle. This was the fine regularly imposed.[26] In 1683 he was indicted for harbouring rebels and seditious preachers.[27] In 1696 he obtained precept from Robert Cannan of Mardroquhat for infeftment in Mardroquhat and Dalshangan,[28] and in 1703 was infeft in Heidmark.[29] He married (contract dated 6th March, 1711) Margaret Blair, second daughter of John Blair of Adamton,[30] and was apparently dead by 1736, when he was succeeded by his son, John Cannan of Barlay, who died in January, 1766, having married Janet Mackergour, his housekeeper, on 12th January, thus legitimising his children by her. They were James Cannan, who died in May, 1766, and Horatius, born 22nd August, 1757.[31] Horatius became a Writer to the Signet, married in Edinburgh on 12th November, 1799, Catherine, daughter of James Pyott, bailie of Montrose, and died on 17th April, 1825, with issue John and Margaret. John sold the property in 1829 to James Barbour of Muirdrochwood; his sister, Margaret, married John Blair, W.S., with issue John, Catherine, and Mary.

Although Barlay passed from ownership of the Cannans in 1829, another of those strange family complications ensues, for in 1813 James Cannan, grandson of James in Shiel[32] (q.v.), married Janet Tinning of Annan and is recorded in the marriage register of Balmaclellan Parish as "in Barlay." In due course his children were born there—Thomas, John, William Hossack, Horatius, Mary Jane, Samuel, and Agnes. Nothing more is known of these chil-

26 R.P.C., 3rd series, V., 534, 538.
27 R.P.C., 3rd series, VIII., 607.
28 G.R.S., Vol. 79, f. 223.
29 G.R.S., Vol. 83, f. 226
30 G.R.S., Vol. 101, f. 203.
31 Printed Petitions, 28th November, 1769 (Signet Library).
32 Reg. B.M. and D.

dren, but James Cannan passed away on 18th September, 1835, and is buried in Kells Kirkyard, and thus ended the long association of the Cannan family with this property.

Cannan of Mardroquhat.

Mardroquhat was a small property in the parish of Carsphairn, only a 20/- land, which for about two centuries was possessed by a branch of the Cannan family, figuring first as tenants. Mardroquhat was part of the lands of Dungeuch. The Kenmure Inventory records that in 1498 Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar and Elizabeth Lindsay, spouses, were infeft in the lands of Mardroquhat.

Robert Acannan in Mardroquhat was a tenant of the Gordons of Craichlaw, paying a rent of 40 merks. He was slain in 1580, though no particulars are recorded, leaving a widow, Sibylla McAdam, and nine children :

(1) Gilbert—of whom hereafter.
(2) Richard Acannan in Over Beoch, parish of Cumnock, who died in December, 1618, having married Janet Cubbiesoun, with issue John, William, James, Agnes, Jean, and Bessie, to whom Gilbert Acannan of Mardroquhat acted as oversman.[1]
(3) George.
(4) John, perhaps the John Acannan in Auchnitty mentioned in Richard's Testament.
(5) Fergus, probably in Garvarie.[1a]
(6) James.
(7-9) Marie, Bessie, and Margaret.[2]

Gilbert Acannan seems to have carried on his father's lease, of which he had received a 19 years' extension from the tutors of William Gordon of Craichlaw, a minor. On coming of age, Gordon in 1591 revoked the lease under the law as it then stood, and doubtless Gilbert had to pay some com-

1 Glasgow Testaments, Vol. 18.
1a P.R.S., I., 298.
2 Edin. Tests, Vol. 9, f 378a. There may also have been another son Robert who is described as brother to Gilbert in a doubtful record (G.R.S., XVI. f. 213).

position for its renewal.[2a] Then in the year 1602, for the sum of 1000 merks, William Gordon of Craichlaw sold the lands to him.[3] In 1610 he entered into a similar contract with Sir Robert McClellan of Bomby, and was infeft by him in the 20/- lands of Dalshangan.[4] He must also have acquired wadset rights over a merkland of Arndarroch as well as the Overthrid of Garvarie.[5]

Gilbert evidently had a fiery temper, for in 1590 William Gordon of Craichlaw had to find caution for him not to harm James Sinclair in Glen,[6] and again he was in trouble for the same kind of conduct in 1609 when Gilbert McAdam of Waterheid had to be his surety not to harm John McMillan of Brigmark.[6a] The next reference to Gilbert throws some light on the economy of the times. Gilbert with many others, including the Minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham, was charged in 1617 with the offence of levying a higher rate of interest than 10%. The Privy Council, finding the charge proven, ordered Gilbert to remain in Edinburgh, not necessarily in confinement, till he had settled with the Treasurer Depute for this offence.[7]

Gilbert was dead by 30 May, 1621,[8] having married Janet Schitlington,[9] with the following issue:

(1) James Cannan (i.) of Mardroquhat—of whom hereafter.

(2) Gilbert Cannan described as brother to James in an obligation dated 1655 wherein he is described as in Knokreoch,[10] elsewhere described as the 2 merkland of Over Knokreoch.[11] He married a daughter of John McCornok in Bus, leaving male issue.[12]

2a Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 38, f. 400.
3 MS. Mardroquhat Papers. We are indebted to the Town Clerk of Edinburgh for access to these papers—formerly a bundle but now dispersed in a re-arrangement of the Corporation Record Room.
4 *ibid.*
5 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 322, 17th May, 1622, and P.R.S., I., 298.
6 R.P.C., IV., 548.
6a R.P.C., VIII., 696.
7 R.P.C., XI., 142
8 MS. Mardroquhat Papers.
9 P.R.S., I., f. 296. v.
10 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 23, f. 414.
11 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 454 (23rd September, 1630).
12 *ibid.*

(3) Robert Cannan of Blackmark, who in 1646 obtained a wadset of a merkland of Culmerk from Alexander Gordon of Earlston. Robert and his wife disponed this merkland to John Cannan in Formonistoun and Marion Gordon, spouses in liferent, and their son Nathaniel in fee on 10th October, 1666.[13] In July, 1659, Robert Cannan acquired the one merkland of Blakmerk from William Douglas of Mortoun, and in 1671 disponed it to his immediate elder brother, James Cannan of Mardroquhat, who the following year transferred the land to John Fergusson of Cairoch.[14] On 9th May, 1668, Robert figures in a list of rebels who had not accepted the Act of Indemnity.[15] He was survived by his wife, Jean Henryson, and apparently a son Robert.[16]

James Cannan (i.) of Mardroquhat had been infeft in that land in 1620, during his father's lifetime, and in connection with his own marriage (contract dated 12th February, 1620) with Katherine Gordon, daughter of Mr Gilbert Gordon of Shirmers.[17] In 1629 he was charged, along with James Cannan of Barley, with assaulting John Newall, who was acting in St. John's Clachan as procurator before the Commissary of Kirkcudbright. Letters of Horning were issued against the offenders, which later they got suspended. There must have been some reasonable cause for the assault, as at the hearing of the action of Suspension neither Newall, the Commissary, nor the King's Advocate appeared in Court.[18] In 1637 Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, as Justice of the Peace, instructed by warrant James Cannan, Robert, his brother, and David Cannan in Dalshangan, to apprehend Alexander McCubine in Monquhill. They found McCubine at Brig of Ken, and whilst their prisoner they compelled him to give them a bond for £40. McCubine complained to the

13 P.R.S., V., f. 81 and G.R.S., XIX., f. 70.

14 Durie Deeds, Vol. 44, f. 587, and Dalrymple Decreets, Vol. 81 (23rd July, 1680).

15 R.P.C., 3rd series, II., 451.

16 P.R.S., I., f. 52

17 P.R.S., I., 299, and Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 322 (17th May, 1622).

18 R.P.C., 2nd series, III., pp. 213 and 221.

Privy Council, who cancelled the bond and ordered the Cannans to pay £40 to the pursuer as well as £10 to each witness who appeared before the Council. Earlston, who had issued the warrant, was merely told to be more circumspect in time coming.[19] Amongst those who petitioned against the Service Book in 1637 were James Cannan, Gilbert, his brother, and David Cannan in Dalshangan.[20]

In 1668 (James) Cannan of Mardroquhat, elder, was summoned to attend before the Privy Council for examination of prisoners.[21] He seems to have taken but little part, other than by protest, in the Covenanting troubles, following the policy adopted by most branches of the family of letting the younger generation do all the active opposition and armed hostility to the Crown. Thus in a Crown proclamation of 4th December, 1666, against the resetting of rebels, Cannan of Barnsalloch younger, Cannan of Barley younger, and Cannan of Mardroquhat younger are named as rebels.[22]

James Cannan is last recorded alive in April, 1673.[23] By his wife, Katherine Gordon, he is known to have had three sons and a daughter:

(1) James Cannan (ii.), younger of Mardroquhat, was infeft by his father in June, 1660, in the 20/- lands of Mardroquhat.[24] He was a witness in 1663,[25] and must have been dead by 1666 when his younger brother is described as "younger of Mardroquhat."[26]

(2) Robert Cannan of Mardroquhat—of whom hereafter.

(3) John Cannan, lawful son to James Cannan, elder, witnessed his brother's infeftment in Mardroquhat in 1660. He was apparently father of James Cannan in

19 R.P.C., 2nd series, VI., p. 390.
20 R.P.C., 2nd series, VI., 711-713.
21 R.P.C., 3rd series, II., 546.
22 *ibid.*, 230.
23 P.R.S., I., f. 213.
24 Mardroquhat MSS.
25 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 9, f. 135.
26 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 22. f. 640. James Cannan (II.) of Mardroquhat was slain by a woman, Julia Stevenson, relict of Robert McClellan in Knokingarroch, who was indicted for slaughter, 15th January, 1664 (*Justiciary Records*, I., 83).

Largarrie, younger brother's son of Robert Cannan of Blackmark.[27]

(4) Bessie Cannan, married (contract dated 1st February, 1666) to John Cubieson, eldest son to George Cubieson in Knokbaldron.[28]

Robert Cannan of Mardroquhat was a vigorous and active Covenanter, certainly during his father's lifetime, but as soon as he succeeded to the estate he seems to have modified his activities and even turned informer. It is not known what pressure may have been applied, but the evidence is sufficient to justify Wodrow's statement as to his treachery. But one would like to know a great deal more of Robert's "conversion." In 1668 he was a prisoner in Edinburgh, and on 29th September the King ordered the Privy Council to examine him, a forfeited rebel, concerning the attempted murder in the streets of Edinburgh of the Primate and the Bishop of Orkney.[29] At first, under questioning, Robert was very reserved, but when brought before a Committee of the Council he "became more disposed towards an ingenious confession." But confession was not then forthcoming.[30] But by 7th January, 1669, the Privy Council ordained the Borough authorities to suffer Robert Cannan younger of Mardroquhat to have the liberty of a free prisoner within the Tolbuith.[31] In other words, he was no longer in close confinement. Clearly something had happened to merit this privilege. But till September he was to remain in the Tolbooth whilst the genuineness of his confession was being put to the test. By August the Privy Council seems to have been satisfied, and on the 3rd of the month recommended the Crown to extend its bounty and goodness to Mardroquhat for his submissiveness and sorrow for his accession to the late Rebellion.[32] So it seems that he had been at Pentland; certainly his name figures on the roll of accused in the

27 Dal. Decreets, Vol. 88 (1st March, 1683).
28 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 22. f. 640.
29 R.P.C., 3rd series, II., 541.
30 R.P.C., 3rd series, II., 547 and 557.
31 *ibid.*, 582.
32 *ibid.*, III., 64.

Justiciary Court at Edinburgh on 15th August, 1667.[33] He was declared rebel and forfeited *in absencia*. He was still unapprehended in July, 1668, for in the second trial of Mr James Mitchell for the attempted murder on 8th July of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the actual slaughter of the Bishop of Orkney it was alleged that after the episode Mitchell kept company with Robert Cannan of Mardroquhat, Welsh of Cornlie, and McClellan of Barscob.[34]

Early in September, 1669, the Privy Council gave orders that Robert Cannan be set at liberty on Crown remission.[35] That Remission under the Great Seal, dated 24th August, 1669, has been preserved amongst the Mardroquhat Papers, and on 2nd October he gave a bond to keep the peace and not to rise in arms.[36] But he must always have been a marked man, suspected by the Crown and hated by the Covenanters. In 1679 he seems to have again been on the run in fear of arrest, for in a proclamation of 26th June the lieges are warned against harbouring [ ] Cannan of Mardroquhat and the lairds of Remistoun and Castle Stewart, brothers to the Earl of Galloway.[37] He may have satisfied the Crown with another act of treachery, for on [ ] he took the Test and then proceeded to give evidence against Mary McAdam, gudewife of Craigingillan, for harbouring John Campbell in Marbreck, a traitor.[38] He must have been arrested again in 1684, for on 11th October he again took the Test. In his examination he denied all converse with rebels.[39] He was found guilty of accidental converse with rebels and again took the Test.[40] At that date he seems to have been living at Shiel of Smetoun with his family, figuring as such in a list of disorderly persons in the parish of Carsphairn.[41]

33 *Justiciary Records*, I., 231.
34 *ibid.*, II., 309.
35 R.P.C., 3rd series, III., 64 and 70.
36 *ibid.*, 643.
37 R.P.C., 3rd series, VI., 260.
38 *ibid.*, VIII., 606 and 639. Wodrow III., 224, comments: "As apostates generally are, he was very bloody."
39 *ibid.*, X., 240, 245.
40 *ibid.*, X., 600.
41 *ibid.*, IX, 574-6.

From certain Informations amongst the Mardroquhat Papers of much later date, and essentially *exparte*, the following narrative of Robert's later years can be compiled. When he was forfeited for being at Pentland the Crown granted Mardroquhat to Sir Theophilus Ogilthorp. Robert was restored by Act of Parliament on 4th July, 1690, and shortly after infeft his wife in half the lands. But though restored, Robert still had to compensate Ogilthorp for his rights to the estate. To raise funds for this purpose Robert granted disposition of the lands to John Cannan of Barley and Heidmark. But his father, James Cannan (i.) of Mardroquhat, in 1660 had disponed Mardroquhat and Dalshangan to James Cannan of Killochie, who on the death of James allowed Robert to remain in possession of the lands —obviously a family arrangement as a protective precaution in the troublous times of the Covenant. There were now three branches of the family of Cannan involved in the ownership of the estate—Killochie under the disposition of 1660, Barley & Heidmark under precept dated 3rd March, 1696 (Gen. Reg. Sas., Vol. 79 (8th July, 1701), f. 228), and Robert Cannan himself. The rights of Robert must have been very exiguous, and in any case he was hopelessly involved in debt to Killochie, then to Ogilthorp, and finally to Barley. He was also a debtor to the Laird of Lag, who as Sheriff, after Pentland and prior to the Remission of 1669, had apprehended him and imprisoned him at Kirkcudbright pending trial. Lag was not above having a deal with his prisoner and released him on condition that Robert disponed his lands to him in 1685 (P.R.S., 28th October, 1718, Vol. 9, f. 157). Lag is alleged to have promised to give Robert Cannan for life 300 merks and pay all his debts. But the Laird of Lag "neglected him." No doubt the Remission and subsequent restoration made Lag change his mind; so after the Revolution Robert disponed his interests to John Cannan of Barley and Heidmark as above on condition that Barley should defend him against any action taken against him by Lag or his other creditors. But Barley did not pay Robert's debts or defend him, joining with Lag

in an action of Multiple Poynding against Robert. In other words, Robert got nothing for granting these dispositions. In desperation Robert, who had never himself been infeft, tried once more to raise money, and disponed his rights to his cousin, the Laird of Shirmers, who transferred in turn to Alexander Cannan, writer in Edinburgh, brother to John Cannan of Barley and Heidmark. Till the disposition to Alexander, Robert had apparently been in possession of the lands, probably paying rent to Barley. His only legal right to the lands could have been the right of redemption. This had been transferred to Alexander, and thereafter Robert drops out of the picture. It is not known when he died or what became of his family.

Robert Cannan of Mardroquhat married *c.* 1679 Sarah Gordon, daughter of Alexander Gordon, elder of Knokgray, infefting her that year in the liferent of the 20/- lands of Dalshangan.[42]

Barnsalloch.

This branch of the Cannan family, consisting of but three generations, was descended from David Cannan of Little Knox, whose younger son, James Cannan of Barnsalloch, first appears in 1654 as being provided with a wadset of 800 merks over half of the lands of Little Knox, in the parish of Buittle.[1] As James's son is stated to have been a witness to the deed, James must have been of middle age at that date.[2]

In 1669 James granted that he had received that contract of wadset from Mr Thomas Hay.[3] In 1661 he had been described as " in Barnsalloch " when he acted as cautioner for Robert McClellan of Barscobe.[4] The McClellans, notorious Covenanters, were forfeited, and in 1674 the Crown granted three quarters of the Barscobe estate to Roger Gordon

42 P.R.S., II., f. 337.
1 P.R.S., VI., f. 13 (15th November, 1654).
2 James and Adexander, sons to David Cannan of Fell, figure as witnesses in 1631 (P.R.S., III., f. 157. v.).
3 R.P.C., 3rd series, II. 676.
4 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 50.

of Troquhane, while the other quarter, consisting of Barnsalloch, Mark Drummister and Corriedow with Barnecleuch, in the parish of Kirkpatrick Irongray, were granted to James Cannan.[5] He had earlier (in 1661) received from Robert McClellan a disposition in wadset of a merkland of Reigland (Dalry) in favour of himself and two of his daughters in security for a loan to McClellan of £850 Scots.[6] In 1676 he received a charter from Walter, Lord Torphichen, of a number of Templelands within the Burgh of Kirkcudbright which had been resigned in his favour by John Cannan of Knox and David Cannan of Fell, his cousins.[7] He does not seem to have been an active Covenanter, but may well have been fined on his son's account, for in 1677 he gave heritable bonds on Barnsalloch to Alexander Cannan, burgess of Kirkcudbright, and to John McGuffok for 500 merks each.[8] At the same time he disponed Barnsalloch under reversion to his son.[9] The date of this disposition, 8th November, 1677, marks the last appearance of James Cannan on known record. His death must have occurred shortly after.

The name of his wife is nowhere mentioned, but he had by her the following issue:

1. Samuel Cannan of Barnsalloch—of whom hereafter.
2. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, married (contract dated 9th February, 1675) Alexander Cannan, burgess of Kirkcudbright. The tocher was £500 Scots and Alexander was to secure her in £1000 Scots on land or annual rents.[10] Alexander, who was a natural child, probably of the Barlochen family, had previously married Jean Rayning,[11] *c.* 1665.[12] He had been infeft in Barnsalloch by his father-in-law in security for 500 merks,[13] which interest devolved on the only daughter

5 P.R.S., I., f. 240 and 276. v.
6 P.R.S., VI., f. 199 (17th May, 1700), and G.R.S., X., f. 78 (6th July, 1664).
7 P.R.S., II., f. 159.
8 P.R.S., II., f. 227 and 241. v.
9 P.R.S., IX., f. 284.
10 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 1989.
11 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 815.
12 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 30, f. 1.
13 P.R.S., II., f. 227.

of his second marriage, Marion Cannan, who was his executor in 1696.[14] Marion married James Wells, merchant in Dumfries.[15] They lost their interest in Barnsalloch by adjudication to Samuel Walker, merchant in Duncow, who disponed it to Robert Johnston, Dean of Dumfries.[16]

3. Jean, married (contract dated 19th August, 1686) Robert Johnston, merchant and Dean of Dumfries. In 1687 Johnston obtained decreet of adjudication against his brother-in-law, Samuel Cannan, and a Great Seal Charter of Barnsalloch in his own favour,[17] and in 1701 infeft Jean in the liferent thereof.[18] He also secured the interest of Marion Cannan, his niece, thus consolidating his rights to Barnsalloch. In 1714 he entered into an agreement with Robert McClellan, grandson of the forfeited Covenanter, William McClellan of Barscobe, who redeemed Barnsalloch from Johnston on the latter's full discharge and renunciation on 11th February, 1720. To that discharge Jean Cannan was a consenting party.[19]
4. Mary, married (contract dated 8th February, 1669) Herbert Cunynghame, notary burgess of Dumfries, when her father infeft her in half a merkland of Reigland (Dalry).[20] Herbert was dead by 1700, leaving a daughter, Margaret Cunynghame, married to Robert Gibson, merchant in Dumfries.[21]
5. Margaret, who had a similar interest in Reigland from her father.[22] She must have married prior to 1677 Mr David Edgar in Arnmacneillie, who is described as son-in-law of James Cannan of Barnsalloch and brother-in-law to Samuel.[23] Her granddaughter,

14 Kirkcudbrightshire Tests, No. 13.
15 P.R.H., VI., f. 222.
16 P.R.S., IX., 284 (15th September, 1720).
17 *ibid.*
18 P.R.S., VI., 274.
19 P.R.S., IX., f. 284.
20 P.R.S., II., f. 6. v.
21 P.R.S., VI., f. 199 (17th May, 1700).
22 *ibid.*
23 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No 2851.

Margaret Edgar, wife of Quintin Mitchell, merchant in Dalmellington, was served her heir general in 1755.

Samuel Cannan of Barnsalloch can have had very little possessory rights to Barnsalloch at his father's death, and his infeftment has not been traced. There is but little record of his activities as a Covenanter. He probably refused to take the Test and had been on the run, but in 1684, having been a prisoner in Dumfries, he was removed with others to Edinburgh[24] On 13th October, 1684, he was found guilty and sentenced to be banished to the Plantations.[25] However, he never saw the Plantations, for, owing to some unexplained reason, he, with a few others so sentenced, was left behind at Kirkcudbright.[26] In the February following many cases were reviewed, but Samuel refused to take the Oath of Allegiance.[27] Under examination he declared that he lived with his sister in the house of John Rae, tenant in Barnsalloch, and at times he worked with his aunt at Netherartie in Parton. He disowned all rebellious principles and asserted that he did not know what the Test or Oath of Allegiance was.[28] On 10th March, 1685, it was recorded that he was a prisoner in the Canongate, " being furious " (mad) and that he was on the Fugitives Roll. Whether the madness was feigned or real, he was released, his sister being his cautioner in 500 merks that he would appear if required.[29] Perhaps he may be identified with the Samuel Cannan at Achie who on 9th July, 1699, had a child baptised named James.[30]

Formonistoun.

This farm lay in Dalry parish and was held by the Viscounts Kenmure. The place-name may be derived from the surname of its first tenant, the man who erected the first steading, for in 1593 there was a Robert Formont in

24 R.P.C., 3rd series, 377.
25 *ibid.*, 604.
26 *ibid.*, 258.
27 *ibid.*, 144.
28 *ibid.*, 229 and Wodrow, IV., p. 12.
29 R.P.C., 3rd series, X., 177.
30 Parish Register of Kells.

Smeatoun.[1] As early as 1637 it was tenanted by a John Cannan, who, with others of that surname, petitioned against the Service Book.[2] He may have sprung from the Little Knox branch,[3] but there is no definite evidence of his paternity. Twenty years were to elapse before there is another reference to him. In August, 1657, he was a witness at Ardoch,[4] and in 1662 he figures as lending 70 merks to John Sloan in Bush.[5] He must have prospered, for this is the first of a long series of financial dealings into which he entered. He must have been a careful man, for the bonds that he accumulated were all secured on land or backed by substantial cautioners. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that he took no active part in the Covenanting disturbances or at least managed to mask his actions. His son, however, participated in the movement but without disastrous effects, and his brother, David Cannan in Formonistoun,[6] in 1683 was a fugitive to whom assistance had been given by John, who in consequence was indicted for harbouring David.[7]

John's lease of Formonistoun was due to terminate at Whitsunday, 1667. He had held it on an easy rent and Kenmure decided to raise it, so in the previous December he got from John an obligation to remove.[8] A new lease cost John Cannan a grassum of 1050 merks and the redemption of a wadset for 3000 merks which he held over Spittell in Kirkmabreck parish from the deceased John Gordon of Rusco.[9] When in 1670 the sum of £67 sterling was bequeathed by Mr Johnston of London to establish a school at Dalry, all the Heritors bound themselves as surety for that sum in differing amounts. John Cannan's financial status

1 Mentioned in Testament of John Makneische in Kerymanoch (Edin. Tests). In 1598 David Forman was in Formanstoun when that and other adjoining lands were acquired by Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar from Andrew Stewart, Lord Uchiltrie (Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 68, 4th May, 1599).
2 R.P.C., 2nd series, VI., 711-713.
3 The Christian name of David was common to both families.
4 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 944.
5 S.C.D., 1623-1675, No. 710.
6 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 1495.
7 R.P.C., 3rd series, VIII., 606.
8 Durie Deeds, Vol. 24, f. 484.
9 Durie Deeds, Vol 24, f. 485, 520.

in the vicinity can be assessed by the fact that he was surety in 800 merks, just four times larger than the next biggest amount.[10] In 1674 he lent £1000 Scots to William Gordon of Earlston and was infeft in security in the merkland of Bank, parish of Carsphairn,[11] which was duly redeemed in 1679.[12]

John Cannan of Formonistoun was alive on 19th April, 1689,[13] but dead by August, 1691.[14] He was twice married, firstly, to Marion Gordon, and, secondly, early in 1675, to Anna Crawford[15] with issue:

1. Nathaniel Cannan—of whom hereafter.
2. Nicolace Cannan, married to John McMillan of Brokloch, with issue. She was dead by April, 1689, when her father disponed to her husband by way of provision for her children, a number of bonds which McMillan in July, 1690, translated to George Meek, bailie of Kirkcudbright.[16]
3. Margaret Cannan, married (contract dated 30th January, 1668) Patrick Logan of Enrig.[17] Margaret was infeft in December, 1672, by her husband in an annual rent of 300 merks furth of half of the six merkland of Enrig.[18]

The above three children were the issue of John's first marriage with Marion Gordon; the following were by Anna Crawford:

4. John Cannan first appears on record in November, 1681, when his father infeft him and his two sisters, Mary and Anna, in a merkland of Marsalloch wadset by Alexander Gordon to the elder John Cannan[19] for 2625 merks. John was still a minor in 1694, his mother

10 Dal. Deeds, Vol 34, f 495, and Dal. Decreets, Vol. 50 (20th July, 1672).
11 P.R.S., I., f. 309. v., and Mack. Deeds, Vol. 39, f. 489.
12 G.R.S., Vol. 42, f. 365.
13 S.C.D., 1676-1700, 1540.
14 *ibid.*, 1870.
15 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 69 (12th June, 1688).
16 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 1540.
17 G.R.S., XIX., f. 37.
18 P.R.S., I., f. 186. v.
19 P.R.S., III., f. 179.

being tutrix, when he transferred this merkland to Robert Rorieson, second son to William Rorieson of Calsyde.[20] He was alive on 4th July, 1710.[21] His later history has not been ascertained, but in 1743 his granddaughter, Anna Cannan, was decerned executor dative to John and Nathaniel, her grandfather and great-grandfather.[22]

5. Mary Cannan, described as the eldest daughter of Anna Crawford, married (contract dated 6th July, 1694) Mr Andrew Ewart, minister of Kells, eldest son of John Ewart of Mulloch.[23] By 1712 Mr Andrew Ewart had married, secondly, Agnes Grierson. There was at least one daughter by the first marriage.[24]
6. Anna Cannan, did not marry.[25] She was dead intestate by 1697, her sister Mary being her executor dative.[26]
7. Marion, mentioned in a discharge by Anna Crawford on 30th August, 1691.[27]

Nathaniel Cannan in Culmark took some part in the Covenanting risings. On 21st December, 1666, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Tolbooth.[28] Two years later (4th May, 1668) the Privy Council ordained that he was not to be reset.[29] He must have been a fugitive. But he soon settled down, and in July, 1668, was married and infeft in a wadset of 2000 merks out of Culmark granted in 1646 by Alexander Gordon of Earlston to Robert Cannan of Blakmark and disponed by Robert in October, 1666, to John Cannan in Formonistoun.[30]

Nathaniel was dead by June, 1671. He married (contract dated 28th January, 1668) Bevan Grierson, daughter

20 P.R.S., V., f. 238.
21 P.R.S., VII., f. 488.
22 Kirkcudbright Tests, 1743, No. 5.
23 P.R.S., V., f. 248.
24 P.R.S., VIII., f. 120.
25 P.R.S., III., f. 179.
26 Kirkcudbright Tests, 1697, No. 20
27 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 1870.
28 R.P.C., 3rd series, II., 241.
29 R.P.C., 3rd series, II., 451.
30 P.R.S., V., f. 81.

of John Grierson, elder of Castlemady,[31] the tocher being 2000 merks.[32]

Bevan Grierson survived him, and by 11th April, 1674, had married, secondly, Alexander Cairns, Notary, who undertook to maintain Nathaniel's two daughters, Helen and Marie, whilst John Cannan in Formonistoun, their aged grandfather, paid Cairns yearly £80 Scots for that purpose. At that date Alexander and Bevan were in possession of Culmark.[33]

It is not known which of these two daughters married a man named Dick, but the daughter of that marriage, Margaret Dick, granddaughter of Nathaniel, was in May, 1693, infeft in the merkland of Culmark by Alexander Gordon of Earlston.[34]

Fell and Little Knocks.

