

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1953-54.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXXII.

EDITORS

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

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EDITORIAL.

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.

Carronbridge—1953-54. Interim Report.

By JOHN CLARKE and A. B. WEBSTER.

Introduction.

In the course of his air reconnaissance of North Britain during the summers of 1945-49, Dr. J. K. St. Joseph observed a complex of structures at Carronbridge, near Thornhill in Nithsdale.¹ Neither tradition, former finds,² nor surface indications had previously given any hint of the presence here of archæological remains.

The various elements of the complex revealed by the air-photograph (Plate I.)³ are these. First, we have the ditch system of an obviously Roman structure, A on the plate, with straight sides, rounded corners, and three gates symmetrically placed, each with a short stretch of covering ditch in front. Next there is the long straight mark, B on the plate, with a faint turn eastwards and perhaps a still fainter return northwards, suggesting possibly another Roman structure lying athwart A. Then there is the rather vague, squarish enclosure, C on the plate, crossed by B and merging on its west side into A. In addition, we have the faint marking, D on the plate, which looks like the north ditch and rounded corners of still another enclosure extending for an indefinite distance southwards. Finally, most conspicuous of all, we see the extraordinary complex, E on the plate, which appears to be an enclosure, with double ditches and rectangular corners, and an entrance at X.^{3a} Within it, there

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, xli. (1951), p. 59.

² The coin, listed by Miss A. S. Robertson in *P.S.A.S.*, lxxxiv. (1949-50), p. 139, might seem to contradict this; but local inquiry suggested that it came in fact from a spot a mile away.

³ The air-photograph is published by the kind permission of the Air Ministry and the University of Cambridge through Dr. St. Joseph.

^{3a} The complex has a superficial resemblance to two "double-box" enclosures of which Dr O. G. S. Crawford wrote in *Antiquity*, vii. (1933), pl. 1 and 2. The resemblance cannot but be merely superficial. More pertinent are certain parallels which Mr A. H. A. Hogg has mentioned in a letter, at Coed Llŷs and Llŷs Arthur in Cardiganshire, and Ty Mawr in Caernarvonshire. Nothing definite is known about them, but the "Llys" name in association suggests a mediaeval connection.

appears a circular structure Y; and the whole has obscure extensions both to the north and west, while circular structures similar to Y but less clearly defined are to be seen at various points over the whole area of the site. Clearly, we have here on the one site an unusual variety of structures of different functions, and presumably of different periods and circumstances of origin.

While the whole complex challenges attention, the Roman elements in it seemed of especial interest because of their bearing upon the obscure problem of the Roman penetration and occupation of Nithsdale. The map (Fig. 1) illustrates our present state of knowledge⁴. The course of the Roman road up Nithsdale is not exactly known, but the general line seems to be indicated by the position of the large fort at Carzield (second century), the large fort at Dalswinton (first century), and the small post at Barburgh Mill.⁵ From this point, immediately north of the Auldgirith gap, we are in doubt until we reach the neighbourhood of Durisdeer. Here, Dr St. Joseph has identified two large marching camps,⁶ and we know that a Roman road, with a small road-post on it,⁷ ran in Antonine times at least over the hills to join the Annandale-Clydesdale road near Crawford.

Now a direct course from Barburgh Mill to Durisdeer would take the road along a ridge a mile and a half east of Thornhill and Carronbridge. This line has not been proved, but there are some surface indications to support it. If this were so, assuming that Roman interest at Carronbridge were more than temporary, the site there seems to imply a western offshoot from the main road—though the further course of such an offshoot is obscure. On the other hand, the suspicious alinement of Barburgh Mill, a signal station identified by Dr. St. Joseph just south of Thornhill,⁸ and

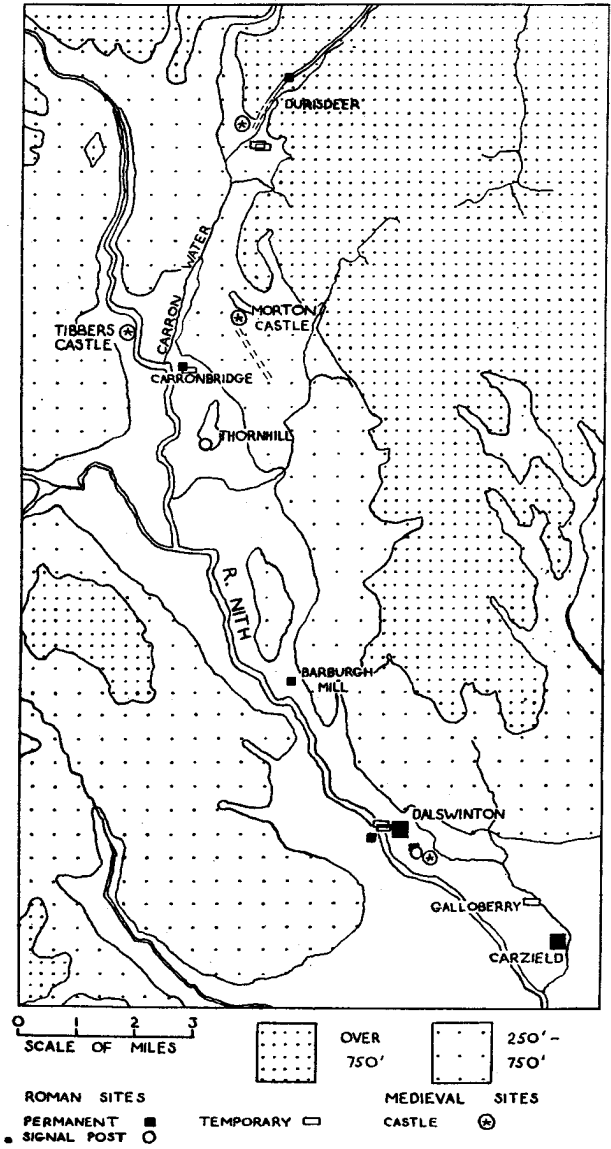
⁴ These Transactions, xxii. (1942), p. 156 ff. and xxx. (1952), p. 111 ff. *Journal of Roman Studies*, xli. (1951), p. 59.

⁵ Its date is unknown, but its type suggests a second century origin.

⁶ *Journal of Roman Studies*, xli. (1951), p. 60.

⁷ *Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland* (1952), pp. 124-6.

⁸ *Journal of Roman Studies*, xli. (1951), p. 60.



Carronbridge itself might suggest a direct north route on that line; in which case the site of Durisdeer would merely command a cross-link between Nithsdale and Clydesdale.

These possibilities may not be mutually exclusive. The Antonine occupation of Nithsdale seems to have been curiously independent of the Flavian—there is no parallel for the disuse of the Flavian site at Dalswinton and its replacement by the nearby Antonine site of Carzield, of approximately the same size. This rejection of Flavian precedent may well have extended further. The Durisdeer hill-road has yielded Antonine evidence only, and it is perfectly possible that in Flavian times the road led directly north to Carronbridge with no cross-link to Clydesdale; and that in Antonine times it was replaced by one leading straight to Durisdeer.

Whatever the answer to these problems—and time alone will settle the matter—it seems certain that the site at Carronbridge is connected with a crossing over the Nith. There is a ford some 700 yards from the site. It has no significance at the present time, but there is the clearest evidence that it was of the first importance in the middle ages. Edward I. was a military engineer who, in skill and judgment, merits comparison with the Romans. He had a castle built at Tibbers by one of his chief supporters in the region—Sir Richard Siward—in a position of overwhelming strength which dominates this ford on the western side; and was prepared, at a period of his reign when he could scarcely afford to be extravagant, to contribute £100 towards its maintenance.⁹ The considerations which made the ford important to Edward seem likely also to have influenced the Romans.

It might seem that a crossing of the Nith at this point could only be related to a western route; but this is not

⁹ Bain—Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ii. (1884), p. 311, document No. 1307—"The king having granted Sir Richard Siward £100 for the repair of his castle of Tybres hears that there are still £50 of this unpaid, which delay is to his great damage, and commands that whenever Sir Richard asks the money at the Treasury he shall get it, having this matter much at heart."—12th June, 1302

necessarily so. Nowadays, the road north through Nithsdale runs continuously up the narrow and difficult space between the hills and the east bank of the Nith; but it is by no means certain that, before the days of modern engineering, road-builders did not prefer the much easier western bank in the upper parts of Nithsdale. It is quite possible that a road led north to Carronbridge on the east bank, crossed the Nith at Tibbers, and continued to the north on the west bank.

It was in the hope of shedding some light on these various problems that the excavators began work in the summer of 1953. In fact, complications arose and the three weeks for which the excavation was planned proved quite insufficient. Work was resumed for a fortnight in the summer of 1954,¹⁰ but even with this additional time no answers have emerged to the general questions indicated above. All that has been possible is to sketch in tentative outline the history of the site, leaving many particular problems still to be solved.

The Site.

The site consists of a field of 8.9 acres lying on the west side of the main Kilmarnock-Dumfries road immediately south of the village of Carronbridge. The National Grid reference is 25/869978. Northwards it is defined by a sharp drop to the River Carron; eastwards it is dominated by an old river-bluff which fades away to fairly level ground southwards; westwards there is a fall, at first gradual and then steeper, to the River Nith which can be approached more easily at this point than for some distance on either side (Plate II.). There is no wide prospect except to the west and north-west, and even in that quarter low wooded heights interrupt the foreground, though the truncated cone of Tynron Doon (occupied by a native hill-fort)¹¹ stands conspicuously in view in the middle distance. In early times

¹⁰ During this second season, Mr Webster was only able to be present for a few days in the second week.

¹¹ Though there has been no excavation of Tynron Doon, its rock-hewn ditches speak of an origin not earlier than the Iron Age. The place looks as if it may well be one with a history extending into the Dark Ages.

the site was doubtless closely beset by forest; even to-day the occurrence of oak and other hardwood seedlings among the grass is a reminder of the speed with which, but for human activities, woodland would resume possession.

Removal of the modern humus, seldom more than two feet deep and often less, reveals, where there has been no previous stripping, a shallow ancient humus of dark red, and under that a sub-soil consisting mainly of a reddish-brown sandy gravel containing occasional large water-rolled stones. Across the site, roughly from north to south, runs an ancient water-course marked by beds of finer gravel and grey sand mixed with numerous particles of coal, this no doubt washed down from some outcrop in the adjacent hills. Associated with this ancient water-course there occur at points deposits of a very fine, clayey red soil, completely stoneless, which probably represent mud-silt banks of the ancient stream. This material, because of its consistency, had been freely employed for rampart and for wall-backing in two of the structures examined.¹²

The sub-soil, thus various, frequently raised problems, for one could not always be immediately sure whether a particular deposit was natural or not; and difficulties arose at times with the gravel also, which, even when undisturbed, was sometimes of a looseness to rouse legitimate suspicion and to necessitate excavation to a depth which in the end proved needless. Nor were we the first people on the site to have difficulty with the gravel. As will presently be seen, the excavators of the ditch of C at its south-east corner had their own troubles with it long ago.

Under these soil conditions primary silting consisted of a fine grey sandy wash, on top of which, with passage of time, coarser gravelly material accumulated. In the humus just beyond plough depth there sometimes appeared a stony

¹² Local aged opinion, never to be lightly disregarded, was disposed to the view that this red, clayey stuff was the same as that which used to be employed locally for lining duck ponds. We were told that it was obtained from a pit a mile away. Examination of the material in the pit convinced us that it was quite different and our view was confirmed later by soil analysis. Our red, clayey stuff is certainly natural to the site.

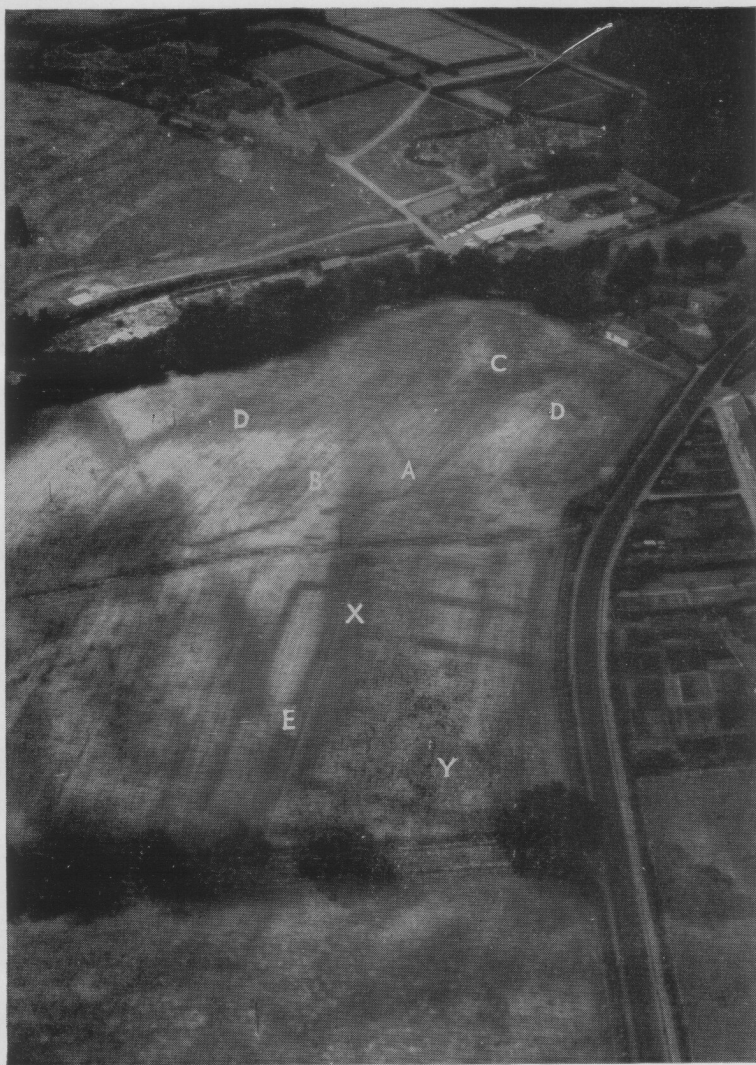


Plate I.—CARRONBRIDGE FROM THE AIR.

[Photo by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph; Crown Copyright reserved:
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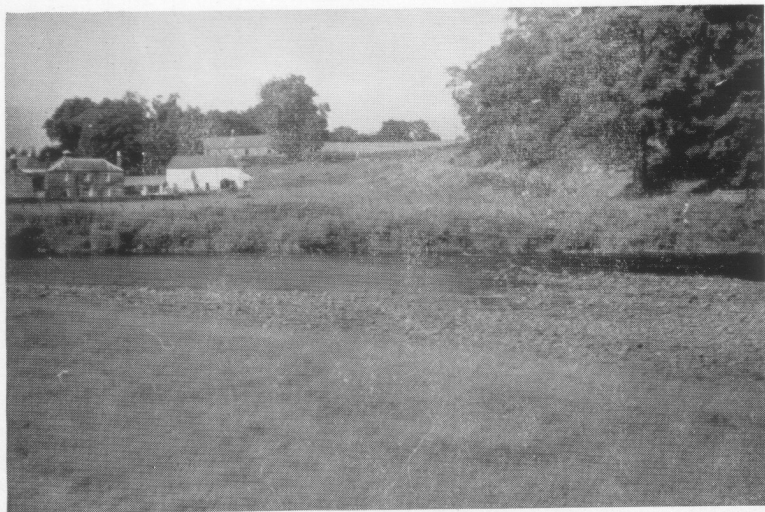


Plate II.—CARRONBRIDGE: VIEW OF SITE FROM WEST.



Plate III.—CARRONBRIDGE:
KERB AND BASE OF WALL.

layer which gave the impression of an artificial surface. In no case where this was encountered was the appearance genuine, but merely the chance consequence of long tillage under the existing conditions of soil.

The Excavation.

Of the various structures to be seen on the air-photograph, the squarish enclosure C was selected as the first object of attack. It seemed possible that this might be one of the small permanent forts which are now familiar features of the Antonine road system of south Scotland. If so, we hoped that dating evidence would readily emerge and some indication of the relation of the place to the river-crossing. In addition, the air-photograph seemed to promise that we should be able to fix C's relation in time to the "temporary camp" A, and thus to provide a clue to the period of a type of structure which is fairly common but so far not dated precisely.¹³

Enclosure C.

C proved to be most troublesome, for, while its general construction and size reasonably place it in the category of small permanent Roman posts, no Roman finds at all were recovered in association with it. Moreover, its rampart posed a difficult problem; and the interpretation of its interior was complicated by traces of earlier occupation, to which the only find within it—a piece of native pottery of the Votadinian sort—appears to belong. Its ditches, however, were more rewarding, and finally yielded the evidence on which the proposed sequence of the site depends.

¹³ These smallish "temporary camps," frequently with *tutuli*, have been discovered by Dr. St. Joseph in considerable numbers up and down North Britain. They appear distinct in function from the large temporary camps which obviously accommodated large bodies of troops, during active campaigns; rather they suggest the movement of small bodies, perhaps a cohort strong, on punitive expeditions. We know practically nothing of either type, nor have their various peculiarities been related to periods, if indeed they can be so related. The only dating evidence for any one is the coin of Hadrian (?) found at Grassy Walls, P.S.A.S., lii. (1917-18), p. 233

C had been defended by a single ditch, normally some nine feet in width and four and a half feet in depth, and by a rampart sixteen feet thick at its base. It measured about 180 feet square over its defences and about 140 feet square within, giving an internal area of .45 acre. It is thus somewhat larger than the average of small posts which recent years have revealed¹⁴

The ditch of C can best be described by reference to the sections shown together in Figs. 2-4. The profile was ordinary and regular, with a square-cut drainage channel clearly shown on the eastern section, less clearly on the south (where the soil in which it was cut was less stable), and again clearly on the west. On the east the ditch contained in sequence upwards a fine dark greyish wash in the drainage channel, then fine red soil, almost stoneless at first but becoming coarser till it merged into a stony reddish-brown gravel, above which lay the modern humus. The ditch appears to have been filled gradually by natural process, the fine red representing wash from the rampart structure which we believe to have been of this material.

The contents of the south ditch were quite different. The fine dark greyish wash was much less noticeable and in one section did not exist; then came stony gravel, or, at one point, dirty brown soil, passing into a compacted cobble layer which had sagged in the middle; on the cobbles lay a thick layer of decayed vegetable matter covered by more dirty brown stony soil; above this, in the deeper section, were traces of rampart wash; over that was a cobbled surface, very marked in the neighbourhood of the east gate of A and extending over a considerable area; finally the modern humus. At one point, where the ditch diggers had encountered one of those pockets of sand which abound on the site, they had secured stability for the ditch sides by giving them a skin of red clay with a pitching of smallish stones. (See Fig. 3.)

¹⁴ e.g. Durisdeer, one-seventh of an acre, and Milton, one-fifth of an acre. Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland (1952), pp. 105, 125.

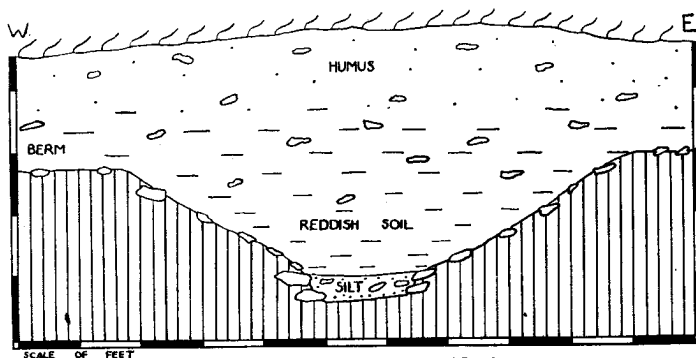


FIG. 2 - EAST DITCH OF C.

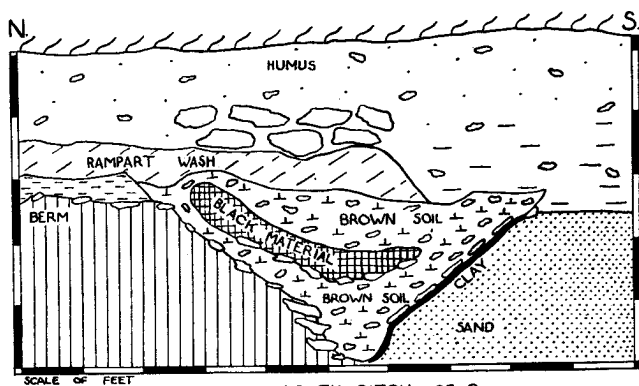


FIG. 3 - SOUTH DITCH OF C.

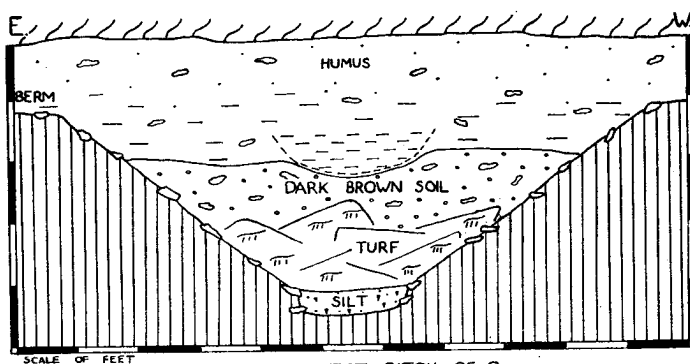


FIG. 4 - WEST DITCH OF C.

The history of this ditch has clearly been very different from that of the east one. It has been deliberately levelled twice.

The west ditch was different again. It contained at the bottom in its well-marked drainage channel a deposit of dark, silty stuff, sandy but different from the sandy wash found in the east ditch; this was mixed with wood fragments and vegetable fibre; then came decayed turf, very compact, but sometimes in recognisable gobbets; on that rested a stony band of dark brown soil, sunk in the middle to form a pocket of fine red soil, very clean and stoneless, passing sharply into gravel, and then the modern humus.

The history of this ditch and the explanation of its contents can best be dealt with when we come to A.

No satisfactory conclusion was reached about the north ditch, which must have lain along the steep, tree-grown slope. The ditch was traced passing under a broad wall-foundation¹⁵ at both the north-east and north-west corners. At both points massive tree-roots frustrated any hope of a profitable section.

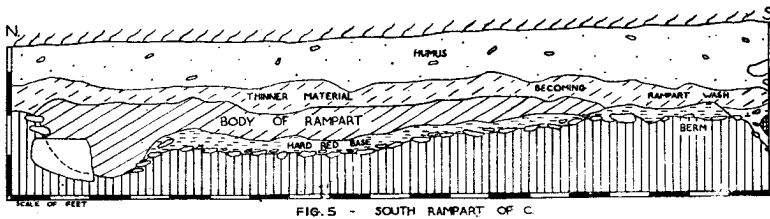
The behaviour of the east ditch at the south-east corner calls for special notice. Here, as may be seen, the air-photograph shows a strange bulge. A section taken here was at first unintelligible, for there appeared to be no proper ditch profile at all, and disturbed soil extended far beyond the point where the counter-scarp should reasonably have been found. It was the drying of the side of the section that finally gave a clue to the solution. The ditch-diggers, as they approached the corner, ran into a bank of loose, sandy shingle, which had no natural angle of rest and refused to form a counter-scarp. The bank is probably one of the features of the east shore of the ancient water-course, and can be distinctly traced as a slight roll on the modern surface. In their difficulty the ditch-diggers took the troublesome stuff clean out and replaced it with more amenable material, a mixture of fine red soil and coarser gravel, of

¹⁵ An unexpected discovery, which will be described in its place.

which they formed an artificial counter-scarp, lightly stone-pitched; and this stood satisfactorily firm.¹⁶

There appeared to be one gate only, indicated by a gap of fifteen feet in the south ditch in the middle of the south side.

The structure of the rampart presents a problem. Sections on the east and north revealed cobbling beginning usually four feet behind the ditch. The cobbling formed a band some sixteen feet wide and sank with a marked depression in the middle, the depression being filled with a fine, cohesive, reddish, stoneless soil. The same cobble band with the same central depression similarly filled was found where one would have anticipated the rampart to be on the north front also. The first impression was of a previous ditch into which the cobbling had sagged, but the impression was disproved by excavation.



A cut at the south-east corner supplied a possible explanation. At this point the top-soil was much deeper and the resulting section is shown in Fig 5. This seems to indicate that the rampart was constructed in the main of the stoneless reddish soil observed elsewhere in the central depressions, but here, at the greater depth, more clayey and firm and altogether more definite in its function. A foundation had been given at the rear by scooping out a deeper trough backed by a large kerb-stone. We should thus have a rampart standing on a cobbled base specially prepared for stability, and consisting of this clayey red earth.

¹⁶ The result, however pleasing to its devisers, proved unfortunate for the modern excavators, since the artificial packing is little different, except in its capacity to hold moisture, from the ditch contents along the east side.

If this interpretation be accepted, we would have a reasonable explanation of the depressed cobble band elsewhere and also of its contents. A similar interpretation would follow of a series of smaller depressions found in a like position on the south and west, though there, the top-soil being shallower, little trace of the rampart material remained. That the rampart consisted of some such material seems clearly indicated by the contents of the ditch on the east side where alone the ditch had filled naturally: the fine reddish soil would then be wash from the rampart.