The ancestor of Fell and Little Knocks was one Alexander Cannan in Craichlaw, where he was in the service of the Gordons of Craichlaw, parish of Kirkcowan, who also owned lands in the Glenkens.[1] In view of his Christian name it is possiible that he may have been descended from Killochie. By 1614 he had been an old-established tenant of some former Gordon lands in the parish of Balmaclellan which through forfeiture had been granted to Sir John Seyton of Barns. The lands were named Slewigdaw or Fell, and that year the Crown granted these lands to Alexander Cannan on Seyton's resignation.[2] Fell was a 5 merkland,[3] so Alexander held a bigger acreage than any other of his name and generation.

In June, 1619, he purchased from Edward Sturgeon, son of James Sturgeon in Wraiths and from Rosina McMorane, daughter of the deceased Robert McMorane of

31 P.R.S., I., f. 35.
32 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 24, f. 173, where the date of the M/C is given as 20th July, 1668.
33 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 876.
34 P.R.S., V., f. 8'
1 MS. Protocol Book of James Glover, f. 66.
2 R.M.S., 1609-20, 992.
3 P.R.S., Vol. 8, f. 212 (24th June, 1714).

Kirkennan, two out of six portions of the £5 lands of Kirkennan, in parish of Buittle, amounting to a 2½ merkland.[4] That same year he lent 2000 merks to Samuel Wilson in Cliftoun, being infeft in security in the 5 merklands of Over & Nether Cliftouns, in the parish of Suthik.[5]

Alexander Cannan was dead by October, 1624,[6] being succeeded by his brother David. The name of Alexander's wife has not been definitely ascertained, but she may have been Janet McKittrick in Craichlaw, who, with John Cannan there, was put to the horn by the Commissary of Wigtown for failing to give up an inventory of the effects of the deceased Alexander Cannan, her spouse.[7]

David Cannan of Fell and also of Little Knocks was infeft on 24th December, 1624, as heir to his brother, Alexander, in the lands of Fell.[8] But by that date he had already secured Little Knocks, in parish of Buittle, for, in a petition to the Lords of Council and Session in the year 1700, his grandson, defending a process by the Earl of Nithsdale, declared that his grandfather, David Cannan, had been granted a wadset on Little Knocks by Patrick McClellan of Jordonland on 13th March, 1615, under which he had been duly infeft.[9] As a wadsetter he could be, and was, designated either as " in " or " of " Little Knocks. It is not known if or when the wadset was converted into a feu. He had, of course, inherited from his brother the wadset of Over & Nether Cliftouns. He had to take legal action against the Wilsons, and apprised the lands for £2040 on 16th August, 1627, followed by Crown Charter.[10] In 1630 he transferred his rights to these lands to John Sturgeon, son of Adam Sturgeon of Torrarie.[11] That same year he lent 1000 merks to James Gordon of Buittle, being infeft in the £5 lands of Barncrosh, in parish of Tungland.[12]

4 G.R.S., III., f. 298.
5 P.R.S., I., f. 280. v.
6 P.R.S., II., f. 132.
7 Wigtownshire Reg. of Hornings, 8th July, 1624.
8 P.R.S., II., 132, and Retours, 12th October, 1624.
9 *Nithsdale Muniments*, No. 205.
10 R.M.S., 1620-33, 1137.
11 P.R.S., III., f. 65.
12 P.R.S., II., 248 and III., f. 51, redeemed in August, 1631 (III., f. 149. v).

In 1627 David was involved in a dispute with his parish minister. Mr Patrick Adamson was at loggerheads with the gentlemen and the Elders of Buittle, probably concerning payments of teinds. Amongst these gentlemen were David Cannan of Little Knocks and John Cannan of Barlochan. They summoned the minister to appear in Edinburgh to bear witness. It was the time of harvest and Mr Patrick Adamson was naturally wrath to leave his glebe at such a moment. Nevertheless he set out for Edinburgh. When he got there he learnt that the Cannans and the others had " passed from the complaint " and withdrawn the action. He was naturally indignant, having travelled 80 miles when he should have been carrying in his harvest. He complained to the Privy Council, who awarded him the modified damages of £10.[13]

In June, 1629, by which time he was married, he lent 1000 merks to John Gordon of Lochinvar, being infeft in the half merkland of Over Blackmark.[14] In 1631 he acquired from Edward Maxwell of Logane that part of the lands of Logane called Braidleyis, which was to be held by his descendants.[15]

David Cannan was an active supporter of the Covenant when the party was in the ascendant and General Leslie's forces were gathering to challenge the attitude of the Crown. At that date the Covenanters were the persecutors of the Royalists, denouncing them as Malignants, heavily fining them and causing many of them to retire to England. They little thought that within 20 years the position would be reversed and that they themselves would be ruined outlaws, hunted fugitives and martyrs. The *Book of the War Committee of the Stewartry* illumines this dark period. The main object of the Committee was to raise and equip forces, and a commissioner was appointed for each parish. David Cannan of Knocks was the commissioner for Buittle, and his duty was to enrol soldiers compulsorily. Apparently one of the enrolled men was of David's household and it was harvest

13 R.P.C., 2nd series, VIII., 422.
14 P.R.S., III., f. 60. v.
15 P.R.S., III., f. 157. v

time. Perhaps his conscience weakened, for he detained the man, who no doubt was delighted. But the Committee took other views. Their commissioner for Buittle was fined £20 and ordained to remain in ward till it was paid.[16]

David Cannan was alive in October, 1654, when he infeft his son, James, in half of Little Knocks,[17] but he was certainly dead by 1656.[17a] He was twice married, firstly, to Marie Edgar prior to July, 1627,[18] and, secondly, to a wife whose name has not been recorded, but whose marriage contract must have included a wadset right to the three merklands of Braidleyis,[19] with issue:

1. Alexander Cannan (ii.) of Fell and Little Knocks—of whom hereafter.
2. James Cannan of Barnsalloch (q.v.).
3. William Cannan, who resigned his interest in certain Templelands in Kirkcudbright in favour of his brother, James.[20]
4. Malcolm Cannan in Little Knocks,[20a] may have been a son.
5. David Cannan, son of his second marriage, who in 1663 gave a bond to his sister, Margaret, her husband and children.[21]
6. Thomas Cannan, a cautioner for Sir Robert Maxwell of Orchardton in 1657.[22] These last three brothers, William, David, and Thomas, died on 29th October, 1673, "without moveable goods,"[23] and we can but speculate as to the reason for these deaths.
7. John Cannan, son of David Cannan *in* Knocks, may have been another son.[24]
8. Margaret Cannan, heir to her father by his *second*

16 *Book of the War Committee*, p. 38.
17 P.R.S., VI., f. 13.
17a S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 326.
18 P.R.S., II., 248.
19 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 1634.
20 P.R.S., II., 159.
20a Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 456 (17th October, 1632).
21 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 757.
22 Test. of Alex. Cannan recorded in Kirkcudbright, 1686, No. 13.
23 Kirkcudbright Tests, 1674, No. 6.
24 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 459 (21st December, 1632).

marriage in the wadset on Braidleyis which she renounced on 15th January, 1674, and spouse of Gilbert McCornok in Cornwall, with issue William and Marie.[25]

Alexander Cannan (ii.) of Fell and Little Knocks must have succeeded his father shortly after 1654, for he is described as of Fell in 1656.[26] Prior to that he had been tenant of Braidleyis, and on 1st October, 1640, had been acted with John Cannan of Kirkennan in the minutes of the War Committee for not subscribing the General Band.[27] As of Little Knocks, on 3rd December, 1651, he gave a bond to Thomas Gledstanes, writer in Edinburgh,[28] for his teinds. In 1665 he gave a bond to his brother, James, for £100 Scots assigning to him as security the rents of Fell.[29] He was dead by 1674,[30] having married prior to 1653 Marion McQuhan, daughter of Gilbert McQuhan of Netherthird,[31] with issue:

1. John Cannan of Little Knocks—of whom hereafter.
2. Gilbert Cannan, described in 1671 as second son.[32]
3. James Cannan, son of Alexander Cannan of Little Knocks, was a witness on 6th February, 1671.[33]

John Cannan of Little Knocks was in possession by 12th June, 1674, when he infeft Andro Kirko and Margaret Cannan, spouses in the Burnside Croft of Little Knocks.[34] By 1676 he had disponed his interest in the Templelands of Kirkcudbright to his uncle, James Cannan of Barnsalloch.[35] In 1683 he took the Test.[36]

He married Mary Irving, perhaps of the Cowgarth family, by whom he had an only daughter, Jean Cannan,

25 S.C.D., 1623-75, Nos. 757 and 1634.
26 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 326.
27 *Book of the War Committee*, p. 57 and Durie Deeds, Vol. 31, f. 482.
28 S.C.D., 1623-75, 1108
29 Ibid., No. 1325.
30 P.R.S., I., 311
31 Durie Deeds, Vol. 31, f. 482.
32 Ibid.
33 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 1433.
34 P.R.S., I., f. 31[1]. Margaret married secondly William Riddik of Corbietoun. She was dead by 1736 when her son, John Kirko, in Palnackie was her executor (Kirkcudbright Testaments, 1733, No. 2).
35 P.R.S., II., f. 159.
36 R.P.C., 3rd series, VIII., p. 639.

married to Robert Cannan of Barlochan. In 1707 John disponed the 5 merkland of Fell in favour of his grandson, John, son of the then deceased Robert Cannan of Barlochan, reserving liferent to Mary Irving and Jean Cannan.[37] He was dead by 1714, when his spouse and bairns were cited by Edict of the Commissary to see and hear his daughter, Jean, served as nearest of kin to her father.[38]

His estates passed to his grandson, John Cannan of Barlochan (q.v.).

Barlochan.

The family of Barlochan can claim descent from Ellerbog which has been shown to be of Killochie. They acquired Barlochan by marriage when John Acannan married Grizzell McMorane, daughter and heir of Thomas McMorane in Barlochane.[1] In 1608 the spouses purchased letters of Horning against Edward Maxwell of Isle concerning a wadset on Barlochan wherein John is described as son of the deceased James Acannan in Ellerboig.[2] The dispute must have been lively, for Cannan had to find John Gordon of Barquhois as his surety not to harm Maxwell.[3]

Very little has come to light concerning this John Cannan, but he presented a sasine for registration on 30th November, 1619.[4] The following year he was a witness to a Killochie bond.[5] He must have been a respected member of the family, for when John Cannan of Killochie died he left his children in the care of John Cannan of Barlochan as their tutor.[6] These children were the grandchildren of Barlochan.

John Cannan is best known as the man who acquired

37 P.R.S., Vol. 8, f. 212 (24th June, 1714).
38 Kirkcudbright Tests, 1714, No. 4.
1 Thomas McMorane was nephew of Robert McMorane of Kirkennan and Glenschynnoch and died in 1598, having married Janet Gordon perhaps of the Barquhois family, leaving a son natural named John. Grizzell is not mentioned in his Testament.
2 Gen. Reg. Inhibitions, Vol. 26, f. 314.
3 R.P.C., VIII., 666.
4 P.R.S., I., f. 280. v.
5 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 335 (23rd February, 1623).
6 Reg. of Deeds, Vol. 441 (21st June, 1631).

Kirkennan from the heirs of Robert McMorane of Kirkennan. It was a piecemeal acquisition. In July, 1631, he secured from Margaret McMorane, one of the six heirs portioners of Robert McMorane, four of the six portions of the £5 lands of Kirkennan, amounting to a 5 merkland (or a 66/8 land);[7] the remaining two portions of which had been acquired in 1619 by Alexander Cannan of Fell.[8] At some unknown date Alexander must have transferred his part of Kirkennan to John, though so far no disposition has been traced. At least John's descendants were long in possession of the whole £5 land amounting to a 7½ merkland.

John Cannan is also recorded as having been infeft in July, 1628, in a half of Kirkennan and a 50/- land thereof acquired from David Halliday of Grobdaill.[9] The sasine gives no indication of the nature of the disposition, which must have consisted of a wadset on half of Kirkennan held by Halliday and transferred by him to Cannan. It was, of course, a common procedure to secure in the first instance wadset rights to a property which was ultimately to be purchased.

John Cannan was alive as late as 6th August, 1642,[10] but the date of his death is unknown. By his wife, Grizzell McMorane, he had the following known issue:

1. John Cannan, younger, in Barlochan (4th July, 1631), was a witness to his father's acquisition of a 5 merkland of the £5 lands of Kirkennan,[11] and must be identified with John Cannan of Kirkennan (q.v.).
2. James Canan, second son—of whom hereafter.
3. Elizabeth Cannan, married, firstly (contract dated 6th Aug., 1642), James Cannan of Killochie (q.v.), secondly, William Lindsay of Barclosh, and, thirdly, John Logan in Armanoch.[12]

7 P.R.S., III., f. 144. v.
8 G.R.S., III., f. 298
9 P.R.S., II., f. 410.
10 Dal. Decreets, Vol. 81, 7th July, 1680.
11 P.R.S., III., f. 144. v.
12 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 97.

James Cannan of Barlochan is described on several occasions as a second son, the implication being that the eldest son had been otherwise provided for. Little is known of him. He married Margaret Maxwell, by whom he had three known children:[13]

1. John Cannan (ii.) of Barlochan—of whom hereafter.
2. Alexander Cannan, a witness with his brother to a Killochie bond in 1675.[14]
3. Helen Cannan, married to William Cannan, known as portioner of Leathis, brother to James Cannan of Kirkennan.[15]

John Cannan (ii.) of Barlochan was a witness in February, 1661, to a Hereis bond.[16] In 1665 he was borrowing money from his mother, Margaret Maxwell.[17] In May, 1668, there is a record of an arrangement which he made with Alexander Cannan, merchant burgess of Kirkcudbright. Alexander, a bastard, married Jane Rayning but had no family, and under the law his estate was liable to revert to the Crown if he left no heirs. So he disponed his estate to Barlochan, who gave Alexander a backbond whereby the disposition was to be null and void should Alexander have children. Alexander's wife died, and by his second wife, a daughter of Barnsalloch (q.v.), he had issue, so the disposition became invalid.[18]. In 1673 John Cannan petitioned the Privy Council concerning a bond which he alleged had been forcibly extorted from him by Sir William Bellenden. His uncles, Robert and James Maxwell, had also been compelled to be his cautioners. As Bellenden was a well-known persecutor of Covenanters, it is evident that Barlochan must have been at least a sympathiser of the Covenant.[18a]

John Cannan, on 29th March, 1675, acted as a witness to a Killochie bond,[19] and was dead by 27th November of

13 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 48, f. 23.
14 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 41, f 771.
15 P.R.S., I., f. 344 (8th March, 1675).
16 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 1492.
17 *Ibid.*, No. 2049-50.
18 *Ibid.*, No. 815.
18a R.P.C., 3rd series, IV., 7.
19 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 41, f. 771.

that year.[20] He had married Marie Charteris, perhaps of the Barnecleuch family,[21] and who after his death married, secondly, Mr Alexander Sangster, minister of Kirkpatrick Durhame. On 26th November, 1675, she entered into a contract with William Cannan of Laithis, brother of Kirkennan, whereby the liferent of Margaret Maxwell, her mother-in-law, was secured as well as aliment for the maintenance of the children of Marie Charteris. The stock, crop, and insicht plenishings reserved to Marie were to be valued and the valuation paid by William to Marie. All the writs were to be mutually inventoried and placed in a kist lodged with John Maxwell of Brekinsyde for the use of Marie's bairns who were to be brought up and maintained by William. If they were not properly maintained Marie could claim back the children and receive aliment.[22] The following year Marie set in tack to William the Mains of Barlochan during the life of Margaret Maxwell, who had disponed her liferent rights to him,[23] and in 1686 gave a tack of half the 4 merkland of Barlochan to James Watson, younger, in Bordland, at a rent of £60.[24] That November she tacked a merkland of Barlochan to James Kirko of Auchengait and George Carsane in Palnackie.[25]

By his wife, Marie Charteris, John Cannan had two infant sons:

1. Robert Cannan of Barlochan—of whom hereafter.
2. James Cannan, who, in 1688, witnessed a bond by Mr Alexander Sangster and Marie Charteris.[26]

Robert Cannan of Barlochan as a minor was charged with his brother by Roger Gordon of Troquhane to enter heir to his grandfather. The grandfather had been bound to pay Killochie 1000 merks under his marriage contract of 6th August, 1642. The tocher had never been paid, so the youthful laird of Barlochan had the mortification of seeing

20 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 39, f. 446.
21 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 385.
22 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 39, f. 446. As registered the contract is confused.
23 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 48, f. 23.
24 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 1740.
25 *Ibid.*, 1780.
26 *Ibid.*, No. 1784.

his lands adjudged to Roger Gordon as asignee of Killochie for the accumulated sum of 3690 merks.[27] Gordon at once obtained decreet against the tenants of Barlochan to pay their rents to him. But the tenants, who included James Kirko of Auchengate and George Carsane in Palnackie, had just paid their rents to Marie Charteris and brought an action to suspend Gordon's decreet. The Lords of Session, however, preferred the claim of Gordon to the rents and refused suspension.[28] Similarly William Cannan, portioner of Laithis, apprised Barlochen from Robert for a debt of £2190 Scots.[29] On 28th December, 1694, Robert Cannan gave a bond to James Cannan of Kirkennan for £28 for relief of feu duties paid by him out of the Barony of Kirkennan.[30] This is the first known reference to Kirkennan as a Barony.

By 1696 Robert had married Jean Cannan,[31] only daughter and heiress of John Cannan of Little Knoks.[32] His testament was dated 20th January, 1700, which must be the approximate date of his death, as the testament was confirmed on 3rd January, 1701.[33]

There was an only child, John, for whom and for his mother, Jean Cannan, provision was made in 1707 by his grandfather, John Cannan of Little Knoks.[34] The remaining generations must be briefly sketched.

John Cannan (iii.) of Barlochan in 1714 was infeft in the 5 merkland of Fell by his grandfather, John Cannan of Little Knoks, under reservation of the liferent of Mary Irving and Jean Cannan, the wife and daughter of Little Knoks.[35] He was dead by 1768, leaving two sons:

1. Robert Cannan (ii.) of Barlochan, who died apparently unmarried or at least without issue.
2. John Cannan, heir to his brother, Robert, in 1768.

27 Dal. Decreets, Vol. 81 (7th July, 1680).
28 Mack. Decreets, Vol. 90 (21st February, 1691).
29 P.R.S., III., f. 31 (22nd April, 1680).
30 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 2466.
31 *Ibid.*, No. 3202.
32 P.R.S., Vol. 8, f. 212 (24th June, 1714).
33 Kirkcudbright Tests., 1700, No. 3.
34 P.R.S., Vol. 8, f. 212 (24th June, 1714).
35 *Ibid.*

John Cannan (iv.) of Barlochan was infeft that year in Barlochan, Fell, and the salmon fishings on the River Urr as heir to his brother, Robert,[36] and was dead by 1772, when

John Cannan (v.) of Barlochan was served heir general to his father,[37] John (iv.). Two years later he obtained a disposition of the teinds of Barlochan from John Spottiswood of that Ilk.[38] He married Margaret Carmont, who in 1790 was infeft in liferent annuity of £30 by her husband.[39] They had the following issue, for whom the estate was burdened:[40]

1. John Cannan (vi.) of Barlochan.
2. Robert.
3. William.
4, 5, and 6, Henrietta, wife of George Maxwell, minister of Buittle;[41] Margaret and Janet.

John Cannan (vi.) of Barlochan succeeded to an overburdened estate and married (contract dated 28th August, 1794) Agnes Gordon.[42] Two years later Barlochan was apprised from him by Alexander Young, W.S.[43] Thereafter he was described as Portioner of Little Knoks, his portion being one half.[44] Alexander Young sold Barlochan in 1800 to Robert McKnight,[45] who was infeft in 1807 on disposition by the Trustees of John Cannan, late of Barlochan, thereafter of Little Knoks.[46]

Kirkennan.

The Kirkennan branch of the Cannan family sprang from John Cannan of Barlochan, who, *c.* 1631, had acquired Kirkennan from the McMorane family. He at once placed his eldest son in possession.

36 P.R.S., 24th August, 1768.
37 Retours, 29th January, 1772.
38 P.R.S., 20th June, 1774.
39 P.R.S., 15th June, 1790.
40 P.R.S., 10th April, 1793.
41 P.R.S., 17th February 1802.
42 P.R.S., 17th November, 1794.
43 P.R.S., 14th January, 1796.
44 P.R.S., 28th January, 1797.
45 P.R.S., 12th July, 1800.
46 P.R.S., 15th April, 1807.

In 1638 John Cannan, younger, in Kirkennan, received from his superior a feu charter of the £5 lands of Kirkennan with the Templelands called Gardencroft and was infeft on 26th February.[1] The charter incidentally confirmed a charter of 4th January, 1575, by William Lennox of Caillie, grandfather to John Lennox, younger, of Caillie, to Robert McMorane of Glenschynnok. In 1640 John Cannan was called on by the War Committee of the Stewartry to be "actit" in the official record of that Committee for not subscribing to the General Band.[2] He died in February, 1669,[3] having married Mary Gordon, who died *c.* 1683, when her executors were called on to answer at the instance of the parish minister and her eldest son.[4]

By his wife, Mary Gordon, John Cannan had the following issue:

1. James Cannan of Kirkennan—of whom hereafter.
2. William Cannan, portioner of Leathis. As such he was infeft in 1675 in an annual rent of £60 Scots furth of the £5 lands of Leathis wadset to him for 1500 merks by John McCartney of Leathis.[5] That same year he acted as tutor to the children of John Cannan of Barlochan,[6] and for a while was tenant of the Mains of Barlochan.[7] In 1679 he apprised the 4 merklands of Barlochan from Robert Cannan of Barlochan for a debt of £2190 Scots.[8] Like his brother Robert, William Cannan was a merchant traveller in England, and on 2nd November, 1675, contracted with John Crichton, for whom Thomas Glendonyng in Fominoch was cautioner, to become an apprentice with Cannan for three years in his trade of selling cloth in England. Crighton was to be maintained "in meat, clothis and weshing"

1 Kirkennan Titles.
2 *Minute Book of War Committee.*
3 Retours and Kirkennan Titles.
4 Kirkcudbright Tests., 1683, No. 11.
5 P.R.S., I., f. 344.
6 Mack. Deeds, Vol. 39. f. 446.
7 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 48, f. 23.
8 P.R.S., III., f. 31.

during apprenticeship.[9] He married Helen Cannan, sister to John Cannan of Barlochan.[10]

An Alexander Cannan, portioner of Leathis, on 31st March, 1702, drafted the testament of Anna Cannan, sister to James Cannan of Kirkennan, and may have been a son of this William.[11]

3. Robert Cannan, merchant traveller in England, who in 1675 accepted Alexander Baillie, brother-in-law to William Maxwell of Caigtoun, as an apprentice for two years in the vocation of merchandise, especially of linen cloth, in England.[12]
4. Anna Cannan, died unmarried in 1702, leaving a legacy to her sister-in-law, Margaret Hereis, spouse to her brother, James.[13]
5. Elizabeth or Bessie Cannan, married (contract dated 17th January, 1659) to Bryce Blair, son of Charles Blair in Kirkland of Culwen.[14] Bryce Blair was tenant of Barcloy in 1663.[15]

James Cannan of Kirkennan succeeded to the estate in 1669 on his father's death. He appears frequently as a witness, often in conjunction with the affairs of his two brothers. On 9th October, 1684, with his kinsmen of Killochie and Little Knox, he signed the Test,[16] and in 1697 gave a bond for £17 to Alexander Dunlop, then minister of Whithorn, for the teinds of Kirkennan.[17] He married before 1702 Margaret Hereis,[18] and was dead by 1712, leaving known issue:

1. James Cannan (ii.) of Kirkennan, who can have had only a brief lairdship, being served heir special to his grandfather, John, on 19th February, 1712.[19] He was

9 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 2326.
10 P.R.S., I., f. 544, 8th March, 1675.
11 Kirkcudbright Tests., 1702, No. 1.
12 Dal. Deeds, Vol. 41, f 770.
13 Kirkcudbright Tests., 1702, No. 1.
14 S.C.D., 1623-75, No. 156.
15 *Ibid.*, No. 157.
16 R.P.C., 3rd series, X., 227.
17 S.C.D., 1676-1700, No. 3019.
18 Kirkcudbright Tests., 1702, No. 1.
19 Retours and Kirkennan Titles.

apparently unmarried and dead by May, 1714, when his brother witnessed a sasine as Robert Cannan of Kirkennan.[20]

2. Robert Cannan was the last of the family to own Kirkennan, succeeding his brother, James, though he was not infeft on precept from Alexander Murray of Broughton, the superior till 1722.[21] He must have soon been in financial difficulties, and in 1733 James Maxwell of Carnsalloch was infeft in the property as security for a loan.[22] A few years later another James Maxwell, brother to William Maxwell of Munshes, apprised the estate from Robert Cannan for £10,890 Scots, and that same year (1742) he is described as Robert Cannan late of Kirkennan, now indweller in Cloan (of Kirkennan).[23] His consent was obtained to the disposition of Kirkennan by Maxwell to John Reid in Glen of Almorness on 19th November, 1741.[24] He was dead by 7th July, 1764.[25] Whether he married or had descendants is not known.

Darsalloch.

This family leaves a remarkable and romantic record, not continuity of tenure of lands, but a record of their history and wanderings from 1659 to the present day, a record where nearly every birth, marriage, and death is faithfully recorded in detail far too great for this all too brief survey.

We know nothing of the origin of James in Darsalloch, although he may well be descended from Mardroquhat, but his tombstone in Kells Kirkyard records that he was born in 1659 and lived to the good age of 75. He married Jean Sloan in Achie and had issue James, born 1700, who farmed Shiel and Darsalloch. This son married Janet McChesnie, daughter of Samuel McChesnie and Margaret Jardine, and

20 P.R.S., Vol. VIII., f. 212.
21 P.R.S., Vol. X. (i), f. 18 and Kirkennan Titles.
22 Kirkennan Titles.
23 *Ibid.*
24 *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid.*

died on 15th December, 1789.[1] This couple had issue seven children, of whom the eldest son, Thomas, born 1736, married, firstly, Jean Sloan, and, secondly, Agnes Herries. He farmed Drumbuie, and died in 1817 at Castenvey at the ripe old age of 81.[2]

Of the other children and their descendants quite a lot is known; James, his son, and his grandson, continued to farm Shiel; Mary, the only girl, died at the early age of 27, but not before marrying James McConnell, by whom she had three children, through one of which a connection with the Murrays of Parton was established. Of John nothing is known, but William, apparently attracted by the commencement of the industrial era, went to Lancashire, where he married and lived in Chowbent, having a family of six.[3] Strangely enough, one of these children, Jane, married George Murray of Ancoats Hall, from whom the Murrays of Parton are also descended. Of the remaining two children of James in Shiel, all we know is that their names were David and Alexander and the fact that they were twins.[4]

Of the seven children of Thomas in Drumbuie and Agnes Herries, we need only notice the fifth, named David. David, born in 1782, left his homeland to set up as a shopkeeper in Liverpool, and married Jane McMurdo at St. John's Church, Manchester, on 25th March, 1812.[5] At the time of his death at the age of 84, he is described as a shipowner and merchant, and the camera comes to our assistance and shows him to be a man of some bearing. It is not surprising to find him a staunch supporter of the Presbyterian Church, and all his thirteen children were baptised in the Scots Session Church in Liverpool.[6]

Thomas, born in 1817, the fourth child of David and Jane, seems to have been encouraged by the seaport character of his birthplace and emigrated to Nova Scotia, where he

1 Kells Tombstone.
2 Register B.M. and D.
3 Somerset House non-parochial register, Lancaster, 58, Vols. I., II., and III.
4 Register B.M. and D.
5 Parish Register copy in Central Library, Manchester.
6 Register in possession of Presbyterian Historical Society.

found a bride.[7] His choice fell upon Celia Ann Black, granddaughter of the Rev. William Black, who is described as the founder of the Methodist Church of the Colony.[8] Thomas seems to have brought his wife back to England shortly afterwards, as their first child, Martin Black, was born in Higher Bebington some twelve months later.[9]

Martin Black Cannon evidently felt the presence of the wanderlust in his veins, as he went ranching in Uruguay, but his Scots blood made him prevail upon his bride-to-be, Anne Eliza, to make the long journey from Alloa to South America, and they were married at St. John's, Buenos Ayres, on 21st September, 1868.[10] Anne Eliza Maxton came from a well-known Alloa family who produced two ministers and were related to the Balds, Robert Bald being well-known as the first Civil Engineer to the Alloa Coal Co.[11]

Martin's venture in Uruguay was, unfortunately, not successful, and after a period of wandering to New Zealand and Canada, he eventually settled at Slad, near Stroud, and died in 1906. Of his family, Thomas was born in Uruguay in 1869, was educated at Cranleigh School, and died on 26th November, 1952, and is commemorated on a tablet in Slad Church. The only girl, Ruth, who was born after her father's return to England, died in 1947.