These indications suggest a rampart of some 16 feet, with a berm of four feet.

No evidence of facing with turf was noted anywhere—the turf in the west ditch is related to A, not C—nor can it be said that any other retaining device was suggested except at one point where a post may have existed at the inner margin, and at the north-west corner where timber under the wall may possibly be a part of a fallen revetment of the rampart-front. Certainly it is difficult to suppose that a rampart wholly constructed of the material which we found in position could have dispensed with a facing or revetment of some sort.^{16a}

Cuts made in the interior were disappointingly uninformative and indeed ambiguous. In the northern portion of the enclosure cobbling which could be interpreted as intravallum street was found behind the rampart. It was solid and heavy, but there was no trace of occupation evidence in the interstices between the stones. At one point beneath the cobbling behind the north rampart a post-hole was found, securely cobbled over, in which the post seemed to have been burned down to ground level. It was here that the fragment of native pottery already mentioned was found. The excava-

^{16a} If the rampart was ever completed, its final form must surely have been of the type with vertical timbered back and palisade front as shown in the proposed reconstruction of the rampart at Remangen and Alteburg (*Bonner Jahrbuch*, 114-115 (1906), pl. vii.-x. and xii.-xv). Assuming an angle of rest of 45, which with such material is reasonable, the rampart could be raised to a height of ten feet and leave a rampart walk of six feet. This matter is one which will be investigated further.

tors suspect the previous existence of a native hut, for in this area numerous obscure disturbances occurred in the natural soil, which could not be related to C, and, in the time available, resisted reduction to any intelligible plan. Probably all that can be said with assurance is that here some structure preceded C; and without great confidence we may note in support of the native hut theory the actual hut Y, which later excavation proved, and the vague unexplored indications of similar huts at various points on the site.

Behind the south and west ramparts, the intravallum street was not convincingly present, but here the surface cover is shallower and it may have been ploughed away or removed for use in later adjacent structures.

As for the interior of C generally, time did not suffice in the first season to make more than two long exploratory cuts, and in the second season, since circumstances did not permit work on any scale in this area, no attempt was made. Further opportunity must be awaited. Meantime, however, we must record the complete absence of finds of any kind in the cuts made, and indeed the absence of surfaces which spoke at all convincingly of occupation. Not that the natural soil was virgin; post-holes were noted, which could conceivably belong to a wooden building parallel to the west rampart, and an enigmatic stone-packed channel which, with a ditch unrelated to anything else, warns of complications to which we have not yet the clue.

Enclosure A.

The very clearly defined marking on the air-photograph records a ditch ten and a half feet wide and six feet deep. Water prevented a completely cleared section, and the depth and constitution of the last foot of the ditch deposit were ascertained by probe. At the bottom lay dark, silty stuff under a mass of tumbled turf debris, and over that lay red gravelly soil merging into the modern humus. The ditch was examined only where it forms the eastern boundary of the enclosure. The dimensions of the enclosure appear to be about 250 feet by 200 feet.

Where the east ditch of A crossed the south ditch of C, A revealed itself to be later than C by having an artificial stone-pitched scarp laid against the previously existing ditch contents of C. Moreover, the west ditch of C seemed to have been substantially adapted to serve from this point northwards as the east ditch of A. This provides an explanation for the contents of this ditch, which, it will be remembered, are closely similar to those found elsewhere in the east ditch of A. It may also provide an explanation of what at first appeared to be the asymmetry of C. It seems probable that—as is shown on the plan—the line of the ditch of A cut that of C just to the east of its corner, and that the edge which has been traced was in fact that of A rather than C. By the point at which a complete section was made, the two had merged. It was not possible, for lack of time, to test this hypothesis—the idea presented itself only at the very end of the excavation when we discovered the behaviour of the ditch of A at the crossing; but the hypothesis is supported by the thickened bulge of the ditch marking on the air-photograph at this point.

No evidence was obtained of the rampart of A except what may be deduced from the abundant presence of turf debris in the ditch.

The only other feature observed which seemed to be connected with A was extensive cobbling, most marked in the neighbourhood of the east gate of A, but extending well to the east, where it may well have been the remains of a road. One section at least seemed to suggest the drainage channel at the side of such a road.

The only relics of occupation obtained from A were some tiny fragments of coarse red ware and a piece of slag from the east ditch.

Enclosure B.

The marking on the air-photograph was found to represent a shallow hollow rather than a ditch. It was about ten feet wide, though its margins were rather indefinite for exact measurement, and it descended at most two and a half feet into the natural soil, with a saucer-like profile. In every

one of a number of sections it contained a thick band of the familiar red soil, here mixed, however, with large cobbles lying loose. Similar cobbles lined the bottom, firmly set in much greater numbers than one found in any exposure of the natural surface elsewhere.

These features notwithstanding, were it not that this saucer-like hollow is so consistent in form and contents, and that the air-photograph proclaims its straight course for some 400 feet and even suggests the eastwards turn and northwards return of a regular and symmetrical enclosure, one might be disposed to dismiss it as a fortuitous feature of natural origin. But such easy dismissal is impossible, the more so when one observes the very curious behaviour of the south *tutulus* of A. This *tutulus* departs conspicuously from a normal course paralled to the south ditch of A and instead follows a line parallel to the faintly appearing south side of B with which it has no possible relation. The conclusion is inescapable that B is not a natural feature but an artificial construction which already existed when A came to be laid out, and that the men whose job it was to dig the south *tutulus*, having B close before their eyes, dug in error parallel to the line of B instead of parallel to A.

We have no evidence of the nature of enclosure B.

Enclosure D.

This, so far as we have examined it, is more definite. The air-photograph marking represents a ditch, nine-ten feet wide and cut some two feet into the natural, which, in the region of A and its associated works, gave sections of complicated content (see, for example, Fig. 6), whereas, once clear of other structures, it contained sandy wash at the bottom, and, above that up to modern humus, gravelly soil. This ditch was traced to where it turned southwards at its north-west and north-east corners, and a breadth of 400 feet was obtained for the enclosure. The length is indefinite. If D is the same ditch as obtrudes curving through E, as sections there suggest it may well be, the length of the enclosure must be about 500 feet.

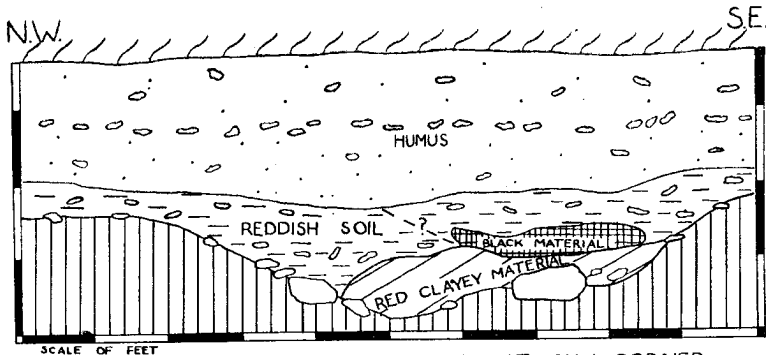


FIG. 6 - DITCH OF D AT N.W. CORNER.

There is reason to believe that a gate exists at the middle of the north side. Nothing is known of the position of any others, nor is the air-photograph informative.

The contents of the ditch of D where that ditch lies within A are curious. Since the ditch where it was examined at several points clear of A had apparently filled naturally, whereas inside A artificial filling in one or more stages had taken place, we can at least argue with some confidence that D preceded A; but the apparent secondary narrowing of the ditch and the existence at one point of something suggesting a small trench or channel in the secondary filling cannot be interpreted from the evidence which we have, though it is possible, as already suggested, that the latter is the drainage channel at the side of a road.

The Wall.

During our search for evidence of the rampart of C on its north side, the surprising fact became apparent that a wall foundation ran along the extreme edge of the slope. The width is uncertain, as the outer kerb had disappeared, but it probably was about twelve feet. This foundation followed closely the irregular edge of the slope; so that its inner edge was seldom far from the point at which modern ploughing ceased. The style of construction was striking. The kerb consisted in most sections of hewn sandstone blocks, cut to

CARRONBRIDGE (1954)

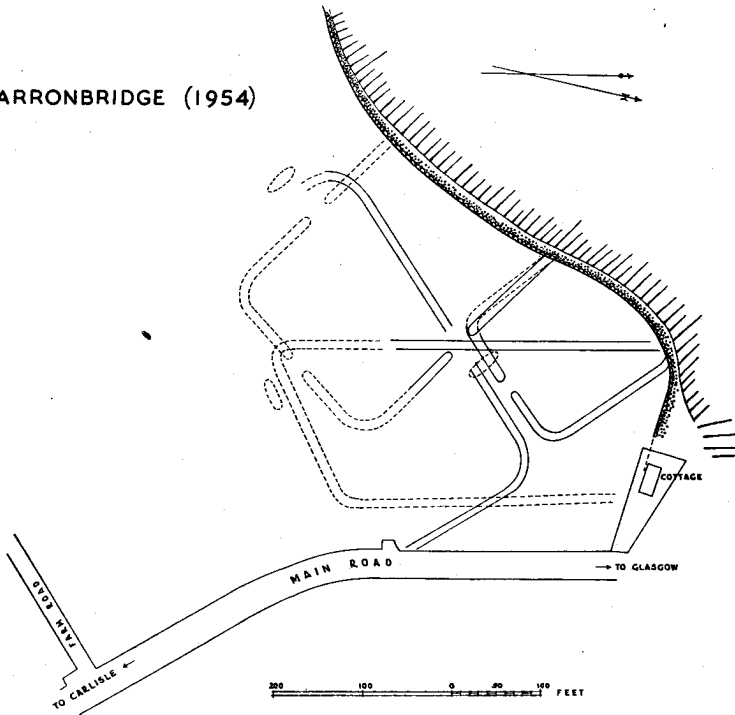


Fig. 7.

blunt triangular form, and keyed with smaller stones (Plate III.). Occasionally large field stones had been used, chosen for their triangular shape, and hewn to present a square face at the kerb-front. Behind them the centre of the base was firmly cobbled. The general appearance was strongly reminiscent of the base of the Antonine Wall.

This foundation was traced, following the curves of the edge of the slope, from the cottage fence at the north-east corner of the site to the fence surrounding the farm buildings of Morton Mill, a distance of some 720 feet. It appeared to be uniform throughout. Within the garden of the cottage there was abundant evidence in the rockery that the wall-kerb had been uprooted there. Nothing is known of its course in the other direction; where it was last seen

before it entered the farm yard, it showed signs of turning as if to make a direct approach to the River Nith. A brief attempt to search for a return along the edge of the slope on the south-west of the site met with no success. No estimate can, therefore, be made of the area enclosed; but any reasonable extension of the known curve of its course towards the east and the completion of the curve by a westwards return would enclose a considerable amount of ground, certainly not less than ten acres.

Where the wall was sectioned at a point on the north front of C, a substance which looked like severely compressed turf lay under the centre of the base. The possibility thus presents itself that this substance may conceivably be the remains of a turf rampart of C over which the wall had been built. If that were so, it would be necessary to reconsider the whole question of the rampart of C, for it is most unlikely that the rampart structure was not uniform. But it is far from certain that the substance was indeed turf. It was hard and somewhat like a greyish-yellow sand, and it cohered in large pieces. Submission to a soil expert did not elicit a definite opinion. The report was that, though it might be turf, the distinguishing fibres had decayed. In this unsatisfactory position a troublesome piece of evidence must for the time be left.

There is at least no question of any recent origin of the wall foundation. It bears no resemblance to modern, nor, so far as the excavators are aware, to medieval work. Nor is there any doubt of its relation in time to the other structures which we have been discussing. It crossed the east ditch of C and the east ditch of A (which we suppose at this point to have previously been the west ditch of C). We can thus assert that the wall is later than the whole A, B, C, D sequence. How much later there is no evidence.

Complex E.

Excavation here was of an initial exploratory nature which has served its purpose in establishing the existence of a round native dwelling of at least two periods; which is the

meaning of the round dark marking Y on the air-photograph. But in addition to the dwelling a variety of ditches was also revealed, whose contents speak of successive changes over a period of time. It is impossible at this stage to disentangle the different elements of the evidence. For that, complete stripping of at least part of the dwelling will be required.

The ditches encountered were of three kinds—those filled with cobbles and clean gravel and having a fine grey wash at the bottom, those containing a dark brown soil mixed with cobbles and gravel, and those having an amount of black material at the bottom covered by layers of dirty soil and gravel. In general, a surface of sorts, sometimes cobbled, sometimes gravelled, sealed the last type, a circumstance which would place this type early in the sequence. The first type, which alone was regular, may possibly link up with enclosure D. The others tended to show various irregularities of profile, especially a marked steepness of scarp. The occasional occurrence of post-holes in the counter-scarp near the top was noticed.

A multiplicity of post-holes and narrow trenches was encountered. In the former it was faintly possible to distinguish two types, one with a square section and one round. Whether the distinction is real and has significance is not yet certain. Similarly in the narrow trenches a distinction was noted between those containing gravel and those containing soil. At one point there was evidence of a bank of red stoneless soil behind a post-hole, as if there had been an inner bank to a dwelling-wall.

Under cobbling which we suppose lies at the entrance of the dwelling in its final form, lay a black layer, four inches thick, containing tiny fragments of wood and bone. We take this as evidence, apart from that of the ditches and the variety of post-holes and trenches, that the dwelling had two clearly separate periods of existence, and that its forms in the two periods did not coincide.

Provisionally one suspects that both dwellings approximated to the type admirably revealed by Dr. Bersu at

Ssotstarvit,¹⁷ that is round huts with walls of wooden posts. But the similarity cannot at this stage be pressed in detail.

Despite the most careful watch, no relics were recovered except a pebble of the strike-a-light variety. The complete absence of Roman pottery on a site obviously inhabited for some time and so closely adjacent to active Roman occupation seems conclusive that the dwellings must either be pre-Roman or post-Roman. If the ditches of the first type referred to above do in fact turn out to belong to enclosure D, and if this proves to be Roman, as it appears to be, the problem of date may be pleasingly soluble.

A short attempt was made to discover something about the apparent entrance to the ditch complex, marked X on the air-photograph. The air record is correct. The square finish at the entrance does exist, the ditches here being only scooped out hollows, nine feet wide and three feet deep. The entrance seems to be flanked by a palisade continuing along the inner edge of the inner ditch.

Finally, we discovered, overlying the primary structures of Y, the foundation of a wall, three feet thick, still standing two courses high. It was let into the ditch filling with a cobble bed, and the actual stones were roughly squared sandstone. This clearly is a distinct and separate structure, possibly much later. Only stripping can settle this problem, as we hope it may settle the others.

Conclusions.

He would be indeed rash who dared to formulate firm conclusions on such evidence as has been adduced. Original hopes that we might determine not only the period but the function and the circumstances of construction of the structures have been frustrated both by the absence of finds—in itself a singular matter considering the amount of excavation done—and by the ambiguous nature of most of the structures themselves. Yet we hope that the site has been demonstrated to be a very unusual one and one which raises questions even more important than was originally expected,

¹⁷ Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, lxxxiii., (1947-48), p. 241 ff.

if for no other reason than that we have here Roman and native structures in abnormal juxtaposition.

The little that can definitely be said refers to sequence. There is no doubt that C is earlier than A. So much is proved by the evidence where their ditches meet. Nor is there any doubt that the wall is later than both. For D perhaps a case can be made that it comes between C and A. The position of B and E in the sequence is quite uncertain.

Of B very little can be said at all. The saucer-like hollow which defines it ran under cobbling which must surely be associated with C in the area behind the north rampart, though admittedly there were in this area indications that other complications may exist. On the other hand, it lay uncovered in the centre of C, containing here as elsewhere the fine red soil which is a feature of its filling. We may conclude either that B is later than C since it lay open within C, in which case the cobbling in the northern area of C cannot belong to C; or else, that B is earlier than C, in which case the fact that it lay open in the centre of C can only mean that C was never completed — a conclusion to which the absence of convincing signs of occupation may be felt to point. It is dangerous, however, to base any argument on the fact that B lay open within C, for it seems to have lain open also within A; and yet, as we have seen, the behaviour of the south *tutulus* of A seems to indicate that B is earlier than A. We are in the position, therefore, of supposing that an earlier ditch was not surfaced over within a later structure. And surely we stretch probability if we suggest that A as well as C was never occupied, unless indeed — and the possibility begins to force itself upon our attention — some of these structures were merely exercises in camp construction imposed upon troops from Dalswinton or Carzield.¹⁸

¹⁸ We have the classic example of this sort of exercise at Cawthorn, Yorkshire, where it is now accepted that troops from Malton were so employed — *Archaeological Journal* lxxxix. (1932), p. 17, ff. A similar example is found at Chew Green in the Cheviots, *J.R.S.*, xxvii. (1937), p. 228. Reference should also be made to the remarkable series of no fewer than eighteen apparently practice earthworks along the road which runs from Castell Collen to the fort at Brecon Gaer, *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1936, p. 69 ff.

The position of D, if not its function, is more definite. We have already seen that it preceded A from the fact that, within A, D had suffered some sort of filling whereas outside A it had not. We can possibly argue further that D followed C with only a brief interval. There was, it will be remembered, evidence that the ditch of C had been twice levelled, and on each occasion a cobbled surface had been put over it. The proximity of D and in particular of its north gate must surely mean that one of these levellings must be related to the construction of D; while the second levelling could equally be explained by the construction of A. On the occasion of the first levelling hardly any of the fine grey silt, a feature of the east ditch bottom, had collected. The ditch was filled with any loose gravel or soil that came to hand and lightly cobbled over. The whole evidence points reasonably to the lapse of only a brief interval between the disuse of C and the construction of D. One would assume that simultaneously the rampart of C was demolished where it stood adjacent; but, if so, sufficient remained to produce traces of wash at a later time.

The next stage is obscure. After the black material had accumulated over the sunken cobbling, more stony soil was shovelled in. Whether this represents more than a belated determination on the part of the occupants of D to keep the former ditch of C filled to the brim is not clear; but it is, to say the least, peculiar that, at one point, the contents of the ditch of D should include, in a similar position in the ditch, a similar black layer (Fig. 6). Whatever be the explanation of these very curious features, they are followed, in the deeper and more informative section of the ditch of C, by considerable signs of wash from the rampart of C, and over all by the cobbling which appears to belong to A. There seems no doubt, on this evidence, that an appreciable lapse of time separated the construction of A from the original construction of D.

In fine, we seem to have reason to postulate the existence of C, whether completed or not, followed almost at once by D, and after a longer interval by A. As for B, the evidence

does not warrant any conclusion except perhaps that it preceded A.

The place of the complex E and of the house Y in the scheme of things can only be determined by further excavation which may reveal the relation of E to D and the relation of Y to both.

As to the nature of these structures, there may be room for disagreement. But of structure A at least there can be no doubt. Its form alone, as revealed by the air-photograph, proclaims its Roman origin; while the solid nature of its construction, as exemplified by its ditch six feet deep, its substantial rampart of turf implied by the ditch contents, the careful treatment of the crossing where its ditch meets that of C, and the solid cobbling of the area at its east gate, suggests something more than a mere marching camp. How much greater permanence it may have had we do not know.

B on present evidence does not admit any theory at all. The shape of D, however, as indicated by the one side and the two corners which we do know, can reasonably be regarded as Roman; while the ditch, much less impressive than that of A, argues a temporary nature.

C is the real difficulty. The entire absence of Roman finds might seem to raise serious doubts of a Roman origin. Yet this point is largely discounted by the absence of clear signs of occupation by anyone, whether Roman or native, at a time contemporary with the structure itself. Moreover, the form of the ditches, presentably Roman in profile, the manner in which difficulties of soil have been dealt with (especially at the south-east corner), and, if the interpretation already advanced be accepted, the careful structure of the rampart base, all seem to the excavators evidence of Roman origin sufficient to outweigh the absence of finds. The structure is, or at least was planned to be, a fortlet, rather larger it is true than the average of those already known, but plainly a fortlet of the sort associated with road control.

But if so, where is the road and where does it lead? And in what period? Why was the post not occupied? Why, indeed, was it possibly not even completed? Is the explana-

tion that which has already been hinted at as a possibility, namely, that Roman troops have been doing exercises in military construction here? At the moment we have no answer to these questions. General considerations, however, do not favour the military exercises hypothesis, which must nevertheless be kept in mind till disproved; there is no very obvious reason why this site should have been chosen merely for military exercises, a good dozen miles away from the nearest large station, a site, too, where apparently some sort of native occupation already existed; nor do the details of treatment at the point where A, C, and D converge look like mere practice work. It seems, too, rather an extreme coincidence to assume that the Romans indulged in practice works, on a site which appears to have been of considerable strategic importance. Tibbers castle, however remote it may now be, was no exercise in castle building; and only the strongest evidence should make us classify as purely an exercise in military engineering a Roman site which seems to serve the same military purpose.

The wall, little though we know of it, is intriguing. In the first place, it is no purely native work. Its similarity to Roman military construction is so striking that we seem forced to assume an experience of, or at least an acquaintance with, such construction in those who directed its building. Yet, if we may judge from its sinuous course, it is not a military work done by Roman troops. It has rather the appearance of the defensive wall of a farm compound or settlement, concerned primarily to enclose the maximum area of level ground at a given point. Not only must the builders surely have had some knowledge of Roman military construction, but they must have possessed a local standing to command the resources necessary for the building. Under what circumstances could these conditions be met? Should we picture some officer of local troops, who had served in the area and contracted local ties, electing on his discharge to settle here? Such a man would have been by surrounding standards a man of consequence and wealth. Or should we place this structure in the years following the withdrawal of

the Romans from Scotland when acquaintance with Roman methods was still fresh? Or in the sub-Roman period when for a time the barbarian fringes became the home of the Roman tradition? And, whatever the date and the circumstances, what manner of settlement did it enclose? Once more, we have as yet no answer to our questions. They open dim tantalising vistas of life in centuries at present little known.

Thus we are left with conclusions imprecise to a degree. Carronbridge has so far presented problems both complicated and important without supplying a scrap of the dating material which normally in Roman archæology makes solution possible. Where there is no shred of evidence to fix the precise place of any of the structures in time, and where indeed the very Roman origin of the most unquestionably Roman among them is vouched for mainly by its outline on an air-photograph, any pretence either to precision or certainty would be folly.

The work was financed by generous grants from the Carnegie Trustees, supplemented by assistance from Glasgow University through the Principal, Sir Hector Hetherington. In the first season grants in maintenance of students were made by the Scottish Field School; Dumfriesshire Education Committee made a contribution of £10, and Renfrewshire Educational Trust a similar contribution in respect of the maintenance of school pupils assisting. To all we return grateful thanks.

Permission to excavate was kindly given by His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, through Mr Johnston, then Factor on the Estates, and by Mr Hunter of Morton Mill, on whose farm the site lies. Mr Hunter has been most agreeable despite the inconvenience which our presence doubtless caused.

Labour for the first season was supplied partly by paid workers, partly by students attending under the Scottish University Field School in Archæology, and partly by senior boys of Paisley Grammar School. In this season, Miss Beatrice Blance kindly took a large number of photographs,

including those reproduced in Plates II. and III. For these we are most grateful. In the second season no students were present and all the work was done by paid labour. In both seasons invaluable assistance was given by the loan of tools and materials from Dumfriesshire County Council and Buccleuch Estates, and our thanks are offered to Mr Robertson and Mr McEwan in this connection. Dumfriesshire Education Committee were most helpful in the first season by making Carronbridge School available for the accommodation of boys and students, while the ladies of Carronbridge W.R.I. kindly consented to our use of their electric cooker. Special appreciation is felt for the tolerance of Mr and Mrs Milne, The Schoolhouse, Carronbridge, who patiently endured much that was unusual in the summer of 1953.

ARTICLE 2.

The Extent and Degree of Romanisation in Scotland.

By DOUGLAS YOUNG.

Rome and the Celts.

As seen by the Romans, the tribes of what is now Scotland were Celts. Without prejudice to the view that there were numerous pre-Celtic elements, and perhaps even a non-Celtic language surviving, it may be agreed that the Romans were faced in Scotland with a mainly Celtic or Celticised population. Now the Romans never forgot that Rome itself had been sacked in 387 B.C. by a raiding army of Gauls, assisted by the treachery of a Helvetian smith, Elico.¹ At the Allia the Celtic slogan and charge had effected a Roman stampede and rout that brought blushes till the end of the Empire.

It was because there was an undefeated reservoir of free Celtic energy in the British Isles that Julius Cæsar in 55 and 54 made expeditions to the south of England, the second of which, with five legions, was an attempt to conquer the whole island outright.²

What sort of people were the Celts? Originally the branch of Indo-European-speaking peoples nearest in speech and ways to the Italic stocks, the Celts became from about 500 B.C. the dominant civilisation of Europe on both sides of the Alps. They extended from Galicia in North-West Spain, and Ireland, whose ruling Gaelic families had come from North Spain or South France, right across through Bohemia and Bavaria and well down the Danube into Asia Minor, where in the Phrygian uplands tribes of Galatians in cantons spoke in St. Jerome's time a dialect akin to that of the Treveri on the Moselle.

¹ Pliny, N.H., 12, 5.

² R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, ed., 2, 1937, p. 34.

An inventive and artistic people, the Celts were keenly receptive of other peoples' ideas, and had taken much from the Greeks and the Etruscans, who were the main sources of much of the Romans' civilisation. But the Celts in antiquity never succeeded, and scarcely tried, in the arts of government in which Rome's peculiar excellence lay. There was never a Celtic empire, and seldom a durable Celtic state.

A horsey, poetical, rhetorical, artistic, convivial, roving kind of people, the Celts had a stronger sense of individuality than easily accords with permanent state-structures. Their units of action were personal and kinship groups, local and regional associations, rather than regularly constituted republics or federations, such as the Greek and Roman societies developed. Because of personal or clan disputes the Celts would often make common cause with foreigners against their fellow-Celts, and were eager also to serve as mercenaries in any lucrative war, no matter for what principle. Thus by the old policy of *Divide et impera* it proved easy for Julius Cæsar to conquer continental Gaul inside a decade and then enlist in his own cause against Pompey and the Senate a great following of Gaulish chiefs and warlike youngsters.

The Pattern of Roman Conquest in Britain.

The Emperor Claudius in 43 A.D. took up Julius Cæsar's plan of conquering Britain, being able to exploit certain divisions among the leading tribes of the South-East. We hear of a refugee Pretender, Bericus,³ the south-eastern area, of which a Belgic dynasty had won the high-kingship by a sort of petty empire-building, was formed into a province under a Roman proconsul; and round about it we hear of client-kingdoms, the Iceni, perhaps the Brigantes, and certainly the Regni, in Sussex, whose king, Cogidubnus, romanises his name as Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus and is styled "*Rex Legatus Augusti in Britannia*," ruling at Chichester and having large interests

³ In Cassius Dio, LX., 19.

in iron manufacture and commerce.⁴ Here we see a mixture of direct rule, in the province, and of indirect rule, such as has been practised by the British in India or Africa. We must be on the look-out for Scottish equivalents of Bericus and Cogidubnus.

To anticipate, one notable feature of the resistance to the Romans in Scotland seems to be the lack of refugee pretenders, or of traitors, whom the Romans could exploit, and the lack, in the early centuries, of anyone answering to the description of a client-king. Perhaps Cunedda, at the end of the fourth century, is the first, on the mainland. It is likely enough that some ruler in Orkney, where the Roman sea-power could reach with little more than natural hazards to face, entered into the Emperor's *clientela*.

But there were irreconcilables, notably Caratacus, heir of the Belgic dynasty of Cassivellaunus. He went west to South Wales and stimulated the Silures to raid the client-kingdoms. To protect the province, Ostorius Scapula, governor from 47, made a *limes*, a frontier-road, now the Fosse Way, from the mouth of the Axe in Devon to the fortress of the Ninth Legion at Lincoln. Patrolling this boundary from scattered forts, Scapula ordered the disarming of the natives to the south-east of it, and moved forward against North Wales, to separate the Silures from the Brigantes, who had been raiding from Yorkshire. Against the Silures themselves he brought up the Second Legion, probably to Glevum-Gloucester⁵. Caratacus next mobilised the Ordovices, in central Wales, and chose a suitable place for a pitched battle, in 51. Though at a disadvantage of terrain and numbers, the Romans won it, and Caratacus fled to the Brigantes. Here the client-queen, Cartimandua, romanised at least to the extent of emulating the unchaste and domineering behaviour of the Empress Messalina, threw the British patriot into chains and delivered him to the Romans. In contrast to other captive princes at Rome,

⁴ A. R. Burn, *The Romans in Britain: An Anthology of Inscriptions*, 1932, p. 16.

⁵ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 95, n.l.

when paraded in triumph, Caratacus made a dignified speech,⁶ in which he said that, as a ruler of several *gentes*, he would have been a suitable *amicus* and *federatus* for the Romans, and, if then spared, would be an *eternum exemplar clementiæ*. The hint was not lost, and he was kept at Rome in honourable captivity, doubtless as a useful card to play some day if it seemed expedient to run the province as a client-kingdom.

The Silures meantime had some successes in guerrilla attacks, and even beat the Second Legion in the field. This encouraged the anti-Cartimandua and anti-Roman faction of the Brigantes, and the governor, Didius Gallus, had to send a legion to keep Cartimandua on her throne (towards 58).

The next aggressive move by the Romans was under Suetonius Paulinus, who took the 14th and 20th Legions into North Wales, in 61, and massacred the Druids, priestesses, and warriors assembled in Anglesey. It is reckoned a mark of barbarism that the Celtic priesthood employed human sacrifice for magical purposes. So did the Romans on occasion, as when, after Cannæ, they buried alive in the Forum Boarium, the ancient Smithfield, two Gauls and two Greeks (of either sex). And what, in essence, is a *munus gladiatorium* but a human sacrifice?

The main idea was doubtless, as in Gaul, to get rid of the druids as a "grapevine" for intelligence and propaganda. Their cultural activities were such as most Romans could have spared.^{6a}

The same year, 61, saw the startling revolt of some partially romanised tribes in the south-east, which was supposed to have been civilianised. It was caused, partly by lack of statesmanship at Rome itself, where Nero was against client-kingships, but chiefly by the rapacity and cruelty of minor officials and traders on the spot, and by the normal workings of primitive capitalism.

Prasutagus, king of the Icenii, made Nero his co-heir,

⁶ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 12, 37.

^{6a} Mommsen, Momigliano, Noek, and Collingwood, thought the Roman motive for suppressing the Druids was political. I now agree with Prof. H. Last's recantation (*J.R.S.*, 1949, 1-5) and think an enlightened minority in the ruling circles had cultural motives.

in the hope of securing half his property for his widow, Boudicca, and daughters. But Nero's procurator, Decianus Catus, confiscated the entire property, and that of the whole nobility of the Iceni along with it. No doubt they were deeply mortgaged through the extravagance of hasty romanisation. And the philosopher Seneca was among the money-lenders who put on the screw. Worse still, the procurator's servants flogged Boudicca and raped the princesses; royal kinsmen and other nobles were enslaved. At the same time officialdom came along with routine demands for tribute and recruits.

All this, together with the massacre of the Druids, has to be recalled as part of the emotional background to the resistance in Scotland to Agricola's invasion, about twenty years later.

The Iceni and their neighbours the Trinovantes rose in arms, sacked and burned Colchester, with its temple of the Divus Claudius, and London and Verulam, slaughtering "*ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum*,"⁷ about 70,000 Roman citizens and allies, by which Tacitus presumably means friendly and semi-romanised Britons and non-citizen traders. The number is far higher than the 25,000 or so allowable as the standing population of these three towns,⁸ and must include refugees. Even if it is exaggerated, the catastrophe must have sharply reminded the Romans that they held a wolf by the ears so long as any armed Celts were left free anywhere in the island, and must have made it official policy to force a complete conquest when practicable.

The Iceni destroyed a vexillation, 2,000 strong, of the Ninth Legion from Lincoln, but its commander, Petillius Cerialis, escaped with the cavalry. The governor, Paulinus, kept his head, however, and with 10,000 men met and destroyed a horde of excited rebels, fighting in the old-fashioned way, encumbered with wives and waggons.

Paulinus then ran punitive expeditions against the rebellious and suspect tribes of the south-east, with such effect

⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, 14, 33.

⁸ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 198.

on the Icenian districts that "generations did not suffice for their recovery."^{8a} This is what Calgacus referred to when he said: "*Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*"⁹

Nero's new procurator, Classicianus, worried about loss of revenue by this policy of terror and devastation, appealed to the government at Rome, who recalled Paulinus, and sent out Turpilianus to conciliate the natives, "*parcere subjectis.*" This policy was carried on by Trebellius Maximus, from 63, with so much success that, in 67, when planning his Eastern expedition, Nero withdrew the 14th Legion, and left only three legions, about one-tenth of the citizen army of the Empire.

In the upheavals of 68 and 69, the year of four Emperors, the legions of Britain were little concerned, "*crebris expeditionibus docti hostem potius odisse,*"¹⁰ the chief enemy being Brigantia, which had expelled Cartimandua and was openly hostile, under her ex-husband, Venutius. In 71 Cerialis came over with a new legion, the Second Adjutrix, and moved the Ninth Legion's headquarters from Lincoln to Eboracum-York, to dominate the best cornland of the Brigantes, whose fortress at Stanwyck was destroyed. His successor, in 74, Frontinus, the engineering expert, subdued the Silures of South Wales, and perhaps brought in an improved model of *castellum*.¹¹ He moved the 2nd Augusta to Isca-Caerleon-upon-Usk.

Such was the background of Agricola's governorship, when he took over late in 78, aged 38. His policy in the lowlands of England was "*parcere subjectis,*" as had been doubtless his policy as *legatus* of Aquitania (74-77). A cultivated patrician himself, he encouraged the native aristocracy to ape the costume, eloquence, and living standards of the *urbani*.

On the turbulent Highland fringes he took a tough line—" *debellare superbos* "—having been military tribune under

^{8a} F. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, 2nd ed., 1924, 111.

⁹ Tac., *Agr.*, 30, 6.

¹⁰ Tac., *Hist.*, 1, 9.

¹¹ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 113.

Paulinus in 61, and legate of the 20th Legion under Cerialis in 71 to 73.

The general policy of Vespasian and the Flavians was consolidation, but provincial commanders were given a pretty free hand either to make lucrative annexations or to amend frontiers with a view to more economical maintenance. Agricola's campaigns were partly punitive, partly with an eye to a more defensible frontier, and partly with the ultimate aim of complete conquest, not only of Britain, which he and Tacitus thought, with some plausibility, that he substantially achieved,¹² but of Ireland also. It may help our perspective if I consider Ireland first.

In his embittered retirement (84-93) Agricola often maintained "*legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse*,"¹³ that Ireland could be conquered and held down by one legion and a good few auxiliaries. Haverfield remarks:¹⁴ "It is only the first of many pleasing dreams of how to deal with that difficult land. But it was utterly astray." I am not so sure that Agricola's appreciation was far wrong. In 1315 Edward Bruce landed with 6000 mailclad veterans, was joined by two Ulster chiefs with light-armed Irish, and within a year was crowned King of Erin. After that he played his hand very incompetently, and threw away his own life in a silly skirmish; but his expedition is clear proof what a competent army could achieve among clans and tribes at sixes and sevens among themselves.¹⁵

Again we have the statement that Leinster received its name from the "broad spears" of 2000 Gauls, with whom its exiled king, Labraid, recovered his kingdom.¹⁶ That is a mere vexillation of a legion. Agricola was entertaining, "*specie amicitiae*," an Irish *regulus*, or sub-king, who had been driven out by a domestic sedition.¹⁷ "*In occasionem*

¹² Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 117.

¹³ Tac., *Agr.*, 24, 3.

¹⁴ Haverfield, *op. cit.*, 119.

¹⁵ E. Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, 5 ed., 1945, 94 ff.

¹⁶ Curtis, *op. cit.*, 3.

¹⁷ Tac., *Agr.*, 24, 3.

retinebat," says Tacitus; and the opportunity cannot have been far away, for towards the year 100 A.D. we hear of the great revolt of the pre-Celtic peoples of Ireland against their oppressive military aristocracy, the Gaels. It was a situation in which one Roman legion, with appropriate auxiliaries, could have swayed the issue decisively. As it was, the Gaelic prince, Tuathal, subdued the rebel leader, Cairbre Cinn Cait ("Cat-head"), and founded a central High Kingship, which, with modifications, lasted till 1022.¹⁸

When the Romans came to deal with Scotland we do not hear of any exiled prince or faction-leader whom they can use, nor of any client-king on the mainland, before perhaps Cunedda, nor of any lack of solidarity and cohesion among the natives in defence of their ancestral way of life. British chiefs in south-east England are found trading slaves abroad, but this practice does not seem to be attested for the Caledonian sphere at this period.¹⁹

Agricola's immediate business lay in Wales, where he lost no time in subduing, with a massacre, the Ordovices, who had wiped out an *ala* of cavalry. He slew almost the whole tribe, says Tacitus,²⁰ *pour décourager les autres*. Other such "liquidations" about this period are those of the Nasamones in Africa in 86,^{20a} a nomadic people who did not like Roman fiscal methods, and the slaughter of over 60,000 Bructeri by a coalition of neighbouring Germans, to the sadistic satisfaction of the Romans and of Tacitus,²¹ the panegyrist of the civilising Agricola.

In 79 operations commence against the Brigantes, whose tribe or confederacy extended from Derbyshire into Dumfriesshire, and we find Agricola taking hostages and building forts.

The legionary fortress at Deva-Chester may at this time have contained the 20th Valeria Victrix and the 2nd

¹⁸ Curtis, *op. cit.*, 3-4.

¹⁹ Cambridge Ancient History, XI., 518.

²⁰ *Agr.*, 18, 4.

^{20a} C.A.H., XI., 25; 146.

²¹ *Germania*, 53.

Adjutrix.²² In the year 80 Agricola made reconnaissances in force among new tribes,²³ with devastations up to the estuary of the Tanaus, perhaps the Tay; followed next year, 81, by a temporary consolidation on a *limes* between Clota-Clyde and Bodotria-Forth.²⁴

A *limes* is at this time primarily a line of military penetration for a column of troops to march or attack, with appropriate forts and signal-stations to enable it to be patrolled as a boundary separating one section of the enemy from another.²⁵ Agricola never planned the Forth-Clyde line as more than a temporary frontier, economically defensible, south of which he could disarm the northern Brigantes and other peoples, from strong forts like Trimontium-Newstead on the Tweed, and smaller posts, such as that at Milton, on the route from Carlisle to Castledykes (Corbiehall), explored by Mr John Clarke.²⁶

Agricola cleared away the natives from the north of the Forth-Clyde *limes*, as if into another island,²⁷ and spent time digesting south Scotland, a process being diligently investigated by your Society. It was, I believe, quite reasonable for him at this stage to contemplate the intervention in Ireland with one legion, which Tacitus mentions, except, perhaps, for the fact that Domitian was demanding vexillations from the British legions for his campaigns on the Rhine and Danube.²⁸

During his fifth year of office, 82, Agricola operated with his fleet on the west coast, perhaps about Galloway or Kintyre or both, and in the sixth year, 83, made an amphibious expedition on the East Coast north of the Forth. Here I think we must stress the great advantage in supply and intelligence and in terroristic effect that sea-power could give the Romans, as later it gave, for example, Henry VIII. and

²² Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 114.

²³ Tac., *Agr.*, 22, *novas gentes aperuit*.

²⁴ I. A. Richmond in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1949, s.v. *Agricola*.

²⁵ R. Syme, C.A.H., XI., 179, n. 1; 183.

²⁶ D. and G. Trans., XXVIII. (1949/50), p. 199.

²⁷ *Agr.*, 23.

²⁸ C.A.H., XI., 157, n. 2; 163.

Protector Somerset. But by itself the sea-power of those days could not secure a decision, as the Emperor Septimius Severus was to find.

Meantime the natives of the unoccupied territories had been putting their heads together to concert resistance and counter-offensive.²⁹ The only leader whose name is given us was Calgacus, "*inter plures duces virtute et genere præstans.*"³⁰ He was not a king, much less a High-King, but something like a Commander-in-Chief, or *generalissimo* of allied armies. The name means "Swordsman." He is made to say that his forces are drawn from the noblest men of all Britain,³¹ which perhaps refers to their claim to be autochthonous³² They may have contained large elements derived from the pre-Celtic neolithic peoples, perhaps still using a non-Celtic language concurrently with a dominant Celtic dialect.

It is possible also that refugees from England or Wales, of the type of Caratacus, were able to advise on the way to meet the Roman aggression. And some deserters from the Roman auxiliaries may be considered possible, for Britons had been recruited for service as early as 55,³³

Here I would raise the question of the place-names in *Pit-*, all but a dozen of which occur on the East of Scotland between Fife and the Dornoch Firth. This prefix represents Gaulish *Petia* (whence French *pièce*), meaning a portion or allocation of ground. It may be connected with a movement of refugee Belgæ and/or Veneti into Scotland, in the time of Julius Cæsar perhaps.

Now the distribution corresponds fairly well with the line of penetration of Agricola, as shown by his marching-camps, from Falkirk *via* Perth towards Aberdeen and then towards the Moray Firth, where we find Roman work at Burghead.

²⁹ Tac., *Agr.*, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 29, 4.

³¹ *Ib.*, 30, 3.

³² J. G. C. Anderson in his revision of H. Furneaux's ed., 1922, 122.

³³ Burn, *Agricola and Roman Britain* (1953), p. 33.

Septimius Severus, using sea-power, covered much the same area, as did, much later, Edward I. of England.

One wonders if the Gaulish place-names connect with a Gaulish element in the anti-Roman resistance. Pitcaple, for example, near Inverurie, might be the *Petia* of the *Caballi*, the cavalry-post of native *exploratores*.

However that may be, Agricola was met with a fairly well-organised resistance by an army representing a cohesive population.

To prevent the concentration of the northerners, Agricola advanced in three columns across the Forth, in 83, and built forts to command the principal outlets from the central Highlands towards Strathmore and the Tay (e.g., at Dalginross, Fendoch, and Inchtuthil).

At one of the forts the Caledonians made a night attack on the 9th Legion, which was well below strength, but Agricola came to its relief, and the enemy were saved only by swamps and forests from a defeat that would have ended the war,³⁴ says the pious son-in-law, writing for a Roman audience. But when he refers to the same episode again,³⁵ he notes that the Britons were "*nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu.*" As Syme observes:³⁶ "The actions which are described as Roman victories do not always appear to have exercised a depressing influence upon their barbarian adversaries." On the other hand, the barbarians were deficient in the civilised science of siegework, and could secure no decision against Agricola's well-made *castella*, nor deprive his fleet of its bases on the Forth and Tay.

Mons Craupius.

It is not clear how effective Agricola's forts had been in hindering the concentration of northern Britons in Scotland, for towards the end of summer of 84³⁷ he fought a battle with over 30,000 armed men, raised by a series of

³⁴ Tac., *Agr.*, 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 29, 3.

³⁶ C.A.H., XI., 156.

³⁷ *Exacta jam æstate.* Tac. *Agr.*, 38, 3.

treaties between *all* the tribes, who had learned at last that a common danger must be repelled by agreement.³⁸ And reinforcements were still accruing, including men described as "*clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes*,"³⁹ distinguished warriors, wearing their decorations. One wonders if their experience had been limited to fighting the Romans in the preceding years, or if they had done a bit of practice on one another, as the Gauls conquered by Cæsar had done. Whatever quarrels they may have had in the past, there was singular unanimity at this stage.

The site of the battle is still unsettled, except that it was north of the Tay on the East side of the country. Its significance is variously estimated. Tacitus presents it as decisive, and Domitian apparently at first took that view, based on Agricola's "not boastful" despatches,⁴⁰ for the Emperor granted the highest decorations allowable to a general not of the imperial family.⁴¹ But the actual details of the fight and its sequel are compatible with a different estimate.

Agricola sent his fleet ahead to plunder and cause alarm and despondency, and himself advanced, with some Britons on whom he could rely, to a place called Mons Craupius which the enemy had occupied. These Britons, "*longa pace exploratos*,"⁴² must surely be recruits from the tribes of south-eastern England subjected by Claudius forty years earlier. No doubt he had detachments from his own legion, the 20th, and from the 9th; but he kept them in reserve before the rampart of his marching-camp, and delivered an attack with his auxiliaries, 8000 foot and 3000 horse.⁴³ There are some odd features of the encounter, perhaps odder because the manuscript tradition is poor at this point. But there seems to be no use made by the Caledonians of cavalry, commonly a major arm of the Celts, whereas they did trot

³⁸ *Ib.*, 29, 3.

³⁹ *Ib.*, 29, 4.

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, 39.

⁴¹ *Ib.*, 40, 1.

⁴² Tac., *Agr.*, 29, 2.

⁴³ *Ib.*, 35. Burn, *Agricola*, p. 136, thinks that Agricola had for his crowning battle 8000 to 10,000 legionaries, plus 8000 light infantry and as many as 5000 cavalry.

out some chariots, to very little purpose.⁴⁴ At one stage the Britons looked like surrounding the auxiliary footmen, whose swords were of a better shape and temper than the natives'; but Agricola dealt with this danger by his reserve force of four cavalry *alæ* (probably 2000 men). This makes a total of 13,000 Roman troops engaged, *plus* perhaps three or four thousand legionaries (vexillations from at least two legions) viewing the affair from the rampart. When driven off their position on a slope, the natives scattered into forests and rounded on their pursuers, so that the Romans would have taken a knock⁴⁵ had not Agricola commanded caution. This cautious pursuit ended at nightfall.

The Roman losses, killed, were 360, those of the Caledonians about 10,000,⁴⁶ with which we may contrast Tacitus' figures for the decisive battle against Boudicca's coalition in 61, when Paulinus lost about 400, while Boudicca lost 80,000, and committed suicide.⁴⁷ The defeated Caledonians collected their wounded from the battlefield during the night, and withdrew after scorching the local earth. Perhaps their dispersed withdrawal was on a concerted plan, if we may so interpret the odd phrasing, "*miscere in vicem consilia aliqua dein separare.*"⁴⁸

The next day the Roman *exploratores* could see no one, and nothing but "*secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta.*" The season being too late to spread the war, Agricola led his army down into the territory of the Boresti, and took hostages from them. Then he sent his fleet to circumnavigate the island *in terrorem*, and marched his land-forces to winter-quarters by a route through new tribes, as another terrorist demonstration. There is no word of the number of prisoners-of-war, nor any mention of any distinguished one, although, when Scapula defeated Caratacus in a similar uphill attack,⁴⁹ Tacitus makes such mention. There is no

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, 35, 3; 36, 3.

⁴⁵ *Acceptum aliquod vulnus . . foret.*, *ib.*, 37., 4.

⁴⁶ *Tac., Agr.*, 37, 6.

⁴⁷ *Ann.*, 14, 37.

⁴⁸ *Agr.*, 38, 1.

⁴⁹ *Annals.*, 12, 35.

hint of submission on the part of the Caledonians, or of any of the confederate *civitates*, except the Boresti.

Where did the Boresti live? Ronald Syme in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (XI., 157) suggests Agricola may have reached the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, for after the battle "he marched farther and received hostages from a tribe called the Boresti." But Map 6 in the same volume (facing p. 151) shows the Boresti between the Tay and the Esk, in the Carse of Gowrie and South Angus.

"*Exercitum deducit*"⁵⁰ cannot, I think, mean that Agricola took his army farther north, but must indicate either a withdrawal towards his base or a detour from the main route. He did in fact make a detour when he showed his eagles to tribes hitherto unvisited: whether we must suppose them to be in Fife or in West Perthshire and Argyll or Dumbartonshire is a problem on which archæology may some day shed light.

After his seven years of office, Agricola was then recalled. Although Domitian, founding on his statements, had given him the highest decorations, when he actually presented himself all he received was a hasty kiss and no conversation.⁵¹ The Emperor, Tacitus suggests, was jealous of Agricola's real triumph, as contrasted with Domitian's "phoney" conquest in Germany. Archæology, however, shows that Domitian's resettlement of the Raetian *limes* was solid enough, and Agricola's network of *castella* also was solid enough for another 15 or 20 years. How, then, can Tacitus use the phrase "*perdomita Britannia et statim missa*,"⁵² "Britain thoroughly conquered and immediately let go"? Syme⁵³ thinks there is exaggeration in both members of the phrase, but Collingwood⁵⁴ is at pains to justify it. He holds that Agricola "destroyed the assembled armies of Caledonia," but had no time to establish police-posts in the country of the defeated tribes. He had won a victory

⁵⁰ *Agr.*, 38, 3. It could mean merely "lead down" from hill to shore.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 40, 3.

⁵² *Hist.*, 1, 2.

⁵³ C.A.H., XI., 178.

⁵⁴ *Op., cit.*, 115-119.

that put him in the position, given time, of mopping up the rest of the native resistance, just as Cerialis had broken the Brigantes and Frontinus the Silures. Collingwood's argument appears to rely a good deal on the generalisation that "the theatre of Scottish national resistance has always been the Lowlands." He compares Agricola's position after Mons Craupius to that of Cumberland after Culloden (p. 117). The comparison shows an extreme ignorance of Scottish history, for Cumberland was not fighting against a united national resistance, but merely for one faction against another in a dynastic dispute for which the vast majority of the Scots in 1745 refused to fight at all. Further, no one who has considered the facts and arguments of Dr. E. M. Barron in *The Scottish War of Independence* (2nd edition, 1934) will underrate the vital importance of Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus in the Middle Ages.

At Stirling Brig and at Bannockburn the bulk of the Scottish troops came from north of this isthmus; and that is where the bulk of the population lived before the industrial revolution of the 18th century.