Thomas Cannon had two sons, Donald, born 1902, with issue Joan and Christopher, and Cecil, born 1906, with issue Thomas and David, who will, in due course, continue the history of the Cannans of Galloway into future generations.

Quo ducis sequor.

7 Marriage Certificate in possession of the Author, 6/7/1841.
8 *Memoir of Rev. William Black*, by Matthew Richey, Halifax, N.S.
9 Registers B.M.D. Somerset House.
10 Marriage Certificate in possession of the Author.
11 *One Hundred Years in Coal*, by J. L. Carvel.

ARTICLE 9.

The Drove Road Into Annandale.

By W. A. J. PREVOST.

The rearing of cattle and sheep has been for three centuries the livelihood of Highland and Border farmers whose surplus products have been absorbed in due season by the arable farmers in the more fertile districts of the south of Scotland and by the arable farmers in the more densely populated areas of England.

The sale of cattle was for the Highlands the mainstay of their economy, and the only means of carrying on an export trade was by long-distance droving by road from Scotland into England.

It must have begun, tentatively, early in the seventeenth century when the inhabitants of the Borders had become peaceable and more law-abiding after the rapacious rule of the Border Reivers.

It is recorded that there was droving through Carlisle in the first decade of the century,[1] and in 1632 the trade in cattle from Galloway was already well established, for drovers were taking "bestiall" in large numbers to sell at St. Faith's in Norfolk and at other fairs in England.[2] Irish cattle had also been landed at Portpatrick.

There was considerable traffic across the Border, but in 1638 an unwarranted act of interference by the mayor of Newcastle might well have put an end to it and started an epidemic of raiding and open hostilities.[3]

Some Scottish horse-dealers had, as was their wont, attended Maton fair, but in leading their purchases through Newcastle they were stopped by the mayor and the horses taken from them.

[1] W. Thompson: "Cattle Droving Between Scotland and England." *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, Vol. XXXVII., 1932, pp. 172-183.
[2] Andrew Symson's *A Large Description of Galloway*, 1684. Revised in 1692. The Macfarlane Collection of Geographical Manuscripts.
[3] Fraser: *The Annandale Family Book of the Johnstones*, Vol. I., p. 179.

The Lord Johnstone of Lochwood, who may have been an interested party, took action on the part of his country and caused the Borderers to stop all traffic of cattle and sheep into England. The incident was happily concluded when the mayor, by request, delivered up the horses to their owners.

In 1660 the traffic through Carlisle had reached such large proportions that it caused great annoyance to the citizens of that city, who placed a tax of twenty shillings on every head of cattle brought into England from Scotland between August 20 and December 20—a tax clearly levelled at the drovers.

Although the embargo was almost immediately raised, tolls had to be paid on all cattle entering Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Carlisle.

In 1662, during the season of the year, some 3000 head of cattle per day, with tollage at 6d a head, passed through Carlisle from the north, and it would seem that a proportion of these were Highlanders.[4]

It is conceivable that even the 6d a head toll could hardly compensate the man-in-the-street for the disturbance and discomfort caused by the passage of such a horde. There was no practicable way round the city and the mediæval route taken by the drovers was along Collier Lane, said to be the oldest highway into Carlisle.[5]

There was little improvement, though perhaps less congestion, when in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the droves were diverted through Lowther Street on their way south to Penrith.[6]

One of the earliest references in connection with Dumfriesshire to the sale of Highland cattle in England is recorded in the *Register of the Privy Council* when in the year 1688 Neil McLauchlane, drover, son of Mr John McLauch-

4 D. D. C. Pochin Mould: *The Roads from the Isles.* 1950.

5 F. L. Harrison: "Old Roads and Paths." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science,* Vol. XV., 1889-90.

6 Map of Carlisle dated 1809. Lowther Street marked as a drove road.

lane, minister at Kilmelford in Argyll, and Dugal McFarlane, his "topmaster and trustie," were the aggrieved parties in a summons for assault and robbery.

Dugal McFarlane had been employed to go with Neil into England to sell a considerable drove of cows; and, these being sold, was returning home with the price, £132 9s stg. "in gold and money" when he was set upon by William Whyt, clerk to the regality of Annandale, with his accomplices. The alleged assault took place during the night time, and Whyt forced Dugal from his horse and seized both horse and money.

The following day Neil attempted to get the Provost of Moffat to intervene, but Whyt would not restore the money and the matter was eventually brought before the court in Edinburgh. The court ordered the money to be sequestrated till the ownership was proved, but whether McLauchlane was successful in doing so is not related.

From the evidence submitted it would appear that McFarlane made little effort to resist, and that the two men carried no arms to avoid provoking aggression. This can almost be taken as a compliment to the Borders, for in the Highlands in 1725 Marshall Wade found it necessary to grant licenses to drovers, foresters, cattle dealers, and others engaged in such traffic to carry arms for the defence of their persons and property.[7]

Early in the following century drovers from the far north and outlying parts of the Highlands began to make use of Crieff as a market, and for a long time the Michaelmas Tryst was of great importance when in the course of a week as many as thirty thousand cattle were sold, besides a smaller number of sheep.[8] The chief purchasers were English, and it was not uncommon for them to hire the seller to drive the stock to England.

However, Crieff was not altogether a satisfactory centre, and in 1770 the Michaelmas Tryst was transferred to Falkirk, and at the three trysts held there annually were sold "at

7 Sir Walter Scott: *Tales of a Grandfather.*
8 *Stat. Account, Crieff,* 1793.

an average 60,000 black cattle," most of them of the Highland breed.[9]

Falkirk continued to be a market for cattle and sheep till the eighteen-seventies, when its importance as a market had greatly diminished and the competition of the railways had practically put an end to the business of droving cattle to the south by road

George Bell, a retired drover, who died in Moffat in 1814, was accustomed to take to the Falkirk Tryst some two hundred head of cattle. Six men took charge of them and remained with them night and day till they reached their final destination, sleeping out in the heather while they were on the road.

Two Highland drovers, writes Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, took charge of over a hundred head of fine young black cattle which her father had purchased at the Trysts in 1807 and escorted them south to his estate at Twyford in Hertfordshire.[10]

The stream of south-bound cattle from the Falkirk Tryst was swollen by cattle from the markets farther south, and at the height of the droving season the regular crossings of the Border into England must have been churned into mud or dust by the thousands of animals destined for the markets of the north and midlands of England.

The congestion of traffic, the tolls, and the competition in obtaining stances and grazings on the routes passing through Carlisle must have influenced the Highland drovers to hold to the East, and to avoid Carlisle, which was on the shortest route to the south for cattle from Dumfries and Galloway.

The trade in black cattle from Galloway and in cattle from Ireland which were landed at Portpatrick was as important a business to those countries as to the Highlands.

In the eighteenth century the black cattle were the main source of income to the Galloway farmers, for their cattle were the only form of produce which could both be sold and

9 *Stat. Account, Falkirk,* 1797.

10 *Memoirs of a Highland Lady,* 1797-1827. Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus.

transported to the customer.[11] Both the Irish and the Galloway cattle eventually found their way to Dumfries.

The number of animals landed at Portpatrick gives some idea of the magnitude of the trade. 10,452 were landed in 1785-86; 14,873 in 1789-90; but in 1837 the number had decreased to only 1080.

Many of these animals from Galloway and Ireland were sold privately, some being taken direct to England by dealers whilst others changed hands at the markets held in Dumfries.

The *Statistical Account* refers to the annual cattle market held there in September. In 1829-30 six thousand head of cattle, old cows, and three-year-old Galloways passed through the auctioneers' hands, and besides the great annual sale there were also about six weekly sales, when an amount of cattle varying from 1500 to 2000 were generally exposed on the Sands. At least a half of them were drove cattle to be sent into England.[12]

Smaller sales were also held in other parts of the country, and in particular the Lockerbie Tryst, an institution of long standing which dealt with lambs and wool for the southern dealers.[13]

"But the business done in the public market," writes Joseph Duncan, "gives but an inadequate idea of the magnitude of the trale in general; for an immense variety of transactions were effected by the dealers privately; and in a period of ten days, during the droving season, more than 20,000 head of cattle were known to have paid toll on the English road, and not one of which had been exposed on the market."

In the notebook of an Eskdalemuir farmer for the year 1780 a private transaction with a drover is recorded for the sale of cattle which were taken as far south as Nottingham and there disposed of. The proceeds in cash were handed

11 (a) *A General View of the Agriculture of Galloway*, 1862.
(b) *The Land of Britain.* The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain. Edited by L. Dudley Stamp. Part 7 and 8. Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, 1942.

12 *Stat. Account, Dumfries*, 1840.

13 *Stat. Account, Dryfesdale.*

over by the drover in his return to Scotland, the receipt of which was duly noted.

A large part of the business transacted privately in Upper Annandale was in the hands of a well-known drover, James Johnstone in Cammock in Wamphray. His activities were not confined to Upper Annandale, for in March, 1788, he had four big droves of ewes which had been collected from Galloway and Nithsdale ready to be sent down into England to feed.

Johnstone was one of the more successful drovers or dealers who was fortunate in avoiding the crippling losses which were the lot of many of these men. His business was so prosperous that in due course he was able to take over the two farms of Archbank and Alton near Moffat, while his brother John farmed Bodsbeck, and another brother, Peter, was in Cleughfoot and Dyke. In fact his sons and grandsons at one time or another either owned or leased the farms of Alton, Archbank, Bodsbeck, Capplegill, Carifferan, Polmoody, Hunterheck, Harthope, Greskine, and one or two others.

His name is not included by J. M. Corrie in the list of some forty odd principal and lesser dealers engaged in the business between the years 1783 and 1834.[13a]

Besides the export trade in cattle, there was a considerable amount of local traffic, particularly in sheep, to supply a local demand. The market at Linton was a distribution centre for sheep, some of them from Upper Annandale, which found their way northwards to the Highlands and Fife.[14] There were local fairs at towns such as Moffat, sales at Lanark, and so on.

The seasonal movement of vast numbers of animals was carried out in no haphazard manner, and the system of roads along which these animals were permitted to travel was extensive and planned by their usage from time immemorial. The Highland drove roads, starting in the Western Isles and the fringes of the north and north-east of Scotland, converge

13a J. M. Corrie: *The Droving Days in the South-Western District of Scotland.*

14 Pennecuik's *History of Tweeddale.*

on Falkirk, following courses which have been followed, mapped, and recorded, with ample evidence to confirm their origin.

These have been fully described by A. R. B. Haldane in his *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, but, as he himself points out, the tracing of the drove routes through the Borders into England is subject to difficulties and limitations.

It is a curious fact that as the volume of traffic increased as it moved south to cross the Sark and the Kershope Burn, so in inverse ratio do the printed references to the traffic decrease, and the local knowledge concerning the roads gets hazier and less informative.

At first sight it might seem odd that the passing droves left few lasting traces behind them, but the drove road was not metalled, and, in fact, earth roads were preferred.

The Scottish Highlanders in the eighteenth century walked themselves and drove their cattle over the turf rather than over the stony roads of General Wade.[15] In fact the right-of-way of the drove road proper covered a width of ground, with rights to graze, considerably wider than the main highway; and it is often only at the approaches to fords or along some steep hillside or bank when the animals are gathered and moved in single file that any distinctive track is visible.

In particular it was to the interest of the drover to take his animals where there was grass, where they could feed as they travelled, and especially to avoid the main roads and the tolls which by law they would have had to pay.

Jimmy Anderson, a well-known character in Capplegill, who died not long since, said that he had driven black cattle all the way from Perth to Cramalt in Meggat without paying a single toll, by keeping to the hills all the way.

The courses of the drove roads have long since been overgrown, and a disused gate in a drystone dyke on some rarely frequented ground may be the only surviving evidence of what was once a thoroughfare.

A clue may be found in a place-name, such as the

15 J. W. Gregory. *The Story of the Road*, p. 89.

" Drove Ford " below Scroggs Bridge over the Water of Milk; and south of the Border on the main arterial roads one passes an occasional " Drovers' Arms." Drovers required nourishment, though they were hardy individuals.

An old Eskdalemuir drover once said that the only food he took with him was oatmeal, the amount carried calculated on the scale of one pound a day for himself and one pound a day for his dog. And this oatmeal, so the story goes, was sometimes made into a kind of brose, and served up, for lack of a proper receptacle, in the heel of the drover's boot.

There may be found, too, along the old drove routes, evidence of the shoeing of the drove bullocks either in an old-established smiddy or on the road itself, for the shoeing of drove cattle was a very important and highly skilled business.

It is said that the decline in Welsh droving was in part due to the absence of skilled shoers, but in the hey-day of droving there were, along the main roads, many smiths who practised the art.

Highland bullocks from the far north were never shod —there were no blacksmiths to do the work—but they were shod on their way south after they had reached the Lowlands.[16]

The normal method of shoeing drove cattle in Wales and the south of England was a pair of shoes or " cues " to each hoof, which meant eight cues to each beast.[17]

The number required to shoe sixty oxen was 480, so the smith was kept busy all the winter making them.

In Scotland the bullocks were not always " cued " all round, and in an account of the Falkirk Tryst in the 1860's Dixon writes that they were generally shod on the inside of the forehoofs, but very rarely behind.[18]

The art in shoeing was the catching and the throwing of the beast, and Dixon adds that " holding the leg was a science in itself."

16 Sir Hugh Rankin, Bart.: Letter to *Scotland's Magazine*, 11th May, 1952.

17 (a) P. G. Hughes: *Wales and the Drovers*, 1943.
(b) C. S. Smith: " Dafydd was a Drover." *Farmers' Weekly*, 4th Jan., 1952.

18 H. H. Dixon: *Field and Fern*. South. 1865.

Nor was it every blacksmith who could make nails to "drive." A blacksmith at the Bow of Fife was an expert at this work, and large dealers kept supplies of his nails at points and sent a bag of them with each drove.

The "cues" protected the sole of the hoof from wear, and, when well put on, might have lasted as long as six months.

A pair of "cues" is one of the exhibits in Dr Grierson's Museum in Thornhill. The "cues" are shown still nailed to the two halves of the foot of what was probably a young drove bullock.

It seems that in the south of Scotland cueing was not a universal practice, and bullocks were sometimes shod with a U-shaped shoe, similar in shape to a horse shoe, but with the addition of a plate down the centre and a cross plate joining the extremities of the U, the parts being welded together.

This type of shoe was made by Steel, the blacksmith in Lockerbie, and was designed to hold the clutes together, to prevent them splaying out and to support the whole foot when going over rough ground. The cross plates were a protection and prevented stones from getting wedged in between the two halves of the hoof.[19]

An ox shoe of this description was found in 1951 lying on the surface of a gravelly patch of ground and picked up by Jimmy Graham, a shepherd on Bodsbeck, while herding the White Hill on the Netherton hirsel. This shoe has since been presented to the Dumfries Museum.

The main drove roads from Falkirk through the Borders to the south were well established rights-of-way, and in some cases are obvious enough on the ground. They may be shown as tracks on the 6 in. Ordnance Survey maps of the counties through which they pass, and sometimes identified as Drove Roads but not usually for any great length of distance.

19 Information supplied by J. B. Steel, the death of whose father in October, 1952, marked the end of probably the oldest-established family business in Mid-Annandale. The Steels were blacksmiths in Lockerbie for over 300 years.

The Ordnance maps of Roxburgh and Selkirkshire are more informative in this respect than those of Dumfriesshire, which only identifies two drove roads; and those are in the north.

A glance at the map of Scotland will show that the shortest route from Falkirk to England is through Carlisle, passing by Lanark and Moffat. However, the natural and most passable route to the south, which avoids river crossings and follows the watersheds and hills, deviates from the direct line and passes through the Cauldstane Slap in the parish of Linton at the head of the Water of Lyne. This pass through the Pentlands was necessarily much used by the drovers.

South of Cauldstane Slap it would seem that the actual route taken by the drover depended on his knowledge of the country and on any provision he may have made for halting places and accommodation. He had several alternatives.

The eastern route across Romanno Bridge to Peebles, Hawick, Newcastleton, and across the Kershope Burn to Bewcastle seems, for at least one reason already given, to have been the most popular.

This was the probable route taken by Robin Oig in Sir Walter Scott's story of "The Two Drovers" who started his travels at Doune, and, passing Traquair and the Murder Cairn, made his way across the Minchmoor to Selkirk and Hawick and so on into Liddesdale and across the Border to Bewcastle.[20]

A generation of Bewcastle people now dead and buried could remember thousands of Highland cattle passing that way and making for the fairs at Brampton, Appleby, and Brough Hill; and, if not sold out by then, continuing on over Stainmore and down through Yorkshire to markets farther south.[21]

There is, however, another road from Traquair which joins a drove road from Peebles at Blackhouse in Yarrow, whence a southerly route could be taken either by Tushielaw or Birkhill. This road is easily followed from Dryhope to

20 Sir Walter Scott: *Waverley Novels.*

21 Information supplied by George Ewart, The Bush, Bewcastle.

Meggat Bridge, behind the Rodono to Chapelhope, and, though fainter, can be traced as far as Birkhill. It branches off at Riskenhope to cross over into Ettrick at Scabcleugh, a winding track frequently used by the drovers.

The road up Ettrick Water is an important link in the system of hill tracks with which this paper deals. It continues on from Potburn to Ettrick Head, and, passing to the north of Loch Fell, leads on down into Wamphray Water.

It runs parallel to the Moffat-Selkirk road, with which it is linked by the drove road from Riskenhope previously mentioned, by the road over Bodsbeck Law, and by the Colt road from Craigbeck which joins it at Wamphray Water Head.

Since all these roads are drove roads, it is unnecessary to point out that the Ettrick road was well known to the drovers. It was certainly used not many years ago by the shepherds of Ettrick to drive their lambs to the sales at Lockerbie, and before that to the Moffat fairs and tup sales.

It is possible that it is much older than the present Moffat-Selkirk road, and this was the opinion of Charles Stewart of Hillside, who in the *Moffat Register* of 15 August, 1857, describes how, " rounding the base of Lochfell from the Craig Michen Scars to the source of the Ettrick, you ascend, by a long but smooth ride, the hill, noticing a wide track of ancient use, being probably, a good many centuries ago, the general way from Ettrick Forest to Dumfriesshire and Galloway."

It must have been connected, though there are no obvious signs of this, with the very ancient " Thief Road," a road said to have been used by the Moss Troopers and dating back traditionally to the thirteenth century.

The Thief Road leaves Dumfriesshire " near the Birkhill Path, running by Winterhope, Cramalt, over Dollar Law and Scrape; and, crossing Tweed below Stobo, passed Lyne, Newlands, and Linton to the Cauldstane Slap."[22]

It is said that the Thief Road followed down the Moffat Water Valley and entered Moffat by the Frenchland Burn

22 Pennecuik's *History of Tweeddale*, pp. 141 and 211.

and Alton. Of this there is no confirmation.[23]

Another version makes it cross the " Ettrick Forest country to turn south near Hawick " and so on into Liddesdale,[24] but as likely a way as any for the Thieves to take from Birkhill to the south was through the Thief's Nick or Thief's Slack on Garwald.

The Nick is an opening between the hills about eight hundred yards south of the Colt Road, between Kiddam Hill and Garwaldshiels Hope, and that Moss Troopers used it is indicated by James Hogg in a footnote to the *Queens Wake* when he refers to one David Ludlow who lived at Garwald and there relieved a band of marauders of a rich booty when " they cam duntin dune by Davy's shiel."

There is no evidence of where it did go, but there are indications that the drovers somehow reached Birkhill, and, climbing the brae behind Birkhill Shiel, made their way as best they could over the hill and into Ettrick.

Though the greater proportion of the traffic from the Highlands favoured the eastern route, the more direct route by Moffat was not neglected, and many droves followed the Tweed to its source, whence they descended into Annandale by the Beef Tub to Ericstane.

It is said that M'Cleran, the Highland prisoner who escaped from his escort in the '45 by rolling himself down the descent to the bottom of the Tub, owed his knowledge of the locality to the fact that he had passed that way before while driving cattle from the north through the Borders into England.

Many droves would pass through Moffat and follow the Old Carlisle road south to Lockerbie, and this is confirmed by the *Old Statistical Account of Dryfesdale*, which states that vast droves of black cattle from the North and West Highlands passed along it into England to the number of about 20,000 annually.

As Highland cattle were taken down and sold into Galloway it is possible that some, instead of going south, may have turned west from Moffat and followed the drove road

23 *Dumfries and Galloway Review*, Vol III., No. 12, December, 1949.
24 D. D. C. Pochin Mould: *The Roads from the Isles*, 1950, p. 178.

from Beattock to Loch Ettrick and down into the valley of the Nith. This road is the most clearly defined and authenticated drove road in the north of Dumfriesshire.

It leaves the Crooked Road at Beattock near the top of the hill, being fenced on each side for three or four hundred yards by dry-stone dykes thirty feet apart, and, passing Stanshielrig, follows a line through Cauldholm, Stidrig, Upper Minnigap, Holehouse, Bran Rig, and Mitchellslacks.

It is possible that Charles Stewart had this road in mind when writing of the Ettrick road on Lochfell as a route into Dumfries or Galloway. It was a recognised drove road then, and is shown as such in the first Ordnance Survey map of the district, surveyed and printed in the late eighteen fifties. It was used latterly for taking sheep from Thornhill to the markets at Lanark, and a retired shepherd, Willie Blacklock, now living near Raehills, knows it well and had often used it.

Blacklock remembered seeing many droves at Stanshielrig, which was one of the recognised stances for the night. The next stage to Lanark was down the Crooked Road to Crawford and along the Glasgow Road.

Of the difficulties in tracing the course of the droving trade through the Borders, referred to by Haldane, one was the variety of easy routes over the hills and across rivers which provided no serious obstacle.

This is, taking a wide view, a true statement, but it does not apply to Upper Annandale to quite the same extent. It must be realised that droving continued long after the land began to become enclosed, and that therefore in erecting a fence provision had of necessity to be made to allow a through passage for a right-of-way which had existed since time immemorial.

Upper Annandale is well fenced with many miles of dry-stone dyke, through which, or round which, the drovers had to find a way.

The greatest difficulty in piecing together the drove road system in Annandale is the ignorance of even the oldest inhabitant of anything but the vaguest memory that such a traffic had at one time ever existed.

A description of the drove road into Annandale, indicating two more alternative routes to the Border, is contained in the following petition which was presented to the Commissioners of Supply in Dumfries and acknowledged by them on May 22nd, 1824. A contemporary reference, it provides a factual account of droving and contains much valuable information.

The petitioners were Thomas Bell of Crurie, George Paterson in Twiglees, John Wightman of Craikhaugh, John Moffat in Garwald, James Bryden of Burncleugh, James Beattie of Davington, and Thomas Laidlaw in Thickside . . . who " humbly sheweth that there have been two established Drove roads through the parish of Eskdalemuir for the purpose of carrying cattle from the north west of Scotland to the markets in England which have been used for that purpose from time immemorial. The northmost of these roads leaves the present turnpike road at Erickstane Braehead, and from there running by Bodsbeck in Moffat Water to near the head of Ettrick Pen, from thence by Thickside, Fingland, Moodlaw, the Glendinning heights to Eweslees in the Parish of Ewes. The other road continuing along the turnpike road from Erickstane Braehead to Moffat to near Wamphray and from thence crossing over by Fenton Heights and along the march between the Parish of Eskdalemuir and Annandale to Callisterhall in the Parish of Middlebie, and from thence by the Blough Heights and down the Glenzier Burn to where it joins the turnpike road betwixt Longtown and Langholm.

" These are the only two established drove roads through the parish of Eskdalemuir, but of late years certain drovers have been attempting to establish a cross road betwixt the two other roads through your petitioners farms.

" This cross road leaves the great south line or old established drove road last described at Fenton Heights, and from thence in place of going southward proceeds directly to the northward thro' your petitioners farms of West Side, Twiglees, Craighaugh, Garwald, Burncleugh, Davington, and Thickside to join the great north line on the drove road first described.

" As this cross road carries the cattle coming southward along the turnpike road from Erickstane Braehead by Moffat and Wamphray directly northward from Fenton Heights to Thickside near Ettrick Pen for about seven miles, it will be exceedingly obvious to your honours that it can be of no real use to the country as a drove road from the north to the south; and your petitioners believe that the drovers who bring their cattle this way have no other object but that of resting two or three days when they may find themselves a little too early for the market to which they are going, and at the same time to obtain meat for their cattle at your petitioners expense.

" But your petitioners have reason to believe that those drovers who bring their cattle from Erickstane Braehead along the north road by Ettrick Pen have another object in view in endeavouring to establish this cross line as a public drove road which is to evade the payment of the Toll duties upon the Turnpike road from Erickstane Braehead to Wamphray."

The petitioners prayed that this cross road should be closed up.

The " northmost " road from Ericstane to Bodsbeck referred to in the petition follows the old coach road from the Tub to Meikleholmside where it crosses the present Annan Water road and can be seen climbing in short zig-zags the steep above; then, turning south, follows what was once the Archbank planting as far as the Gallow Wood and so to Archbank itself.

There is little doubt that the road then follows the Birnock Water to the Archbank folds, and, crossing over the hill into the Moffat Water valley, descends by the " Peat Road " to Capplegill and so to Bodsbeck.

The toll bar. at Moffat stood at the junction of the Edinburgh Road and the Annan Water Road, opposite the entrance to Moffat Academy, so the drovers using the northmost road avoided paying the tolls.

They could also, after leaving Bodsbeck, make for The Mean Ground on Garwald, ground where drove cattle were allowed to stop, and which, as regards grazing rights, the

drovers held in equal shares with the owner or tenant. There was also a Mean Ground on Twiglees.

There is a possible variation of this route, but it is unnecessary and confusing to consider it, for the local drover with an intimate knowledge of his countryside knew of many "ways," as opposed to the main drove roads, which were used for short distance local traffic.

The local "ways" are numerous. It is said that there were always gates between farms for the purpose of droving, and this is a reasonable supposition, though the right-of-way has in course of time been forgotten through lack of use. A right-of-way across all four sides of a farm was a condition included in the grant of land in one of our African colonies.

Of the many drove ways in Upper Annandale a good and obvious example can be seen from the Moffat to Saint Mary's Loch road at a point between three and four hundred yards beyond the Craigbeck road-end.

Through a gateway in the bottom corner of the field below the road the way crosses the Moffat Water and can be seen climbing diagonally the steep left bank above the river. Following a line almost parallel to the Cornal Burn, it passes through gates in three field dykes, and, crossing the Crofthead-Craigbeck march above the Tower Wood, joins up with the Colt Road on the northern flank of Craig Fell.