It is perhaps worth computing the significance of Tacitus' figure for the Caledonian armed force at Mons Craupius—over 30,000, with recruits still flowing in. Dr. Barron reckons that Edward II. had about 22,000 men at Bannockburn, the bulk of whom, however, he was prevented from deploying because of the skill with which Bruce attacked. Bruce had perhaps 5000 (p. 442), perhaps 7000 (p. 434) picked men, trained in the disciplined formations he had devised, and about 15,000 light-armed troops in reserve (the "Gillies," p. 446). This was a field-army of some 20,000 from a population of Scotland at that time of perhaps 400,000 (p. 430). But it must be recalled that large areas in the South-East and South-West and in the West Highlands and the North-East were disaffected to Bruce, through adherence to the Comyn claim on the throne, or were actually held by the English garrisons.

Assuming that the federated *civitates* were able to place under Calgacus' command armed men from all over modern

Scotland, perhaps with some from Brigantia or even from Wales, and assuming that no more than one-tenth of the population were men of military age possessed of offensive weapons of some suitability, we have a population a bit over 300,000. If we suppose Agricola's network of forts had been to some degree efficient in preventing mobilisation, we must take it that the contribution from north of the isthmus was disproportionately high, and conclude for a total population of a good deal higher, perhaps 400,000. And, if so, why not? Means of production and transport did not vary so very much between Calgacus and Robert Bruce, and we must presume that the bulk of the people lived on the subsistence level. In the census of 1801, after a mere half-century of agricultural improvement and considerable overseas trade, including food-imports, the Scottish population was 1,608,000. There seems no grave implausibility in believing it to have lain between 300,000 and 400,000 in Agricola's times. Indeed, if there were not a fairly large, as well as warlike, population north of the Tweed, it is hard to see why the Romans should have spent so much effort in garrisoning the province of Britannia.

Moreover, the unsubdued northern tribes must have been decidedly unamenable to Romanisation, and liable to inflame the less amenable elements of Brigantia and the Lowland civilianised zone, or one would have expected the legionary establishment to be reduced from its minimum of three to the single legion that sufficed to keep in order the much more populous provinces of Spain, from Vespasian's reign onwards.^{54a}

Instead of a reduction of Roman forces in Britain, we find an increase of auxiliary contingents in the second century A.D.,⁵⁵ and finally a punitive expedition of three Emperors at the start of the third century.

For the more or less romanised inhabitants of the Lowland zone, Collingwood⁵⁶ estimates a total of some half-

^{54a} C.A.H., XI., 496.

⁵⁵ Burn, *The Romans in Britain*, 105.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, 180.

million, including the Army and its dependants; and the same, or rather more, for the Highland zone, with a tendency to increase.⁵⁷ Elsewhere⁵⁸ Collingwood refers to recent conjectural estimates varying from half a million to one and a half millions for Britain. At the time of the Norman conquest in 1066 E. Miller reckons a total population for England of between one and two millions, which the Normans subdued with little over 5000 troops.⁵⁹ In 1672, unindustrialised Ireland had about 1,100,000 inhabitants, according to Sir William Petty, 800,000 Catholics and 300,000 Protestants.⁶⁰

Cassius Dio speaks of the Mæatæ and Caledonians at the start of the third century living from grazing and hunting and hard-shelled fruits (*akrodrua*), but neglecting their abundant fish; not having walls, cities, or tilled farms (*georgiai*); with small, swift horses.⁶¹ We may imagine them as a sort of cowboy people, rather like the historical Scottish Highlanders or the Border moss-troopers or the Irish bog-trotters, of whom a Mediterranean might well remark that they live in swamps for days together with only their heads above water.⁶² Indeed, one has heard Italian opera stars at the Edinburgh Festival say just that sort of thing about some of our weather.

Cattle-rearing tribes fluctuate widely in population, as we have seen among the Masai, Kikuyu, and other tribes in Africa; and no doubt the northern Britons went up and down in numbers, but must at times have been pretty thick on the ground. They did not have a money-economy; the Brigantes are the most northerly coiners.⁶³

Hadrian's and Antonine's Walls.

The Mæatæ and Caledonians being as described by Dio in the third century, one wonders what romanising effect can

⁵⁷ *Ib.*, 181, n. 1.

⁵⁸ C.A.H., XI., 513.

⁵⁹ *The Heritage of Early Britain*, ed. Charlesworth, 1952, p. 157.

⁶⁰ *Apud* Curtas, *op. cit.*, 258.

⁶¹ Dio., LXXVII., 12.

⁶² Dio., LXXVII., 12, 4; cf., Herodian, III., 14, 6.

⁶³ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 58.

have resulted from the famous walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Sir George Macdonald sets out their history very clearly,⁶⁴ with archaeological details for the Antonine *vallum*.

Domitian's advisers did not accept Agricola's view that Britain was "*perdomita*,"⁶⁵ whence perhaps Domitian's hasty kiss and no conversation; and the Flavian forts in Stirlingshire and Perthshire had some rebuildings after destructions,⁶⁶ though doubtless the network as a whole held well enough. But what does that imply? Hitler's "hog positions" (*Igelstellungen*) on the Russian front held well enough in the winters of 1941-2 and 1942-3, amid a raging sea of guerrilla activity; but then came the wiping out of von Paulus' army at Stalingrad. The Roman equivalent of Stalingrad is the disappearance of the 9th Spanish Legion based on York, around 117, and the rising of the Brigantes referred to by Juvenal.⁶⁷

It is perfectly consistent with a general upheaval of the mountain-tribes that the Romans should have retained a grip of points supplyable from the sea, and perhaps even exacted harbour-dues and customs-duties at places like Cramond on the Forth or Carpow on the Tay, or even in the Orkneys, so that a litigiously-minded Orcadian trader should hire a rhetorician to argue his case for him in stylish Latin, to take Juvenal *au pied de la lettre*.⁶⁸

After Trajan's over-expansion of the Empire, it was Hadrian's task to define and consolidate narrower frontiers, and as part of that policy he ran his strong wall from the Tyne to the Solway, with an extension along the south of the Solway Firth,⁶⁹ about 122.

About 142, Lollius Urbicus, governing for Antoninus Pius, strengthened this *limes* with a minor one from Forth to Clyde, on the general line of Agricola's chain of small

⁶⁴ *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, ed. 2, 1934.

⁶⁵ Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁶⁶ *Ib.*, 463.

⁶⁷ Juvenal, XIV., 196

⁶⁸ Juvenal, XV., 111-112. But Thule may be Shetland or Iceland.

⁶⁹ Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, 131.

forts, but with a continuous *vallum* and stronger *castella* better garrisoned.⁷⁰

The Hadrian wall was not a final boundary to the Empire, so much as a means of dividing the obstreperous Brigantes from untamed kindred stocks to the north; and the Antonine wall did not imply that Rome abandoned her claim to *imperium* north of it, though Appian, in Pius' reign, does remark that the withdrawal from Caledonia is justifiable because the Romans already had the really valuable part of the island, and did not need the rest.⁷¹

Having served, perhaps, as *advocatus fisci*,⁷² Appian was taking the civil service view. The military view doubtless was that, as long as the frontier-zone was deep enough, it did not matter much precisely how deep it was. Lollius in making his turf-wall cleared away the barbarians adjacent to it, "*summotis barbaris*."⁷³ But, as Macdonald stresses, the Antonine *vallum* system was directed as much against the tribes to the South of it as against the northerners, the Caledonians. And indeed he finds that "the country on both sides of the *limes* was like a powder-magazine. If sparks were not instantly extinguished, a great explosion might follow."⁷⁴

Furthermore, Macdonald gives reason to believe that already in the second century there was an influx into south-west Scotland from Ireland, guarded against partly by the Roman fleet based on Dumbarton, and that, in the repeated attacks on the Antonine wall in its 43 years of existence, the fatal pressure came from the south-west.⁷⁵ About 155 to 158 there was a great flame-up of the Brigantes, and in the early years of Commodus (from 180) tribes crossed the "wall that separated them from the cantonments of the Romans,"⁷⁶ and slew a Roman general (*strategos*) with his troops.

⁷⁰ Macdonald., op. cit., 466.

⁷¹ *Hist. Rom., prooem.*, 5.

⁷² Oxford Class. Dict., s.v. *Appian*.

⁷³ *Hist., Aug.* (? Jul. Capitol.) *Vita Antonini Pii.*, 5, 4.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, 370-2.

⁷⁵ *Ib.*, 476/7.

⁷⁶ *Teichos*, says Dio, LXXIII., 2.

After a punitive expedition Ulpus Marcellus abandoned the Forth-Clyde wall about the year 185.⁷⁷ "It would seem that there was a great conflagration on the retirement of the garrisons, and that extensive stores were burnt to prevent them falling into native hands," says Macdonald (p. 482), which suggests that the system was not handed over to a friendly tribe or a client king to maintain as part of the Roman *glacis* against the northerners. No doubt there would be townships at Camelon and elsewhere, with romanised traders, and some veterans who had taken native women to wife,^{77a} but one wonders if they would dare to stay when Marcellus took away the garrisons of auxiliaries stiffened with legionaries.

Professor Richmond referred at the Summer School to the implications of the gateway at Knag Hill, about midway on Hadrian's Wall, where arrangements were made for disarming the tribesmen who passed through to trade or on other lawful occasions; and contrasted the licence given to the Hermunduri in Tacitus' time to come into Regensburg and the neighbouring district of Raetia near the Danube, from their own lands on the upper Main and Saale, "*passim et sine custode*."⁷⁸ But the Hermunduri were specially privileged, as not having supported Arminius and the Cherusci,⁷⁹ and as supporting Domitian against the Chatti,⁸⁰ and intervening in Bohemia on the Roman behalf.⁸¹ They commanded a trade-route by the Saale to the Elbe, and must have been more open than most Germanic tribes to the radiation of Mediterranean civilisation by peaceful trade, through which Roman goods travel as far as Scandinavia.⁸²

On the analogy of the burghal development along the Scots East Coast as far as Kirkwall in the Orkneys, after the romanisation of the Church carried through by St. Margaret, second wife of Malcolm Canmore—partly, it would seem to me, on the Hungarian model of her kinsman, St.

⁷⁷ Macdonald, pp. 479-482.

^{77a} *Ib.*, 474.

⁷⁸ *Germania*, 41.

⁷⁹ C.A.H., X., 619.

⁸⁰ C.A.H., XI., 162.

⁸¹ *Ib.*, 177.

⁸² C.A.H., XII., 162.

Stephen (she having had part of her breeding at the Romanised Magyar Court)—one may admit the likelihood of Roman coastal trade as far as Orkney, with some romanising effect on East Coast peoples, like the Votadini round about East Lothian.⁸³

Between Dere Street and the North Sea, with Roman hedgehog-positions at Melrose and Inveresk to keep them in order, the Votadini may well have been for a time as domesticated as the exceptional Hermunduri, whom the Romans of Raetia allowed into their town-houses and country-mansions, with permission to pass the frontier without showing themselves to the patrol.⁸⁴ But there is as yet no sign in Votadini country of a romanised town, such as Venta Silurum (Caerwent) or Viroconium (Wroxeter), with a small forum modelled on the *prætorium* of a legionary fortress,⁸⁵ and with an amphitheatre, a basilica, and public baths. Indeed, the most northerly romanised town seems to be Aldborough in Yorkshire.

West of the Votadini the Selgovæ, round about Dumfries, and the Novantæ, in Galloway, are even less likely to have become as domesticated as the Hermunduri, especially if they were subject to infiltration and excitation by elements from Ireland.

The Damnonii, in Ayrshire and along the lower Clyde, may have been influenced, like the Votadini, by trade with the garrison of the Antonine Wall.

The Background for Septimius Severus' Campaigns.

However much or little romanised by the time of Commodus, after his murder the northern tribes got a splendid opportunity to "mak a wee Hell o' their ain" inside the Roman province, when Clodius Albinus, the governor, withdrew his legions, some of which had been mutinous about 185, to fight for his share of the Empire in Gaul, 193-197.⁸⁶

⁸³ According to the interpretation of Ptolemy's map adopted, for example, by John Rhys and D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, 1900, p. 98.

⁸⁴ Tac., *Germ.*, 41.

⁸⁵ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 193.

⁸⁶ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 154/5.

Hadrian's Wall was not only burnt but demolished for long stretches, and the great legionary fortresses at Chester and York were utterly destroyed also. But the romanised towns of the province, such as Aldborough, capital of the Brigantes, were untouched. Collingwood (p. 157) argues that "If they did not destroy the walls of the towns, it was because their inhabitants could beat them off." It is true that the legion-fortresses were empty and defenceless, but the tribesmen had on more than one occasion destroyed defended forts, on Hadrian's Wall and elsewhere, though defended by crack Roman troops; and the towns were small, with only one or two thousand inhabitants each on the average, according to the same Collingwood (p. 198). It is an arguable theory that the tribes spared the towns because their quarrel was with the Roman overlord, not with the partly romanised natives, their own kith and kin. As Calgacus said before Mons Craupius: "This day and your united action will be the beginning of freedom for all Britain,"⁸⁷ and he anticipated that the Britons conscribed on the Roman side would realise their true allegiance.⁸⁸

Again we may look over the sea to Ireland, where towards the year 200 Tuathal's descendant, Conn Céd-cathach (Of the Hundred Battles), was forming a central monarchy, which culminated late in the third century with his grandson, Cormac, who formed a sort of Prætorian Guard, the *Fianna*, and ran a legislative, military, and cultural High-Kingship, from Tara, with an excellent road-system radiating from it, and a triennial national assembly, or *Feis*, which combined the doing of homage, the settlement of law-suits, athletic contests, and musical and literary activities.⁸⁹ In other words, this period is gestating a nationalist state in Ireland, partly on the Roman imperial model.

At the other end of the Roman world, we are on the eve of the great nationalist and religious resurgence of Sassanid Persia.⁹⁰ And inside the Empire, from Trajan's

⁸⁷ Tac., *Agr.*, 30, 1.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 32, 4: "*Adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem.*"

⁸⁹ Curtis., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁹⁰ C.A.H., XII., ch. iv.

time on, the sentiment of nationality had been reviving in many spheres, sometimes with limited encouragement from Emperors. It had never been Rome's systematic purpose to denationalise the subject peoples. Their great art in government was to enlist the sympathies of Latins, Italians, Greeks, Spaniards, Gauls, Moors, and the rest. *Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem.* . . .

Hadrian, himself keener on Greek than on Roman culture, "made the nations conscious of their national life, in order to incorporate that life in the world of the Empire and wholly to permeate it with the Greek form, a federalist and a 'European' at the same time."⁹¹ He decentralised the army on a provincial basis. "To the cavalry, which was composed solely of provincials, he made concessions, permitting them un-Roman battle-cries; and he formed bodies of frontier-dwellers, who were instructed in their own camps as a militia and, as non-romanised elements, acquired nothing of the spirit of Rome." Thus, "the presence of the provincial troops gave to the *nationes* a strong lever for the furtherance of their own interests."⁹² The spiritual cement of the army was its officer-corps, drawn largely from Roman-Italic elements at the higher levels; and when in 193 Septimius Severus dissolved the Prætorian Guard and substituted a personal bodyguard of picked provincials, he dissolved this cement.

We see in the third century an increasing barbarisation of the Empire, to which a great impulse was given by Septimius, with his Punic accent, and his son, Caracalla, who took his nickname from the Celtic hooded-greatcoat which he sported. As early as 137 the coinage of Hadrian's twentieth anniversary reflects the rising self-consciousness of the more primitive nations in the Empire,⁹³ and the coins of Antoninus Pius reveal the same climate of opinion.⁹⁴ Marcus Aurelius, in the Empire's time of troubles, with plagues, and Pretenders, and invasions, started an anti-national

⁹¹ W. Weber, C.A.H., XI., 321.

⁹² *Ib.*, 311.

⁹³ *Ib.* 316-317.

⁹⁴ *Ib.*, 332.

reaction, laying it down that none could be governor in his native province,⁹⁵ but the fusion of the local peoples with the provincial armies continued.⁹⁶ Marcus' own Stoic cosmopolitanism was too highbrow for most people, and in religion one notes from about 150 A.D. a weakening of Romanism and a fusion with local cults,⁹⁷ well-attested in the epigraphy of Hadrian's Wall.

Early in 197 Septimius Severus defeated near Lyons the army of Albinus, including the British legions; and it is noteworthy that the historian Herodian views the rival armies in the struggle for Empire as regional or racial groups, not as factions in a civil war violating a common allegiance to the State. Dio's attitude is similar.⁹⁸ Septimius, who won the competition, intensified the climate of opinion, for example, by giving effect to legal documents in Gaulish or Punic,⁹⁹ and by legalising the marriages of legionaries with local native women.¹⁰⁰ He also allowed his soldiers to live out of barracks in *canabæ*, whose lay-out he sometimes planned himself.¹⁰¹ In his time we find the Celtic *leuga* employed as the unit of measurement for roads in Gaul and the Rhineland.¹⁰² The loss of romanising influence in the mental sphere may be further indicated by the fact that in the Severan Age the Senate is only one-third of Italian stock, the bulk of it being Syrian, like Septimius' wife, or African, like himself.

In such a general climate of opinion, it would not be surprising if the cultural and regional affinities of the old stocks in Britain, north or south of Hadrian's Wall, found some manifestation in action. Whence, perhaps, the sparing of the walls of Aldborough and the semi-romanised provincials.

If there was any danger of a widespread Celtic revival

⁹⁵ *Ib.*, 365-367.

⁹⁶ *Ib.*, 386.

⁹⁷ *Ib.*, 538.

⁹⁸ C.A.H., XII., 14.

⁹⁹ C.A.H., XI., 507.

¹⁰⁰ C.A.H., XII., 15.

¹⁰¹ C.A.H., XII., 19-20.

¹⁰² C.A.H., XII., 25, n. 1.

threatening his grip on the Empire, Septimius was not the man to neglect it; but he could not tackle it at once.

Septimius dealt first with Pescennius Niger in Syria, and treated his partisans so harshly that many Romans fled to the barbarians across the Tigris, including many craftsmen in the armaments industries, as a result of which the barbarians became much better at fighting than they had been.¹⁰³ On taking Byzantium after a long siege, he wiped out all its magistrates and soldiers (196), and, after the defeat of Albinus (197) he persecuted his supporters in Britain and Gaul and elsewhere for ten whole years.¹⁰⁴ It strikes me as probable that some of the strong opposition he later met with in Scotland was due to refugee partisans of Albinus, who were up-to-date in Roman crafts and tactics. Compare the Marian Sertorius long before in Spain.

After advancing into Parthia and sacking Ctesiphon (198), and settling the East, Septimius settled Africa, with new *limites* for Tripolis and Cæsarensian Mauretania.¹⁰⁵ He busied himself next with establishing his new Semitic dynasty at Rome, and with reorganising the civil service and the army. One part of his settlement was the development of a permanent colonist-militia on frontiers, holding allotments; ¹⁰⁶ for his mobile army, in which cavalry, mounted javelin-men, and mounted archers, were bulking more largely, he employed more and more "highly nationalised . . . *numeri*," drawn from the more primitive barbarous peoples, including the Britons.¹⁰⁷ In an age of inflation and widespread brigandage, even in Italy, he stepped up the army pay and payments in kind.¹⁰⁸

Septimius' governors in Britain were able men. Virius Lupus found part of the province overrun by the Mæatae, and was compelled to buy peace from them for a lot of money, getting back some prisoners of war at the same time,¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Herodian, III., 8-9.

¹⁰⁴ C.A.H., XII., 15.

¹⁰⁵ 203: C.A.H., XII., 20.

¹⁰⁶ *Ib.*, 32.

¹⁰⁷ *Ib.*, 33.

¹⁰⁸ *Ib.*, 34 and 221.

¹⁰⁹ Dio., LXXVI., 5, 4.

probably in 197, when Septimius was fighting Albinus in Gaul. Dio's excerpt states that the reason for this *Danegeld* was that the Caledonians did not abide by their promises and were preparing to aid the Mæatæ. We do not know what promises, or to whom made: perhaps to Albinus before he evacuated the Wall.

Nor do we know where the Mæatæ were. Myot Hill, near Denny, and Dumyat, the Ochil ben nearest to Stirling, may contain their name, and be on the frontiers of their tribal area, or confederacy. They may have been north of the Antonine Wall, cleared out by Lollius Urbicus;¹¹⁰ Macdonald¹¹¹ appears to endorse Haverfield's location of them among "the mosses of the south-west country"; and S. N. Miller¹¹² seems to imply that he places them south of the Antonine Wall line, when he says that Septimius' possible re-occupation of the Forth-Clyde line cut off their territory. Dio simply says that the Mæatæ live next to the cross-wall which cuts the island in half, and the Caledonians are beyond them;¹¹³ which appears to mean they are next to Hadrian's Wall: for, as prætor under Septimius and consul under later Severi, Dio would know that Antonine's turf dyke had been abandoned, whereas Septimius had elaborately restored Hadrian's Wall.

Having gained time by *Danegeld*, Lupus proceeded to re-build the legionary fortresses at Chester and York, and worked up the hill country, restoring smaller forts, including the bath-house on the moors at Bowes (198). By the governorship of Alfenus Senecio most of the network of forts had been restored, as well as the Hadrian Wall itself, some of it perhaps under the supervision of the co-Emperor Caracalla, who seems to have been in Britain about 206-7.¹¹⁴

Cassius Dio knew Septimius well, being promoted by him and his son, Caracalla, and had no spite against him, though he was not blind to his faults, including ostentation

¹¹⁰ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 157.

¹¹¹ *Roman Wall*, ed. 2, 15.

¹¹² C.A.H., XII., 41

¹¹³ LXXVII., 12, 1.

¹¹⁴ Miller in C.A.H., XII., 38.

and calculated cruelty.¹¹⁵ He tells us that Septimius grew tired of winning the wars in Britain through others,¹¹⁶ and resolved to subjugate the whole of the island.¹¹⁷ Miller thinks he needed fresh military prestige by 208, and was anxious to see to the securing of the frontier and at the same time the division of the province, to prevent future pretenders to the Empire against his own dynasty.¹¹⁸ Collingwood thinks¹¹⁹ his aim cannot have been the complete conquest of Caledonia, because "if that had been his aim the elaborate reconstruction of Hadrian's Wall would have been sheer waste." That reconstruction, however, was done, partly from routine and prestige, partly from the immediate need for security, *before* Septimius was free from other engagements elsewhere in the Empire. Moreover, Collingwood has no difficulty in believing, or at least in writing,¹²⁰ that when Ulpian Marcellus had defeated the invaders his first act was to repair the Antonine Wall, as a demonstration of strength, and that then, when order was restored and the frontier quiet, he deliberately razed the fortifications and evacuated the position.

Bent, as Dio says, on conquest, Septimius came over in 208, ageing and gouty, *en famille*, with his Syrian Empress, Julia Domna, daughter of the hereditary High-priest of the Baal of Emesa, and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, court-astrologers and the rest of the apparatus of romanisation as then understood. He made his base at Eboracum-York, and rejected embassies from the Britons,¹²¹ making elaborate preparations with bridging-material. Dio and Herodian both emphasise the trouble caused to the Romans by swamps and estuaries.¹²²

Dio says there was never a battle, and Septimius never saw the natives in battle-array, but they lured him on into

¹¹⁵ Dio., LXXVII., 16.

¹¹⁶ *Ib.*, 10, 6.

¹¹⁷ *Ib.*, 13, 1.

¹¹⁸ C.A.H., XII., 36.

¹¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, 159.

¹²⁰ *Ib.*, 153/4.

¹²¹ Herodian, III., 14, 4/5.

¹²² Hdn., III., 14, 6.

embarrassing places;¹²³ while Herodian tells only of many skirmishes, from which the barbarians ran away into thickets and swamps.¹²⁴

At our Summer School an interlocutor referred to an order to the granary at South Shields on the Tyne to supply three months' corn for 20,000 men.

Miller suggests¹²⁵ that denarii of 209, figuring Neptune and Triton, may refer to the transport of an army by sea. Coin-finds at Cramond suggest activity there at this time.

It will be recalled that in 197 Septimius sailed his army from Brundisium to Syria to fight the Parthians;¹²⁶ and it is entirely probable that he sailed a strong force into the Forth, or even into the Tay, at Carpow or Perth, just as Edward Baliol and the disinherited barons did in 1332, with 500 horsemen and 3000 foot.¹²⁷

It was Caledonia he invaded first, according to Dio's narrative,¹²⁸ and he approached the extremity of the island. Marching-camps along Strathmore towards Stonehaven, and over then towards the Dee and the Moray Firth, may belong to this campaign, some of them perhaps originally used by Agricola.

It would not surprise me if archæologists some day found a naval camp on the north coast of the Moray Firth, for Dio says he approached the extremity of the island, which, for those knowing the Orkneys, implies rather Caithness than Kinnaird Head.

He then returned to the friendly portion of the island,¹²⁹ which for Dio must mean York or south of it, because he says the Romans hold a little less than half the island, which he believed to be 7132 stades long (that is, 951 miles).¹³⁰ He had forced the Britons to come to an agreement, the con-

¹²³ Dio, 57, 13, 2.

¹²⁴ Herodian, III., 14, 9.

¹²⁵ C.A.H., XII., 40.

¹²⁶ C.A.H., XII., 16.

¹²⁷ Hill Burton, *The History of Scotland*, 1873, II., 315.

¹²⁸ Dio 77, 13, 1.

¹²⁹ Dio, 77, 13, 4.

¹³⁰ Dio, 77, 12, 5.

dition being that they should remove from a good deal of land,¹³¹ *whose* land is not stated.¹³²

Caracalla was with him at one stage in riding forward to receive the arms of the Caledonians and discuss the agreements.¹³³ The language implies a Caledonian surrender, but a first-rate authority on later Roman relations with barbarians, F. Doelger,¹³⁴ reminds us that *de facto* recognition by an Emperor is always dressed up as a unilateral grant, as were the humiliating treaties of the later Palaiologoi with Venice.

We are by no means at that stage yet, but it is clear that Dio did not regard his Emperor as having things by any means his own way in Scotland.

However, the propaganda side of the campaign was not neglected. The young Geta was made a co-Emperor, and the three *Augusti* assumed the triumphant style *Britannicus*. This piece of eye-wash is on a par with Severus' pretence, in repairing Hadrian's Wall, "*muris vetustate dilapsis*," "walls that fell down through old age."¹³⁵ Another example would be poor Gallienus' coin-legend, *Ubique pax*, during the terrible invasions preceding his assassination in 268.¹³⁶ Or again consider Hitler's claim to have taken Moscow, made in December, 1941, with the aim, it has been thought, of bringing the Japanese into the war against his enemies.

Next year, 210, war was carried to the Mætae, Caracalla being in command, to judge by the coinage, as Miller suggests.¹³⁷ Dio states¹³⁸ that Septimius ordered his men to kill everyone they met, adapting a passage of Homer¹³⁹

¹³¹ Dio, 77, 13, 4.

¹³² E. Cary, in the Loeb version, 1914, IX., 267, goes beyond the Greek in translating . . . "on the condition that they should abandon a large part of their territory."

¹³³ Dio, 77, 14, 3.

¹³⁴ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 45 (1952) 440.

¹³⁵ A. R. Burn, *The Romans in Britain*, p. 171, gives me the term "official 'eye-wash'."

¹³⁶ C.A.H., XII., 194.

¹³⁷ C.A.H., XII., 41.

¹³⁸ Dio, 77, 15, 1.

¹³⁹ Dio, 77, 16, 1.

(to show his cultural aspirations, no doubt). The Caledonians then joined the Mæatae in their insurrection, and Septimius prepared to campaign again in person, but died before starting, at York, 4th February, 211.

Caracalla forthwith came to terms with the natives, withdrew from their territory, and abandoned the forts (*ta phrouria*, says Dio, 78, 1, 1), which Collingwood thinks¹⁴⁰ "need not be more than a few places like Cramond, meant to be held only for the duration of the war." But *phrouria* implies especially hill-forts, in the Thucydidean language that Dio affects. S. N. Miller thinks the Forth-Clyde isthmus forts are meant, Croy Hill and the like.¹⁴¹ Miller follows Haverfield in emphasising the argument from silence, that Septimius and Caracalla did not operate from Hadrian's Wall overland by any of the main routes towards the Forth-Clyde.

Archæology may yet shed light on this silence. It seems almost incredible that not even cavalry forces should have operated between Hadrian's Wall and the site of the Antonine, whether we consider the natives there were romanised and amiable, like the Votadini perhaps, or hostile, if the Mæatae are to be located in this region, perhaps well into Galloway, where estuaries and marshes can be troublesome.

A word about Dio's casualty figures,¹⁴² that Septimius lost "fully five myriads," some of them being killed by their comrades, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Septimius, having ordered no quarter, may have exacerbated the natives; and a further factor may have been the presence among them of refugee partisans of Albinus, with old scores to pay.

The figure of Dio is usually regarded as exaggerated, or corrupt. Now Dio had no special spite against Septimius or his family, and no obvious motive to exaggerate these casualties. The greater probability is that the figure is

¹⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, 160.

¹⁴¹ *The Roman Occupation of South-Western Scotland*, 1952, 237.

¹⁴² Dio 77, 13, 2.

corrupt. To me the likeliest emendation seems to be "two myriads," *Beta* for *Epsilon*, a possible corruption graphically, alike in capitals and minuscules. The phrase is so many *myriads*, not thousands; and, though it is in an excerpt by Xiphilinos in the eleventh century, it has the appearance of a genuine excerpt, not of a paraphrased abridgement. So there must be at least *two* myriads involved to make the plural, that is 20,000 men.

Two myriads is the figure Dio gives for the casualties, killed, on Pescennius Niger's side at the battle of Issus in 194,¹⁴³ when, as Herodian tells us,¹⁴⁴ there was more blood than water flowing in the rivers. Dio gives us a figure of 58 myriads of Jews slain in raids and battles of the merciless extirpation of Bar Kochba's people,¹⁴⁵ under Hadrian, when the Romans (including some British conscripts) also suffered severely. At Cibalæ in 314 Licinius lost 20,000 men out of his army of 35,000,¹⁴⁶ but did not go out of business, for in 324 at Adrianople he lost another 34,000.¹⁴⁷

Whatever the Roman losses, it is clear that their gains were not immediate and visible, and the natives were in no way dispirited as a result of the costly punitive expedition, or frustrated conquest, however we are to regard it. Dio recounts a somewhat feline conversation between the Empress Julia Domna, "*Mater patriæ, Mater senatus, Mater castrorum*," exercising her petticoat government at the peace negotiations, and the wife of one Argentocoxus, a Caledonian,¹⁴⁸ who showed no submissiveness of spirit and gave as good as she got. But the actual exchanges are better left in the obscurity of a learned language, for those who have had the good sense to learn Greek.

Collingwood points to the fact that the Hadrian's Wall frontier enjoyed unbroken peace for nearly a century,¹⁴⁹ and that the punitive expeditions had taught a salutary lesson.

¹⁴³ Dio, 75, 8, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Herodian, III., 4, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Dio, 69, 14.

¹⁴⁶ C.A.H., XII., 691.

¹⁴⁷ C.A.H., XII., 695.

¹⁴⁸ Dio, 77, 16, 5.

¹⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, 159.

He asks, "Why did the Scottish tribes do nothing to follow up their victory?" Part of the answer he gives when he refers to the excellence of the Hadrianic frontier, which is indeed a defensive zone that needs a very large and well-concerted effort to penetrate.

I would ask what motive "the Scottish tribes" (if we are to use such a term, with its risks of anachronism) had to concert a large-scale counter-offensive. It was progressively clearer as time went on that the offensive power of Rome was spent. Moreover, the settler-militia type of troops manning the Wall, with their native wives, were the kind of people with whom one could *live and let live*. The fortress of York itself was a colony "going native," with the legionaries enjoying domesticity outside the barracks,¹⁵⁰ as at Eborac.

The Emperor Caracalla had a *folie de grandeur*, in which he regarded himself as a reincarnation of Alexander the Great.¹⁵¹ One is reminded of Alexander's famous interview with the Celts on the Danube before he set off to conquer Persia and the rest of the world. They were not afraid of him, and told him they feared nothing except that the heaven should fall—quite a typical Gaelic joke.

It is a possible explanation of the "Scottish tribes" being inactive that they were quite happy with their cowboy life on their native heath. Another possible explanation is that there was some lack of concord between the Caledonians and the Mæatae, whose concert in opposing Septimius was not perfectly synchronised, or that there were factions among the leaders, like the quarrels of the Douglasses and the Stewarts which paralysed Scottish national effort for a couple of centuries after Robert Bruce's generation. If we can suppose continued infiltrations from Ireland, points of friction would not be slow to arise.

Indeed, about then the pressure of the Tara High-kingship of the race of Conn was compressing Ulster, and we read of the Ulstermen building a great wall, a *limes*, from

¹⁵⁰ C.A.H., XII., 42.

¹⁵¹ C.A.H., XII., 47.

Newry to Lough Erne, and then in the fourth century retreating behind a second, and finally a third wall, defending only Antrim and Down.¹⁵² Little wonder, then, that some of them concert action with their neighbours in Scotland to raid into the Roman province south of Hadrian's Wall in 360 and 364.¹⁵³ We hear of Scots, Picts, and Attacots, while the Saxons vex the Britons from the Eastern seaways.

It is fairly clear, I think, that the failure of Septimius' expedition of 208-211 marked the end of the attempt to assert Roman authority over the whole island. But we find a Caledonian perhaps serving in the Roman army under Severus Alexander (222-235). His name is Lossio Veda, *nepos Vepogeni*, the nephew or grandson or clansman of Vepogenus, and he dedicates at the Roman colony of Colchester a bronze votive tablet to the God Mars Medocius of the Lowlanders (" *Deo Marti Medocio Campesium* ") and "to the Victory of our Lord, Alexander the Pious and Fortunate."¹⁵⁴ If a soldier, he may have been a soldier-of-fortune like so many Scots in later days who hired themselves out to France, Sweden, Prussia, and the rest, to see the world and seek their fortune. He might originally have been a prisoner or compelled recruit of Septimius' expedition. But he gives no indication of rank or unit, and may well be simply a trader.

It is probably by the way of peaceful trade that one must look for the main part of whatever romanisation took place in Scotland, Roman attempts at outright conquest having been intermittent, incomplete, and contra-suggestive.

The Romans traded into Scotland pottery, raw metals, wine, ironmongery, and coin, in return for cattle, hides, and furs.¹⁵⁵ Obviously the natives would welcome artifacts they could not make themselves, and might learn some of the crafts in time, though in pottery and coining they seem to have been slow in the uptake, and Providence, which has granted Scotland so much, has not made viticulture here profitable. But how much romanisation ensued from such trade? It is

¹⁵² Curtis, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

¹⁵³ Ammianus, 20, 1; 26, 4; 27, 8.

¹⁵⁴ Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹⁵⁵ Collingwood, C.A.H., XI., 518.

G. Ekholm's opinion¹⁵⁶ that, while the free Germans had a good appetite for Roman artifacts, "they certainly remained unacquainted with the highest expressions of Roman culture, such as literature, art, and the like." He contrasts the absorption of Roman culture by the Germani with "the indifference of the Scotch and Irish, who appear to have remained unaffected by it."

Sir Mortimer Wheeler, in his *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (1954, p. 2) remarks: "Nor are we concerned here with the sporadic pervasion of goods from Roman Britain into the outlands of Scotland or Ireland."

But inside the most domesticated parts of Britannia, what do we find? Collingwood holds that in the lowland zone Roman influences penetrated rapidly, if not very deeply, into the structure of society; in the Highland zone they hardly made themselves felt at all,¹⁵⁷ the dividing line being the legionary fortresses, at York, Chester, and Carlisle.

While by the end of the second century a considerable degree of romanisation was attained in the towns, the rural parts were predominantly Celtic in their life and habits, and romanisation went no further, as a rule, than the introduction of coins and other portable objects from the towns.¹⁵⁸

All Britain boasted only a single theatre, at Verulam,¹⁵⁹ and the town-plans were seldom fully developed: the characteristic Roman baths at Wroxeter were never finished.¹⁶⁰ Though towns decayed, in the third and fourth centuries villas flourished, within the lowland zone,¹⁶¹ being, in Collingwood's view, a romanised development of the Celtic farm. Trade was hindered by highway robbers, and coinage declined, so that the Romano-British aristocrats thrived in an easy-going subsistence-economy:¹⁶² rather like their unromanised congeners north of Hadrian's Wall, one fancies, in general temper, trousered and with hooded cloaks, horsey, drinking, gambling, musical. On the other hand, the

¹⁵⁶ C.A.H., XI., 72-73.

¹⁵⁷ C.A.H., XI., 512.

¹⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 515.

¹⁵⁹ *Ib.*, 521.

¹⁶⁰ *Ib.*, 522.

¹⁶¹ C.A.H., XII., 283/4.

¹⁶² C.A.H., XX., 287.

southern villa-dwellers had a tincture of Latin. A Romano-British usurper¹⁶³ is the only potentate who quotes Virgil on a coin, "*Expectate veni.*"

But Collingwood computes that the villas, including labourers, can hardly have contained five per cent. of the population. As to the remaining ninety-five per cent., "for the most part their romanisation was hardly above the vanishing-point."¹⁶⁴ Mr Burn¹⁶⁵ comments on the paucity of Latin inscriptions from the third century in Britain onwards, and their narrowness and illiteracy. St. Patrick (390-461), though his father was a *decurio*, states in his *Confession*¹⁶⁶ that he did not speak Latin at home as a child, and could not write it well. Yet he classes himself among the "*civibus sanctorum Romanorum*," in his letter to Coroticus, Ceredig Wledig of Strathclyde.¹⁶⁷

How is it with Wales, whose inhabitants had paid tribute, done forced labour, and supplied recruits, without any known insurrection after the Agricola age? Sir J. E. Lloyd¹⁶⁸ considers that the tribes were never romanised, and points out that the Welsh language has scarcely any borrowing from Latin in law or in politics.¹⁶⁹ Yet we find cantonal Home Rule at Venta Silurum (Cærwent), with a Latin inscription in the name of the local senate.¹⁷⁰

To take another western province, with a large Celtic and barbarous element, which was occupied and pacified for centuries, Spain, we find that in the Lowland zone romanisation was very thorough, with people like the Senecas and Lucan assimilating the culture of the forebears of Trajan and Hadrian; and a single legion kept the large area in order. But romanisation was least effective in the Highland zone, which the army policed,¹⁷¹ in Galicia, Asturia, and Vasconia. The survival of Basque is a proof of it.

163 Carausius. G. Askew, *The Coinage of Roman Britain*, 1951, p. 40, No. 324.

164 C.A.H., XII., 287.

165 *Op. cit.*, 18677.

166 Ed. A. W. Hadden and W. Stubbs, II., 298.

167 *Ib.*, II., 314.

168 *A History of Wales*, 3rd ed., 1939, liii./liv.

169 *Ibid.*, lv., and 88.

170 Burn, *op. cit.*, 71.

171 E. Albertini in C.A.H., XI., 498.

In Britain the survival of Welsh is one of the proofs of the non-romanisation of Wales, and north of Hadrian's Wall it is certain that at least one Celtic tongue survived, and possibly a pre-Celtic speech also (Professor Kenneth Jackson's view).

While retaining separate languages, however, it is possible for neighbouring populations to undergo a certain degree of fusion or assimilation. As A. Alföldi remarks:¹⁷² "The greater the friction, the greater the assimilation to one another of two surfaces in contact"; and the interaction of German and Roman certainly produced a considerable fusion by the fifth century. Along Hadrian's Wall there was in the third and fourth centuries hardly so great a friction, and hardly so great an assimilation. But it had been Septimius' policy to concentrate the peasants of frontier-districts in fortified places, whereby he advanced the assimilation of the natives to the frontier-troops now transformed into settlers.¹⁷³ Such a population of *limitanei* along the south side of Hadrian's Wall would find a *modus vivendi* with the unromanised natives to the North, Novantæ, Selgovæ, Gadeni, Votadini, Damnonii, wherever exactly they were at different times, whether confederated in, or with, the Mæatæ or not. They would trade a bit, and maybe inter-marry; and get used to one another's ways, and live and let live. Then, when in the middle fourth century piratical raiders began to operate, Picts, and Scots, and Attacots, it is quite likely that some of those north of the Wall would make common cause with the frontier-garrisons.

Some of the garrison, on the other hand, the so-called *Arcani*, made common cause with the Picts, to rob the rich villa-dwelling aristocracy of the lowlands.¹⁷⁴ Count Theodosius did some restoration, in 369, still basing his defence on the Wall, and as a commander of its new cavalry-patrol we hear of one Cunedda Wledig, to be considered as a *Dux Britanniarum*,¹⁷⁵ ruling from Carlisle.¹⁷⁶ As great-

¹⁷² C.A.H., XII., 161.

¹⁷³ C.A.H., XII., 66.

¹⁷⁴ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 284-5.

¹⁷⁵ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, I., 100.

¹⁷⁶ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 288, n.l.

grandfather of Mælgwyn Gwynedd, 146 years before his reign, he can be stated to have arrived in Wales at the beginning of the fifth century. Cunedda's father was Edeyrn (Eternus), his grandfather Padarn Beisrudd (Paternus of the red robe), and his great-grandfather Tegid (Tacitus), suggesting a romanised family returning to Celtic style in his own name.¹⁷⁷ He came from Manaw Gododin, near the Forth, probably the country of the Votadini. To three of his nine sons he gave romanised names, Romanus (Rhufon), Donatus (Dunod), Eternus (Edeyrn); and among his grandsons is Marianus (Meirion). The names Donatus and Marianus imply Christian connections; tradition connects him and his folk with missionary work in Wales; and his title, *Gwledig*, indicates that he is successor to a Roman general.¹⁷⁸

Collingwood is probably right in thinking that the Vandal Stilicho, when he abandoned the Wall in 395, sent Cunedda over to North Wales to expel the Scots, coming from Ireland (or Galloway); and that he took his tribe with him in the status of *federati*.¹⁷⁹

If it be true that Cunedda's *Cymru*, from whom the Welsh get their name in their own language, are the equivalent of Latin *Comites*, it is perhaps not fanciful to consider his contingent as being *comitatenses*,¹⁸⁰ detached vexillations belonging to a mobile field-force, with a large cavalry component. As his family had Latinised names for three generations, back to perhaps 300 A.D., we may wonder whether his tribe, the Gododin-Votadini about the Forth, had quarrelled with Western tribes more directly under influences from Ireland, and had accepted Roman money to co-operate with the *limitanei* of Hadrian's Wall, perhaps also with Roman naval forces from Tyneside. If so, Trimontium-Newstead, Inveresk or Cramond, and in the West perhaps Birrens, might some day lend archæological support to this notion.

¹⁷⁷ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, 116-113.

¹⁷⁸ *Ib.*, 118-119.

¹⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, 289-290.

¹⁸⁰ C.A.H., XII., 215.

Whether the Votadini had played a similar rôle before, say in Trajan's time, or that of Antoninus Pius, as a client kingdom of the Empire, remains an open question. Even if they did, it implies a very small degree of romanisation outside the ruling group. The main romanising agent in Scotland was not the pagan Empire, but the gradual, and mainly peaceful, dissemination of Christianity from the ruins of the western half of the Empire.

ARTICLE 3.

Notes on Roman Roads.

By R. C. REID.

Those who are immersed in the field work of Roman archaeology are apt to overlook the contribution which the mediævalist can sometimes make to their problems. Though 1000 years separate their respective periods, the mediævalist can occasionally throw some reflected light back through the thick curtain of the Dark Ages. This is particularly the case with regard to the Roman road system which must still have been the backbone of transport in the Middle Ages. Once the attempt is made to plot such a road on the map, even as soon as it is suspected, the mediævalist should scrutinise all early documents that may throw light upon it. The following references may illustrate the need for liaison between workers in the two periods.

(1) Newstead to Galloway.

This cross country road has been firmly established in two sections. Professor Richmond in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1946), XXXVI., p. 133, has fixed the section from Raeburnfoot eastwards almost as far as Robertson on Borthwick Water. But from Robertson to Newstead the line is unknown. Some guidance, however, may be derived from an unnoticed 13th century charter by John de Normanville to the monks of Melrose in the year 1226. The lands so granted lay in the parish of Maxton, and the boundaries are given as follows:

per fossatum subtus Kelwelaue usque in Keluesetescloch
et sic descendo per Keluesetescloch usque ad fossatum de
Grenrig et sic per idem fossatum usque ad Lillesetheburne
et sic ascendo per eandem burnam usque ad fossatum de
Grenerig et per fossatum versum occidentem usque ad
Derstret et siv versus austrum per Derstret usque ad
regiam viam qua itur de valle Anant versus Rokesburg et
sic per eandem viam versus orientem usque ad divisas inter
Fafingdune et terram eorundem monachorum de Melros.

It must be left to the local antiquary to identify these place-names. But it is clear that the lands lay in a fork of Derestreet and the *via regia*. The latter continued on to Roxburgh from its junction with Derestreet, which last section was probably a mediæval track. The strategic centre in the centuries had shifted from Melrose to Roxburgh and the fort at Newstead had been engulfed to oblivion. Yet it is obvious that careful field work based on this charter might well bring its own reward.

West of Raeburnfoot, Mr Angus Graham in a recent address to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland has traced this road as far as Sandyford on the road to Borland, and Professor Richmond has confirmed the find. A further projection of the line would carry the road down the south side of Dryfe Water in the proximity of Hutton Mote. It must be assumed that this extended as far as the next known stretch of this road that passes through Lochbank farm near Lochmaben.¹ If this road is Flavian it would be heading for Dalswinton, if Antonine for Carzield. It may have belonged to both periods, in which case there may be a branch from it to Carzield.

In the Middle Ages the monks of Melrose must have made use of this *via regia* coming and going to their extensive estates in Nithsdale. These estates lay in Dunscore, Keir, and Dumfries parishes, and to reach them the monks had not only to cross Annandale but also the lands of the Comyn family situated in Kirkmichael and Kirkmahoe parishes. As a *via regia* they would have the right to traverse it, but it was always politic to seek permission from a baron of the status of Comyn. So in the year 1250 they sought and secured from Sir John Comyn the right to travel through his lands of Dalswinton and Dunscore towards their lands in the valley of Nithsdale.²

Though it would be rash to assume that every *via regia* was a Roman road, the mediævalist should always scrutinise carefully every reference he may come across. Thus in

¹ Roman Occupation of S.W. Scotland, p. 44.

² Liber de Melros, i., 280.

Dunscore just across the Nith from Dalswinton there is a reference, c. 1221, to *regiam viam qua itur de Dercongal usque ad Glencarn*.³ Tradition affirms that a Roman road went up Glencairn.⁴ But there is no record of anyone going in search of it.

(2) Crawford to Castledykes.

In view of the discovery that the Roman road north of Crawford went direct to Castledykes (Corbiehall) and must have crossed the Clyde in the vicinity of Roberton,⁵ the following document is of interest. It is a charter by John Jardine of Apilgirth to Alexander Bailze in Hilhous of the lands of Litolgill, in the parish of Wandell, dated 17 March, 1558/9.⁶ The bounds of this 6 merkland are as follows:

Beginning on the north side at the pool of the river Clyde called the Ram-horne-weill and ascending from the said pool by the old black ditch towards the east as far as two large stones lying under the Merchant Way (*via mercatoria*) from thence eastwards to the edge of the Black Moor as far as the burn lade (*torrentem truncatum*) between the lands of Litolgill and the west loch of Wandale, ascending towards the south and east by the said burn lade as far as Bruntscheill, from thence ascending towards the east by the Eistgrane of Preistisgill as far as the "hals" of the hill at the upper end of Preistisgillknow, from thence ascending by the middle way towards the south between the said Eistergrane of Preistisgill and the common way of Wandelrig, from thence towards the south by the said way to the head of Grenecleuchswyir, from thence ascending by the Wattersched of Halkwodhill to the crest of the same, from thence towards the west by the wattersched of the hill between the lands of Craufurdmure and Myddilgillheid, from thence descending by the Myddilgilburne to the end where it enters Cauldchapellburne, from thence

³ Ibid., 183.

⁴ New Stat. Ac.

⁵ D. and G. Trans., XXXI., 30.

⁶ Reg. House Supplementary charters.

towards the west by a path under the Ruchsnabbis (or Ruchsnawwis) and so going to a sike coming from Litolgillswyir, from thence ascending the said sike to the summit of Litolgillswyir, from thence towards the west ascending by the wattersched of the crest of Rannaldhill, from thence straight to a blackish stone at the head of Marchesike and descending by the said sike to the west to the end of the same near the Merchant Way, from thence by the said Merchant Way to the north to a balkheid and march between Cauldchappell and Litolgill, from thence descending straight to the water of Clyde on the west and descending by the said water to the said Ram-horne-weill.

Here is ample scope for useful field work by a local antiquary, first in identifying the exact boundaries and then in striving to find exactly where the road crossed the Clyde. For the allusion to the Merchants Way must surely apply to the Roman road as still in use at the close of the 16th century.

ARTICLE 4.

Welsh and Gaelic in Galloway

By JOHN MACQUEEN.