But cattle and sheep are now rarely driven to market on the highways and the drove roads are no longer used; and if a return to long-distance droving was ever contemplated it is unlikely that it would receive any encouragement from the authorities. The movement of cattle and stock is now controlled, and areas through which movement happened to be prohibited would make the traffic impossible.

It is said that on one occasion foot-and-mouth disease was introduced into Eskdalemuir by cattle using the old drove road, and it is obvious that if droving should be resumed it would be very difficult to hold in check, much less to eliminate, any infectious diseases.

Nevertheless the rights-of-way are still existing, and there is ample scope for some enthusiastic country lover to explore, survey, and map the intricate system of drove roads which at one time served Dumfriesshire.

ARTICLE 10.

A Small Private Bird Observatory.

By IAN F. STEWART, B.Sc., A.M.I.Mech.E.

Of recent years the studies being made at strategic points on bird migration routes have become fairly well known to the public, and such places as Fair Isle and the Isle of May convey a picture of large bird traps, laboratory examinations, collection of ectoparasites, marking with numbered rings, and the identification of much larger numbers of rarities than anywhere else. These are the activities of the large permanently established bird observatories which feature regularly in the scientific journals and quite frequently also in the popular press.

Another type of observatory, decidedly more modest in scale and scope, but nevertheless contributing information of value to the fund of our biological knowledge, is the garden bird ringing scheme. According to figures published by the British Trust for Ornithology there are about 70 operators who have deposited with the Trust details of colour ringing experiments in progress in their own gardens. If we add to these the probable few unregistered schemes and those who use the British Museum rings of the Trust but do not apply coloured rings, then it may be that the United Kingdom holds about 100 small private bird observatories. In the paragraphs which follow I shall describe my own garden ringing station and its activities over the two years from October, 1951, to September, 1953.

My garden lies at the back of Lovers' Walk, Dumfries, so it is completely surrounded by buildings and similar gardens. It is in no sense open to the countryside, but is indeed a typical example of a town " back yard." Its extent is 9 yards by 12 yards, so it is probably the smallest bird observatory in existence.

In all places where animals are studied it is customary to make a list of the species which occur, with details about their status, so I give below the tally for my little faunal area in the special categories which apply.

I. List of Species representatives of which have been caught and ringed in the garden.

Species.	No. Ringed.	No. of Retraps.	Tl.
Black-headed Gull. Larus ridibundus Linnæus	1	0	1
Great Tit. Parus major Linnæus ...	15	20	35
Blue Tit. Parus cæruleus Linnæus ...	109	136	245
Coal Tit. Parus ater Linnæus	3	0	3
Wren. Troglodytes troglodytes (Linnæus)	1	0	1
Song Thrush. Turdus ericetorum Turton	10	0	10
Blackbird. Turdus merula Linnæus ...	38	8	46
Robin. Erithacus rubecula (Linnæus) ...	11	12	23
Willow Warbler. Phylloscopus trochilus (Linnæus)	3	0	3
Hedge Sparrow. Prunella modularis (Linnæus)	7	2	9
Starling. Sturnus vulgaris Linnæus ...	158	2	160
Chaffinch. Fringilla cœlebs Linnæus ...	9	0	9
House Sparrow. Passer domesticus (Linnæus)	49	0	49
Totals	414	180	594

II. Species which have visited the garden but have not been caught there.

Jackdaw. Corvus Monedula Linnæus.
Spotted Flycatcher. Muscicapa striata (Pallas).
Pied Wagtail. Motacilla alba Linnæus.
Greenfinch. Chloris chloris (Linnæus).

III. Species observed from the garden.

Grey Lag-Goose. Anser anser (Linnæus).
Pink-footed Goose. Anser arvensis brachyrhynchus Baillon.
Mute Swan. Cygnus olor (Gmelin).
Oystercatcher. Hæmatopus ostralegus Linnæus.
Swift. Apus apus (Linnæus).
Carrion-Crow. Corvus corone Linnæus.
Swallow. Hirundo rustica Linnæus.
House Martin. Delichon urbica (Linnæus).
Mistle Thrush. Turdus viscivorus Linnæus.
Goldfinch. Carduelis carduelis (Linnæus).
Brambling. Fringilla montifringilla Linnæus.

IV. Species heard from the garden but not seen.

Curlew. Numenius arquata (Linnæus).
Tawny Owl. Strix aluco Linnæus.

The species represented in I. are mostly those which spend a good deal of time in the garden, or alternatively occur for a short time at regular seasons (e.g., Willow Warbler), but there are a few of sporadic occurrence which can be trapped—(a) the Coal Tit without undue difficulty; (b) the Wren possibly by special bait; and (c) the Black-headed Gull only in exceptionally severe weather.

In category II. the Greenfinch has not visited the garden often enough to put my trapping and baiting methods to a fair test for the species, the Pied Wagtail and Spotted Flycatcher are also rather rare visitors and have special feeding methods difficult to cater for in my traps, and the Jackdaw is so shy and cunning that it will only touch down in the garden for exceptional reasons such as the lure of peanuts if all my traps are indoors, or the discovery of a piece of specially desirable nesting material.

With reference to this last species, a number of people have told me that Jackdaws are customary raiders in their gardens, dealing sorely with such items as edible peas. This is so much at variance with what I have found that I have considered it a problem worthy of investigation, but to date all I have to suggest is that the Jackdaw is uneasy in a small confined space like my garden, the high boundary walls preventing an effective look-out.

The third category contains the many delightful and interesting birds which belong to various other habitats in the district, but which can still be seen and heard passing over. Worthy of special mention are: (a) the Brambling, which I have spotted only once from the garden; (b) the Goldfinch, which, with its pleasant metallic tinkling flight calls, has passed so low overhead that I have been able to see the sunlight through the golden blaze on its velvety black wings; (c) the Carrion-Crow, one pair of which species nests close by and causes great fury and trepidation amongst the resident birds; and (d) the Swift and unrelated hirundines which feast overhead on the summer insects. I have an interesting late record for Swallows which stopped nearby on 26th October, 1952, and so provided a contribution to an

enquiry on this subject which was in progress at the time.

Finally in the fourth category I include two birds which I have not yet had the opportunity to transfer to the third.

For the purpose of ringing I use two well-known types of bird trap modified to my own requirements and by the available materials. One is a variation of the chardonneret trap, and is a box of ½ in. mesh wire netting with a lid on top held up by a twig which sits on an arrangement of movable perches inside. This trap is operated by the bird when it lands on the perches, the movement caused by its weight being sufficient to over-balance the lid support. At one end of the trap is a door leading into a small collecting box with a glass window from which the birds can be taken by hand. The bait, which is simply put on to the floor of the trap, may be pieces of bread, meat, fat, vegetables, or crumbs, or nuts, or mealworms in a small dish. Robins, tits, or warblers are readily caught in this trap because they perch or climb on it more than other species. The other trap is better suited to Starlings, Thrushes, etc., because it is of pyramidal form and is tilted up on one edge so that the birds can walk beneath. Its operation is similar to that of the garden riddle trap which is dropped over the birds when its supporting strut is pulled away by a string, but it is released by an automatic device which is tripped when the bird seizes the bait. A collecting box is not used with this trap because the birds go into the 60° corners, where they are easily picked up.

The ringing totals for each species are a fair indication of the activity of the species in the garden, and they give some comparison of the relative numbers which visit the garden from time to time, but detailed analysis of the trapping records and direct observation are required to answer the many questions which might be asked about the birds. I mention below just a selection of the phenomena to which my garden studies have drawn attention.

I. *Food Preference.* Fats and nuts are particularly favoured by tits, but they will readily take cheese or meat, and even bread. Starlings are practically omnivorous, and

very greedy, and they select large pieces of food. Blackbirds are rather fastidious, but they will eat bread, cheese, or meat if the weather drives them to it. House Sparrows are surprisingly conservative. They like to stick to bread. The Hedge Sparrow deliberately and consistently avoids all substantial pieces of food, taking for choice only the minutest crumbs. For this reason my captures of Hedge Sparrows are fewer than they might otherwise be.

II. *Trap Shyness.* The House Sparrow is quickest to learn caution and has the longest memory. Thus my captures are usually young birds, and I have never taken one for the second time. The Starling is also quick to learn, and seems able to communicate its suspicion to its companions, but is nevertheless caught because it attempts to snatch the bait and escape with it before the trap can fall. The Blue Tit is easily caught and many are retrapped, but a few become very wary and perform amusing tricks while trying to reach the bait without touching the perches.

III. *Return of birds for second and subsequent winters.* The Robin is fiercely territorial, and drives away trespassers from its living space, therefore few are caught apart from the resident bird. One spent the winter of 1951-52 in the garden, went elsewhere for the summer, and occupied the same territory again in the winter of 1952-53. It disappeared in the spring of 1953 and was superseded by a new bird in the autumn of 1953, so probably did not survive.

A high percentage (43%) of Great Tits were retrapped during the winter following that in which they were ringed, and one has so far appeared for its third winter.

Much the same applies to the Blue Tit. Here the frequent trapping has made it worth my while to chart the occurrence of this species in terms of captures, and I append a copy of the diagram. It is plotted on a time base, one horizontal line being devoted to the history of each bird ringed. The extreme left points represent the first trapping of the bird, and the others all subsequent captures. It will be seen that in November, 1952, there was an unusually large number ringed, and at the same time a very large number

were retrapped. This occurred during the very cold spell at that season. The other features to be noted are the plentiful return of birds for a second winter and the three for the third winter. I have extended the chart beyond my chosen period of two years in order to show this information. There are hardly sufficient data for an analysis of mortality, but this chart indicates how such a thing might be made, and indeed is, for all my records are sent to the British Museum to be added to those of the other bird ringers.

IV. *Genealogies.* One of the most fascinating aspects of bird ringing is the working out of family trees. Many unsuspected facts about male-female relationships have been discovered by this means, and the interest is heightened by the knowledge gained of the birds as individuals. My attempts at this have met with little success owing to the fact that the nests of the birds visiting my garden are not easily accessible to me. The best I have managed to do so far is to mark one juvenile Blackbird and its parents, but even these have disappeared.

V. *Recoveries of ringed birds elsewhere.* Since the address of the British Museum is imprinted on each ring I use, any bird caught or found dead by another person is likely to be notified to the Museum, and in due course I will receive a postcard about it. By this means I have obtained some information about the wanderings of these birds.

To date 16 of the 414 have been found dead, five being killed by cats. Seven of these are Blue Tits, all but one having been found in or near Lovers' Walk, which agrees with the strictly sedentary nature of the species. However, one turned up near Sanquhar, having travelled about 23 miles, and was included in the Report on Bird Ringing for 1952, *British Birds*, Vol. XLVI., 1953, page 320.

Of the two Robins found dead, one was in Irish Street, Dumfries, and the other at Drumlanrig Castle.

Three Blackbirds and two Starlings were also found dead, all locally except one of the Starlings which was reported from Fredensborg in Denmark. Here we have confirmation that the Starlings in Dumfries are joined in winter

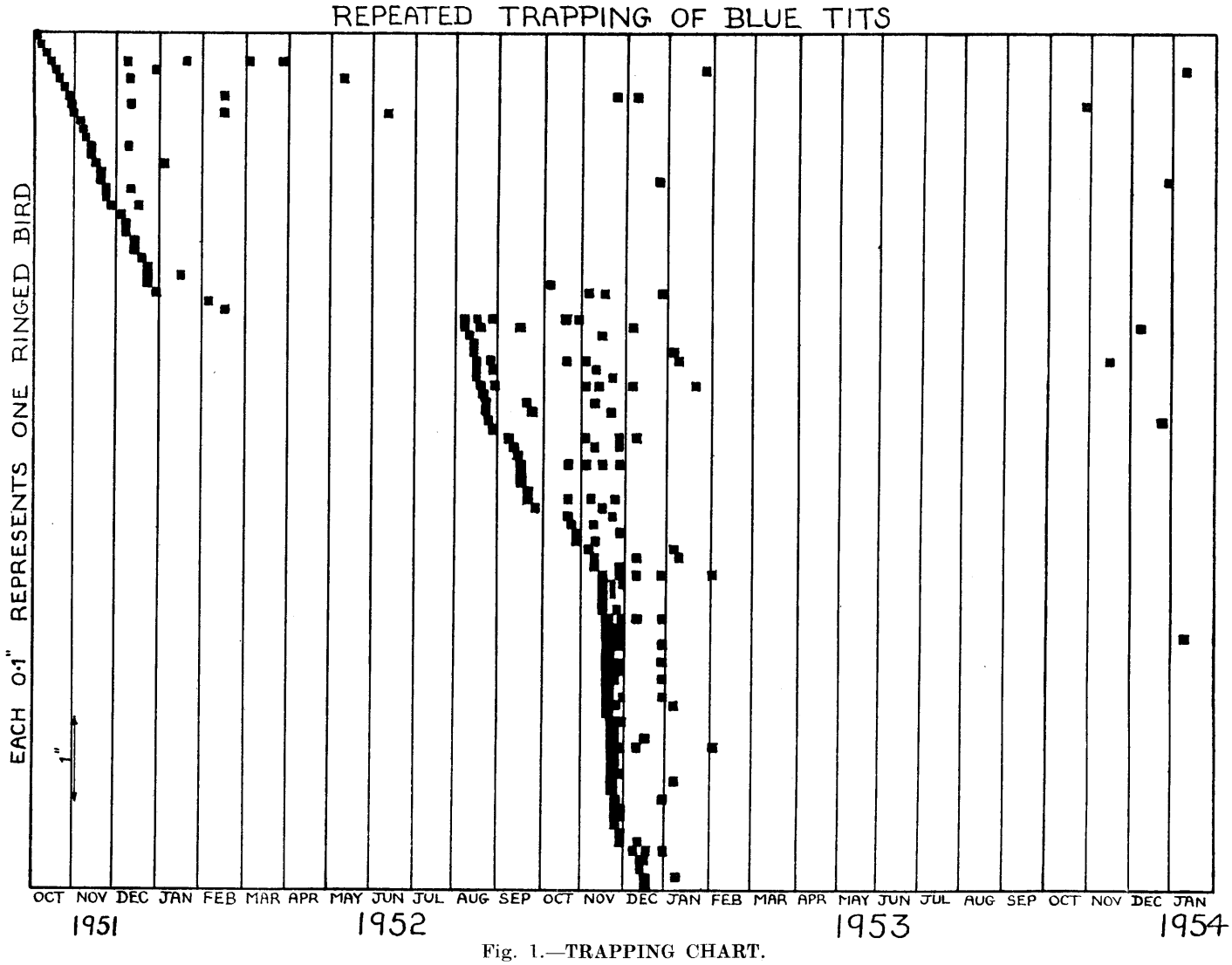

Fig. 1.—TRAPPING CHART.

by Baltic immigrants. That some are local breeders is proved by two recaptures I made, and by direct observation of ringed birds during the breeding season. I have as yet no indication that any of our local nesting Starlings migrate for the winter.

One House Sparrow and one Song Thrush complete the total.

VI. *Deformities, injuries, and abnormalities.* Under this heading we have a wide variety of conditions, some of which tell us a little of the bird's way of life, others of the hazards it meets, and yet others of the extent of shock it may suffer and yet survive. Examples are:

(a) Starlings which I handle late in the breeding season and find emaciated, with badly worn plumage and a strong body smell, sometimes also with excessively worn claws. The last I attribute to an inaccessible nesting place in abrasive stonework.

(b) Starlings with missing toes or segments thereof. The cause of this eludes me, although it has been suggested to me that the birds might have been entangled in garden seed protectors of fine thread.

(c) A Chaffinch with an entire foot missing and most of the leg muscles wrenched and stiff. In spite of this the creature had survived the injury and was in excellent plumage. I did not ring it on account of the disability.

Besides the above three irregularities I have encountered some oddities of growth. In the Starling this manifests itself in bare patches of skin around the base of the bill, a condition which gives the bird a most peculiar facial expression. In the Blue Tit I have had one example of the best known abnormality in this species, a case of hypertrophy of the rhamphotheca or horny covering of the mandibles. The bill was about twice the normal length and had the tips crossed. This bird spent one winter in the district and was caught by me six times during the period.

VII.—*Examination of plumage and soft parts.* For

sexing birds and judging whether they are adult or immature at the time of ringing it is necessary to acquire a good deal of practice in making close strutinies in plumage, bill, feet, and eyes. I have found that much can be learned by keeping accurate descriptions of these things. As an example I now have details of the order and manner of the colour changes in the bill of the Starling from its winter to spring colours, and have some indication of phase differences in time between males and females, and between adult and first winter birds.

In conclusion I wish to express my indebtedness to my family for their forbearance in not disturbing me unduly when I was making the observations upon which the foregoing report is based.

ARTICLE 11.

Booty in Border Warfare.

By DENYS HAY, M.A.

The subject of my paper sounds modest enough.[1] In reality it is, I believe, very large in scope, touching on a wide range of problems not only of Scottish and English history, but of European history at large. Until almost our own day the spoils of war have been a not inconsiderable inducement to martial ardour. Doubtless the national armies of the French Revolutionary wars and the latter-day development of conscription have reduced the importance of the winnings of war to negligible proportions; but many of us must have met soldiers in the last ten years who brought home with them from Italy or Germany articles which (in what the dictionary calls "euphemistic" army slang) had been "won." Prior to the eighteenth century, when an army literally lived on the land, this element played a correspondingly greater part. And the further we go back towards the Dark Ages the bigger we find to have been the influence of booty in warfare. The impulse to make war profitable was, indeed, entirely responsible for the wars of the little kings of Christendom at the outset: among the German tribes settled in the Western Empire each spring saw the warriors assembled for aggressive war; how else could a non-commercial economy sustain itself? In our own island there is evidence of such an attitude in the Celtic peoples, in the Germans who displaced them, and in the Norsemen—Danes and Normans —who followed after. Of the activities of the Norsemen we are particularly well-informed in the *Sagas* where we read the tale of brutal assault and ruthless acquisitiveness year by year, reign by reign, until something like monotony

1 My acknowledgments are due to Mr R. C. Reid, who placed at my disposal his notes on early XVI. century records of the Lords of Council and was kind in many other ways. I have also had help from Professor W. Croft Dickinson, Dr Gordon Donaldson and Mr A. A. M. Duncan.

obscures for us the ugly incentive behind the barbaric virtues of the heroes.

Nothing is more revealing in this universal itch to ravage and to spoil than the traces we find in the sources of rules for the sharing of the plunder. Clearly such rules must have played a big part in preventing disputes about the booty which would otherwise have arisen when a war band was victorious and marched or sailed home with the gold vessels, the arms and armour, the maidens, the young warriors and the chieftains, of the vanquished and despoiled enemy. Our knowledge of these rules is tantalisingly meagre in the early days. Compounded of traditions stretching back into the remotest periods, modified by contact with Rome, with Christianity, with Islam, for long no one felt it necessary to set down precisely how for any people at any time the spoils were divided. In Britain it is not until we come to the Ancient Laws of Wales that we find a systematic codification of practice. In this remarkable collection of laws (some of which date back to the tenth century) the sharing of the prisoners and the plunder is accounted for meticulously. We meet, for instance, this sort of regulation: "The captain of the royal war-band is entitled to two men's portions of the spoils acquired out of the country; and of the king's third he is to have a third. He is the third person who is to have a third with the king: the other two are the queen and the chief falconer." The mention of the chief falconer is significant. The division of the winnings of war, not only in Wales, but in all other areas, seems to have been closely related to the division of the spoils of the chase. Nimrod has always had a somewhat ambiguous character.[2]

It is within this larger framework that I invite you to survey the question of plunder in the Borders. The matter is somewhat intricate. For one thing our records, particularly at first, have little explicit light to shed on the

2 Some references to works bearing on the division of the spoils in the Dark Ages and in early mediæval Wales will be found in my paper, "Division of the spoils of war in Fourteenth-Century England," *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5 ser., IV. (1953). I cite this paper later as "XIV. C. Eng. Spoils."

question: there must have been plunder and arrangements for disposing of it equitably from the start (whenever that was), but we cannot profitably trace it beyond the fourteenth century, while most of our information is later even than that. We are dealing with an area where Marcher Law (whatever that was) serves as an additional complication. And, finally, the Anglo-Scottish border is, for much of its length, a waste of high moorland where reiving and rapine can frequently not be separated neatly into international and domestic incidents, where the stout borderers were (on both sides of the frontier) often interested in making ends more than meet at the expense of their neighbours whether Scottish or English, and in farming an area which is an economic unit—farming it, moreover, by grazing animals which were no respecters of treaties, truces, or national boundaries.

Though some of these complications will have to be touched on in what follows, I propose to limit myself as far as possible to the question of plunder in the narrowest sense. I shall begin by surveying the types of booty involved, go on to discuss attempts to regulate Border aggression, and conclude by discussing the evidence for the sharing of the spoils. The period I shall be covering is roughly from 1314 to 1542—from Bannockburn to Solway Moss.

The Borderers or men of the Marches[3] took to plundering on a variety of occasions, which must be distinguished. There were long periods of overt war. Then the frontier was crossed by armed bands, organised and directed — though often imperfectly controlled—by the governments of Scotland and England. Plundering at such a time was military duty; rapine was licensed; and damage to the enemy was not only profitable but also patriotic. In this connection we must remember that the Anglo-Scottish wars of the period are closely related to the phases in the hostility of England and

3 In general Border is commoner in English, March in Scotland; the "March" *tout court* in England meant the Welsh March. The Scottish humanist historians refer to Borderers as "Marciani" (Buchanan, *Opera*, Leyden, 1725, i. 352) or "limitanei" (Major, *Historia*, Edinburgh, 1740, p. 323).

France.[4] But there were also periods of truce and even periods of so-called peace; from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-sixteenth there are literally dozens of such arrangements. Some were for only a few months' duration, some were intended to be practically indefinite, like those of November, 1449, and July, 1499; some even aimed (like the treaty of 1502) at a perpetual peace. In practice, however, the truces were short; a three or five-year truce was often followed the year after it was made by a fresh agreement to suspend hostilities.[5] The reasons why the truces were abandoned were only partly due to the policies of kings and magnates; often the explanation is the rapacity of the Borderers themselves, and there is no doubt that the signing of a truce often made little difference to the behaviour of the fighting men of the Marches, though it had a bearing on the geographical extent of their raids and on the legitimacy of their plunder, and must therefore be regarded as a distinct type of border aggression. In this respect it is interesting to note that it was argued more than once that when " lawful " war broke out it automatically legitimised booty captured in earlier " unlawful " attacks.[6] The third type is the raiding, not of Scots on English or vice versa, but of Scots on Scots and of English on English. Sometimes one must regard this last brand of rapacity with charity: it was often not clear to the participants whether they were the lieges of the Scottish or the English king; the " Debatable Land " continued far into the sixteenth century as a source of equivocation;[7] there were Graemes, Armstrongs, Nixons, and Waughs on both

4 Scots and English preyed on each other in France before the campaigns of Henry V.: cf. the supposed capture of Archibald Douglas at Poitiers, when he wriggled out of ransom as a gentleman and paid only 40s as a servant (*Scalacron.*, ed. Maxwell, 1907, p. 125, n. 2 and refs.); Bain, IV., No. 709—Scots captured by Calais garrison 1405.

5 A catalogue of these documents would be worth compiling. Most (but not all) are in Rymer's *Foedera* and were extracted for his chronological survey by G. Ridpath, *Border History*, 2nd ed., London, 1810.

6 James Balfour, *Practicks*, Edinburgh, 1754, p. 596; *Acts of the Lords in Council in Civil Affairs*, 1501-1554, p. 534.

7 W. Mackay Mackenzie, "The Debatable Land," *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, XXX. (1951), 109-125; D. L. W. Tough, *The Last Days of a Frontier*, 1928.

sides of the Border.[8] But sometimes there is little excuse for the brutality and greed with which neighbouring families of the same nationality preyed on one another. These cases hardly fall within the purview of this paper, for they are criminal acts by any definition and were prosecuted as such whenever the Scottish or English governments were strong. But their frequency through two centuries is worth remembering here, for it suggests that reiving, cattle-lifting, brigandage, and theft were endemic on both sides of the Border.[9] That such activities assumed the forms of war is pretty clear, but it is equally clear (to quote a Scottish case of 1537) that it was prohibited by common law for any Scot to take another prisoner, let alone rifle his possessions and hold him to ransom.[10]

What kind of plunder was sought for in Border warfare between England and Scotland? Scarcely anything came amiss to the raiding party or the advancing army; money and precious metals, cattle, goods and equipment of all descriptions, prisoners. At sea the captured ship—like the pillaged town or village—provided a convenient amalgam of all these spoils. Of this mass of winnings of war we know most about prisoners, for in this case the value of the capture depended on fairly elaborate negotiations, often involving documents which have fortunately survived. Of other booty we hear much, but not so often in precise terms; the

8 W. Mackay Mackenzie, *op. cit.* Annandale also suffered: Rot. Scot., i. 887-8 (1364).

9 It is easy to document this type of lawlessness from the English records: Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii., iv. (1887-8) contain many examples: iii., 948 (1328), 1334 (1340), 1454 (1346), 1555 (1351), iv., 128 (1366), 180 (1371), 230 (1376), 1312 (1442-60), 1556 (1490): see also *Cal. Close.*, Rolls Ed., III., 1348-50, p. 60-1; *Pat. Rolls*, 1358-61, p. 167. The capture of Louis of Beaumont and two cardinals in 1317 by Gilbert Middleton is a related case, T. F. Tout, *Place of Edward II. in English History*, 2nd ed., p. 103 and refs. Scottish material is fullest for a later period: R. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, Maitland Club, 3 vols. in 4, 1883, I. (1) 18+, 31+, 351+ (1493-1550); *Acts of the Lords in Council*, 1501-54, p. 604.

10 Patrick and Alexander Murray, with Alexander Armstrong took prisoner Archibald Douglas of Cowschogill. They took his money (£12), his horse and equipment (30 merks) and ransomed him for 1000 nobles, for which Lord Maxwell stood surety, Reg. Ho., Acta Dom. Con. and Sess., ix., f. 25v.

Scots returned home with a vast quantity of cattle in a raid after Bannockburn,[11] and a few years later the English gain "prædas animalium";[12] the inhabitants of a pillaged area petition for exemption from taxes because their stock has been completely carried off.[13] Wyntoun rejoices in the "catale and powndis" of the successful foray, and on one occasion lists the products:

> Wessayle, and apparylle off halle
> And off Chamoure, thare tane war all.[14]

Sir Thomas Gray, at just about the time Wyntoun was writing, estimated that when his castle of Wark was despoiled by the Scots he lost goods to the value of 2000 marcs.[15] Occasionally a more concrete picture emerges. The Scots in 1316 were delighted to capture iron on a raid into England on the west side, "because iron is scarce in Scotland";[16] while a great bell taken from an English raid on Dundee was sold at Newcastle to the Dominicans of Carlisle.[17] The frequent capture of horses doubtless made opportune the capture of three cartloads of harness in 1322.[18] and the rifling of the treasure chest sometimes gave the raider plunder which was of somewhat academic interest—like the muniments of a Yorkshire priory taken off by the Scots in the mid-fourteenth century.[19] Sometimes our information is so precise as to raise doubts about its veracity, as when we read that the only plunder Edward II.'s army took in the Lothians was one cow at Tranent.[20] In particular it is hard to trace the minor acquisitions of the victors in a pitched battle. Ancient Pistol at Agincourt is, we may guess, typical enough in this respect:

11 *Lanercost Chronicle*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Bannatyne Club, 1839, p. 230; cf. 239-40 (1319), 246-7 (1322), 341 (1344).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 291 (1337).

13 24 Parishes in Northumberland, 1440, Bain, iii., 1441.

14 Ed. Laing, iii.: Book IX., i. 45-8, v. 343 (1371, 1384).

15 Bain, iv., 542 (May, 1400).

16 *Lanercost*, 233.

17 *Lanercost*, 282 (1335).

18 Bain, iii., 791.

19 *Ibid.*, 1509.

20 W. Fraser: *Douglas Book*, 1885, i. 151 and n.

Owy, cuppele gorge, permafoy,
Peasant, unless thou give me crowns, brave crowns;
Or mangled shalt thou be by this my sword.[21]

At Flodden King James IV.'s chief cook, Thomas Shaw, lost £20 in an encounter with such a captor; but we only know about it because it was not his money, but the king's.[22]

Of plunder taken at sea much might be written.[23] I will content myself with a reference to a case from the West of Scotland, partly because it is more appropriate in this gathering and partly because most of our evidence comes from the east coast, where merchant shipping was much more numerous. In the winter of 1387-8 a Liverpool merchant, John Hall, was sailing to Ireland when he was captured by men of the Earl of Douglas on the high seas and " beyond the bounds and limits of the truce." He, his ship, and his men were all taken to the " Isle of Galloway " and there he agreed to a ransom of £100. To pay this he was authorised to export to Scotland beans, peas, oats, malt, flour, mulse (or mead), cloth, muslin, knives, belts, and various other *minuta mercimonia*, but not arms or military equipment.[24]

One type of aggressive act is perhaps worth a moment's attention, the exaction from a community of a money payment in return for not being burnt and ravaged. This seems to have occurred in the fourteenth century campaigns and to have been practised by the Scots rather than the English, though it regularly formed a part of English chevauchées in the wars in France, where a special term (pactise) was applied to the action. The procedure seems to have been for the raiding Scots to move elsewhere if they were adequately bribed to do so, as in 1322 when the Abbot of Furnes " made a ransom for the land of Furnes."[25] Sometimes, as at Ripon in 1318, the town could not produce outright the

21 *Henry V.*, IV., iv. 36-8.
22 *Exchequer Rolls, Scot.*, xiv. 53.
23 Bain, iii. 888-9 (1326), 1345 (1340), 1427 (1344), iv. 10 (1358), 23 (1359), 16d (1370), 250 (1377), 283 (1379), 564, 573 (1400), 623 (1402), 789 (1410), 830 (1412), 1039 (1431). *Rot. Scot.*, ii. 31 (1380), etc.
24 *Rot. Scot.*, ii. 91-2 (28th February, 1388).
25 " Fecit redemptionem pro patria de Furneys," *Lanercost*, 246; cf. *ib.*, 248 where Beverley does the same.

sum demanded, and gave hostages for the balance of the sum.[26] At the other end of the fourteenth centnry the Abbot of Holmcultram in 1385 paid £200 to the Earl of Douglas and his men to avoid being burned.[27] There was clearly in this situation a danger that Border strongholds would be ransomed by their owners rather than used in active defence: a number of pardons have survived for the loss of such fortresses.[28]

Rapid and tangible gains in cattle, cash, and gear were then the constant preoccupation of the combatants. Ransoms, about which we know most, are just a special case of booty, but, since large sums were at stake, they are worth considering separately. What happened was this. During an engagement, and particularly in the pursuit of vanquished by victors after an engagement, the defeated soldier surrendered as an individual to an individual soldier of the winning party. The captor might at once take his prisoner into captivity; or he might agree then and there to an exchange against prisoners on his own side in the hands of his prisoner's party; or he might allow his prisoner to go on parole for a specified period, on a promise to appear at a stated place later. At a later time the captive was required by his master to agree to a ransom, often (but not always) by subscribing a formal deed in which the terms of payment, and the securities for it, are set down. The securities were usually either other prisoners of substance, local men of wealth on the captor's side, or else members of the captive's own kith and kin, who came as hostages while the principal departed to raise his ransom. The ransom having been paid, the securities were discharged and the prisoner was a free man. It is perhaps worth noting that prisoners very often paid their ransoms by exporting commodities to the country in which they were

26 Bain, iii. 858, petition by six poor women of the town whose husbands are hostages in Scotland; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Ed. II., 1318-23, p. 274 (Rymer ii. 437); the Vale of Pickering also gave £400, secured by hostages, to obtain "salvation," *Rot. Parl.*, i. 422.

27 Bain, iv. 343; *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 181b.

28 Bain, iv. 542 (Gray at Wark, 1400), 585 (Middleton at Bewcastle, 1401).

imprisoned, so that in this way trade was stimulated by warfare.[29]

These processes are well known and can all be illustrated from the Anglo-Scottish campaigns under review. It is, in fact, impossible even summarily to list the hundreds of names of prisoners on the two sides involved in two centuries of pretty steady hostility. We do not always know a great deal about the ransom transactions, but we know many of the names of captives, both from chronicles listing particularly the many captured men at Bannockburn, Neville's Cross, Otterburn, and Homildon Hill, and from a steady stream of safe conducts and other documents in the Scottish Rolls, Exchequer Rolls, and in Bain's collection. The only side of the matter which is not so well recorded is the exchange of prisoners. This is a pity, for presumably a large number of the smaller men were released in this way. There are some notable cases where we have many particulars, like the exchange of the Earl of Hereford taken after Bannockburn and exchanged for Bruce's wife and others;[30] and the contemporary exchange of Segrave against seven Scottish prisoners.[31] But there must have been many exchanges which have left no traces on the records.[32] As Barbour writes of the fighting in 1327:

> And thai that tane war on a day
> On ane othir changit war thai.[33]

This was especially true of the minor Border forays where in all respects less ceremony was used.

The formalities of capture, ransom, and payment were all intensified when a great man was captured, not only because of his rank but because of the money at stake. When

29 E.g., *Rot. Scot.*, ii. 31, 35a, 52b, 83a, 85a, 109-10 (1380-91), etc.; *Ex. Rolls Scot.*, ix. 145, 146, xii. 473, xiv. 49, 56 (1481-1514).

30 Barbour, *Bruce* (ed. W. M. Mackenzie), 1909, xiii. 670-87 and notes; cf. exchange of Murdoch Stewart and Henry Percy, Bain, iv. 895 (1419).

31 *Rot. Scot.*, i. 134b.

32 *Close Rolls*, 1354-60, p. 288: Beaumont is to return to Scotland where he is a prisoner, and Scottish prisoners whom he has released by standing surety, must return. He had no business to make this arrangement for an exchange.

33 *Bruce*, XIX., 522-3; cf. 379-80.

the Scots took a Percy or the English a Douglas we find usually the most elaborate documentation; and the capture of David II. and James I. leave their memorials in page after page of Rymer's *Foedera*. A king's ransom was, however, not merely large, it was complicated by political considerations, and we will not consider it now. Nor was the redemption of one of the great Border earls free of repercussions, as the events after Homildon Hill testify, for the Earl of Douglas, taken by the Percies, became a bone of contention between the latter and Henry IV., and was finally re-taken at the battle of Shrewsbury fighting side by side with his former captor.

More typical are the smaller gentlemen who are taken prisoner in the two centuries under review, whose ransom is not measured in thousands of pounds like a Percy[34] but in hundreds[35] or in tens.[36] For the early sixteenth century, when Scottish litigation brings into view a mass of ransoms, some of the sums involved are very small indeed.[37] Of course the cumulative effect could be impressive. A Border magnate looked upon such spoliation as an act against himself, and Douglas in 1357 complained that Sir Robert Tilliol had plundered Eskdale of not only 1000 oxen and other beasts, 1000 sheep and horses, and goods from houses to the tune of £20, but also that many of his people had been ransomed to a total of £5000.[38] Half a century later Sir Thomas Gray claimed that the Scots had ransomed his children and people for £1000.[39] These, of course, are claims by interested parties and do no more than give us an order of magnitude. But Froissart, who was a neutral in the Anglo-Scottish war, was informed that the captives at Otterburn in 1388 paid

34 Hotspur's ransom was aided by a royal grant of £1000.

35 E.g., Bain, iv. 358, 409, 1379; *Ex. Rolls Scot.*, xiv. 80.

36 E.g, Bain, iv. 424, 563, 566; *Ex. Rolls Scot.*, iii. 212, vi. 128, ix. 145, 146, xii. 473, xiv. 49, 56.

37 A.D.C., xx., f. 44v., xxii., f. 48 (1509); xxvi., f. 146, xxvii., ff. 4, 45v., 163v., 234 (1514-6); xxviii.., ff. 5-6, 23v., 25 (1516); xxxv., f. 165v. (2524); *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Affairs*, 1501-54, pp. 305, 539, 546 (bis), 602, etc.

38 Bain, iii., 1664.

39 *Ibid.*, iv. 542.

more than 100,000 francs in ransoms, more (he adds) than they gained at Bannockburn.[40]

Faced with a heavy ransom, many men changed sides:

> O yield the, Pearcye! Douglas sayd,
> And in faith I will thee bringe
> Where thou shall high advanced bee
> By James our Scottish king.

The invitation to be a turn-coat was listened to by many illustrious captains and noblemen: it would be distasteful to rehearse their names, though in many cases we could advance political as well as financial reasons for their treachery. How many of the smaller men pocketed their pride and changed sides we cannot even guess: they figure in the records as rebels, though the embarrassment of governments often made subsequent reconciliation possible, as it did in the debatable lands on the perimeter of the English province of Gascony.

In the long-standing conflict between the two countries the influence of March Law affected the mechanics of plunder. With the antiquity of the customs of the March we cannot concern ourselves, although it is significant that on the English side they have been shown to have analogies with laws of the tenth century.[41] From the present point of view it is sufficient to remark the curious double nature of March Law: it was both a special custom for the subjects of each kingdom within each kingdom, and a custom governing the relations of the lieges of Scotland and the lieges of England. Both countries, that is to say, recognised that the Border lands represented a special area for domestic jurisdiction, as well as one in which it was essential to codify certain practices of international law. It is a matter for astonishment that this fascinating problem has received virtually no attention from legal historians, although from at any rate

40 *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, xiii. 257 (on Froissart's veracity as a neutral see J. Major, *Greater Britain*, Scot. Hist. Soc., 1892, 256-7). Fordun is emphatic about the value of the spoils after Bannockburn, "Annals," cxxxi.; Barbour describes the pillaging, *Bruce*, xiii. 443-64.

41 T. Hodgkin, *Wardens of the Northern March*, 1908, pp. 15-6.

the end of the thirteenth century[42] there is a good deal of material awaiting study. Here we cannot do more than indicate very summarily some of the conventions which had a bearing on plunder.[43]

From an original interest in the legal position of lieges with lands and loyalties on both sides of the Border, the governments of the two countries soon concentrated on the related problems of malefactors who escaped punishment by crossing the frontier, and redress of injuries done during periods of truce. Wardens of the Marches on both sides gradually acquired powers for transacting business at March Days or Days of Truce. Essentially the customs, and the written conventions which set them down and modified them, established that the old right of pursuit of raiders by a victim and his neighbours should be under legal safeguards, and that as far as possible the redress of injuries should be effected not by individuals but by negotiation between the wardens or special commissioners.[44] That much of this diplomacy was wasted is evident from the failure of treaties and truces to survive more than a few years at a time; and certain of the agreements—like that of 1398 which provided for an exchange of prisoners and a repayment of ransoms by each side[45]—are positively Utopian in their optimism. But there is considerable evidence that from time to time the machinery of the warden's meetings did effect redress, and therefore, presumably, that they minimised the normal vendetta procedure of the Border. We find attempts made to restore prisoners made in violation of the truce,[46] the

42 The status of the "recognition" of border laws made in 1249 *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i. (83+-86+) is disputed: D. L. W. Tough, *op. cit.*, 96-7; it is treated as genuine by Sir F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 1953, p. 588.

43 See for a brief discussion of some of these problems D. L. W. Tough, *op. cit.*, 95-171, whose list of border conventions, however, does not include many of the formal treaties and agreements drawn up in the fifteenth century. Most of these are in *Foedera*, paraphrased in Ridpath.

44 Wardens were usually also conservators of the numerous truces and treaties. Of particular importance are the arrangements of 1424, 1429, 1438: Rymer, *Foedera*, x. 328, 428, 688.

45 Rymer, *Foedera*, viii. 54-61; Bain, iv. 510.

46 Bain, iii. 1062 (1332), 1550 (1350), iv. 235 (1376), 1050 (1431).

formal presentation of claims for damages by one side to the other,[47] and the actual payment of money by one warden to his opposite number of sums in respect of damages.[48] Even in formal war an attempt was made by both sides to prevent prisoners being illegally abused. In 1348 the English government appointed commissioners to enquire into the complaint by a Scottish knight that he was forced to pay ransom twice before release;[49] and in 1535 the Lords of Council in Scotland heard a case in which the complainer, William Woodhouse, an Englishman taken at sea, accused Robert Fogo and others of agreeing to a ransom of 100 crowns and then later insisting on 500 crowns.[50] This maritime case should remind us of the numerous attempts to deal with damages inflicted at sea or on wrecked shipping on the coast, by the governments of the two countries,[51] though the developing theory of maritime reprisals led also to authorised acts of aggression.[52]

I turn now to what is for me the most interesting aspect of Border warfare, namely, the arrangements which prevailed from time to time for the sharing of plunder. I began by indicating the general importance of this subject, and it might perhaps be helpful if I sketched very rapidly the English practices in this respect before turning to Scottish evidence.[53] It seems likely that the feudal lord had a right to the prisoners taken by his men, while they enjoyed a right to horses and equipment. By the fourteenth century more elaborate rules emerge. The magnates who contract with the king to provide his army, and the king himself in his contracts with captains, explicitly reserve rights to prisoners and plun-

47 *Ibid.*, iii. 1664 (1357), iv. 318 (1383); and in many of the negotiated truces and treaties.

48 *Ibid.*, iv. 192 (1371), 303 (1382), 375 (1388), 924 (1423); *Acts of the Lords in Council in Civil Causes*, 1478-95, p. 49 (1480).

49 *Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III.*, 1348-50, p. 152.

50 A.D.C. and S., vi., fo. 58, 65v., 86. Norroy herald appeared for Woodhouse; the Lords dismissed the complaint, on failure of proof. Cf. *Acts of the Lords in Council in Civil Causes*, 1496-1501, pp. 68-9.

51 Bain, iii. 883-9 (1326) 1345 (1340), iv. 10 (1358), 23, 26, (1359), 164 (1370), 1115 (1438), 1121 (1438), 1303 (1442-59), 1414 (1474), 1429 (1475), 1443 (1476).

52 *Ibid.*, iv. 250 (1377), 283 (1379), 789 (1410).

53 For what follows see "XIV. C., English Spoils."

der: sometimes prisoners above a certain value or of a certain rank are reserved by the superior; sometimes the booty is to be halved between the two parties. By the 1360's we see more and more uniformity in such contracts. The captain has a third of the winnings of war of his men; the king has a third of his captains' winnings and a third of the third which the captain derived from his retinue. Always the royal right to prisoners is apparent. These developments may be illustrated from Anglo-Scottish wars. The king's right to prisoners was rigidly insisted on after Neville's Cross, for example.[54] And the emergence of the third is clearly revealed by the history of Lochmaben and Annandale: English custodians of the castle from 1346 agreed to pay their superior, the Earl of Northampton, two-thirds of all "advantages";[55] but from 1371 this proportion is reversed and the warden of Lochmaben had then to pay his master a third of the "gayne," a third of the third of prisoners made by the garrison and to surrender any prisoner above £100 in value for whom the superior promised to pay £100.[56] "Thirds and thirds of thirds" survived in English usage well beyond the limits of the period we are here concerned with. They are formally expressed in the "Ordinances of War" which ran from 1385 onwards in a fairly regular series.

When we turn to Scotland we find a singular paucity of direct evidence. The Scottish army was, practically speaking, unpaid during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[57] The host was summoned usually for fifteen or twenty days' service, and only in exceptional cases for as much as forty, and there was a distinct unwillingness to serve.[58] Since the army was unpaid we may expect the

54 *Rot. Scot.*, i. 675-706, *passim; Cal. Pat. Ed. III.*, 1345-8, pp. 225-6, 285, 363.
55 Bain, iii., 1459; cf. iv. 98, 109, 144, 161.
56 *Ibid.*, iv. 178; cf. 224 and Lancaster's indenture of 1403 as warden of the marches, quoted by Dr Chrimes (see below p. , n.).
57 See John Major's discussions of this, *Greater Britain* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), pp. 265, 346.
58 Gladys Dickinson, "Some notes on the Scottish army in the first half of the XVI. century," *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. (1949), p. 144 and n.

Scottish crown to have had small interest in, or right to, the spoils of war; it is the English king's rights which lead in part to the fuller English documentation. Equally the contingents in the Scottish host, unlike their English contemporaries, were not paid by their leaders, and so provisions regarding the divisions of the spoil do not survive in indentures.[59] A Scottish magnate in war was accompanied, not by professional soldiers as such, but by his kinsmen and "allies."[60]

Nevertheless from the beginning of our period we may trace the importance attached to the division of the spoils. In Barbour's *Bruce*, for instance, we read how Sir James Douglas, by a timely show of force, relieved Earl Randolph, but would not let his men participate in the actual fighting lest

> Men suld say we thame raschit had . . .
> He sule haf that he wonnyn has.[61]

While Bruce exhorts his men to fight well because they shall enrich themselves:

> That the pouerest of yhou sall be
> Bath rych and mychty thar-with-all.[62]

Later in the same poem we read of the Black Douglas defeating Neville and dividing the spoil among his followers:

> The pray soyne emang his manyhe
> Eftir thar meritis, delit he.[63]

And the chronicles contain other references to the sharing of plunder at a later date.[64]

There are no Scottish ordinances for war in the fourteenth and fifteenth century which have survived as such. The nearest equivalent is the list of articles drawn up for the Franco-Scottish attack of 1385, but this is mainly con-

59 Sometimes bonds of manrent are called indentures (Spalding Club *Miscellany* V. (1842), p. 251). But these documents, in certain respects comparable to indentures of retinue, do not seem to contain provisions for sharing the spoil.

60 See Barbour, *Bruce*, xvii. 316-9, on the Stewart defenders of Berwick, 1319.

61 See Barbour, *Bruce*, xii. 105-29.

62 *Ibid.*, xii. 242-3.

63 *Ibid.*, xv. 515-9.

64 E.g., *Pluscarden* (ed. Skene), ii. (1830), 236, in 1370.

cerned with the relations between Jean de Vienne's men and the Scots.[65] But there are traces in the Laws of the Marches of such general rules: after all the English Border was for all practical purposes the only place on which Scottish armies regularly operated. These traces of military orders governing the discipline of an army are quite distinct from the arrangements for law on the Marches, but they have been hopelessly confused with them. The confusion is not only the product of Bishop Nicolson in his *Leges Marchiarum*[66] and of earlier codifiers, like Balfour,[67] it is inherent in our earliest compilation, the " Statutis and use of Merchis in tym of were " of 1448.[68] In this document we have an amalgam of " statutis, ordinances, and punctis of weir " and other matters pertaining to Border jurisdiction in a narrower sense, such as the powers of the warden of the Marches. A not dissimilar obscurity hangs over later documents of this kind[69] and even seems to have worried the Scottish Parliament.[70]

Nonetheless these " ordinances and statutes " tell us something about the spoils of war. Aside from provisions as to disputed prisoners[71]—parallel to those found in English ordinances—there is a reference in the collection of 1448 to the punishment of men who do not fight dismounted when ordered to do so: they will be fined by handing over two-thirds of their prisoner's ransom and their booty to their master and one-third to the " chiftane of the oistis "; this suggests that, if any share at all went to the master and the chieftain, it was smaller than that here laid down. Further at the same time we have this article:

> Item, quhatever thei be that cumis to the oist bot in sensable maner with bow or speir and ther be ony deperting of gudis, tua of tha salbe put til ane bowis part.

65 *A.P.S.*, i. 554-555.
66 London, 1747.
67 *Practicks*, Edinburgh, 1754, especially pp. 590-613.
68 *A.P.S.*, i. 714-6.
69 *A.P.S.*, ii. 44-5 (1455).
70 *Ibid.*, c.l.: " Item as to the first artikyll quhare it speke of the deliverance and decret that the King sulde gif anentes debates betwix diverse personnis of the Realme of the taking of presonaris . . . that artikill is referryt to the baronys . . . . for thai haif experience thareof."
71 *A.P.S.*, i. 554-5, 714-6, ii. 44-5.

This clearly suggests that in the rank and file division was somehow based on the individual's equipment.[72] The most illuminating point comes, however, in the Acts of the Scots Parliament for 1455 (chap. 9):

> Quen the wardan rides or onyuther chiftane and with him gret falloschip or small, that na man gang away with na maner or gudes quhill it be thriddyt and partyt before the chiftane as use and custom is of the Merchis, under the payne of tresone to be hangyt and drawin and his gudes eschet.[73]

Here we have the division of the booty into thirds, although there is no statement of how the thirds were distributed.

Here and there in the Scottish records there are, fortunately, documents which give us a little more information. The earliest case that has come to my notice is concerned with the ransom of Sir Ralph Percy, taken at Otterburn in 1388. Percy's captor was Sir Henry Preston, and Preston's master was presumably the Earl of Mar. At all events King Robert III. in 1390 granted lands to Sir Henry Preston " pro redemptione " of Percy, and to the Earl of Mar a pension of £20 " in recompense and satisfaction of the third part of the ransom " of the English Knight."[74] This looks as though the king had bought Percy from the two men who had an interest in his ransom; such transactions were common enough in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century usage and are well attested for a later period of Scottish history.[75] The important point is that Preston, the captor, owed a third to Mar, the " chieftain." A century later we have more evidence. In 1478 Lord Carlile went to law with the laird of Mousewold over £20, " for the

72 *A.P.S.*, i. 716b.

73 *A.P.S.*, ii. 44-5

74 *Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.*, i. 801 and app. 2, p. 631: cf. *A.P.S.*, i. 581b. Froissart gives the captor's name as Makyrell and says he was handed over to the Earl of Moray. Even if this is the case, and the parties had sold their rights in the captive, the case none-the-less illustrates the existence of the third. See E. Barrington de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, 2 vols., 1887, i. 150-1, 515.

75 For instance the sale by David Hoppringle of his prisoner Thomas Naill to George Towris, which led to litigation in 1548: A.D.C. and S., vol. XXIV., fos. 142, 161v.; cf. *Accts. of the Lord High Treasurer*, iv. 300.

ransom of Robert Simson," an Englishman.[76] Was this a question of a third? We might guess so, as five years later Lord Carlile and his son were proceeded against by Cuthbert Murray anent the third of the ransom of Clement Skelton.[77] And in the next year, 1484, there seems little doubt that when the Earl of Douglas was captured by Alexander Kirkpatrick, a third of the price which had been put on Douglas's head went to his master, Robert Charteris.[78] Two unequivocal cases occur in the 1550's, just after the limit set for this paper: in the first a litigant claimed he had a decreet from the " merchell and his deputies " authorising his right to the third of a captured man's ransom.[79] In the second the Lords of Session assigned two-thirds of the ransom of a prisoner taken at Ancrum Moor (1545) by a household man of Cardinal Beaton to his actual captor and one-third to the Cardinal, " according to border usage."[80] The reference to the Marshal in the earlier of these two cases suggests that he had jurisdiction of cases involving disputes over the spoils of war, as he had in England. There is, however, no indication in the surviving memorials of his office,[81] as there is in England,[82] that (like the constable) he had independent rights to spoil—aside from his having certain privileges to the equipment of the tournament.[83]

To sum up this discussion, we may say that there is evidence from the early fourteenth century that in Scotland spoils were divided systematically, and from the late fourteenth and fifteenth century that the proportion was one-third to the chieftain (to use Scots terminology) and two-thirds to the man. In all this I find no indication that the Scottish King had any rights to the spoils of war, unless, we

76 *Acts of the Lords Auditors*, 1466-94, p. 72b.
77 Ibid., p. 112+b; R. C Reid, " Merkland Cross," D. and G. Trans., Vol. XXI., 3rd series, p. 216.
78 R. C. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 222; *Acts of the Lords Auditors*, p. 95+.
79 *Acts of the Lords Auditors in Civil Causes*, 1501-54, p. 602.
80 *Ibid.*, p. 639.
81 Spalding Club *Miscellany* V. (ed. J. Stuart, 1842), pp. 211-50; M. Bateson, in Scot Hist. Soc. *Miscellany*, ii. (1904).
82 *Rot. Scot.*, i. 208a (1327); F. Grose, *Military Antiquities*, 2 vols., 1786-8, i. 216, 226-9.
83 Spalding *Miscellany* V., 212; G. Neilson, *Trial by Combat*, 1890, pp. 271-2.

may suppose, his own direct retainers gained any.[84] And this inference is borne out by looking at the customs observed in sea warfare. This may be done by consulting the Stair Society volume which prints proceedings in the Admiralty court from 1557-62.[85] Here we find elaborate rules for the division of captured ships, equipment, merchandise, and prisoners according to the rank of the members of the ship's crew and the shares of the owners.[86] And we find that the Lord High Admiral was entitled to a tenth of the plunder.[87] These rules are of considerable antiquity; at any rate they are very similar to English provisions going back to the fourteenth century.[88] But in England the crown claimed and frequently exacted a proportion of the winnings of its mariners in time of war: this proportion was sometimes half, sometimes a quarter.[89]

Superficially the paid English army was clearly a more reliable instrument than the Scottish host, the English crown with its right to thirds and thirds of thirds and all enemy prisoners of substance was better off than the impecunious and more retiring crown of Scotland. These differences account, perhaps, for the severity of the raids made by Scots on northern England, for the moderation displayed by Lancaster and his men in their half-hearted attack of 1384 which so astonished Scots at the time. But we should beware of over-emphasising the difference. There are some savage documents dating from Edward II.'s reign and early in Edward III.'s in which an invitation is extended, sometimes to a named individual,[90] sometimes to allcomers,[91] to attack Scotland in return for the possession of anything that can

84 We are tantalisingly near a statement of principle in the articles sent in 1489 to James IV. by supporters of the dead James III. (Fraser, *Lennox*, 2 vols., 1874, pp. 128-9) where the critical passage is torn: "Alsua, that al ransoms takin be ony of our souerane . . . be restorit and gevin agane."

85 Ed. T. C. Wade, 1937.

86 E.g., pp. 111-2 and introduction, p. xxvii.

87 E.g., pp. 32, 56-8.

88 "XIV. C., English Spoils," p. 101 and refs.

89 *Ibid.*

90 Rymer, ii. 304 (David Earl of Atholl); *Rot. Scot.*, i. 166b (Fulk Fitz Warin); *ibid.*, 187a (William le Scryveyn). These are in 1316-8.

91 Rot. Scot., i. 208a, 283-4 (1327-34).

be taken—though the king's rights to prisoners of substance and the customary fees of constable and marshal seem usually to be reserved.[92] This may perhaps be looked on as to some extent Scottish rapacity and revenge: it is the era of the disinherited. No such excuse can be offered for turning the sanctuary men of Beverley and other liberties against the Scots, as was done in 1342.[93] But later on different causes sometimes gave a harsher colour to English warfare on the Border. As is well known, the Percies in 1402 rebelled partly at least because their claims for payment for the defence of the northern marches were not met. We now know that their claim was true: under Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. the highest proportion of dishonoured tallies went to the Scottish wardens and to other officers in the north, like the warden of Roxburgh.[94] The English magnates and their men were thus presumably often just as inclined to unbridled rapacity as their opponents in the Scots side of the boundary; certainly morale was very low at times and captains threatened to abandon their duties.[95] The Percies and Nevilles thus had almost as much interest in the spoils as the Douglases; and as late as the mid-sixteenth century we find a record being kept at Alnwick of captured plunder.[96]

May I conclude with one or two general points which to my mind emerge from the foregoing discussion? One point is the impossibility of running a frontier through the

92 Prisoners are reserved in the licenses to the Earl of Athol and to Fitz Warin. In the proclamation ordered by a writ of 1327 prisoners, goods, cattle and movables may be taken without hindrance from royal officers, "saving the due and customary fees of constable and marshal," *Rot. Scot.*, i. 208a. Other references to marshal and constable, ibid., 249a, 252.

93 *Rot. Scot.*, i. 629-30.

94 S. B. Chrimes, "Letters of John of Lancaster as Warden of the East Marches," *Speculum*, XIV. (1939), pp. 6-7, 11; A. B. Steel, "English Government Finance, 1377-1413," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LI. (1936), 577-97. Bain, iv. pp. 200-268 *passim* for returned tallies, 1424-61.

95 Bain, iii. 1338 (1340), 1463 (1346).

96 Duke of Northumberland's MSS., Alnwick. Hist. MSS. Comm., 3rd *Report* (1872) appendix, p. 113a; cf. Barrington de Fonblanque, *Annals*, ii. 128: a spoil recorded of 280 cattle, 1000 sheep, and horses and prisoners (1557).