When Gaelic was established in Galloway, and its relationship to the Welsh language of the province, are still matters of considerable uncertainty. Earlier scholars, relying, sometimes, at least, on the very large proportion of place-names which are self-evidently Gaelic, believed that the language had been established since pre-historic times. This may have been Skene's view; it is most clearly expressed by Sir Herbert Maxwell in his *Place-Names of Galloway*,¹ Introduction, xxii. Curious as his remarks may appear, they at least provide a starting point for a discussion of the names, and thus eventually for a more reasonable theory about their origin. "To borrow a simile from geology, the *facies* of the topographic fossils of Ulster and Galloway is so similar as to lead irresistibly to the conclusion that they are of a common origin. . . . If Welsh was once the vernacular of Galloway, how comes it that the natural features of the land and their habitations are almost exclusively named in the C type of Celtic? . . . The contact of Galloway along an extended and somewhat fluctuating frontier with the Welsh-speaking inhabitants of Strathclyde, warfare and alliance alternating between the tribes of these two districts, would give occasion for the introduction, to a limited extent, of Welsh settlers and Welsh place-names into Galloway." About Ochiltree in Penninghame parish, Wigtownshire, he remarks (p. 218): "Welsh *Uchel tre*" (read *uchel dre* or *dref*; lenition here is regular, but seems often to have been nullified in the process of a name reaching English) "high homestead. It is on high ground, close to the border of the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde." Ochiltree is certainly Welsh; with other names which too probably contain *tref*, Maxwell's approach is different. He interprets the two Threaves (one in Penning-

¹ Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie and Co., 1930.

hame parish, Wigtownshire, one in Balmaghie, Kirkcudbright) as "Welsh *tref*, Erse *treamh*" (read *treabh*), "a homestead." Terregles in the Stewartry is "*Treamhar*" (read *treabhar*) "*eglais*" (read *eaglaise*?) "church farm, Welsh *tref yr eglwys*, homestead of the church, church farm." The first element of Troqueer in the Stewartry is described as "Welsh *tref* or Erse *treamh*, a farmstead." W. J. Watson² takes Leswalt in Wigtownshire to be Welsh, and to mean "grass enclosure" (presumably *llys wellt*; early forms of the name in Cassillis papers, preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh, are *Leswalte*, 1482, *Leswalt*, 1491, 1499, 1509, *Laswat*, 1522; I have found no form that does not contain a *w* as the initial of the second element.) On this name Maxwell remarks (p. 195): "A parish in Wigtownshire. *Lios willt*, genitive of *allt*, the fort of the glen, indicating Lochnaw Castle at the head of Aldouran Glen." Maxwell's line of argument is clear. Names undoubtedly Welsh he takes to have been given by settlers from Strathclyde; for others he advances a Gaelic interpretation, wherever one seems at all possible, sometimes indicating the Welsh alternative, but sometimes not. Even now it is perhaps worth while to set out some of the arguments by which he may be refuted.

(1) Ochiltree is not near the border of the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde; it is near the Carrick border of the modern Ayrshire. As in Galloway, most of the place-names of Carrick are Gaelic; thus, on his own hypothesis, Maxwell ought to have regarded Carrick as Gaelic-speaking since prehistoric times. Ochiltree in Wigtownshire is best regarded as an outlying member of the group of Welsh names which occur in the hilly district behind Girvan and Ballantrae. The one inch Ordnance map of the district contains the following, probably Welsh, names: North and South Threave, Trochraig, Tralorg, Tralodden, Trowier, Traboyack, and Troax, all of which seem, like Ochiltree, to contain Welsh *tref* (see Watson, pp. 358, 360, 361-2), as also Straid on the Water of Lendal, which may represent Welsh *ystrad*,

² *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, p. 180.

"vale, dale, flat," and Knockycoid, in which the first element seems to be Gaelic *cnoc* (Welsh *cnwc*?), but the second may well be Welsh *coed*, "wood." The name would mean "hill" or "hillock of the wood"; one should compare Knockcoid in Kirkcolm parish, Wigtownshire, which is mentioned by Watson (p. 381), but erroneously stated to be in Kirkcudbright. Now, Gaelic survived in Carrick as in Galloway, probably until the seventeenth century. Had all those names been given by Welsh settlers from Strathclyde, it is surely remarkable that the names given by a few incomers of alien language should so often have survived to the present day? Watson made some examination of the names in *tref*; his cautiously expressed opinion was that the second element of some might be Gaelic, and that all had been influenced by Gaelic. One must certainly concede as a possibility that the names given by Welsh-speaking settlers in a Gaelic area should sometimes have been hybrids, partly Welsh and partly Gaelic, although it seems to me unlikely that such hybrids would survive for any length of time. The simpler assumption is that the Welsh names are a survival from times anterior to Gaelic settlement, even that the word *tref* may have survived in the Gaelic speech of the neighbourhood for some time after the disappearance of Welsh. This is rendered the more probable by the fact that when in its turn the Gaelic of South-West Scotland died out, it was among the hills of northern Galloway and Carrick that it lingered longest, in the very area, that is to say, where a striking group of Welsh place-names also survived. I would suggest that the parallelism is no accident.

(2) Although Watson's interpretation of Leswalt is not, perhaps, completely satisfactory, yet, as compared with Maxwell's, it has several advantages. Watson explains the *w* of Leswalt, as Maxwell does not; the *u* of *uillt* would not have been consonantal, as may be determined by comparing Bennuskie in Kirkmaiden parish, Wigtownshire, Gaelic *beinn uisge* or *beinn an uisge*, "point of the water." Again, Leswalt is primarily the name of a village; here as elsewhere, Maxwell incorrectly assumes that the parish name preceded

that of the village; he is thus free to maintain that the name Leswalt was attached originally, not to Leswalt village, but to Lochnaw Castle. "Fort of the glen" might perhaps serve as a description of Lochnaw; it is not nearly so descriptive of the village to which the name must, in fact, be attached.

(3) Watson (pp. 357-9) has discussed the possibility of *treabh* and *treabhar* appearing in lowland Scottish place-names. The most significant point in his argument is the extreme rarity of both words in Scottish Highland and Irish place-names, and, indeed, the rarity of the words themselves both in Irish and in Scottish Gaelic. The contrast with Welsh *tref* is striking. One may safely disregard the possibility that *treabh* and *treabhar* were more common in Galloway than in Ireland and the Highlands; the necessary conclusion is that Welsh *tref* is the word represented by the two Threaves, and the first element of Terregles and Troqueer.

(4) It is particularly unlikely that Leswalt, Terregles, Troqueer, or Threave in Balmaghie parish received their names from casual Welsh settlers. Leswalt, Terregles, and Troqueer have given their names to parishes; they were therefore at an early date places of some local importance, and such places seldom, one presumes, have names given to them by alien settlers who do not arrive as conquerors. Threave in Balmaghie parish is a site of great natural strength, chosen long afterwards by the Douglasses for their principal stronghold in Galloway—not at all a place likely to be occupied by Welsh new-comers in a Gaelic countryside. In short, it seems likely that the names were given by a Welsh-speaking population, which preceded the Gaelic settlement, and that the names survived because the sites to which they were attached had always been places of importance. One may go further. It is likely that the name Terregles (*tref yr eglwys*) was given before the beginning of any intensive Gaelic settlement, at least in the immediate neighbourhood; obviously the name was given in Christian times, and, as the form is not late British, but Welsh, one must assume that it dates, not from the time, say, of St. Ninian, when Welsh did not yet exist, but later; scarcely earlier than the

second half of the sixth century. At earliest, that is, Gaelic settlement in the neighbourhood of Terregles began in the seventh century. Indeed, one feature of the name might seem to suggest a much later date. To give the modern form, Terregles, *eglwys* must have been stressed, as in Modern Welsh, on the penultimate; *eglwys* is derived from Vulgar Latin *eclésia*, which by the late sixth century gave Primitive Welsh **eglés*, with stress on the ultimate. The shift of stress did not take place, probably, until the eleventh century.³ Other evidence, however, suggests that Terregles did not survive in the mouths of native Welsh speakers until so late a date, and that the shift of stress is to be explained in some other way. The oldest form of Terregles is *Travereglys* (1365, *R.M.S.*). If the *y* of this form represents *i* or the obscure vowel, it would seem to suggest that in Kirkcudbright the development of Primitive Welsh **eglés* was halted before the stage represented by the later *eglwys* had been reached—one should perhaps compare the Kirkcudbright River Dee, Ptolemy's *Déva*, the modern form of which can scarcely be derived from the later Welsh *Dwy*, but most probably from Primitive Welsh **Déw*, perhaps under English influence. Professor Jackson (*op. cit.*, p. 335) has shown that in Wales the development of *e* to *ui* was probably complete by the middle of the second half of the seventh century. One cannot be certain that in southern Scotland and Wales the same development occurred at precisely the same time, but, as it is unlikely that any great difference existed, it may, perhaps, be assumed that by 700 A.D. the development was also complete in Scotland. Thus, although there is considerable room for uncertainty, Terregles had probably ceased to be a name used by native Welsh speakers some time before 700 A.D., a date agreeing very well with that proposed by Plummer in a note on Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, III., iv., as likely for the Anglian occupation of Galloway (during the reign of Oswiu, 641-670), and accepted by Professor Jackson (*op. cit.*, p. 218). If this is so, the shift of stress

³ See Professor Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 687. The accent indicates length not stress.

in Terregles is not Welsh, and is possibly to be explained by Gaelic or English influence.

(5) Maxwell is not strictly accurate in his emphasis on the similarity of place-names in Ulster and Galloway—the similarity is rather with the place-names of Ireland in general. Nor does a close similarity lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the place-names of both areas have a common origin. The place-names of Wales and Ireland have a common origin, yet the differences between them are as striking as the similarities. The similarity between Irish and Galloway place-names is rather to be taken as evidence that Galloway place-names derive from those of Ireland; whether directly or at one remove through Scottish Gaelic may perhaps be determined by a survey of the names in all three districts.

Such arguments establish with some certainty that Gaelic is a relatively late language, at least over the greater part of Galloway, that it was preceded by Welsh, and that Welsh was still widely spoken in the sixth and probably some part of the seventh century. They do not, of course, establish any very precise date for the arrival of Gaelic settlers, beyond that they are unlikely to have arrived in great numbers before 600 A.D. On the other hand, while they do not establish it, they do not preclude as a general possibility that by 600 A.D. small settlements may have occurred, probably in the more remote parts. It is fairly certain, however, that the Northumbrian conquest of Galloway intervened between the period of Welsh dominance and Gaelic settlement on any large scale.

It may be added that, as opposed to Maxwell's, these conclusions agree very well with the general ideas on the relationship of Scottish to Irish Gaelic recently expressed by Professor Jackson in his British Academy Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, "Common Gaelic" (1951).

A recent authority who suggests a prehistoric Gaelic settlement in Galloway is the late Professor H. M. Chadwick in *Early Scotland* (1949), pp. 153-7. Professor Chadwick does not deny the presence of Welsh inhabitants; his theory, however, requires an original Gaelic-speaking population sub-

ject to later Welsh arrivals. In support of this, he advances two arguments, one (p. 153) relating to the south of Scotland in general. "If all the peoples of southern Scotland were British, and Welsh was the only language spoken there, it seems to me difficult to account for the very large number of Gaelic place-names. . . . Especially in the west Gaelic must have been deeply rooted: in Galloway it was current down to modern times." So on p. 155: "So far as I can see, Gaelic must have been established in Galloway before the Welsh period, unless it was introduced by the Gall-Gaidil." This argument would make it possible to account for the name Threave, and such others as were later attached to parishes; these, presumably, would be names given by the Welsh overlords of the district. But the Welsh names in upland Galloway and Carrick are scarcely to be explained in this way; they, surely, are peasant names, for the type of country in which they are found is not likely ever to have been singled out by conquerors and overlords. Nor did Professor Chadwick dispose of his alternative, and, as it seems to me, more probable, suggestion that Gaelic was introduced by the Gall Gháidhil.

Professor Chadwick's second argument is based on various references to Picts and "Kreenies" (probably = *Cruithnigh* with English plural) in Galloway. The argument, which, it must be noted, is expressed with great caution—indeed, as Professor Chadwick presents it, it is more an assessment of probabilities than an argument—may be summarised thus. Three English writers—Reginald of Durham, Jocelyn of Furness, and Richard of Hexham—call the people of Galloway Picts, and the language of Galloway "the language of the Picts." In the twelfth century the principal language of Galloway was certainly Gaelic. R. de B. Trotter⁴ preserves a tradition that a "breed" called Kreenies lived in Galloway, mostly in the Rhinns. "Kreenie," Chadwick suggests, must be an Anglicised form of Gaelic *Cruithnigh*, which sometimes, at least, means "Picts." The evidence of the English authors

⁴ *Galloway Gossip; the Stewartry*, 1901, p. 182.

shows that the Picts or Kreenies were Gaelic speakers. As it is used by Trotter, the word "Kreenies" is applied to an obviously poor and degenerate section of the population, whereas the English authors call all the people of Galloway "*Picti*," possibly with derogatory intention. According once more to Trotter, an alternative name for the Kreenies was Gossoks; this is descended from Welsh *gwasog*, "a servile person," and indicates that the Kreenies had been subject to a Welsh-speaking people. Chadwick suggests that these facts combine to show that the word *Cruithnigh* had gone downhill, and become little more than a term of abuse, but that probably at an earlier period it was applied to the entire population of Galloway. He concludes that as the word *Cruithnigh* could scarcely have been introduced by the Gall Ghaidhil, it was probably in use since prehistoric times. Thus Gaelic, the language of the Picts, was probably the language of Galloway from prehistoric times until the seventeenth century.⁵

Professor Chadwick's assumption that when English writers called the men of Galloway *Picti*, and when Dr. Trotter's informant called a breed from the Rhinns "Kreenies," they were drawing at widely different dates on a common tradition, seems to be based on a similar assumption by W. J. Watson.⁶

With several of Professor Chadwick's contentions I find myself in complete agreement. I think that, although the name "Kreenies" is recorded at so late a date, and does not now seem to be known, one need not doubt that it is authentic and ancient—earlier than the Gall Gháidhil—nor that "Kreenies" represents *Cruithnigh*, the plural of *Cruithneach*, a word sometimes meaning "Pict,"⁷ nor yet that originally the language of the Kreenies was Gaelic. An interesting indication of Dr. Trotter's reliability is that "Fingauls," the name which he gives for another Galloway "breed," has survived to the present day in at least one

⁵ But see additional note.

⁶ *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, pp. 177-9.

⁷ See additional note.

(Kirkmaiden) of the parishes which he described them as inhabiting. I am prepared to admit it as a probability, indeed as a certainty, that "gossock" represents Welsh *gwasog*, "a servile person," and that most probably it is to be taken as an indication that the Kreenies had been in some kind of servile relationship to a Welsh-speaking population. It seems to me, however, that Professors Chadwick and Watson both have gone astray in their assumption that it is because the Kreenies at one time formed the dominant element in the entire population of Galloway, that the three English writers called the people of Galloway Picts—in other words, that *Picti*, as it is used by Reginald, Jocelyn, and Richard, is a translation of Kreenies, Gaelic *Cruithnigh*, and that this either was, or had been, the word naturally used by the Gaelic speakers of Galloway in describing themselves. In the first place, there is no evidence that any of the English authors knew Gaelic, or was drawing on a source which originated from a Gaelic-speaking *milieu*. Again, Dr. Trotter particularly notices that the Kreenies belong to the Rhinns—"the feck o' them inhabits the Rhinns." While it is easy to grant that the word "Kreenies" had come down in the world, it is less easy, surely, to believe that at the same time its application had become restricted to the people of a comparatively small area in the extreme west of Galloway? But the principal argument which tends against the conclusion reached by Watson and Professor Chadwick is this, that probably the word *Picti* was only used in consequence of a misunderstanding on the part of the English churchmen of the time. The most detailed reference to the *Picti* of Galloway is Reginald of Durham's account of a visit of St. Ailred of Rievaulx to Kirkcudbright. Reginald probably knew Ailred personally; at least he dedicated his book to him.⁸ It is thus natural to suppose that Ailred himself was the authority for Reginald's account of Picts in Galloway. But in Ailred's own works, which often have occasion to mention Galloway and Gallovidians, *Picti* is never, to the best of my knowledge, the term applied to them. On the other

⁸ Cap. I., Surtees Society edition, pp. 1-3.

hand, in the twelfth century, more than three hundred years after the disappearance of the Pictish kingdom, it would be easy for writers, who were not themselves native Scots, to misinterpret Ailred's *Vita Niniani*, chapter vi.,⁹ as indicating that the Picts converted by Ninian lived in the neighbourhood of Whithorn, and this, I suggest, is the origin of Reginald's belief that the inhabitants of Galloway were Picts. There is no particular indication that Jocelyn or Richard were influenced by Ailred, but, even if they were not, the fame of the recently re-founded see of Whithorn, a suffragan see, it should be remembered, of York, and its patron saint, Ninian, the apostle of the southern Picts, would suffice to explain their belief that the Picts inhabited Galloway.

For Jocelyn, in particular, some evidence survives to suggest that the description¹⁰ of Galloway as "*Pictorum patriam*," "the country of the Picts," is mistaken. The words occur in a description of Kentigern's missionary work, translated thus by Forbes (*op. cit.*, p. 96).

"Then the warrior of God, consumed with the fire of the Holy Spirit, like a fire that burneth the wood, and like the flame setting on fire the mountains, after he had converted what was nearest to himself, that is to say, his diocese, going forth to more distant places, cleansed from the foulness of idolatry, and the contagion of heresy, the land of the Picts, which is now called Galwiethia (*Pictorum patriam, que modo Galwiethia dicitur*), with the adjacent parts; and amid shining miracles, bringing it back to the rule of truth, he amended, as far as lay in his power, whatsoever he found contrary to Christian faith or sound doctrine. In all these things the fervour of his devotion was not turned away, but his hand was stretched out still to greater actions, and to the increase of the honour and glory of the Most High, his feet having been shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

"For he went to Albania (*petiit namque Albaniam*), and there with great and almost unbearable toil, often ex-

⁹ Edited by A. P. Forbes, *The Historians of Scotland*, V. pp. 137-57.

¹⁰ *Vita Kentigerni*, cap. xxxiv., Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

posed to death by the snares of the barbarians, but ever standing undeterred, strong in the faith (the Lord working with him, and giving power to the voice of his preaching), he reclaimed that land from the worship of idols and from profane rites that were almost equal to idolatry, to the landmarks of faith, and the customs of the Church, and the laws of the canons."

Now, the phrase, "*For he went to Albania*" suggests that Albania is the same as the "land of the Picts, which is now called Galwiethia," mentioned a few lines previously. But Albania is normally to be understood as Pictavia in the east and north-east of Scotland,¹¹ and, as Kentigern's other missionary expeditions described a little later in the same chapter, are all said to have been directed from Strathclyde to the north (to the Orkneys, Norway and Iceland), it seems reasonable to suppose that in the present passage, too, Albania is to the north of Strathclyde, in short, that Albania here means Pictavia, not the south-west of Scotland, and that Pictavia, not Galloway, is the *Pictorum patria*. *Que modo Galwiethia dicitur* is, I suggest, a mistaken gloss on *Pictorum patriam*, probably introduced by Jocelyn himself, certainly by someone who had misinterpreted the legend of St. Ninian's conversion of the southern Picts.

It is commonly said that no mediæval Scottish writer mentions Picts in Galloway,¹² and, so far as direct reference is concerned, this is probably correct. On at least one occasion, however, the presence of Picts in Galloway may be inferred from the words of a Scottish writer. The first part of the verse *Life* of St. Ninian, sometimes attributed to Barbour, and edited by C. Horstmann in *Barbour's Legendensammlung*, II., 121-46, is based directly on Ailred's *Vita*. Lines 367-82 correspond to Ailred's chapter vi., the narrative of the conversion of the Southern Picts. The contrast of the two versions is instructive. In Ailred, the Picts are described as living some distance from Whithorn and its neighbourhood; in the verse *Life*, however no actual conver-

¹¹ v. H. M. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60; cf. p. 35.

¹² cf. Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.

sion is mentioned, and the saint has no occasion to leave Galloway.

In Galouay vpe and done
On fete gangand fra tone to tone,
Partand the landis in paroch fere,
And kirkis mad quhare nane (thane) were.
11, 369-72.

The poet never uses the word "Pict," but it is clear, not only that he interpreted the *Picti* of Ailred as Gallovidians, but also that he was mistaken in his interpretation. A similar mistaken interpretation, I suggest, has given rise to the Picts of Galloway, as they are found in Reginald, Jocelyn and Richard.

To summarise the argument, the Welsh place-names of Galloway seem best regarded as divided into two groups—those in the more fertile and accessible regions, which survive, for the most part, as names of places of some importance; and, on the other hand, those, important or unimportant, which survive because they are in remote and, and, from the settler's point of view, unattractive, countryside—not so unattractive, however, as to be incapable of cultivation. The factors leading to survival in the one group probably contrasted to a degree with those in the other. For the first group it is fairly obvious that some, possibly considerable, change of population must be assumed, so that while the old names, say, of the larger villages, and some, at least, of the more prominent natural features, would survive, names of smaller villages and farms would disappear with the Welsh language, and the seizure by new-comers of lands formerly the property of Welsh speakers. For the poorer Welsh hill settlements, however, it does not seem necessary to assume so extensive a change of population and ownership; indeed, it seems not impossible that such lands totally failed to attract the attention of the new-comers; certainly many must have remained the property of the Welsh-speaking families which had occupied them before Gaelic settlement began. In such areas Gaelic would not be forced upon the earlier inhabitants; it would slowly establish itself as a language of convenience, permitting more ready intercourse with the world outside—

much as English in its turn established itself at the expense of Gaelic as the language of Galloway. Thus, the place-name tradition of such areas would remain unbroken, passed on from generation to generation, with one or more bilingual generations to bridge the gap between Welsh and Gaelic, and in such a way, I suggest, one must explain the Welsh place-names of upland Galloway, and, more particularly, Carrick. A comparison on the larger scale is provided by the distribution of Celtic place-names, which are so rare over the greater part of England, but which abound in Cornwall, and also, to some extent, in the other more westerly regions of England. Professor Jackson has examined the distribution of these names, and the probable reasons for it in his article, "The British Language during the Period of the English Settlements."¹³ In England, a parallel to the Galloway place-names of the first group may be provided by the names of Romano-British towns (e.g., London, York, Lincoln), which, as Professor Jackson has noticed (*op. cit.*, p. 63), often survive in eastern as in western England.

Additional Note.

Professor Jackson has pointed out to me that the likelihood of "Kreenies" representing *Cruithnigh* is not so great as I had supposed. It seems, in fact, improbable that the *ui* of *Cruithnigh* would be anglicised as *ee* in "Kreenies." Professor Jackson compares a place-name which I have already mentioned, Bennuskie in Kirkmaiden parish, probably Scottish Gaelic *beinn an nise*, "point of the water." Here *ui* is represented by *u*; *ui*, in any case, is short. Professor Jackson also suggests that a more probable derivation is from the Irish and Scottish Gaelic *crion*, "of which" (I quote from his letter) "the proper and original meaning is *withered*, *wizened*, and derived meanings are *old*, *little* and *wise*. With the adjective termination *-ach*, *crionach* means *dry or decayed or rotten wood*, or *something rotten and*

¹³ *Studies in Early British History*, edited by N. K. Chadwick, pp. 61-82; see especially pp. 63-7.

decayed.—*Na crìonaigh* (would mean) *the rotten people, or the skinny ones, or the wizened, underfed ones,*” and might well be a nickname applied to “some body of people, let us say something like the tinkers or gypsies,” who in the singular were called by the Cumbrian inhabitants of Galloway *guasog*, “a servile fellow.”

Phonologically this is more satisfactory than the explanation which would derive the word from *Cruithnigh*. But for several reasons I have let my note stand. In the first place, I have failed to discover the word “Kreenies” in actual use at the present day, and therefore it must remain a possibility that the spelling “Kreenies” is an inadequate or even inaccurate rendering of the spoken word—that is to say, the phonological argument need not apply. Trotter was not in any sense a trained phonologist. Again, certain place-names of the Rhinns, particularly those which contain the word Carrick, representing Gaelic *carraig*, “a rock,” sometimes “a rock jutting into the sea, serving as a quay or fishing station” (a good example from Kirkmaiden parish is Carrick Kibbertie, probably representing *carraig thiobar-taigh*, “rock at well-place”), seem to suggest that in the Rhinns, and particularly in Kirkmaiden parish, there was some kind of settlement of Gaelic speakers several hundred years before the main body of Gaelic-speaking settlers arrived in Galloway. In Galloway these place-names are almost confined to the Rhinns, in the rest of Scotland to mainland Argyll, and such islands (excluding those in the Firth of Clyde) as are included in the modern county. Save for the Rhinns, that is, the names are confined to that part of Scotland which was first colonised by Goidelic speakers from Ireland about the end of the fifth century A.D. Thus it seems not improbable that in both districts the names were given during the same period, and therefore that the presence of those names in the Rhinns indicates a settlement from Ireland contemporary with that which established the Scottish Dalriada in Argyll. (Names in *carraig* are common all round the coast of Ireland.) This theory would also account for a number of place-names in the Rhinns which preserve

the word *sliabh* in the sense of "hill" or "mountain." Examples from Kirkmaiden parish are Slewdonan, Slewdon, Slewhabble, Slewlea, and Slewmag. In Irish place-names *sliabh* means "mountain"; in Scottish Gaelic it is very rare in this sense (*cf.* Watson, p. 184), but in Argyll I have found examples of the word being used in place-names with the meaning "hill." The Galloway examples are almost wholly confined to the Rhinns. This again might well indicate an early settlement from Ireland. But if there was a settlement from Ireland in the Rhinns during the fifth and sixth centuries, it would most probably be from Dál Araide, that part of northern Ireland which faces Galloway, the people of which were known as *Cruithni(g)*, not in the sense of "Picts," but probably "people from Britain."¹⁴ Now, whatever the etymology of the word "Kreenies," I suggest that the Kreenies were by origin Cruithnian settlers, probably fishermen and very small farmers, from Dál Araide, just the people, in fact, who might be called Gosssocks, "servile people," by the Cumbric natives whom they found in Galloway. But if the Kreenies were *Cruithnigh*, and this was also the origin of the word "Kreenies," it seems to me to remove the greatest difficulty which I have found in Professor Jackson's theory—that he postulates Cumbric and Gaelic speakers living side by side, and uniting in contempt for a third Cumbric or Gaelic group in the population. All the evidence which I have brought forward in my article seems to me to argue against the possibility of such a situation—it is almost certain that the Anglian conquest of Galloway separated the Cumbric from the Gaelic domination of the countryside, and that already when the main body of Gaelic speakers arrived in Galloway, the element which spoke Cumbric had dwindled to insignificance. Thus I feel that despite the phonological difficulty, which after all may be illusory, the theory that "Kreenies" derives from *Cruithnigh* should not be abandoned, at least until more definite evidence has been obtained.