Marches of England and Scotland. The whole economy of the area militated against this. We read again and again of attempts by the two sides to prevent smuggling, particularly of wool;[97] we read again and again of the impossible task set the wardens on each side to prevent sheep from wandering. At one stage the English complain that 10,000 Scottish sheep daily graze in England.[98] And we even have a fantastic safe conduct issued in 1389 for 1600 sheep belonging to the Countess of March and Lady Hering to graze daily within five leagues of Cockburnspath for three years or the duration of the truce.[99] To the unity of the pastoral economy we might add the unity of the warlike economy of the region. The borderers liked warfare: at all events Sir Thomas Gray in the *Scalacronica* argues that the onus of proving that peace will bring advantages lies on the peacemaker.[100] The nefarious behaviour of Scots who betrayed brither Scots into English hands and of English borderers who did likewise needs no elaboration.[101] In peace and war the men of the marcher counties were like minded.

The area has one other characteristic deriving from matters touched on here. That is the way it bred, on both sides, the magnate described in Fortescue's influential phrase as "the overmighty subject." The way in which their custody of the Marches led to the swelling of Percy power has been examined in detail by Miss Reid.[102] Much the same story is true of the Douglas power in the area where we are meeting to-night. Indeed, the reward given to the Earl in 1324, known as the Emerald Charter, which conferred such a massive liberty, was granted because Douglas surrendered to the king some French prisoners.[103] The two families,

97 *Ex. Rolls Scot.*, ii. 51, 78 (1360-61); Bain, iii. 1625, iv. 117, 200, 444, 486, 572 (1356-1401).

98 *Hamilton Papers*, i. 81-2.

99 At the request of Hotspur: presumably as part of the price of his release after Otterburn. Bain, iv. 392; Rot. Scot., ii. 99a.

100 Ed. Maxwell, pp. 164-6; ed. Stevenson, pp. 197-8.

101 Cf. R. C. Reid, "Littlegill Murders," *D. and G. Trans.*, 3rd series, XXIV., p. 83.

102 R. R. Reid, "Office of Warden of the Marches," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. (1917), 479-496.

103 W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, 4 vols., 1885, iii. 11-2 (cf. i. 154-5 for commentary).

traditional enemies on a heroic scale, who dominate the lands of the Border, were perpetually jealous of the encroachments on their independence by the kings of England and Scotland. So that even in their leaders the men of the Marches in each country found a similarity of purpose which further encouraged the homogeneous character of the Anglo-Scottish Border.

ARTICLE 12.

Staplegorton.

By R. C. REID.

This is, I believe, the first time that this Society has ever visited Staplegorton, which might almost be described as a forgotten parish, for in the year 1703 it was amalgamated with Wauchope and half of Morton parishes and this combination was re-christened Langholm parish.

That small but industrious town, originally in Staplegorton parish, is now the central focus of the district, and ancient Staplegorton, from whose loins is sprung this modern upstart, has receded from the picture and rests forgotten amongst the immemorial hills. It is therefore fitting that if we are to understand the early history of these combined parishes we should start at this site—now merely a road-end, but once a burgh and place of importance when what is now Langholm was still a boulder-strewn swamp.

If we are to seek for the first reference to this site we have to go back a very long way. About the year 1150 we find the first mention. One of the earliest surviving documents relating to our county is a small piece of parchment, a charter by King David I. Translated it runs as follows:

> David king of Scots to all the good men of this whole land, French, English, and Galwegians greeting: know ye that I grant to Robert de Brus and his heirs in fee and heritage in forest, the valley of the Anant on both sides of the water of Annan as the bounds are from the forest of Seleschirche (Selkirk) as far as this land stretch towards Strandnitt and towards Clud. No one shall hunt in the said forest save de Brus himself, under penalty of £10, and none shall pass through except by the straightway marked out (*nisi recta via nominata*).

This charter was granted at Staplegorton and is witnessed by Walter the Chancellor, two de Morevilles, Walter son of Alan, ancestor of the Stewart Kings, an Umframville

and Walter de Lindsay who owned the neighbouring lordship of Wauchope. Its date must lie between 1147 and 1153. The learned Sir Archibald Lawrie has commented on this document as follows:

> "One can imagine the King and a party (i.e., the witnesses) hunting in the wilds of Annandale and Nithsdale. This charter written on the spot may be the result of an interruption in the days sport by someone hunting or travelling over the hills, which the King in his anger resolved should not happen again and which induced him to give de Brus exclusive and stringent rights of Forest and of prevention of trespass."

From this comment it might be thought that rights of Forest over Staplegorton were being granted to de Brus—but this cannot be the case. Some twenty-five years earlier the same King had granted Annandale to de Brus's father, bounded as follows—"from the boundary of Dunegal of Stradnitt to the boundary of Randulf Meschin." Randulf Meschin held the English Baronies of Liddell and Burgh on Sands and would therefore march with Brus in Gretna and Kirkandrews parishes, but there is no evidence that the great lordship of Annandale ever included the districts of Eskdale, Liddell, and of Ewes.

Perhaps one may be allowed to offer a different comment. King David and his courtiers may have visited this site to personally inspect what the Anglo-Norman grantee of Staplegorton was doing on this spot. The King may even have granted him a charter of Staplegorton on the day of his visit here. That grantee was Galfrid or Geoffrey de Coningsburgh, who was an Anglo-Norman from Yorkshire, a follower of Earl Henry, the son of King David. For the Earl was married to Ada de Warren, who owned the fee of Coningsburgh close to Doncaster in South Yorkshire. The King's grant of Staplegorton to Galfrid has not survived, but it must have been close to the date of this forest charter to de Brus (i.e., *c.* 1150). Now the first thing these Anglo-Norman adventurers did on receiving a grant of lands was

to erect a strong place or castle at some convenient spot, a naturally defensive site requiring a minimum of adaptation, and to which there was reasonable access. It is just possible that a Roman road skirted this site. From the recently discovered fort at Broomholm, a mile or so south of Langholm, a Roman road can readily be traced to the Skippers' Bridge. As it does not appear to have crossed the river at that spot, it must have continued through Langholm, which is built on the top of it. It must have continued up Eskdale to connect with and serve the Roman fort at Raeburnfoot. Search for that road on the west of the Esk has been in vain. It may well have gone up the east side, passing Staplegorton, and then making across the hills in a bee-line for Raeburnfoot.[1] If that were so, the Anglo-Norman would have been provided with the best possible access. Be that as it may, Galfrid selected this site because it was the highest point of a cliff, one hundred feet above the River Esk. It was defended by the river on one side and a deep glen cut by a subsidiary burn on another side, so there were only two sides left for him to strengthen with artificial defences. The highest point of all—the apex between river and burn—he cut off with a deep trench forty feet wide and nine feet deep, throwing up the earth from the trench on to the apex, on the top of which within a stockage he erected his first wooden house. Outwith the trench, where we now stand, he surrounded a largish area of level ground with a rampart mound and palisade, forming a bailey court where his retainers dwelt, thus conforming to the feudal practice introduced into Scotland by the Anglo-Normans.

According to their lives, these Anglo-Normans were devout. The age in which they lived has been called the Age of Faith, but it was also an age of great cruelty and aggrandisement. At any rate Galfrid was not allowed to forget the claims of the church, and a wooden chapel was erected, probably within the bailey, but perhaps on the site

[1] This road, or perhaps the Roman road from Raeburnfoot to the Nith via Lockerbie, may have been the *recta via nominata* of the charter.

of the present Kirkyard. So here at Staplegorton we have the standard picture of the twelfth century origins of our modern civilisation. For one other feudal feature search has been made on the site in vain. The baronial mill was a material accessory just as much as the church was a spiritual necessity. It must have stood at the foot of the cliff, driven probably by the burn that tumbles down the glen or perchance by a mill lade farther up the river. If so, it has been swept away, for it is known that for many years the river has been eating into the cliff and that this site when first laid out must have been much larger than it is to-day.

From a military point of view Staplegorton must have been of importance owing to its proximity to the Border, and it was therefore held of the Crown by the feudal tenure known as Castle Ward. In those days a soldier's pay was his fief—his land holding; and under Castle Ward the holder of the land was bound to render military services in garrison within a Royal Castle for forty days every year. The knights on whom the obligation fell soon discovered the necessity of owning houses at or within the Royal Castle, so becoming a secondary factor, along with the non-military trading folk who sought the protection of the Castle, in establishing the origin of our Royal Burghs. Though the functions of Castle Ward are obscure, its application was wide. It was in general use on the continent and all over England. That it was an irksome duty goes without saying, and soon a tendency developed in practice to waive the duty of actual service in return for a fixed payment, which soon became stabilised at 40 days' service or 20/- yearly. Dumfries became a Royal Castle about 1186,[2] and there were attached to it certain baronies which had to render within that Castle the service of Castle Ward. The names of only four of these baronies are known, though there must have been many more.[3] Staplegorton was one of them, and in 1336 the unnamed holder of this barony was called on to pay 20/- to Eustace de Maxwell of Caerlaverock, who at that date was English Sheriff at Dumfries.[4]

2 D. and G. Trans. (1913-14), Vol. II., p. 170.
3 *Ibid.*, 173.
4 Bain, III., p. 317.

But that may not have been the only feudal obligation due from Staplegorton, for the following year the English Sheriff of Roxburgh Castle placed on record that he had not been able to obtain payment of 40/- due as Castle Ward from Staplegorton.[5] If Castle Ward was due to both Roxburgh and Dumfries Castles, it is not surprising that actual service of the Baron of Staplegorton or his depute had been commuted for cash payment. But there is no other known instance of double Castle Ward being due from any feudal tenant. There must be some other reason for this entry relating to the Sheriff of Roxburgh. When Balliol surrendered Scotland to Edward III., Dumfriesshire became for a while a part of England, and Edward appointed Eustace de Maxwell of Caerlaverock as his Sheriff at Dumfries. His *Compotus* as Sheriff for 1335-6 is extant. With local Scottish successes, Eustace promptly changed sides, and it is probable that his headquarters at Dumfries Castle were taken and destroyed, for there is an ominous entry in the Roll that the Mote of the Castle and the dominical lands of Kingsholm, which used to be worth 60/-, paid nothing because they were empty and deserted.[6] Edward for that reason cannot have made any appointment of another Sheriff, but in the following year must have called on the Sheriff of Roxburgh, still held firmly for England by the doughty Sir William de Felton, to collect the payment for both the previous and current years from the occupant of Staplegorton, which from its proximity to the English Border must almost certainly have been held for England. The same *Compotus* of Felton indicates that he must also have been instructed to collect the Castle Wards of the Sheriffdom of Lanark. This is the probable explanation of the apparent double Castle Wards of Staplegorton.

Dr. George Neilson[7] has drawn attention to the fact that

5 Bain, III., 373. I am indebted to Mr G. W. S. Barrow of University College, London, for checking the original Rolls at the Record Office. There is no doubt that Bain's transcription was perfectly accurate.

6 Bain, III., 318.

7 D. and G. Trans. (1913-14), Vol. II., p. 174.

these barons serving their Castle Ward in Dumfries Castle were sometimes associated with burgesses in burghal administration, but too much emphasis should not be laid upon a single instance. Inevitably the barons must have realised the military and civil advantages of such a system and must have applied it to their own estates. They encouraged traders to settle in their bailey courts with a twofold object, for on the settler was laid the obligation to defend the nascent community and the lords castle, as well as to make a payment to the baron for his protection of the settlers. The next step was for the community to seek from the baron the right to administer their own affairs, and as the baron was often absent at court or at the wars he readily consented, for a further payment—the origin of burgh fermes. It has been well said by Dr. Neilson that:

> "Feudalism though an institution of foreign growth was developed by home cultivation. Military in all essentials, it yet formed the basis of the real settled civil government of the country. It was a foundation of remorseless force on which there arose step by step a stately structure of peace, commerce, and civil freedom. If we are to understand history right we must get to see how out of Norman conquest, with all its tyranous violence and blood, there not only sprung public order but also conditions which fostered that popular spirit with which Feudalism seemed at first quite incompatible."

Many of the early Burghs based on feudal motes, such as Annan and Lochmaben, have survived into modern times. Others, such as Staplegorton and the Mote of Urr, have disappeared, leaving only a grass-grown mound. Survival seems to have depended on largely two factors—their geographical position and the fate of the families that owned them. In the case of Staplegorton both factors were inimical to survival. Late mediæval and modern conditions favour a centre where valleys meet and communications intersect. Staplegorton lies in a back water. The family of de Coningsburgh[8] disappears about 1280, and Sir John Lindsay, Cham-

8 D. and G. Trans. (1935-6), Vol. XX., 133.

berlain of Scotland, had acquired the land by 1285. Perhaps it was the Chamberlain rather than the Coningsburgh who erected a stone castle on the Motehill. It was then known as the Castle of Barntalloch. Tradition recorded by George Chalmers asserts that:

> "Near the old church stood formerly the Castle of Barntalloch, built of stone and lime of a round form near the cemetery. Under this strength rose a Burgh of Barony, where was a yearly fair of great resort which has been transferred to Langholm. A tract of more than six and twenty Scottish acres still bears the name of the Burgh roods of Staplegorton."

Stone Castle has long ago toppled into the river and been swept away. The date of that calamity is unknown, but it may well be the reason why there are so few record references to Barntalloch. Some vestiges of built foundations on the Motehill are recorded in the *Inventory*.

The grandson of the Chamberlain resigned the Barony in 1320 when King Robert I. granted it to the good Sir James Douglas, whose brother, Hugh Douglas, transferred it to William Douglas of Lothian. The last we hear of this Burgh of Barony is in 1532.

ARTICLE 13.

Hoddom.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

The great crosses of Hoddom deserve to stand beside the better preserved and better known examples at Ruthwell and Bewcastle. Like them they illustrate the heights to which early Northumbrian art could rise in the western provinces beyond the mountains, so far removed from the homeland of this Anglian people. These crosses, the fragments of which were first noted in the old kirkyard of Hoddom, on the Lower Annan, have had a chequered history. The finest sculptured pieces were removed to Knockhill and split longitudinally for display in a summerhouse.[1] About 1935 they were brought back to Hoddom, where they were inspected by the Society in the course of a visit to the district. Removed to Hoddom Castle for safe custody in 1939, the stones disappeared during the war when the property was in the hands of the military. All attempts to trace them have failed. Less important pieces, which had been removed at an earlier date to the terrace at Hoddom Castle or had remained in the old kirkyard, have now been transferred to the Burgh Museum at Dumfries.

The present article is intended to record all the early monuments found at Hoddom and to show their place in the history of the site. The lost cross fragments are illustrated from photographs taken in 1936 by Dr. O. G. S. Crawford and first published in Antiquity.[1a] The writer and the Society are deeply indebted to Dr. Crawford and to the publishers of Antiquity for permission to reproduce these photographs, which form the best record of the lost sculptures, and for the loan of the blocks. The description of the great crosses is also, with their permission, reprinted from the article which the writer contributed to Antiquity. The

1 Fortunately a photograph of the interior of the summerhouse, now pulled down, has been preserved at the Museum and is illustrated here. (Plate I.)

1a *Antiquity*, xxvii., 153.

other stones, now in Dumfries Museum, are illustrated from drawings by Miss B. Blance and Mr A. E. Truckell. The writer offers his best thanks to them and also to Mr R. C. Reid for assistance in many ways. Permission to examine the remains in the kirkyard and to remove the stones to the Burgh Museum was granted by the Dumfriesshire County Council and the Church of Scotland. The stones from Hoddom Castle were gifted to the Museum by Captain E. Brook. Facilities for preparing the drawings and much other help was afforded by the Curator, Mr A. E. Truckell. To all these and to the many others who assisted in the search for the missing fragments, the Society is much indebted. Fig. 2 is reproduced by permission of the Ashmolean Museum from the drawing of the late W. G. Collingwood. Plate X. is published by kind permission of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

The Conversion of Dumfriesshire and the British Church.

Organised Christianity in Southern Scotland begins with St. Ninian, whose mission at Whithorn may be dated to the first half of the fifth century. The area principally affected is marked by the early series of inscribed stones. These extend from Whithorn (2) and Kirkmadrine (3) to Midlothian (1), and the counties of Peebles (1), Selkirk (1) and Roxburgh (1), with outliers across the border. Within this area Strathclyde and Dumfriesshire, the land of the Kings of Ail Cluaith (Dumbarton), is a blank. Yet we know that there were Christians in this kingdom in the second quarter of the 5th century, for the letter of St. Patrick is addressed to the Christian subjects of King Ceretic.[2] Moreover, about A.D. 500 Strathclyde was the birthplace of St. Gildas and his homeland is pictured as a Christian country. The life of St. Gildas is admittedly a late compilation, but, as Professor Jackson has pointed out, it is based on earlier written sources and uses a 6th century form of the name for the region (Arecluta: modern Welsh Argludd).[3] A pagan reaction,

[2] *Proc. R. Irish Academy*, III., ix., 254.
[3] *Vita S. Gildae*, cap. 1 (Lot. *Melanges d'Histoire bretonne*, 433); Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, 42.

accompanied by widespread apostacy, would explain the anomaly, and this is partly confirmed by the later tradition.

The real establishment of Christianity in Strathclyde and Dumfriesshire appears to have been the work of St. Kentigern, a native of Lothian. His life survives in two versions, both of the 12th century. The later complete life was written by Jocelyn of Furness and is dedicated to Bishop Jocelyn of Glasgow (1175-99);[4] it is evidently based on earlier written sources and the main facts seem to be trustworthy. The story may be briefly summarised. St. Kentigern was summoned to combat apostasy and chosen as Bishop by an unnamed king and the clergy. He was consecrated by an Irish Bishop and established his cathedral and monastery at Glasgow, a few miles upstream from the royal residence on the Rock of Dumbarton. The site chosen for the monastery was a cemetery " which had been previously consecrated by St. Ninian." The mission was successful, but after a time the throne of Strathclyde was seized by a tyrant named " Morken." His hostility forced the saint to withdraw for a period, during which he laboured in North Wales, where he is honoured at St Asaph. No Morgan figures in the Welsh genealogy of the Kings of Strathclyde, but a " Morgant bulc " appears at the right period in another dynasty,[5] which held sway further east. We should probably, therefore, interpret the episode of the tyrant as representing a temporary conquest of Strathclyde by another British ruler.

The following King, Rhydderch, is Rhydderch ap Tudwal, who is mentioned in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba.[6] He belonged to the legitimate line and ruled the country during the last quarter of the 6th century. King Rhydderch recalled St. Kentigern, and, when the saint returned from Wales, king and people went out to meet their bishop. A great assembly met at Hoddom. The saint preached against Woden " whom they and especially the Angles, believed to be the chief deity." As it stands, the passage is confusing;

4 Printed with a translation in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. V.
5 *Y Cymmrodor*, ix., 172-3; pedigrees V. and VI.
6 *Adamnan, Vita S. Columbae*, xi., 15.

the Angles have not previously appeared in the story. I have elsewhere set out reasons for believing (p. 36, supra) that the assembly refers to some frontier meeting for the settlement of disputes. It is, at least, evidence for the penetration of Anglian settlers into Dumfriesshire at a date not far removed from A.D. 600. We need not accept literally the accompanying statement that St. Kentigern established his See for a time at Hoddom, before returning to his own city, Glasgow; the tradition need mean no more than that Hoddom claimed him as its founder.[6A] No remains of this period have been found at Hoddom, but the cross recently recorded at Ruthwell affords evidence of British Christianity in this area.[7]

The Anglian Monastery.

The Angles, who appear so unexpectedly in the life of St. Kentigern, are the shadow of things to come. During the 7th century the north shores of the Solway, including Dumfriesshire, were conquered by Northumbria.[8] In 750 Kyle and other regions were occupied, confining the British Kingdom to the valley of the Clyde.[9] Hoddom, like Whithorn, passed into the hands of the conquerors. But these conquerors were already Christians, converted by an Irish mission, and the monastery probably survived the change.

The earliest organisation of the church in Saxon England was based on the monastery, or, to use the later vernacular term, the old minster.[10] The minster, forming the religious centre of its district, was modelled in miniature on the cathedral or head-minster. It was served by a community of priests, who were first responsible for the conversion of the

6a The top of a staff (or crozier) shrine, probably of the 10th century, was found near Hoddom and is now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. The preservation of this reliquary in the church of the 12th century may have given rise to the story of a former Episcopal See.
[It is hoped to publish this fragment in a future volume of the Society's Transactions. Ed.]

7 *Trans. D. & G. N.H.A.S.*, III., xxviii., 158.

8 Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 85-6.

9 *Bedae Continuatio*, s.a. (Plummer, *Bedae Opera historica*, i., 362).

10 Cf. Stenton, *op. cit.*, 147 sqq.; *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, IV., xxiii., 25.

district and later provided for its religious needs. This function is well illustrated by the foundation charter for the minster at Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire.[11] . At that place, in the time of King Ethelred of Mercia (674-704), 20 households were granted to the monks of Peterborough in order that " they might found a monastery and oratory of monks serving God and establish a priest of good life and reputation to bring the sacrament of baptism and the teaching of the Gospel to the people entrusted to him." The territory attached to such a minster would normally cover a large area, from which the community received dues. There would be a church and oratories used by the community; in many cases there were also a guest house and a school so that some of the communities developed into centres of learning. Within the district services would also be held at outlying points, often in the open at a place marked by a standing cross. It was only at a later stage that the parish church, served by a resident priest, became normal through the break-up of the territories of the old minsters and the provision by the landowners of church buildings erected on their estates to replace the earlier crosses.

Records of these minsters are seldom preserved. The churchmen of the 12th century regarded them with disfavour as houses of secular canons, often with communities of married priests transmitting their office in hereditary succession.[12] The more important became houses of Augustinian canons.[13] A few survived as collegiate churches. But the majority declined into ordinary parish churches, their origin revealed only by the survival of anomalous dues or rights, recorded in later documents.

Hoddom, like Whithorn, became a minster of this type under Northumbrian rule. It has been suggested that it is to be identified with Tigbrethingham, which is listed in a 12th century record, together with Abercorn, as an ancient

11 Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 841.

12 St. Ailred of Rievaulx, son of a priest of Hexham, sprang from this class (Powicke, *Ailred of Rievaulx*, 30).

13 For the change at Taunton see Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, 118 and 242.

possession of Lindisfarne.[14] The list is based on older material but the identification of Hoddom is based on no more than historical and geographical probability.

Our archæological knowledge of these minsters is slight. St. Augustine, Canterbury,[15] and Whitby[16] have been explored in part and Glastonbury is now being excavated. There are reasons for regarding all three as exceptional rather than typical. In addition we may use with caution material from the Gallic minsters and from the monasteries of the Celtic west. A number of oratories and one or more churches of a moderate size seem to have been usual, rather than the great church of the later monastic tradition. At St. Augustine, Canterbury, there were three churches set along an axial line, St. Peter and Paul, St. Mary and St. Pancras. At Monkwearmouth we also have a record of three churches, St. Peter, St. Mary and the oratory of St. Lawrence in the dormitory of the brethren.[17] In Ireland students of Christian antiquities will be familiar with the "Seven Churches" on many monastic sites. On the Continent the replacement of the earlier multiplicity by a single great abbey church was the work of the Benedictine revival of the 10th century.[18] At Glastonbury and Canterbury, both sites connected with St. Dunstan, we find the same tendency at work in the 10th century, when there is also evidence of a centralising reform of the monastic buildings. Finally we may note that, on the eve of the Conquest, Abbot Wulfric of St. Augustine, Canterbury, planned a great church designed to incorporate the earlier buidings of St. Peter and Paul and St. Mary. Outside the church there was neither cloister nor the ordered arrangement so familiar in monasteries of the 12th century and later. At Whitby, which was destroyed in 875, we find only, arranged along the sides of a street, a group of small rectangular buildings,

14 Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 854 (Rolls Series, *Opera*, ii., 101).
15 *Archæologia*, lxxvii., 201.
16 *Archæologia*, lxxxix., 27; Ministry of Works: *Official Guide*.
17 *Historia Abbatum auctore anonymo*, 25 (Plummer, *Bedae Opera historica*, i., 396).
18 Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France*, 10.

among which remain the sockets once holding standing crosses.

Hoddom would certainly have belonged to the same type, but the air photographs showed nothing beneath the heavy ploughland of the valley floor. Recently a re-examination of the church discovered some 40 years ago[19] has thrown a little light on this period. Superficially the published plan suggested a modest parish church of the 12th

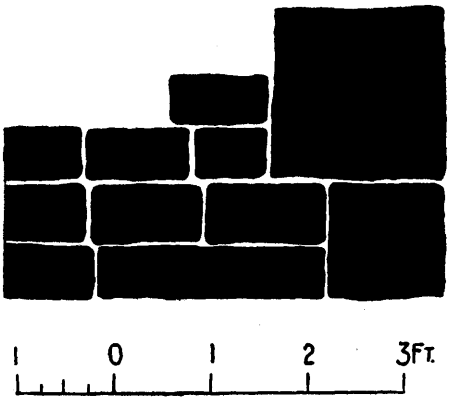

Fig. 1.—ELEVATION OF EAST WALL OF CHURCH.

or 13th century, but the discovery of a Roman inscription built into the walling indicated the possibility of earlier remains. Two trenches were opened. One, 18 inches wide on the east side of the nave, was designed to examine the junction between this wall and the north wall of the chancel. The other was dug up to the north wall of the nave 11 feet west of the angle. The first trench disclosed two squared stones of the megalithic quoin with four courses of small squared stones. The chancel wall had disappeared but the line of its outer face was marked by the end of the paving which lay north of the church. The east face of the nave was traced for 4 feet 6 inches (Fig. 1); it was clear that the two walls had never been bonded and that the chancel had been built against the end of an earlier building. The second trench disclosed similar coursed stones forming the

19 *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: Dumfriesshire* (cited as *Dumfriesshire Inventory*), no. 271; fig. 68.

north wall of the nave. In each case a slight offset marked the old ground level. The area to the north, lying within the adjunct shown on the plan, had a roughly paved floor. All the stones of the nave wall were re-used Roman material, the angles weathered and the size similar to that bearing the inscription previously found in the south wall. The Roman material clearly came from the fort at Birrens. The megalithic quoins and the consistent re-use of Roman stones set in courses is typical of a number of early Northumbrian churches, such as Jarrow and Escomb, both dating from *c.* A.D. 700.[20] The nave at Hoddom should belong to the same period, the chancel and the northern adjunct, probably a sacristy, being additions of the 12th century or later.

The earlier crosses described below confirm the existence of an Anglian monastery. The great cross (No. 1) was a magnificent example of 8th century work; it originally stood some 20 feet high. A single cross of this type might occur to mark a consecrated site or as a memorial, but its association with a number of other fine sculptured fragments and with a contemporary building points to an ecclesiastical community. Burial in the churchyard of the minster would have been a privilege sought by the more important persons of the district; it would explain the fragments of smaller crosses which probably marked the graves of individuals. In particular, the plain standing cross (No. 4) is a type most common in another Anglian monastery, Whitby, the burying place of the Northumbrian kings. Finally we may point to the great socket, now lying loose at the eastern end of the kirkyard;[21] this recalls the sockets found *in situ* at Whitby. It was probably dislodged by the plough and rolled to its present position to be out of the way.

The Viking Age and the British Reconquest.

The Danish conquest and settlement of Yorkshire in the third quarter of the 9th century did not extend to Northern

20 Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, pl. 8 and 9.

21 *Dumfriesshire Inventory*, no. 275.

Northumbria, which continued under Anglian rule. In the second decade of the 10th century the records disclose trouble in the western part of this territory.[22] The Norse invasion from Ireland, which led to the establishment of Raegnald as King of York, brought Viking settlers to both sides of the Solway. Dumfriesshire retains many place-names of Scandinavian origin, and what was possibly a pagan ship burial has been recorded from Graitney Mains.[23] With the collapse of Northumbrian rule, the Kingdom of Strathclyde advanced southwards. In 934 the meeting on the Eamont of Athelstan, the Saxon conqueror of York, with Malcolm of Scotland and Eugenius of Strathclyle indicates that the frontier was then marked by that river, leaving most of Cumberland in the northern state.

These changes would not seriously affect Hoddom. Many of the Irish Vikings were already Christian, and, as at Whithorn, the monastery would have remained the chief burial place of the neighbourhood. The fragment of cross shaft with ring chain interlace (No. 7) is typical of this hybrid culture. Small headstones are also characteristic of this age, and the cemeteries in which they occur are in certain cases thought to represent burials of the Scandinavian landholders.[24]

In the middle of the 10th century Strathclyde was invaded by the Saxon King, Edmund, who ceded the Cumbrian territory to Malcolm of Scotland. Though the old British rulers survived for a time, Dumfriesshire has since remained a part of the Scottish Kingdom.

The 12th Century.

The reign of David I., from 1109 to 1124, as co-ruler of the South under his elder brother, Alexander I., and from 1124 to 1153 as King of Scotland, saw a great

22 The best accounts of this period in the north-west are: *English Place Name Soc.*, xxii. (*Cumberland*, vol. iii.), p. xxii.; *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*: *Westmoreland*, p. xlix.,; and Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, chapter x.

23 Neilson, *Annals of the Solway* in *Trans. Glasgow Arch. Soc.*, N.S., iii., 265.

24 As at Cambridge Castle (*Cambs. Ant. Soc., Trans.*, xxiii., 15).

strengthening of the royal authority. One of his earliest acts was an enquiry into the rights of the See of Glasgow. Among the churches claimed was Hoddom, and Bulls issued by Pope Alexander III. and his successors confirmed to the Bishops the possession of this church.[25] But claims to the patronage of Hoddom were also made by the Bruces, the territorial lords of Annandale and by their tenants at Hoddom. Robert de Bruce ceded his rights to Bishop Engelram by a charter to be dated between 1164 and 1174.[26] Finally a document drawn up by the Papal Legate in 1202 records that Uduard de Hoddom "has appeared before us in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene at Lochmaben and surrendered to the Bishop (of Glasgow) by means of a book the whole right of patronage which he claimed in the Church of Hoddom."[27]

Surrender of rights by means of a book inevitably recalls the illuminated Gospels of the early Celtic church, which were closely associated with the founder and were at times used for the transcription of records.[28] In some cases they passed into the hands of hereditary lay keepers. It is tempting to regard Uduard of Hoddom as such, exercising certain rights over the monastery by virtue of his local standing and influence.

Hoddom, as the attached list shows, is rich in Romanesque memorial slabs. They are all uninscribed and therefore not closely datable, but the majority belong to the 12th century. Most of them probably commemorate priests belonging to the old monastic community. Such a survival at Hoddom would not be exceptional. At Whithorn the old monastery certainly survived into the time of Bishop Gillealdan, perhaps even in the time of his successor, who was consecrated in 1154.[29] At Kirkcudbright the scollofthes (scolastici), representing the old monastic community, were still in possession of the church of St. Cuthbert

25 *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i., 5, 23, 43, 50 and 55.
26 *Ibid.*, i., 64.
27 *Ibid.*, i., 83.
28 The Book of Deer is an example.
29 *Trans. D. & G. N.H.A.S.*, III., xxvii., 102 sqq.

as late at 1164.[30] It seems probable that Hoddom only became a normal parish church after the final cession of rights to the Bishop of Glasgow in 1202. It is to this final medieval period that the latest stones from the site belong.

List of Sculptured Stones Found at Hoddom.

This list includes all the early and medieval Christian stones known to have come from Hoddom except a few sculptured fragments, illustrated by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 77), but not described in detail, and the grave slab, probably of the 14th century (*ibid.*, Fig. 7) recorded by the Commission as found in the old Kirkyard, but not located in 1952. There is also an early fragment built into the Kirkyard wall. These fragments do not affect the conclusions put forward in the article. Present location: Burgh Museum, Dumfries, unless stated otherwise.

1. Centre and one arm of the head, together with parts of the shaft of a high cross. A reconstructed drawing (Fig. 2) was published by W. G. Collingwood (*Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, Fig. 51). The fragments have been split longitudinally (see Plate VIII.) so that both faces could be displayed when walled into the summerhouse (Plate I.). The head was ornamented on both faces with plain edges. The shaft was ornamented on all four faces. The arms had a double curve with flat slightly expanded ends.

On one face (Plate II.) the centre of the head is filled with a seated figure of Christ in majesty surrounded by a flat circular band, which is broken at the top by the haloed head and at the base by the legs and feet. The pose is frontal, the modelling flat with the folds of the drapery marked by shallow parallel lines. The face is smashed. In the left hand is a book, in the right an object not clearly identifiable, but probably an orb. The end of the sinister arm (Plate IV.) is occupied by the bust of an angel holding

30 *Reginald of Durham*, 179 (*Surtees Society*).

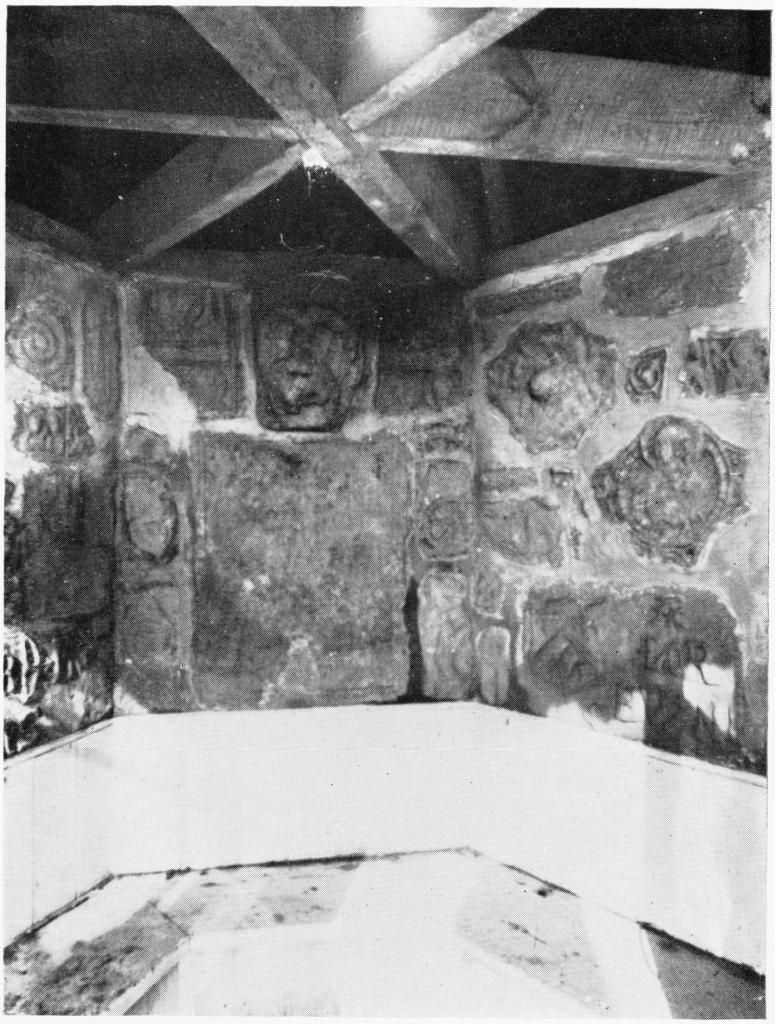

Plate I.—THE HODDOM SCULPTURES IN THE SUMMERHOUSE AT KNOCKHILL.

Plate II.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 1. [Photo: Crawford.

Plate III.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 1. [Photo: Crawford.

Plate IV.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 1 (left) and No. 2 (right). [Photo: Crawford.

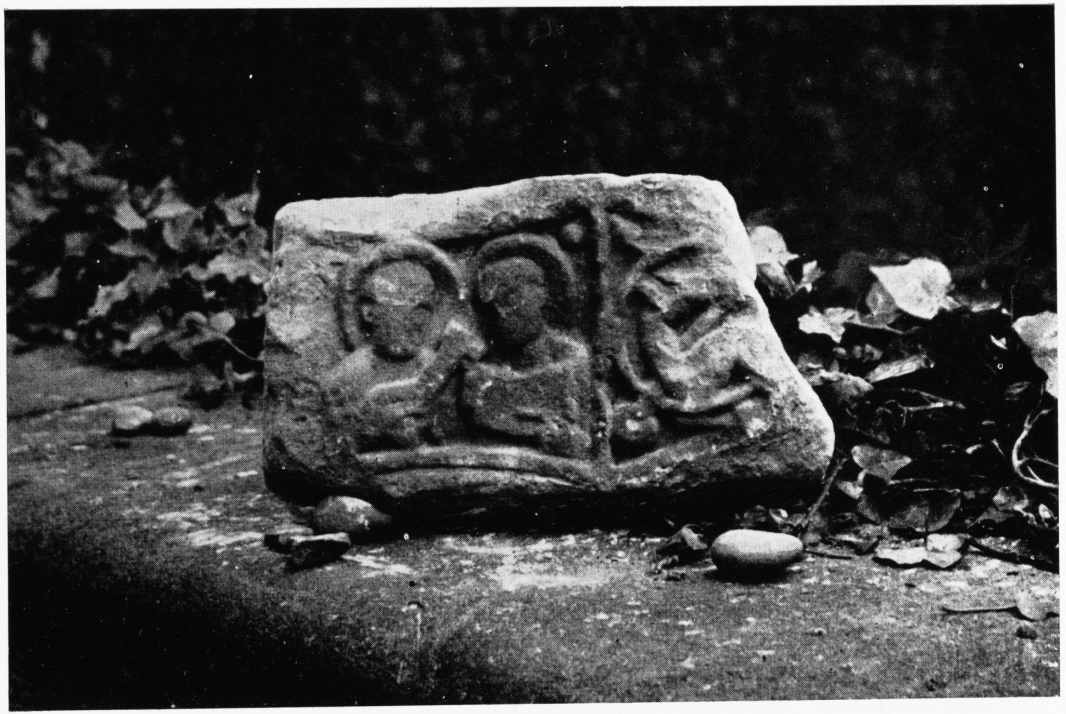

Plate V.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 1. [Photo: Crawford.

Plate VI.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 1. [Photo: Crawford.

Plate VII.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 1. [Photo: Crawford.

[Photo: Crawford.

Plate VIII.—HODDOM. CROSSES No. 1 and No. 26.

Plate IX.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 2. [Photo: Crawford.

[Photo: National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

Plate X.—HODDOM. CROSS No. 3.

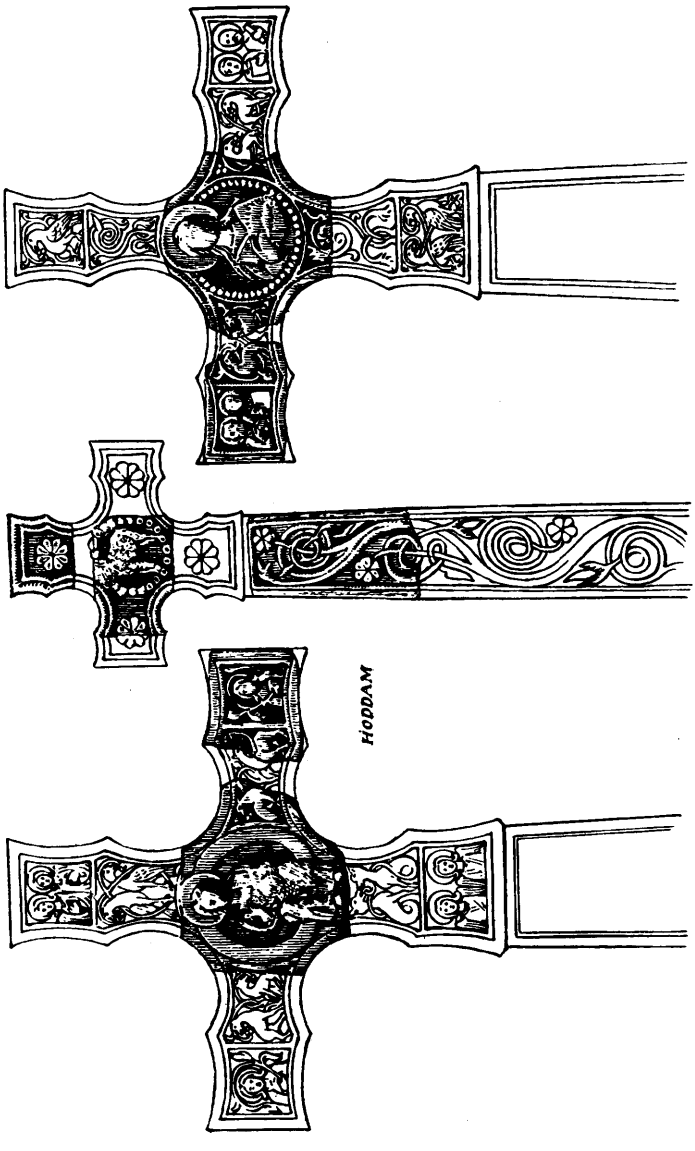

Fig. 2.—CROSSES No. 1 and No. 2.

a sceptre with a lily head. Between the angel and the centre is a smaller panel of two winged quadrupeds with long necks and backward turned heads.

On the other face (Plate III.) the centre of the head is filled with a bust of Christ within a pearled border, broken only at the top by the nimbed head. The relief is even flatter with a more schematic treatment of the drapery. The left hand holds an open book, in which the forefinger of the right hand indicates a text. In the panel at the end of the arm (Plate V.) are two half figures, nimbed and bearing emblems. The outer figure with the keys represents St. Peter; the other, holding a book, is not identifiable. The panel between this and the centre of the head has two animals with the heads turned back and set against a vegetal scroll.

One section of the shaft belonging to this cross is also recorded. There were panels with figure subjects on the two faces and running vine-scrolls on the edges. On one face (Plate VI.) the base of the upper panel shows the legs of two standing figures from the knees down; that on the dexter side is draped, the legs of the other are bare. The scene may perhaps be Jacob wrestling with the angel.

Separated from the first by a plain flat band, where one would expect an inscription, is the top of a second panel; this has the haloed heads of two standing figures. The sinister figure with a long pointed beard is probably intended for St. Paul, a type evolved at a very early date. On the other face (Plate VII.) the upper panel again shows two standing figures, both with bare legs enmeshed in a vine scroll. The arrangement suggests the Temptation of Adam and Eve, a subject found on a number of Irish crosses. The lower panel again contains the haloed heads of two standing figures. The vine scroll on the edges (Plate VIII.) belongs to an early type; it is plastically modelled with bunches of grapes, long tapering leaves and six petalled flowers.

The flattish relief, the hieratic pose of the central figures and the stiff modelling of the drapery all suggest a comparison with the sculptures of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses. The form of the head and the arrangement

of the shaft with panels on the two faces and continuous scrolls on the edges occurs at Ruthwell, and also on later crosses, such as Otley and Ilkley. Angels holding lily-headed sceptres are also found on the cross at Otley (*c.* 800), but the style is less stiff. The animals in the inner panels have been compared with beasts on the friezes at Breedon and Fletton, which belong to the Mercian school of the 8th century. The vine scrolls, though lacking some of the finer detail of the earliest examples, have little in common with the later designs of the 9th century, such as Easby. We must therefore place the great cross at Hoddom in the 8th century, probably near the middle of that century. A rough-hewn socket still lies outside the kirkyard. It is cut out of a huge boulder, and may well have been prepared to take this cross. Lost.

2. Part of the head and shaft of a smaller high cross decorated on one face only. In the centre of the head is the Agnus Dei (Plate IV., right) set in a pearled border. The Lamb stands stiffly erect with the fleece roughly indicated by scalloped lines. The cross had short arms with a double curved outline, the whole framed with heavy mouldings. The arms are occupied by eight petalled flowers set in a plain field. The top of the shaft has a continuous vine scroll, loosely designed with six petalled flowers and drooping feathery leaves (Plate IX.). The top of one shoot ends in an animal's head.

The scroll may be compared with the Otley cross. The stiff, lumpy figure of the Lamb is also a late feature. The date should be *c.* 800 or early 9th century. Lost.

3. Upper part of cross shaft, now decorated on three sides; back tooled off (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 78). At the top of the front may be seen the slight projection for the lower arm of the cross. Front: single panel containing a figure with halo, holding a book and standing in a niche with an arched and gabled head, surmounted with a cross, and supported by columns with moulded bases and capitals. Human head on each side of gable. Sinister side: above a small panel contains a half figure with halo,

holding an open book and placed in a niche with similar columns and domed and turreted top; below a blank panel. Dexter side: similar half figure beneath a domed and turreted canopy; at base, below a blank panel, gabled roof, probably of a shrine (Plate X.). National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

The figure on the front of the shaft represents Christ. Above the gable the two heads represent the sun and moon. The heavenly orbs are already represented on the crucifixion on Ruthwell Cross (Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, V., 141). Personification of the two luminaries only becomes common in Carolingian art; another example may be cited from the Aycliffe Cross (Collingwood, *op. cit.*, Fig. 97). The use of figures in niches and the moulded bases and capitals may be compared with 9th century examples in Northumbria, such as the crosses at Otley and Dewsbury (*ibid.*, Figs. 52 and 91). The figures belong to the tradition exemplified in the large cross (No. 1), and this fragment should be dated to the early 9th century.

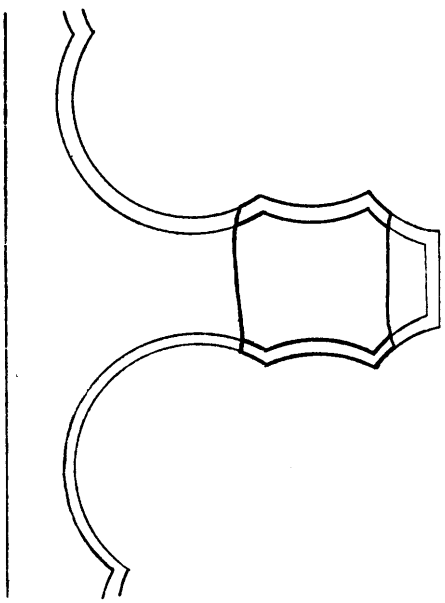

Fig. 3.—CROSS No. 4.

4. Fragment from arm of free standing cross of grey sandstone tinged with pink (Fig. 3). The arm shows a double curve with a chamfered end, the outline emphasised by a double incision. The head of the cross was originally about 2 ft. 6 ins. across.

Several funerary crosses of this type were found at Whitby; one of the same form as this was probably early in the series (*Archæologia*, LXXXIX., 35). 8th century.

5. Part of head of a free standing cross of grey sandstone tinged with pink (Fig. 4). Front: the border is marked with a double incised line; within this a central four-petalled flower is surrounded with a well designed interlace. Back: within a similar border, a central boss. Edges: plain. The head was about 2 ft. 6 ins. across, the arms

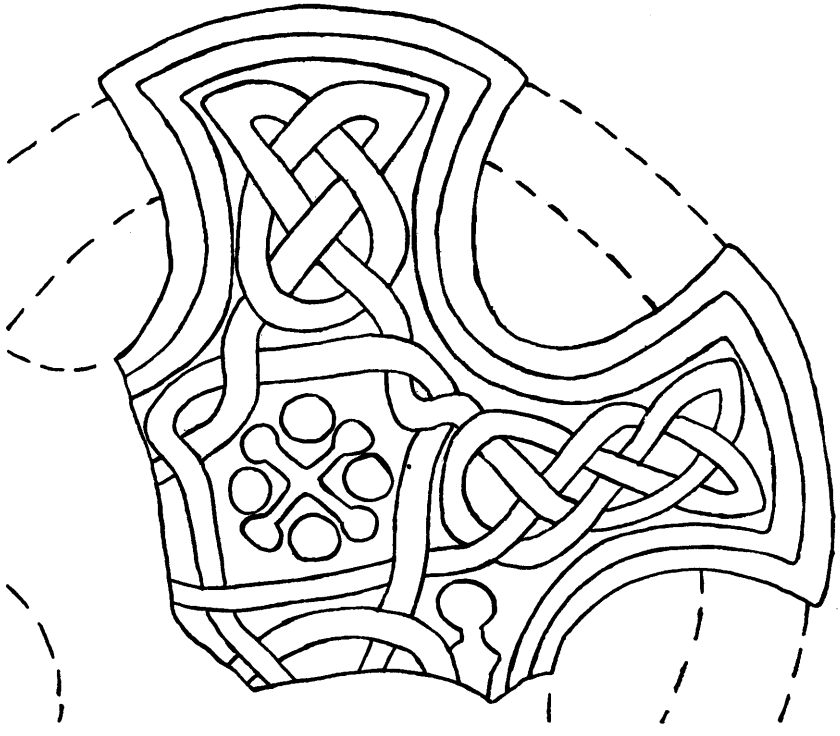

Fig. 4—CROSS No. 5.

linked with a thin ring of stone. A second fragment of this cross recorded by the Royal Commission (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 79a) cannot now be found. Published by Collingwood (*op. cit.*, 139). 9th or early 10th century.

6. Small headstone of red sandstone with plain base and wheel cross rising from sloping top (Fig. 5). Prominent boss in centre of each side. Arms wedge-shaped, the surfaces ornamented with shallow grooves forming chevrons. Segments linking arms plain. (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 79b.)

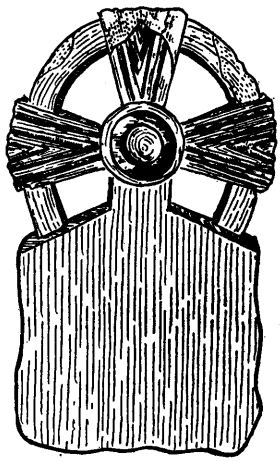

Fig. 5—CROSS No. 6.

Small head stones of this type became common in the Viking Age. 10th or 11th century.

7. Fragment of cross shaft of coarse pink sandstone. The fragment belonged to a thin flat shaft like the headstones of the Whithorn School (Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, Ser. III., x., 218). The front of the fragment is decorated with ring chain interlace; back and edge plain. Late 10th or 11th century.

8. Slab of coarse grey green breccia, formerly on the terrace at Hoddom Castle and presumably from the old

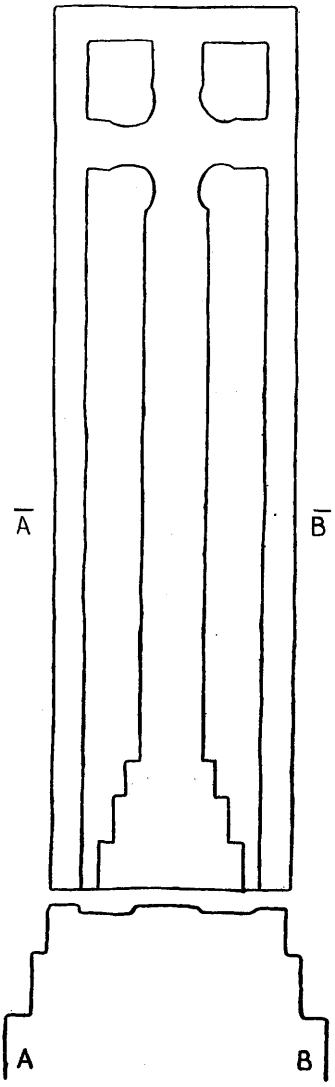

Fig. 6.—CROSS No. 8.

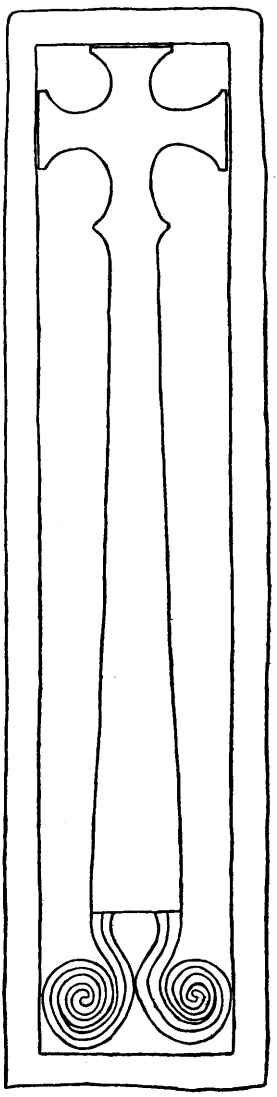

Fig. 7.—CROSS No. 9.

Kirkyard (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, No. 92.3). The top measures 4 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 4 ins.; the sides are carefully dressed with two narrow offsets; thickness, 1 ft. (Fig. 6). On the top is a cross with curved slightly expanded arms and a long shaft set on a stepped base. The whole is in slight relief and set within a flat border.

Slabs of this type are not common in Scotland. Normally, as in the other examples from Hoddom, they lack the high carefully cut edges and were designed to lie level with the pavement. The present example suggests a more elaborate monument rising some 9 inches above the floor of the church. Though simpler and smaller, it may be compared with the tomb of Bishop John of Glasgow (ob. 1147) from Jedburgh Abbey (now in the Museum on the site). (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, XXXIX., and *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for Scotland: Roxburghshire Inventory* (forthcoming).) The design of these slabs and the associations of some of them suggest that they date from the 12th century.

9. Similar slab of coarse grey sandstone, formerly on the terrace at Hoddom Castle (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, No. 92.1). The top measures 5 ft. 7 ins. by 1 ft. 5 ins.; 7 ins. thick with plain edges (Fig. 7). On the top within a plain margin a cross with curved arms expanding to square ends; the long thick shaft bifurcates at the base to terminate in opposed spirals.

The survivals of earlier decorative conventions, such as the opposed spirals, in characteristically Romanesque monuments occurs elsewhere in the 12th century, in particular on the tomb of Bishop John of Glasgow already cited. For similar transition forms see also *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments: Anglesey*, page c.

10. Oval ended slab of coarse grey sandstone (Fig. 8). The slab measures 5 ft. 2 ins. long and tapers slightly from a maximum width of 1 ft. 3 ins. near the upper end; it is 8 ins. thick. On the top, within a border, a cross, the arms with a double curved outline and the long shaft set on a foot with a single step, which fills the bottom of the field.

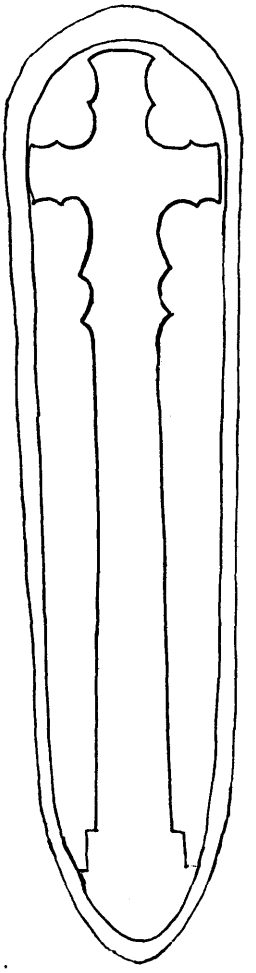

Fig. 8.—CROSS No. 10.

(The drawing in *Dumfriesshire Inventory*, p. 248, needs correction both in respect of the form of the base and the shape of the foot of the cross.) 12th century.

11. Head of rectangular slab of coarse grey sandstone tinged with pink (Fig. 9). The slab is 1 ft. 4 ins. wide at the head and now 2 ft. long by 4 ins. thick. On the top a

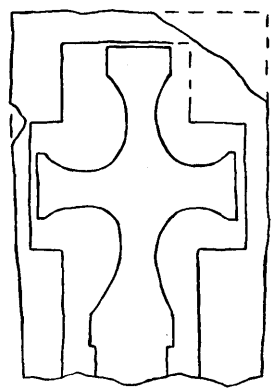

Fig 9.—CROSS No. 11.

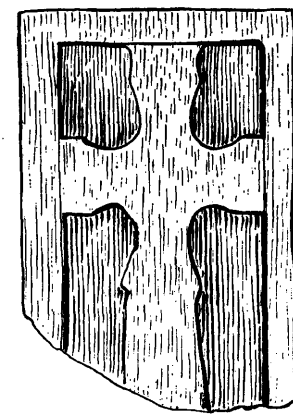

Fig. 10.—CROSS No. 13.

cross as No. 9, the two side arms set into slight recesses in the broad border. 12th century.

12. Head of a similar slab of coarse grey sandstone (Fig. 11). Now 3 ft. 10 ins. long; width at head, 1 ft. 6½ ins., tapering to 1 ft. 4½ ins.; 6½ ins. thick. On top a cross as last.