¹⁴ See Professor Jackson's "Two Early Scottish Names," *The Scottish Historical Review*, XXXIII., No. 115, pp. 17-18.

Another point should perhaps be added. The name *Cruithnigh* died out in Ireland at a comparatively early date,¹⁵ and, once this happened, the meaning of the name would probably be obscured in Galloway also. In those circumstances the rise of popular etymologies would be almost inevitable. There is no proof of such a happening, but here no more is needed than a demonstration of the possibility of a successful popular etymology deriving *Cruithnigh* from *críon*, and eventually causing the pronunciation to be altered in accordance with the etymology. This would be the more likely if "the skinny ones" or "the wizened, underfed ones" seemed an apt description of the *Cruithnigh*, as indeed it may, to judge from Trotter's description of the Kreenies. Thus *Cruithnigh* might be represented in the much later English dialect of the district by "Kreenies," with the long sound of *ee* derived at one remove from the original *ui*.

I hope at a later date to discuss the place-names in Carrick-, those in Slew-, and certain others which appear to belong to the same group. See also my article, "Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-names," forthcoming in *Archivum Linguisticum*, which will discuss some of the evidence for the settlement of the Gall-Gháidhil in Galloway.

I owe Mrs Chadwick and Professor Jackson my grateful thanks for the time and trouble they have been prepared to devote to the discussion of this article.

¹⁵ See Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 63.

ARTICLE 5.

Additions to the Fish Fauna and Observations on the Rare Species of the Solway and of the Wigtownshire Coast.

By BENNET B. RAE, Marine Laboratory, Aberdeen.

Additions to the Fish Fauna.

The fish fauna of the Solway and of the Wigtownshire coast has been dealt with comprehensively in papers by Gladstone (1912) and Gordon (1921). More recently Birrell (1930) has put on record numerous observations on the fishes he has caught during his long fishing experience. From time to time, both before and after the publications referred to, short papers or notes on the capture of rare or unusual fishes by various authors, including Macpherson, Service, Stephen, and others, have appeared in the *Scottish Naturalist* (hereafter *S.N.*) and the *Annals of Scottish Natural History* (*A.S.N.H.*) and other publications.

Unpublished records of rare specimens caught in the area and listed at the Royal Scottish Museum throughout the years have been kindly placed at the author's disposal by Dr. A. C. Stephen along with recent notes by Mr Adam Birrell, of Creetown. Finally, records of trawling operations by the research vessel "Explorer"¹ on visits to Luce Bay and neighbouring waters during the years 1927-1929 and 1950-1952 have also been used. The information obtained from these different sources enables a number of additions to be made to the list of fishes found in the area. These are given in the following list, in which, as throughout the rest of this paper, the nomenclature follows the "List of British Vertebrates—Fishes," published by the authorities of the British Museum in 1935. References are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication of the paper, of which fuller details are given at the end of the text. References

¹ Belonging to the Scottish Home Department, formerly Scottish Fishery Board.

to short notes, on the other hand, are made in an abridged form throughout the paper.

Raia brachyura, Lafont—blonde ray. Rather similar in appearance to the spotted ray, *R. montagui*, syn. *R. maculata*, this fish was taken in the "Explorer's" trawl in Luce Bay in 1927 and 1928 and again in 1950, in which year a single specimen was also caught in Wigtown Bay.

Argentina sphyræna, L.—argentine. Four specimens, $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 inches in length, were trawled from a depth of 82 fm. off Portpatrick in September, 1927.

Urophycis blennoides (Brünnich)—greater fork-beard. A single fish, about 10 inches long, was caught in the trawl off Portpatrick, at a depth of 100 to 150 fm., in August, 1929. The Royal Scottish Museum lists also include a specimen taken at Ferryburn, Creetown, in August, 1937.

Sciæna aquila, Risso—meagre. Service (*A.S.N.H.*, 1906, p. 54).

Germo alalunga (Gmelin)—albacore or long-finned tunny, syn. *Orcynus germo*. Macpherson (*A.S.N.H.*, 1898, p. 53).

Euthynnus allitteratus, Rafinesque—marbled tunny. The first British record of this fish was obtained from a salmon net at Garlieston, Wigtownshire, on 11th July, 1951. The specimen, which measured 24 inches, was donated to the Royal Scottish Museum, where a cast has been prepared (Rae and Wilson, 1952).

Callionymus maculatus, Rafinesque—spotted dragonet. Although scarce, this species has been taken in Luce Bay on several occasions by the "Explorer."

Sebastes marinus (L.)—Norway haddock, syn. *S. norvegicus*. Macpherson (*Zool.* 3, Vol. XVIII., 1894, p. 431).

Microchirus boscanion (Chabanaud)—solenette. The absence of this species from the lists of Gladstone and Gordon is surprising in the light of "Explorer" records. Solenettes have been caught by the research vessel, using a small mesh cover over the cod-end of the trawl, in nearly every haul made in Luce Bay; as many as 591 were taken in one hour's fishing in September, 1927, and 309 in the same trawling time as recently as September, 1950. The trawling

records show that the distribution of the species, although fairly widespread throughout the bay, is not uniform and that concentrations tend to occur at places, no doubt where conditions are most favourable.

From Scottish Home Department and Royal Scottish Museum sources, confirmation has also been obtained of the presence in the area of certain fishes whose place in the faunal lists has hitherto been doubtful or based on rather scant evidence. These include *Pristiurus melastomus* (Rafinesque)—black-mouthed dogfish, of which one was obtained by the research vessel off Portpatrick in August, 1929; *Merluccius merluccius* (L.)—hake, single specimens of which were taken off Portpatrick in September, 1927, and in Wigtown Bay in September, 1950; and *Gadus esmarkii*, Nilsson—Norway pout, several examples of which were caught off Portpatrick in 1927 and in 1929.

Although the area being considered is relatively small, it comprises a variety of topographical and physical conditions, from the extensive tidal flats of the inner reaches of the firth, through the shallow sandy or muddy bays to the rocky coast between the Mull of Galloway and Corsewall Point with its hard tide-swept bottom, shelving rapidly to depths of over 100 fm. within a few miles of the coast. In the circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that the list of marine fishes found in the area is extensive. At the same time it is clear from a study of the lists that the number of species which can be regarded as abundant is relatively small and that many of the fishes on the list are represented by comparatively few specimens.

Rare Fishes.

Before considering the rare fishes of this area, it is desirable to examine the possible meanings of the term "rare." In the first place, a fish may appear to be rare because it is seldom seen or caught. This may be due to one or other of several factors—its small size which enables it to escape through meshes of nets, its large size and strength combined perhaps with natural wariness in avoiding capture, the unsuit-

able nature of its habitat for fishing operations and its unimportance commercially and the consequent lack of incentive to fish for it. Into this category fall many of the shore-living fishes, such as blennies, sucker-fishes, gobies, wrasses, pipe-fishes, and deeper water species such as rocklings and certain sharks.

The term "rare" may also be applied to indigenous fishes which are sparsely distributed on the grounds, due either to the natural habit of the particular species or to the area under examination being marginal, either physically or territorially, as regards their distribution. Some of these species are sparsely distributed throughout British waters as a whole, some are scarce in Scottish waters only, while others, though well represented or even abundant in the Scottish area, are scarce in the Solway and on the Wigtownshire coast, because conditions are unfavourable to their survival locally.

Yet another category of "rare" fishes includes all non-indigenous species which are wanderers or migrants from more or less distant waters. The term "exotic" is sometimes applied to these forms in order to distinguish them from rare native species.

It is obvious, therefore, that a wide interpretation may be put on the word "rare" and that any decision regarding the inclusion of species in a list of rare fishes must, to some extent, be determined rather arbitrarily in the light of the purpose to be served. In the present instance it is proposed to disregard the purely coastal forms referred to under the first category and also those species which, though rare in the Solway, are well represented or even abundant in Scottish waters generally. Such species include the black-mouthed dogfish, long-nosed skate, hake, poutassou, greater fork-beard and megrim from deep water to the west of the British Isles and northerly types such as haddock, Norway pout and halibut. The list which follows therefore contains only those Solway species which are also regarded as rare in the Scottish area as a whole and includes all "exotics" and some of the rarer native British forms. In compiling it, all available records have been used.

Lamna cornubica (Gmelin) — porbeagle. Gladstone (1912) and Gordon (1921) include this species in their lists, although both state that it is seldom caught. The latter author, however, refers to its capture in salmon nets and to a stranding at Glenluce in 1899. Birrell (1930) reports having caught several, and Hardy (1949) refers to the capture of a specimen in the Solway in 1917, but the absence of recent records suggests that this shark is now scarcer than it once was. This is to be regretted in view of the demand for the fish on certain continental markets.

Cetorhinus maximus (Gunner) — basking shark, syn. *Selache maxima*. Stragglers from the main yearly invasion of our west coast waters by basking sharks occasionally find their way into the Solway, and a few have stranded at various points—one in Wigtown Bay many years ago; another, 18 feet long, in Clanyard Bay, Kirkmaiden, on 24th February, 1911 (Gordon); and the most recent, 19 feet long and weighing about two tons, near Gretna on 13th April, 1928 (Ritchie, *S.N.*, 1928, p. 123). The 1911 record is particularly interesting since the stranding occurred at a season when basking sharks are generally absent from Scottish waters.

Alopias vulpes (Gmelin)—thresher or fox shark. This shark has been taken on at least eight occasions in the Solway region. No fewer than four of these records were obtained on different dates in August, 1926, three in salmon nets at Carsluith and one in the nets at the Cally fishings, Gatehouse (Birrell, *S.N.*, 1926, p. 189). The same writer also refers to two earlier captures, one at Carsluith about 1876 and another about 1900. Service (*A.S.N.H.*, 1893, p. 247) records the capture of one in Wigtown Bay in September, 1893. Finally, Hardy (1949) refers to the capture of a thresher in the Solway in July, 1919. These records represent a high proportion of the total thresher shark records for the whole of Scotland—a fact which gives rise to speculation as to why Wigtown Bay should attract this species.

Scylliorhinus stellaris (L.)—greater-spotted dogfish or nurse hound, syn. *Scyllium catulus*. This species, which is not common in Scottish waters, is listed by both Gladstone

and Gordon, both of whom, however, regard their records as doubtful.

Carcharinus glaucus (L.) — blue shark, syn. *Prionace glauca*. Although not in Gladstone's list, Gordon gives several records from salmon nets—one, 7½ feet long, at Innerwell on 4th August, 1863, and another, 10 feet in length, on 17th May, 1900. Service (*A.S.N.H.*, 1901, p. 81) also records the capture of a blue shark, 10 feet 4 inches in length, in the nets at Innerwell on 17th August, 1900. Three specimens were taken by Mr Birrell at Burnfoot in the years immediately preceding 1926. Small specimens have also been taken from time to time.

Mustelus mustelus (L.)—smooth hound, syn. *M. vulgaris*. This fish appears in the Wigtownshire list as a scarce species, as indeed it is in Scottish waters generally.

Squatina squatina (L.)—monk or angel-fish, syn. *Rhina squatina*. This fish is not listed by Gladstone, but Gordon gives one record from Wigtown Bay, 26th July, 1914, to which Birrell (1930) adds three from the same region in 1925 and one from Luce Bay in 1926. Neither writer appears to have been aware of an earlier specimen caught in a salmon net in Loch Ryan in 1883 (Barty, *S.N.*, 1883-84, p. 106). Recently Stephen (*S.N.*, 1937, p. 152) records the capture of another off Creetown on 17th June, 1937.

Torpedo nobiliana, Bonaparte—electric ray. A single record of this fish is given by Gordon from off Portpatrick in October, 1908. Recent notes by Mr Birrell refer to the capture of another off Isle of Whithorn but do not give the year.

Raia microcellata, Montagu—painted ray. Gordon records a single specimen of this southern ray as having been taken outside Loch Ryan on 25th January, 1912. Since Clark's notes on the distribution of this species (1926) indicate Cardigan Bay and the west of Ireland as its northern limits, this would appear to be the first and possibly only Scottish record.

Trygon pastinaca (L.)—sting ray. This fish is listed by both Gordon (not uncommon) and Birrell from Wigtown Bay, where two have been taken, the first on 18th August, 1898,

the second on 24th January, 1908. Although not mentioned by Gladstone, a specimen stated to be the first local record was taken in the Solway in July, 1895 (Service, *A.S.N.H.*, 1896, p. 124), and a second at Carsluith in June, 1903 (Service, *A.S.N.H.*, 1904, p. 70). Mr Birrell, in recent unpublished notes, also records the capture of a specimen at Cassencary in 1943.

Acipenser sturio, L.—sturgeon. Service (*A.S.N.H.*, 1892, p. 25) describes the appearance of a small sturgeon, about three feet long, in the River Nith in June, 1890. In July, 1898, a large specimen, weighing 336 pounds, was taken in the nets at Newbie (Gladstone). Macpherson (*A.S.N.H.*, 1901, p. 51), while recording the capture of sturgeon near Sillloth on the Cumberland coast on 2nd and 10th July, 1900, states that the species at one time was a regular summer visitor to the Solway, and explains their increasing scarcity as due to the silting of the channel. Gladstone and Gordon both refer to yearly captures of this fish in the Solway, but the latter also notes a tendency for the species to become scarcer, while giving two records from Wigtown Bay—one at Innerwell in 1895, and the other on 9th May, 1911. Confirmation of the gradual disappearance of sturgeon from the Solway is given by Birrell (1930), who states that none had been caught since 1914, when a specimen, 9 feet 2 inches in length, and weighing 350 pounds, was taken near Annan on 18th July of that year (Gladstone, *S.N.*, 1914, p. 213). Since then only one sturgeon record from the Solway has been published. This appears in an editorial note in the *S.N.*, 1930, p. 92, and refers to the shooting of a fish, 9 feet in length and weighing 280 pounds, at the mouth of the River Nith on 15th June, 1930. This disappearance of the sturgeon from the Solway is remarkable since the species is still taken on west coast grounds.

Outwith the Solway a sturgeon was taken off Corsewall Point in July, 1922, and as recently as 1951 three were caught by seine net vessels in the Clyde—one of these between Loch Ryan and Ailsa Craig in July (Rae and Wilson, 1952). It is interesting to note that all the Solway and Wigtownshire records were obtained in either June or July.

Alosa alosa (L.)—Allis shad, syn. *Clupea alosa*. Although this fish is seldom taken in Scottish waters, Gladstone, Gordon, and Birrell agree that it is fairly common in the Solway, particularly during the summer.

Alosa finta (Cuvier)—twaite shad, syn. *Clupea finta*. According to the authorities, this species is not so common in the Solway as the allis shad, but again the evidence seems to suggest that it is slightly more numerous than elsewhere round the Scottish coast.

Engraulis encrasicolus (L.)—anchovy. Service (1902) describes the appearance of this fish in Fleet Bay towards the end of 1889, and near Annan in the spring of 1890, when "the whole firth was full of them." From that time until about 1901 anchovies continued to be caught in the Solway, and some evidence was obtained of their breeding in the area. Gladstone and Gordon refer to the invasion, stressing the heavy concentration of the species in the Solway in January-February, 1890, and also confirm the capture of specimens in the years that followed, including some at the mouth of the River Cree. A long period then appears to have intervened when none was taken until 1937, when a single fish, 5½ inches long, was caught at Creetown on 30th May—another of 6 inches at the same place on 1st June, and several in eel nets on 19th June (Stephen, *S.N.*, 1937, p. 152). Recent notes by Mr Birrell include the capture of one specimen in July, 1941.

Scomberesox saurus (Walbaum)—saury pike. Service (*A.S.N.H.*, 1908, p. 120), in reporting the capture of a specimen from the mouth of the River Nith on 19th September, 1907, states that the saury is a rarity in the Solway. This is confirmed by Gladstone and Gordon, although the latter suggests that the scarcity of records may be due to the ease with which the saury can pass through meshes of nets.

Belone belone (L.)—garfish. Gladstone and Gordon give records of the capture of garfish in the Solway, and both express the view that at the time of their writing the species was more numerous than it used to be. Mr Birrell's experience has been that it is fairly common. Large specimens,

over 3 feet in length, have been taken on several occasions.

Hippocampus hippocampus (L.) — sea horse, syn. *H. antiquorum*. Gladstone states that the sea horse is not uncommon in the Solway; off the Wigtownshire coast it is of rarer occurrence. Although this species has also been recorded from the Firth of Clyde it is absent from all other Scottish coasts.

Raniceps raninus (L.)—lesser fork-beard. According to Gordon this fish has been found off the Mull of Galloway and on the Kirkcudbright side of Wigtown Bay. It would appear to be scarce, however, as it is generally off the Scottish coasts.

Lampris guttatus (Brünnich)—opah or moonfish, syns. *L. luna*, *L. pelagicus*. Service (1896) appears to have been the first to publish the one and only record of this deep sea species taken in Wigtown Bay in June, 1861.

Morone labrax (L.)—bass, syn. *Labrax lupus*. This southern fish is a frequent visitor to the Solway during the spring and summer and is not infrequently taken. Although probably not uncommon along the Scottish west coast, the bass is a rare fish off the east coast.

Polyprion americanum (Schneider)—stone basse. Gordon refers to a single specimen taken by Mr Birrell in Wigtown Bay, but unfortunately no details are given of its capture.

Sciaena aquila, Risso—meagre. This species is omitted from the lists of Gladstone and Gordon, rather surprisingly, since Service (*A.S.N.H.*, 1906, p. 54) reports the capture of a specimen, 5 feet long and weighing 70 pounds, in the nets at Port Ling on 11th July, 1905. Very few records of this fish, which is native to the Mediterranean and waters off the African coast, have been obtained from Scottish waters, although a few have penetrated as far as our east coast grounds, the last having been taken 10' N.E. of Aberdeen in August, 1951.

Mullus surmuletus, L.—red mullet, syn. *M. barbatus*. Gladstone gives one record from between Waterfoot (Annan) and the estuary of the River Nith about 1890, and states that more have been taken since that year. Several specimens were caught in a paidle net at Southernness in August,

1905 (Service, *A.S.N.H.*, 1906, p. 54). Gordon refers doubtfully to its reported capture off the Wigtownshire coast. Confirmation of its presence, however, is provided by the capture of a specimen off Creetown on 15th June, 1943.

Spondyliosoma cantharus (Gmelin)—black bream or old wife, syn. *Cantharus lineatus*. According to Gordon this southern fish, which is fairly common as far north as the English Channel, is scarce in the Wigtownshire area as it is throughout Scottish waters. He gives two records, the first from Wigtown Bay, 11th June, 1895, and the second, 15 inches long and weighing 2 pounds, from the mouth of the River Bladnoch, 15th May, 1912. Service (1896) also mentions one from the mouth of the River Cree without, however, giving details.

Trachinus draco, L.—greater weever. Although rare in the Solway, the greater weever is stated by Gordon to be not uncommon off the Mull of Galloway and in Wigtown Bay. Elsewhere in the Scottish area the greater weever is a rare fish.

Pneumatophorus colias (Gmelin)—Spanish mackerel, syn. *Scomber colias*. Gladstone states that this southern form is taken in fair numbers when the common mackerel, *Scomber scombrus*, L. is plentiful. Gordon also writes that the species is sometimes common and that it is taken annually at Innerwell and elsewhere in Wigtown Bay. The most northerly limits of this species are given by Day (1880-84) as the Cornish coast, the Bristol Channel, and the Connemara coast on the west side of Ireland, although he also mentions a solitary record by Edwards from the Banffshire coast. In view of the numbers of rare Scombridæ found in the Solway and of at least one record of the Spanish mackerel from the Irish Sea (Moore, 1937), it seems not unlikely that the records of the Spanish mackerel from this area are authentic. Confirmation of the frequency of these records at the present time is, however, desirable.

Thunnus thynnus (L.)—common tunny, syn. *Orcynus thynnus*. Service (1896) states that this species has been taken at various times in Dumfriesshire waters, and quotes one captured in the salmon nets at Port Ling in June, 1870.

Macpherson (*Zool.*, 3, Vol. XX., 1896, p. 103) records the stranding of a tunny near Sillloth on 24th February, 1896. Gladstone writes that this species has been taken at Newbie and elsewhere, and Gordon refers to the capture of a small specimen in the nets at Innerwell.

Germo alalunga (Gmelin)—albacore or long-finned tunny, syn. *Orcynus germo*. Presumably by confining their lists to the Scottish side of the Solway, Gladstone and Gordon omit this species which has been recorded by Macpherson (*A.S.N.H.*, 1898, p. 53) from near Sillloth, 25th October, 1897.

Katsuwonus pelamis (L.)—bonito or oceanic bonito, syns. *Thunnus pelamys*, *Thynnus pelamis*. Eight records of this fish have been gathered from various papers and notes. In view of the particular interest of the bonito and of the species which follow the records are set out in chronological order.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|--|--|
| 1831 | 25 July | Bowhouse Scar, Caerlaverock. | Gladstone (1912). |
| 1842 | 22 July | Near Caerlaverock. | Gladstone (1912). |
| 1856 | Sept. | South side of Solway. | Macpherson (<i>Zool.</i> , 3, Vol. XVIII., 1894, p. 397). |
| 1870 | July | Head of Luce Bay, wt. 7 lbs. | Gordon (1921). |
| 1893 | July | Mouth of River Dee, salmon net. | Service (1896). |
| 1894 | 15 Sept. | Sillloth, stranded. | Macpherson (<i>Zool.</i> , 3, Vol. XVIII., 1894, p. 397). |
| 1897 | 2 Aug. | Estuary of River Nith, whammle net, 20". | Gladstone (1912). |
| 1951 | 9 Aug. | Newbie, Annan, stake set, 26". | Rae and Wilson (1952). |

Sarda sarda (Bloch) — pelamid or belted bonito, syn. *Pelamys sarda*. Five specimens of this fish have been recorded from the Solway.

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---|---|
| 1896 | 20 June | Newbie, salmon net, 26 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". | Traquair (<i>A.S.N.H.</i> , 1896, p. 158). |
| 1898 | July | Off Annan. | Gladstone (1912). |

- c1909 — Near Priestside (Cummertrees). Gladstone (1912).
 1927 13 June Off Creetown, 26", 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Birrell (*S.N.*, 1927, p. 100).
 1937 17 June Off Creetown, 23". Stephen (*S.N.*, 1937, p. 152).

Euthynnus allitteratus, Rafinesque — marbled tunny. As stated when dealing with additions to the fauna, this species is represented by the single specimen caught at Garlieston, 11th July, 1951.

Xiphias gladius, L.—swordfish. This unusual species has been taken in the Solway on at least six occasions.

- 1833 1 July Southerness, 11 ft. Service (1896).
 1853 — Newbie. Gladstone (1912).
 1876 31 Aug. Between Sillloth and Annan. Gladstone (1912).
 1889 26 July Off Annan. Gladstone (1912).
 c1893 — Off Annan. Gladstone (1912).
 1913 3 Sept. Annan, stranded, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Gladstone (*S.N.*, 1914, p. 22).

Centrolophus niger (Gmelin)—blackfish. This fish is stated by Service (1896) to have been taken in the estuary of the Nith, and Mr Birrell is said to have caught another in Wigtown Bay, but unfortunately confirmatory evidence is lacking in both cases.

Mugil chelo, Cuvier—thick-lipped grey mullet.

Mugil capito, Cuvier—thin-lipped grey mullet.

Gordon states that grey mullet are fairly common along the Solway coasts, particularly in the estuaries of the rivers where large numbers are occasionally netted. Confirmation of this is provided by Mr Birrell's observations. Both species appear to be present, but some doubt appears to exist as to which is the more numerous.

Sebastes marinus (L.)—Norway haddock or bergylt, syn. *S. norvegicus*. The capture of a single specimen of this northern deep-water fish off Whitehaven in August, 1894, as recorded by Macpherson (*Zool.*, 3, Vol. XVIII., 1894, p. 431), is a most unusual occurrence from the Solway.

Trigla lucerna, L.—tub or yellow gurnard, syn. *T. hirundo*. According to Gladstone and Gordon, the yellow gurnard is rarely taken in the Solway and Wigtownshire area. One record was obtained from the nets at Innerwell in July, 1913. This species, though not common off the Scottish east coast, is more numerous than the streaked gurnard.

Trigla lineata, Gmelin—streaked gurnard. This species is rare in the Solway, but has been taken in Luce Bay off Portpatrick and in Lochryan, where one was caught, 23rd July, 1912. Very few specimens of this southern gurnard have been recorded from Scottish waters.