13. Head of similar slab. Formerly on terrace at Hoddom Castle (Fig. 10). Now 2 ft. 2 ins., by 1 ft. 5 ins. at head by 6 ins. thick.

14. Head of similar slab. Now 2 ft. by 1 ft. 6 ins. by 7 ins. thick.

15. Base of rectangular slab of pink sandstone (Fig 12); surface badly battered at upper end. Now 3 ft. 10 ins. long by 1 ft. 3 ins. by 5 ins. thick. On top within a plain border traces of cross with long shaft and stepped base of cross of Calvary. 12th century.

16. Similar base of grey sandstone tinged pink; surface badly battered. Now 2 ft. 7 ins. long by 1 ft. 4 ins. by 5 ins. thick. On top within a border, thick shaft of cross set on a plain base filling the field. 12th century.

17. Base of oval-ended slab, as No. 10; badly battered. Now 1 ft. 11 ins. long by 1 ft. 3 ins. by 5 ins. thick. Base of cross as last.

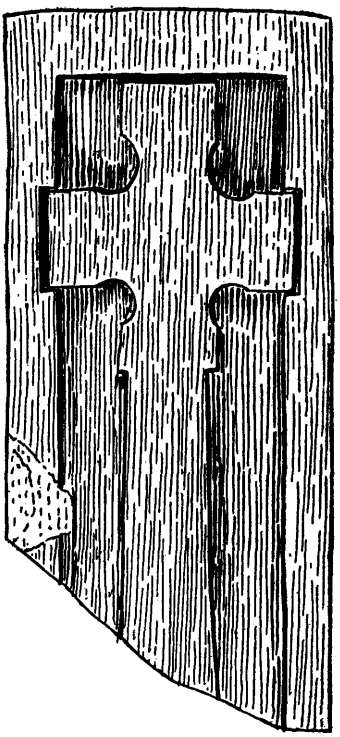

Fig. 11.—CROSS No. 12.

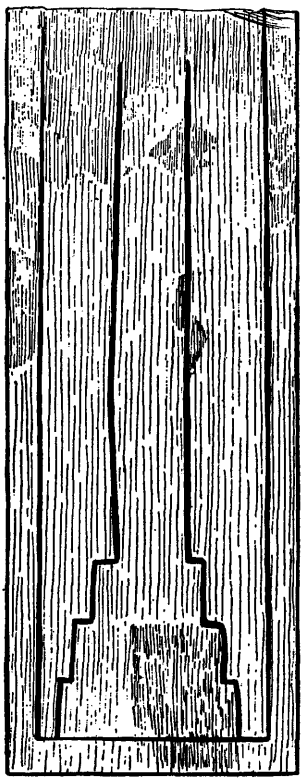

Fig. 12.—CROSS No. 15.

18. Flat slab of red sandstone, 3 ft. 10 ins. by 1 ft. 6 ins. by 3½ ins. thick. On surface an incised cross on a stepped base within a border. 13th century or later.

19. Slab of fine pink sandstone with chamfered edges, formerly at Hoddom Castle (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, 92.2), 6 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. 8½ ins., tapering to 1 ft. 6 ins. by 8 ins. thick; surface badly rubbed. At head an elaborate incised equal armed cross formed of four flat brooches linked by a square and set over a cross with expanded arms. Below a sword with a circular pommel and on dexter side a panel with illegible inscription in Lombardic characters beginning HI(c iacit . . .).

This slab belongs to a long-lived type; the sword is too formalised to afford safe evidence of date. Two rather similar slabs from the burying ground of the Knights of St. John at Kirkstile, near Ruthwell, are preserved at the Dumfries Museum (*Dumfriesshire Inventory*, 518, then in Mouswald U.F. Church). The Hoddom slab is not earlier than the second half of the 13th century and is more probably 14th century or later.

20. Fragment from the centre of similar but plainer slab, 1 ft. 2 ins. wide by 6 ins. thick. Part of shaft of cross remains. 14th or 15th century.

ADDENDA.

Since the above list was completed and in proof, Dr. Crawford has kindly sent me additional photographs of fragments from Hoddom. Some of these belong to fragments already listed, and I have where necessary added to the descriptions. With the aid of other photographs it has been possible to identify further stones, which are listed below. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Crawford for this additional material. These photographs do not include any new types of memorial, and it has not been thought necessary to provide additional illustrations, but Dr. Crawford has kindly agreed to a set of photographs being filed at the Burgh Museum, Dumfries, for future reference.

21. Fragment of a cross shaft. The face photographed shows a naturalistic bird enmeshed in an elaborate interlaced scroll. The design resembles Mercian work of the best period, such as the friezes at Breedon (*Archæologia*, LXXVII., Pl. xxiii). 8th century.

22. Arm of cross of double curved shape. The angles of the stone are marked by a slight bead. On the face within a circle a knot formed of four interlaced lobes. Illustrated in *Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 77, 4. 8th century.

23. Arm of cross of the same form as No. 4. In the centre of the arm an eight-petalled flower in low relief. 9th century. This may be part of No. 2.

24. Middle of cross head with central boss surrounded by an elaborate interlace. The design resembles No. 5, but is more complicated. Illustrated in *Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 77, 3. 9th or 10th century.

25. Fragments of arm and shaft of a cross with stiff conventional vine scroll in flat relief. (The fragments may belong to more than one cross.) 9th or 10th century.

26. Two pieces of a large flat slab. The flat top has a plain centre enclosed within a broad band of four-strand interlace. On the edge is a narrow band of interlace. The edge of the smaller fragment is shown on Plate VIII. The ornament points to a date in the 10th or 11th century, but the form of the monument is more likely to be after 1100 and it is known that interlaced designs continued in use for a considerable period. Probably 12th century.

27. Part of large flat slab. In the centre a long plain shaft rises above the stiff figure of a lamb. Illustrated in *Dumfriesshire Inventory*, Fig. 77, 7. 13th or 14th century.

28. Part of a small slab carved with an axe in low relief. Medieval.

ARTICLE 14.

Addenda Antiquaria.

(1) A Roman Coin from Whithorn.

By Miss ANNE S. ROBERTSON, M.A.

This is a bronze coin (a sestertius) of the Roman Empress, Faustina I., wife of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161). It is one of a series issued after the death of Faustina I. in A.D. 141. The coin was found on Chapelheron Farm by Tom Forsyth, aged 13. The description[1] is as follows:

Obverse: DIVA FAVSTINA (Faustina deified)
Bust of Faustina I., r., draped.

Reverse: AETERNITAS (Eternity) S C (by decree of the senate)
Aeternitas standing l., holding phœnix on globe in r. hand, and holding out skirt in l. hand.

The coin is worn, and very much corroded.

Two other Roman coins have been found at Whithorn. One, a brass coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211), was recorded as follows by Sir George Macdonald:[2]

> "In 1922 Sergeant Duncan, Police Office, Whithorn, found in his garden a 'brass' of Julia Domna struck at Stobi (Macedonia). The reverse type is a figure of Victory to l. This . . . may be a recent importation."

The second, of Claudius II. (A.D. 268-270), was also recorded by Sir George Macdonald:[3]

> "Mr J. S. Richardson, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, has shown me a 'small brass' of Claudius II. (Coh.^{2}, vi p. 160, No. 303) dug up at Whithorn."

1 Cohen, "*Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*," vol. 2, p. 414, no. 12; and Mattingly and Sydenham, "*Roman Imperial Coinage*," vol. 3, p. 162, no. 1105

2 *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, LVIII. (1924), p. 328.

3 *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, LXVIII. (1934), p. 30.

Neither of these two earlier finds, it seems, found its way into a museum in Wigtownshire. It would be most desirable that this recent find should be preserved in the county, possibly in the museum at Stranraer.[4]

(2) An Inscribed Stone at Balsmith.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD, M.A., F.S.A.

Propped up against a wall of the courtyard of Little Balsmith Farm, Whithorn, is the upper part of a stone door jamb from the old demolished farmhouse. The stone later has been re-used as a gatepost.

On the front is carved in low relief a border forming one end of an outlined architrave with corbels. Within this are cut initials [ ]ON and the date 1730; the beginning of the initials are destroyed by a cutting for the gate hanger. Below are a rough face and a cross. The technique is like that of grave stones of 17th and early 18th centuries.

On the face towards the opening are chisel cut in eight lines: SECUNDO / (A)NNO PRIMI / (S)UPRA TERTI / UM LUSTRI / MEI AETATIS / AMC . . . / AD 1730 / F. The end of the sixth line is uncertain. The last line appears to have had no other letters.

This may be translated: In the second year of the first after the third lustrum of my age. AMC 1730. Lustrum is used in the classical sense of a period of five years, the whole being a way of saying in my 17th year. AMC may stand for some such name as A(ndro) Mc(Culloch). The classical allusion might indicate that he was to become a schoolmaster.

[4] The coin has now been presented to the Museum, County Library, Stranraer.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL.

The second Summer School run by the Scottish group of the Council for British Archæology was held in Dumfries on July 24th—28th, 1953. A strong local committee had been formed to arrange accommodation for some 200 visitors, and hotels, boarding-houses, and private individuals dealt with the incoming members. The committee was greatly assisted by the action of the Education Committee in placing the Girls' Hostel at the disposal of the school on very generous terms. A great success was achieved in spite of the weather, which was even worse than at the first school held at Dundee in 1952. The almost incessant rain seriously affected the afternoon excursions, though only the Eskdalemuir trip had to be abbreviated. The crossing of the swollen waters by the footbridge at Raeburnfoot was deemed dangerous for so large a party. But it was surprising to see how many essayed the climb of Tynron Doon directly after a heavy downpour and still under threatening clouds. Not all reached the summit.

But it was the indoor sessions that enthralled the conference. The school opened on Friday evening with a reception by the Magistrates of Dumfries, at which the Provost in well-chosen words welcomed the school to the town, being followed by an introductory address by Miss A. Robertson, M.A., F.S.A., Scot., which set the whole tone of the week-end. The subject of the school was Roman and Native, almost too large a subject to be compressed into six lectures, even when augmented by addresses in the field. The result was that the Roman occupation of Scotland was admirably covered, but the Native aspect received but little detailed consideration. It is clear that the subject of the Natives under Roman administration will have to be the target of some future Summer School.

The formal lectures were as follows:

Professor Stuart Piggott, B.Litt.—The Native Background.
John Clarke, M.A.—The Agricolan Invasion.
J. P. Gillam, M.A.—The Antonine Period.
Dr Kenneth A. Steer, M.A.—The Severan Reconstruction.
Professor Ian A. Richmond—(1) The Constantine and Theodosian Period.
(2) The Geography of Ptolemy.

We regret that we are unable to give an abbreviated account of these lectures, for Professor Richmond had gathered together a brilliant team whose scholarly presentation was carefully co-ordinated and fully up to date. But the committee of the Summer School hopes to publish a volume giving all these addresses in full and does not wish any other account, however abbreviated, to appear in the meantime. We feel, however, that an apology for this omission is due to the distinguished team of lecturers whose labours ensured the success of the Summer School at Dumfries.—Eds.

Proceedings, 1952-53.

17th October, 1952.—The Annual General meeting was held in the Ewart Library on this date. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer, showing a deficit of £106, were adopted, and £100 was withdrawn from Reserve. Mr Reid intimated that the Carnegie Trust for Scottish Universities had promised a grant of £100 which could be set against the deficit, but that the Council would have to exercise every economy in the future. The list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. Thereafter the Rev. J. M. McWilliam, minister of Tynron, delivered a lecture on "Tombstones and Stones of Destiny" (see "Standard," 25th October).

31st October, 1952.—Two papers of unusual interest were delivered: (1) Mr Stuart Maxwell, M.A., of the National Museum of Antiquities, advocated "A Central Folk Museum for Scotland" (see "Standard," 31st October); and (2) by Mr J. C. Wallace, M.A., on "A Bronze Age Cairn at Mollance" (printed in these "Transactions," Vol. XXX., p. 159). The food vessel found in the Cairn has been presented to the Dumfries Museum.

14th November, 1952.—In the Unionist Rooms was held a Conversazione, where a remarkable show of exhibits were on view. The speakers were Messrs Arthur Duncan, D. Cunningham, R. C. Reid, and A. E. Truckell (see "Standard," 19th November).

28th November, 1952.—Mr D. Cunningham, M.A., delivered a lecture on "The Butterflies of the Solway Area," which was illustrated in colour and was greatly appreciated (see "Standard," 3rd December).

12th December, 1952.—Dr. Gordon Donaldson of Edinburgh University spoke on "The Galloway Clergy at the Reformation," a subject involving a great deal of research (printed in "Transactions," Vol. XXX., p. 38).

16th January, 1953.—On this date the Society listened to an outstanding address by Professor Ian Richmond of Durham University on "Recent Excavations at the Roman Fort of Glenlochar." The full report on this excavation appeared in "Transactions," Vol. XXX. In the excavation Dr. J. K. St. Joseph and J. P. Gillam were associated with the lecturer.

23rd January, 1953.—Mr J. A. B. MacDonald, Conservator of the South Conservancy of the Forestry Commission (Scotland), gave a most stimulating and informative talk on "Forestry Research" (see "Standard," 4th February).

6th February, 1953.—Mr Ralegh Radford, M.A., the authority on the Dark Ages, whose work at Whithorn is so well known

to the Society, lectured on the " Monastery of Hoddam " (see Article 13 of this volume).

13th February, 1953.—An extra lecture, open to the public, was given in the Academy Dining Hall by the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod, who spoke on the early history of Iona and of the restoration work there now in progress. He also spoke in memorable and challenging words of the work of the Community of Iona. Quite a number of his audience became subscribing members of the movement founded by himself.

13th March, 1953.—This evening Professor Hewer, D.I.C., M.Sc., paid a return visit to the Society with as his subject " The Atlantic or Grey Seal," which was illustrated with both film and lantern " (see " Standard," 21st March).

27th March, 1953.—The last lecture of the session was delivered by Mr Arthur Duncan, whose subject was " Fair Isle," and was the story of research work in the life history of birds. It was illustrated by a wonderful coloured film (see " Standard," 4th April).

Field Meetings.

23rd May, 1953.—A strong contingent of the Society went to Orchardton Tower, where Miss Beattie gave a full and most interesting address on this unusual round tower and the ruined buildings adjoining it. Dundrennan was next visited, and, after lunch in the village hall, the party—a remarkably polyglot one, including ladies from Sweden, Italy, Ireland, and Egypt—was taken round the Abbey by the Custodian, Miss Beattie, and Mr Graham of Kirkcudbright. They then proceeded to Kirkcudbright, where Mr Orr Paterson showed the party over McClellan's House. A visit was then paid to Broughton House, where the late Mr Hornel's collections were seen and the fine garden visited. The old Tolbooth was also inspected (see " Standard," 30th May).

6th June, 1953.—In perfect summer weather about 20 members, all bent on Natural History, visited Rockcliffe and Rough Island under the leadership of Mr Austin and Mr Southern. On the island was seen a great variety of bird life—Ringed Plover, Oyster Catcher, Merganser, and Sheld Duck. Returning to Rockcliffe for a picnic tea, a visit was also paid to the Black-headed Gull " rookery " behind the village, where nesting was in full swing (see " Standard," 10th June).

4th July, 1953.—The Society's full-day excursion was via Lockerbie and Langholm to Staplegorton, where lunch was partaken of near the Motte, in pleasant weather. After lunch the

party was joined by a strong detachment of the reconstituted Eskdale Archæological Society, and Mr Reid spoke on the early history of the site (see Article). The party then crossed the road to the old and still used churchyard, where Mr George Bartholomew, A.R.I.B.A., gave a short talk on the church, of which only the foundations remain. The Church of Staplegorton had been granted by William de Cunygsburghe to Kelso Abbey at an early date, for the grant was confirmed by William the Lion [1165-1214]. At that date it was probably a wooden church which was the private chapel of the Norman owner of the site prior to its reaching parochial status, but a cross in the churchyard would indicate that the site, long before the coming of the Norman, had been used for Christian burial. At what date a stone church was built is not known, but the foundations show that it consisted of a long narrow nave and chancel. It may have been in use till the death of the last minister in 1703, Mr Robert Law, of the family of Lawbridge, Ayrshire, whose tombstone stands within the foundations of the church. Upon the foundations of the chancel at a later date has been erected a modern mausoleum of the Maxwell family. Some of the materials from the original church would appear to have been incorporated in this erection, as can be seen from the west gable, where the outer face of stonework has collapsed, revealing the core of the wall which carries a carefully carved trefoil arch which must have been part of the original building. A careful examination of the cottages and buildings in the immediate vicinity might bring to light other stones from the church. A member of the Eskdale Society pointed out an eighth century "picked" cross recently found in the churchyard and now built into the surrounding wall. This cross will be the subject of a notice by Mr Ralegh Radford in the next volume of these "Transactions." The party then proceeded to the Harelawhill Lime Works and inspected the kilns and the deep-sloping shafts which followed the seam of nearly pure carboniferous limestone. The famous geological site of Penton Linns was then visited, with its wonderful exposure of limestone strata, and the botanists were busy on the banks of Liddell Water. On the return journey, tea was taken at the Cross Keys Hotel at Canonbie (see "Standard," 8th July).

Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History and Antiquarian Society

Membership List, April 1st, 1954.

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, K.T., 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., Ardwall, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... 1946
Mackie, 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., The Corner House, Closeburn ... 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, Broadleys Cottage, Ghyllhead, Windermere 1951
Anderson, Miss Mosa, Charlton Cottage, Peaslake, Guildford, Surrey 1953
Armour, Rev. A. J., Manse of Hoddom, near Ecclefechan... 1948
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Bogside, Langholm 1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Bogside, Langholm 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
Bannerman, David A., M.B.E., M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S.E., M.B.O.U., Boreland of Southwick, by Dumfries ... 1953

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
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh 1947
Blake, Brian, Old Court, Dalston Hall, Carlisle 1953
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., 12 Summerhill Road, Clarkston, Glasgow 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, Mrs Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas ... 1953
Campbell-Johnston, David, Carnsalloch, Dumfries 1946
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex 1949
Carlyle, Miss E. J., Woodside House, Kirkbean 1953
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie... 1946
Carruthers, A. Stanley, 9 Beechwood Road, Sanderstead, Surrey 1954

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
Chrystie, 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
Dickie, Rev. J. W. T., The Manse, Laurieston, Castle-Douglas 1951
Dickson, Miss A. M., Woodhouse, Dunscore, Dumfries ... 1930
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, A., M.A., History Department, The University, Edinburgh 1953
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Lannhall, Tynron, Dumfries (President, 1944-1946) 1930
Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries 1926
Dunlop, Mrs, C.B.E., D. Litt., Dunselma, Fenwick, Ayrshire 1952
Edwards, Frederick J., M.A., 2 Brooke Street, Dumfries ... 1953
Eggar, P. S., Denbie, Lockerbie 1951
Fairbairn, Miss M. L., Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ... 1952
Fairlie, Mrs R. P., St. Mary's Manse, Dumfries 1953
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries 1948
Ferguson, Ronald, Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire 1953
Finlayson, A. W., Meadowbank, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries 1951
Finlayson, Mrs A. W., Meadowbank, Dalbeattie Road, 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
Flinn, Mrs A. J. M., Eldin, Moffat Road, Dumfries 1953
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat 1929
Forrest, J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ... 1953
Forrest, Mrs J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries 1953
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
Gass, R., 358 Victoria Road, Salt River, Cape Town ... 1953
Geddes, Nathan, Lochpatrick Mill, Kirkpatrick-Durham ... 1951
Gillam, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Abbey House, New Abbey 1946
Gillam, Lady, Abbey House, New Abbey 1946
Gillam, J. P., M.A., 5 St. Andrew's Terrace, Corbridge, Northumberland 1953
Glendinning, George, Arley House, Thornhill Road, Huddersfield 1942
Goldie, Gordon, British Institute of Rome, Via Quattro Fontane, 109, Rome 1947
Gordon, Miss A J., Kenmure, Dumfries 1907
Graham, Capt. H. R., R.N., Kirkland, Courance, Lockerbie 1954
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
Heatley, Mr, Annan Old Kirk, Annan 1953
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
Henry, Mrs Janet, 154 Kingston Road, Carlisle 1953
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
Hyslop, Provost J. W., Glengarth, Maxwell Road, Langholm 1953
Inglis, John A., Achadh nan Darach, 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, Mrs A. M., Birkbank, Annan 1953
Jenkins, Ross T., 4 Carlton Terrace, Stranraer 1912
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
Kay, Mrs, Carlowrie, Moffat Road, Dumfries... 1953
Kay, Miss, Carlowrie, Moffat Road, Dumfries... 1953
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, Mrs A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie 1939
Laidlaw, Miss Margaret, 84 High Street, Lockerbie 1953
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
Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., Glen Prosen, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries 1949
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, Empshott Lodge, Liss, Hants 1950
M'Caig, Mrs Margaret H., Barmiltoch, Stranraer 1931
M'Caig, Miss, c/o County Education Offices, Stranraer ... 1953
M'Connel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 171 Central Avenue, Gretna, Carlisle 1927
M'Cormick, A., Tir-nan-Og, Minnigaff, 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., Clairmont, 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

Macintyre, Canon D., M.A., The Rectory, Dumfries ... 1946
M'Kerrow, Mrs Arthur, Rickerby, Lochanhead 1950
M'Kerrow, Henry George, Whiterne, Albert Road, Dumfries 1953
MacKinnon, A. J. (Tiquisate), c/o Messrs Hardie, MacFarlane, Carstairs & Mann, 175 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2 1953
M'Knight, Ian, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... 1948
M'Knight, Mrs, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries... 1948
*M'Lean, A., B.Sc., Wayside, Dumfries (President, 1950-53) 1944
M'Lean, Mrs M., Wayside, Dumfries 1944
M'Lean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries 1946
MacMillan-Fox, Mrs M. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive ... 1950
MacQueen, John, M.A., 48 Airthray Avenue, Glasgow, W.4 1952
M'Robert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden 1948
Maguire, Charles, 5 St. Ninian's Terrace, Isle of Whithorn 1947
Maitland, Mrs C. L., Cumstoun, Twynholm 1952
Malcolm, Mrs S. A., c/o Grierson, Moodie & Walker, 37 Castle Street, 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
Milne, Sheriff C., Q.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, 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, Parkgate, Dumfries... 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-Brown, G. A., Kinnelhook, Lockerbie 1953
Murray-Brown, Mrs, Kinnelhook, Lockerbie 1953
Murray-Usher, Mrs E. E., J.P., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Myrseth, Major O., Folk Museum, Dumfries 1944
Noble, Philip, 9 Albany Place, Dumfries 1954
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, Sir Stephen, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries 1953
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries 1945
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Broom's Road, Dumfries 1954
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
Redshaw, Alexander, Gilstead, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries 1953
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
Reside, Miss, 8 Abercrombie Road, Castle-Douglas 1954
Robertson, Mrs M. A. K., Westwood, Dumfries 1933
Robertson, James, O.B.E., 56 Cardoness Street, Dumfries ... 1936
Rodgers, Dr. James, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1952
Rodgers, Mrs Joyce, Ladyfield Cottage, Glencaple Road, Dumfries 1952

Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1946
Russell, H. N., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries 1953
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, Dumfries ... 1932
Seymour, Miss Mary, Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ... 1953
Shaw, Dr. T. D. Stuart, Rosebank, Castle-Douglas 1946
Shields, Miss, Newtonairds, Dumfries 1951
Simpson, A. J., Morton Schoolhouse, Thornhill 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
Southern, Norman, Merse End, Rockcliffe 1953
Southern, Mrs, Merse End, Rockclixe 1953
Stewart, Ian, 5 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries 1952
Stewart, Mrs Ian, 5 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries 1953
Stewart, James, Rigghead, Collin 1953
Stewart, Mrs Johnston, Physgill, Whithorn 1950
Stewart, Mrs J. W., Mill House, Gatehouse-of-Fleet ... 1952
Sydserff, Peter, The Grove, Dumfries 1950
Tallerman, Mrs, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ... 1953
Taylor, Rev. J., Hazelbrook, Glasgow Road, Dumfries ... 1952
Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dalbeattie 1933
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk ... 1950
Thomson, Dr. J. L., The Gill, Thornhill 1951
Truckell, A. E., F.S.A.Scot., 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, 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
Wright, Wm., B.Sc., 3 Victoria Terrace, Dumfries 1953
Wylie, Miss, St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries 1951
Younie, Mrs A., Well View, Moffat 1953
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries ... 1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries... 1946

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

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
Cockburn, George, St. Michael's Manse, Dumfries 1951
Coid, John, Abiston, Park Road, Dumfries 1946
Davidson, Nathan, Leigh House, Castle-Douglas 1952
Dobie, Alec, Annan Road, Dumfries 1950
Fossey, Gillian, Little Garth, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries 1953
Fox, Miss Jane, Glencrosh, Moniaive 1950
Gair, John, Delvine, Amisfield, Dumfries 1945
Graham, —., Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming 1952
Hay, Bruce, Strathisla, Glasgow Street, Dumfries 1947
Hewat, R. J., 9 Albany Place, Dumfries 1952
Landale, David, Dalswinton, Dumfries 1949
Landale, Miss J., Dalswinton, Dumfries 1949
Landale, Miss L., Dalswinton, Dumfries 1949
Lockhart, Christine, c/o Armstrong, Dunaird, Troqueer Road, Dumfries 1953
Manning, John, 2 Hobart Avenue, Dewsbury, Yorks. ... 1947
Marchbank, Helen, West Morton Street, Thornhill 1953
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
Rowan, Martin, Annan Road, Dumfries 1950
Tallerman, Marie, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ... 1953
Thomson, E. Ann, 18 West Morton Street, Thornhill ... 1953

SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library 1938
Birmingham University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham 1953
Dumfriesshire Education Committee, County Buildings, Dumfries (J. I. Moncrieff, M.A., Ed.B., Director of Education) 1944
Edinburgh Public Libraries, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh 1953
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
Society of Writers to H.M. Signet, The Signet Library, Edinburgh 1953
The Librarian, King's College, Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne 1953
Trinity College Library, Lyndoch Place, Glasgow, C.3 ... 1953
Wigtownshire Education Committee, Education Offices, Stranraer (Hugh K. C. Mair, B.Sc., Education Officer) 1943

List of Exchanges, 1954.

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.

Extract of Accounts for the 12 months ended 30th September, 1953.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

Subscriptions			£185 0 6
Grant by Carnegie Trust			100 0 0
Donations			40 0 0
Interest—			
On 3½% War Stock	£8 1 0		
On Dumfries Savings Bank Balance ...	10 7 4		
		18	8 4
Sale of Publications		73	3 0
Excursions—Paid by Members		9	3 0
Conversazione—Paid by Members		4	7 6
Collection at Lecture		4	8 6
Transferred from Capital Account		100	0 0
		£534	10 10
Balance of Current Account as at 30/9/52		66	2 11
		£600	13 9

EXPENDITURE.

Publications—			
Printing of Transactions	£228 13 0		
Engraving Blocks	52 5 6		
		£280	18 6
Excursions—Transport, etc.		5	10 8
Miscellaneous—			
Printing, Stationery, Postages ...	£50 3 8		
Advertising	12 7 0		
National Museum of Antiquities ...	2 3 1		
Scottish Field Studies	1 1 0		
Refund of Subscriptions	1 2 6		
Lecturers' Expenses	6 2 2		
Cheque Book	0 6 10		
Bank Service Charge	0 18 0		
Caretaker	1 15 0		
Repairs to Lantern	1 11 0		
Hire of Projector and Hall	6 13 9		
		84	4 0
Conversazione—Teas and Hire of Hall		3	15 0
		£374	8 2

Expenditure—continued.			
Balance of Current Account as at 30/9/53	226	5	7
	£600	13	9

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

On hand at 30th September, 1952—			
£230 3½% War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0
Balance with Dumfries Savings Bank	365	3	3
	£583	13	3

EXPENDITURE.

On hand at 30th September, 1953—			
£230 3½% War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0
Balance with Dumfries Savings Bank	265	3	3
Transferred to General Revenue Account	100	0	0
	£583	13	3

A. J. M. FLINN, Treasurer.

19th March, 1954. — 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 from 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;* (xxx.) 1951-52, *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.