Arnoglossus laterna (Walbaum)—scaldfish. Although not included in Gladstone's list for the Solway, Gordon records its capture off the Wigtownshire coast and research vessel records confirm its presence in Luce Bay. This southern species is found as far north as Skerryvore, but is extremely rare off the Scottish east coast.

Pegusa lascaris (Risso)—sand sole, syn. *Solea lascaris*. Rare in the Solway, this southern species has been taken off the Wigtownshire coast, including Loch Ryan. A few records have also been obtained from the Firth of Clyde, but the species is quite unknown from all other parts of the Scottish coast.

Microchirus boscanion (Chabanaud)—solenette, syn. *Solea lutea*. The presence of this species in Luce Bay, and its abundance locally, has already been referred to in dealing with the additions to the fish fauna. At no other place along the Scottish coast does the solenette occur in such numbers as in Luce Bay.

Mola mola (L.)—sunfish, syn. *Orthogoriscus mola*. Two specimens of this fish have been caught, the first, weighing 60 pounds, in the nets at Innerwell in October, 1865 (Gordon), and the second, 15 inches long and weighing 7 pounds, in a stake net near Port Ling on 22nd September, 1900 (Service, *A.S.N.H.*, 1901, p. 81).

Discussion.

There is little doubt that these records do not represent all the rare fishes caught in the Solway and Wigtownshire area, as not all fishermen are sufficiently interested to preserve rarities, and, furthermore, stranded specimens are frequently mutilated or completely devoured by predators before they can be retrieved. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the specimens which do survive to be identified represent a good sample of the rare fishes of the area.

When compared with the rare fishes of the Scottish area as a whole, the Solway and Wigtownshire list reveals some remarkable features. On the positive side the most outstanding of these is undoubtedly the preponderance of specimens of the Scombridæ or tunny family. The British list of fishes contains seven different species of Scombridæ, to which must now be added the marbled tunny caught in 1951. All but one of these species are represented in the Solway list. Excluding the mackerel, which is widely distributed in British waters, and the common tunny, which annually invades the North Sea via the north of Scotland, records of the remaining rarer species are more numerous from the Solway than from the whole of the remainder of the Scottish area. The swordfish, which resembles the tunnies in its natural habitat and way of life, is represented by six records from the Solway, thus also exceeding in number the records from all other Scottish areas.

The most likely explanation of this apparent preference of the tunnies and swordfish for the Solway seems to lie in the fact that these pelagic, subtropical or tropical fishes are warm water species, whose movements are restrained by temperatures below a certain level. Every summer shoals of tunnies, composed mainly of common tunny and albacore, but no doubt also including numbers of the rarer species, move northwards along the western coasts of Europe. While the common tunny move on and eventually enter the North Sea, the shoals of albacore appear to reach their northern limit in the area south of Eire and west of Cornwall. It is probable that under favourable conditions albacore and other

rarer species penetrate the shallow Irish Sea and occasionally reach its northern boundary, where the colder water of the relatively deep North Channel acts as a barrier and turns the tunnies aside to seek the sun-warmed shallows of the Solway. The fact that many of the records have resulted from strandings suggests that the swift ebb and flow of the tide may also contribute to their capture.

The latter factor may also, to some extent, be responsible for the relatively large number of shark records from such a small area. The thresher shark records in particular represent a high proportion of the Scottish records for this species.

Another feature of the Solway rare fish list is the number of southern forms, some of which are not found elsewhere, and all of which are rare, in Scottish waters. These include species such as painted ray, sting ray, anchovy, red mullet, black bream, greater weever, streaked and yellow gurnards and sand sole. In somewhat the same category are those species which, though rare in the greater part of the Scottish area, yet occur either seasonally or permanently in fair numbers in the Solway and neighbouring waters. These include the pelagic shads, garfish and saury pike, the estuarine bass and grey mullets and the truly indigenous sea horse, scaldfish and solenette.

The most noticeable difference on the negative side between the rare fishes of the Solway and those of Scottish waters in general is the scarcity of deep water pelagic forms other than the tunnies. The absence of Ray's bream, *Brama raii* (Bloch), for example, is particularly surprising considering the frequency with which this widespread, Atlantic form is found off the north-west of Scotland and, in certain years, south into the North Sea. A possible explanation may be that the main migratory movement of Ray's bream to Scottish waters lies in the deep water west of Ireland, but the stranding of specimens on the Cornish coast and in South Wales (Day, 1880-84) shows that some fish do approach the south-western shores of the British Isles and the southern approaches to the Irish Sea. The species is, however, also

missing from the fish fauna of the Isle of Man (Moore, 1937).

The scarcity of the opah and sunfish (one record of each) is also remarkable in view of the numbers recorded from other Scottish waters and of records from the Cornish coast. The absence of the red band-fish, *Cepola rubescens*, L., is also surprising since the Scottish Home Department rare fish records include several of this fish from the Firth of Clyde, and two specimens have recently been taken near the Isle of Man (Colman, 1953).

The complete absence of north Atlantic deep-water forms such as the dealfish, *Trachipterus arcticus* (Brünnich), and ribbon fish, *Regalecus glesne* (Ascanius), is not so unexpected, since their distribution is more northerly than that of the species which have just been considered, and wanderers from their natural habitat would tend to move with the currents in a north-easterly direction towards Orkney and Shetland, from where, indeed, most of our Scottish records have originated.

The record of a single specimen of the northern deep-water Norway haddock is unusual, however, although confirmation of the presence of this species in the Irish Sea is provided by the capture of a specimen 15' N.-W. of the Calf of Man in 1927 (Moore, 1937).

A study of the rare fishes of the Solway and its local waters shows that this area is, in some ways, unique in relation to Scottish waters as a whole. There is little doubt that this is chiefly due to the position of the Solway at the northern end of the shallow Irish Sea and to its separation from the more open Scottish west coast waters by the deep "bottle-neck" of the North Channel. The hydrography of the Solway and of the North Channel has not been studied intensively, and in seeking an explanation for the presence or absence of certain fishes this is perhaps unfortunate. It is known, however, that conditions in the North Channel, and presumably in other neighbouring waters, are occasionally influenced in a striking manner by conditions far out in the open Atlantic. The accumulation of hydrographic knowledge

will undoubtedly lead in time to a better understanding of rare fish records. For the present the important thing is the maintenance of these records.

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The Wintering of the Lesser Black-Backed Gull in Dumfries.

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

With the exception of the maritime Kittiwake, which I have not found nearer Dumfries than Glencaple and Maxwellbank, and then only as dead specimens, all the familiar British gulls may be seen in the town itself, the Great Black-backed occasionally and sometimes frequently during the winter months, the Herring, Black-headed, and Common Gulls regularly but mostly outside their breeding season, and the Lesser Black-backed at all times of the year. These five species disperse to some extent when nesting is over, but the only true migrant amongst them is the Lesser Black-backed Gull, and it is strangely the one species which I can find in the town at all seasons.

My preoccupation with the Lesser Black-backed Gull dates from the time when I took part in a countrywide enquiry of the British Trust for Ornithology into the status of this bird. The enquiry was conducted by Mr J. A. G. Barnes of Arnside, Westmorland, and it was successful in bringing to notice much interesting information about phenomena which had at most only been suspected by a few ornithologists. In his report on the subject, Mr Barnes quoted a number of 19th century authorities, all of whom were apparently under the impression that the bird was a resident, and then referred to more recent writers who mention both a general absence in mid-winter and small isolated companies of adults in certain places at the same time of year.

There are two reports by Mr Barnes to the British Trust for Ornithology, and both of these, which are in the list at the end of this paper, summarise the observations of the many people who aided the enquiry. They show that the Lesser Black-backed Gull begins to leave our shores in June and continues to do so into November, and that the return

migration begins in Mid-February and lasts into May. They also show that a few groups, consisting chiefly of adults, spend the winter in riverside towns where they scavenge for food, but some occur on reservoirs (near Leeds), and some visit the sea shore (Morecambe Bay).

The significance of the wintering habit of some adult Lesser Black-backed gulls is clearly indicated by the late B. W. Tucker in his treatise on species and subspecies (see list of references) and may be roughly described as follows.

Studies of the taxonomy of the two allied species, *Larus argentatus Pontoppidan*, the Herring-Gull, and *Larus fuscus Linnæus*, the Lesser Black-backed Gull, show that there was a common ancestral type in eastern Asia somewhere about the present Bering Sea, and that from this place of dispersal there spread by way of Arctic Canada and Greenland, the cline which reaches the British Isles in the form *Larus argentatus argentatus Pontoppidan*, our familiar Herring-Gull, and by way of Arctic Siberia, the Urals, and the Caspian and Mediterranean seas to the Atlantic, the cline the terminal form of which is now in process of colonising Britain as our Lesser Black-backed Gull, *Larus fuscus grællsii Brehm*. Such a theory is in support of its seasonal withdrawal from our shores. The immature birds, tending more to the ancestral habit, depart en masse, and a few of the adults, always the pioneers, remain throughout the winter. We shall therefore expect a long-term and perhaps very slow increase in the proportion of the British breeding population which winters here instead of emigrating, as perhaps they all did once.

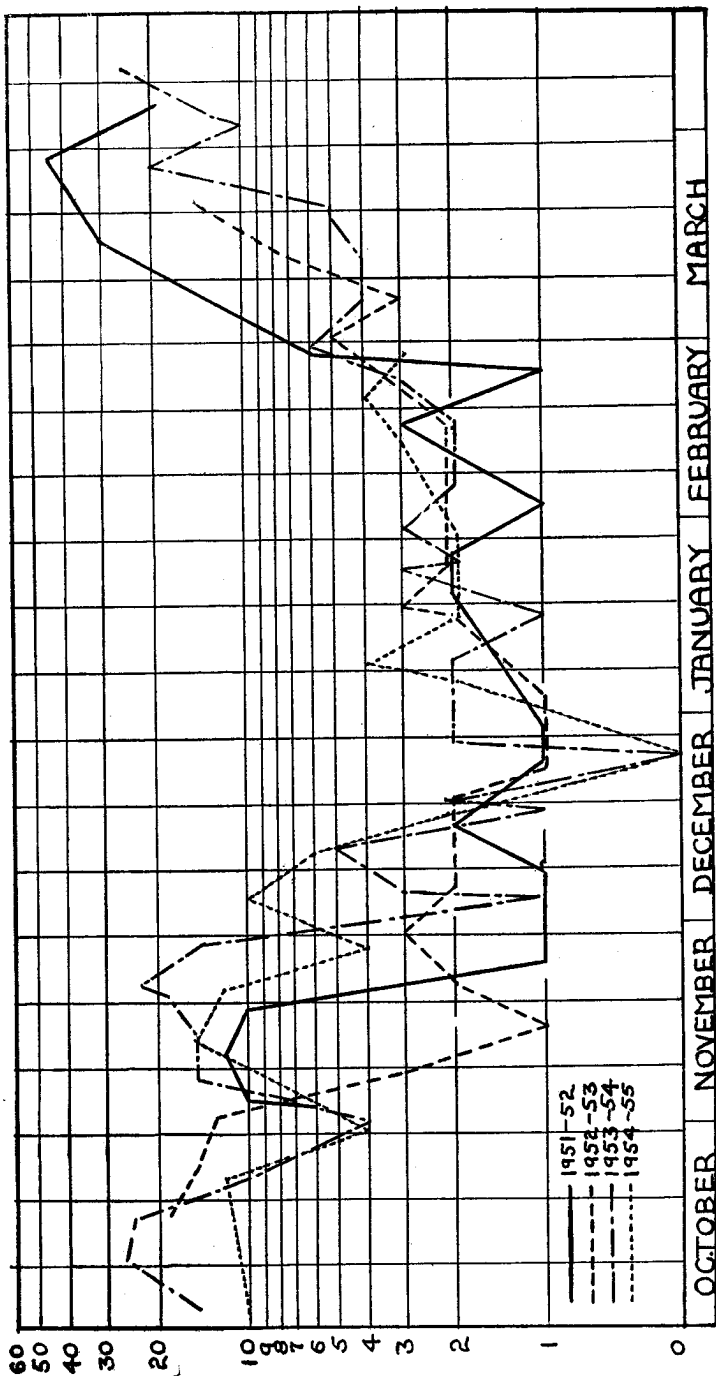
My contribution to the B.T.O. enquiry was a negative one, for my excursions in Ayrshire, where I lived at the time, drew a complete blank. However, when I came to stay in Dumfries in 1951 I found these birds at the riverside in the town, a place so convenient for my study that I decided to keep a close watch on them there to see what I might learn. I have consequently recorded their numbers at approximately weekly intervals during the last four winters, and can now describe the characteristic events in this respect.

Examination of the attached graph will reveal that fair numbers of adults remain in the town until November, and that the bulk exodus may be delayed until quite late in the month. Thereafter only two birds are likely to be seen until the summer visitors begin to arrive about the end of February, or in the early part of March. Closer scrutiny of the graph shows that there is a complicating factor added to that of the departure of our adults. There are peaks which tell us of a partial return of some of the birds, or, what is more likely, of waves of others from farther north calling here on their way south. This will be a very difficult matter to check, but someone, I hope, may be tempted to try.

In different years the final drop to the wintering residuum has taken place at quite different times. In 1952 it took place during the first week of November, and in 1953 during the first week of December. November, 1952, was a hard month, while the early winter of 1953 was rather mild. Since these are the extremes, I conclude that the severity of the weather can influence the final departure of the emigrant population by as much as one month. There appears to be a similar variability in the time of spring immigration, but I have not yet collected sufficient data to show how wide this may be. These phenomena are in broad agreement with the movements described by Barnes.

Regarding the birds themselves, I have found that, once the residents have been finally left behind, they take up independent stances on separate but adjacent stretches of the river, and normally do not associate with each other. One bird has regularly occupied a rooftop and chimney stack above New Bridge, and the other the vicinity of the caul or weir below Devorgilla's Bridge. They spend much of their time passively and appear not to be pressed for food, so it is odd that, being amongst the very few of their kind in the district, they should choose to remain separated by just one eighth of a mile.

The occasional appearance of a third, or even a fourth, bird, suggests to me that there are others living somewhere nearby. Much useful information about this could be col-



NUMBERS OF LESSER BLACK-BACKED GULLS IN DUMFRIES

lected by members of the Society living in the Solway area. It would, for example, be interesting to learn whether these visitors are solitary birds moving from place to place, perhaps with a base in a town like Dumfries, or whether they come from the large pockets of Lesser Black-backs in the North of England. My observations tell me that the birds here tend to be strongly sedentary in winter, so an explanation of the appearance of these others might be of special interest.

The birds spend the day resting, preening, and waiting the advent of food. Quite a lot of refuse is thrown into the river, and the Lesser Black-backs join in the scramble for edible portions. At least one of the birds habitually stands in the fast-running water below the caul on the look-out for living prey besides carrion. I have seen one engulf an eel or lamprey about a foot in length. During the afternoon they leave the town and go to roost elsewhere.

My suspicion that the winter residents are individual pioneers is supported by my notes for 1952-53 and 1953-54, wherein I see that during both of these winters the bird occupying the New Bridge stance had much denser streaking on the head and neck than had its down-stream neighbour. I think it likely that these two have been the same individuals.

In this paper I have attempted to show that it is possible by repeated observations, even close to one's home, to collect information describing natural events which could not otherwise be accurately assessed, and that this information might be part of a world-wide evolutionary study. If my remarks encourage others to look for these birds, I expect a well-detailed picture of their winter behaviour in South-West Scotland to come out of it, and if the B.T.O. Enquiry is repeated about 1959, as Mr Barnes recommended it should be, our local contribution will be a major one.

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ARTICLE 7.

Two Reliquaries Connected with South-West Scotland

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

Objects connected with the medieval cult of relics in Scotland are sufficiently rare to make it desirable that all surviving pieces should be fully published. The present article deals with two such objects. The first, now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, is a fragment from a staff shrine of Celtic type, which was found at Hoddum; it dates from about A.D. 1000. The second, acquired some years ago by the British Museum, is a late 12th century phylactery almost certainly belonging to the Cathedral of Whithorn.

The Society and the writer desire to express their best thanks to all who have made possible this publication. Permission to record the fragment found at Hoddum was willingly granted by the Trustees of the National Museum of Antiquities, which supplied the photographs illustrating this object; gratitude is expressed to the Curator, Mr R. B. K. Stevenson and to Miss Henschall for their assistance. For permission to publish the reliquary attributed to Whithorn thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum, who kindly supplied the photographs, and to the Keeper, Mr R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, who afforded all necessary facilities for the study of the reliquary. The writer also desires to express his deep indebtedness to Professor Francis Wormald, who examined the inscription and interpreted difficult passages, leading to a better identification of the saints, whose relics are enshrined in the phylactery.

I. Fragment of a Staff Shrine found at Hoddum

This bronze mounting came from the collection of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. It was purchased at the sale of his effects, and is listed among the acquisitions of the Society of

Antiquaries of Scotland. When exhibited at the Society's *Conversazione* on the 28 November, 1851, it was described as an "enamelled bronze of the 12th century in the form of a mailed foot, found in the ruins of Hoddam Church."¹ An engraving was subsequently published in the Society's *Proceedings*,² when the real character and date of the mounting had been recognised. In the 1891 Catalogue of the Museum it is described as a "portion of head of bronze crozier with enamelled dragonesque ornamentation found near Hoddam Church."³

The writer of the notice identifying the character of the mounting appears to cast doubt on its provenance; this is not justified. Sharpe was a local man, an omnivorous collector with a flair for acquiring good things. He was a close personal friend of Sir Walter Scott and a noted antiquary in his day. A discovery of this sort made in the first half of the 19th century would be likely to reach his collection, and the character of the bronze is fully in keeping with the recorded note of its discovery.

Confirmation of the existence of a crozier or staff shrine in the Church at Hoddam is provided by a passage in the *Life of St. Kentigern*, written by Jocelyn of Furness in the last quarter of the 12th century. Recording the return of the saint from his exile in Wales, the life describes his preaching at Hoddam, where he was met by king and people. It continues with the statement that St. Kentigern established his See for a time at that place, building churches and ordaining priests, before he returned to "his own city, Glasgow."⁴ In the 12th century the crozier had become the symbol of a Bishop, and the preservation of such a relic associated with the saint in the church at Hoddam could legitimately be interpreted as indicating the former existence of a Cathedral.

Description. Hollow bronze mounting, forming the end

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, i., 9.

² *Ibid.*, xii., 163-4.

³ *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, 286; KC3.

⁴ *Vita Kentigerni*, xxxiii., in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. V., Cf. *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Trans.*, III., xxxi., 176-7.



Plate I.—BRONZE STAFF SHRINE FROM HODDOM.

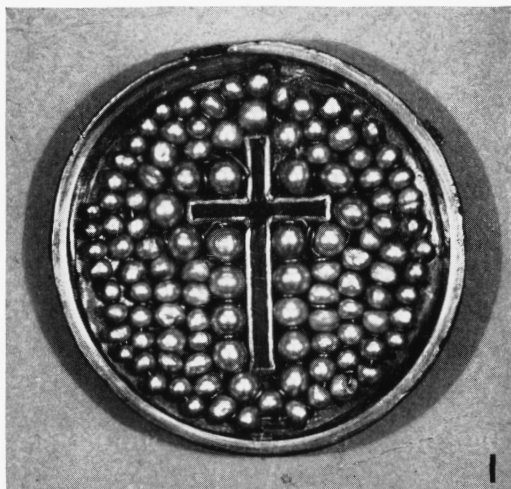


Plate II.—A PHYLACTERY FROM WHITHORN.
[Reproduced by courtesy of the British Museum.]

of a staff shrine, $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 ins. The closed end is flat. The main surface on the inner side of the curved crook has a rounded section with a broad plain band forming a slight central keel. The top is broken and damaged with traces of a knob. The open end, towards the upright of the staff, and the adjacent parts of the surface have been damaged in modern times, but the join at this point was probably original. The outer face was always a separate plate, and is now missing. The structure of the shrine is well illustrated by the earlier crozier of St. Fillan,⁵ also in the National Museum of Antiquities and by the Irish crozier of St. Mel.⁶

The whole surface of the curved inner side of the mounting is divided into panels by flat bands; the end forms a single panel. The bronze of the bands and the panels are elaborately inlaid with silver niello. On each side of the central keel, the ends and the main points of intersection of the bands are marked by circular cup-shaped hollows, with slight holes piercing the metal. In origin such hollows were functional to hold pins fastening the mounting on to the wooden staff. In the present example the number is too large; they were intended to carry studs of metal, enamelled or inlaid, or settings of glass or stone.⁷

The panels are filled with interlaced designs, bronze on a background of silver. A detailed description of these designs is not necessary, as they can be seen on the accompanying photograph. The irregular form and arrangement of the panels and the settings emphasising the divisions may be compared with the Irish crozier of St Mel dated by Raftery to the 11th century.⁸ The designs in the individual panels also resemble those on the same crozier, though the execution of the Irish work is rather more stiff and formal. The end of the Hoddon mounting has a tightly-woven interlaced beast; the thick contorted body is bound by thinner bands, a

⁵ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, xii., 166; pl. vi.

⁶ A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, pl. 73, 3 and 76

⁷ Cf. the glass setting in the crozier head of unknown provenance in the National Museum of Ireland (Mahr, *op. cit.*, pl. 86, 2) and the non-functional hollows flanking the drop of the Prosperous Crozier (*ibid.*, pl. 74).

⁸ Mahr, *op. cit.*, 158.

well-known 10th century motif influenced by the Jellinge style of Scandinavia and illustrated in Northern England on carvings like the Sockburn Cross and the grave cover at St. Denis, York.⁹ The zoomorphic designs in other panels of the Hoddum mounting belong to the same family. But the form of these beasts is Insular,¹⁰ not Scandinavian, going back to models found in metal work of an age preceding the Danish invasions. The interlace on the Hoddum mounting, tightly packed and contorted, is late in the series, with an occasional use of pellets and leaf-shaped terminals. Finally a single panel near the end has a schematic pattern suggesting the breakdown of an organic design, possibly a human figure. All these details confirm the dating indicated by the Jellinge influenced animals and point to a date after rather than before 1000. The eclectic character of the art is in keeping with the mixed culture of Dumfriesshire at that date.

Staff Shrines.

The Hoddum mounting is the end of a shrine, which encased the wooden staff of the saint. The type of staff is well described in the account of the crozier of St. Moluach, "a plain curved staff, 2 ft. 10 ins. in length, not very unlike the 'shinty' we used at the high school long ago. It has been covered with copper and very probably gilt and perhaps has had some metal ornament at each end."¹¹ Such a staff is illustrated in the miniature of St. Luke in the late 9th century Gospels of Mac Durnan.¹² In origin the staff or bachall (from the Latin: baculus) used by the Celtic saint was the severely practical adjunct of the missionary. It early became emblematic of the bishop or abbot and seems to have been regarded as the symbol of the "principate" of the head of a monastery.¹³ From an early date these staffs

⁹ T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pl. lxii. and lxiii.

¹⁰ The Irish version of these beasts may be seen on the Innisfallen Crozier (Mahr, *op. cit.*, pl. 89, 2)

¹¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, ii., 13.

¹² Leclercq et Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, iii., 3151; fig. 3433 (s.v. Crosse); for date see Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, 105 and 248.

¹³ Cf. the term *princeps* for the head of a monastery in *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 856 and in the Book of Llandaff.

were preserved as personal relics, and, like other relics, they were enshrined or adorned with metal. The earliest surviving portion of such a shrine is the mounting found at Stavanger, which is Irish work of the 8th century.¹⁴ The Irish type of "crozier head" in the National Museum of Antiquities belongs to the first half of the 9th century.¹⁵ The greater number, like the fragment found at Hoddom, date from the 11th century.

II. A Phylactery belonging to Whithorn

This reliquary was purchased by the British Museum in 1946 from the representatives of a family, in whose possession it had been for more than 50 years. No information is available to indicate its previous ownership. The reliquary was published in the *Museum Quarterly* shortly after its acquisition.¹⁶

Description. Circular reliquary of gold 5 cm. in diameter and now 3 cm. deep. Three small fragments of the true Cross, set in the form of a Latin cross and framed in gold, are fixed to a circular disc of the same metal. The cross is surrounded with pearls, covering the whole surface of the gold disc, to which they are sewn with gold wire. The disc is set in a ring of gold 0.8 cm. wide. The outer surface has an inscription on a plain band between the moulded edges of the ring. The front of the disc is covered with a domed block of crystal 1.2 cm. high set in a gold mount fitting with a screw thread into the encircling ring. At the top a small knob, semi-circular in section and also with a screw thread on the circumference, projects from the ring. A similar knob, now missing, on the mounting of the crystal, allowed the reliquary to be closed with a nut screwed down over the knobs. The crystal acts as a magnifying glass increasing the apparent size of the gold-framed relic and its setting of pearls.

The back of the disc, now showing the rough wire

¹⁴ Mahr, *op. cit.*, pl. 27, 2; cf. pp. 58 and 122.

¹⁵ Mahr, *op. cit.*, pl. 71, 2; cf. pp. 58 and 123.

¹⁶ *British Museum Quarterly*.

stitches securing the pearls, was covered with a second disc, also of gold, which is separately preserved. It is 4.8 cm. in diameter and damaged at the edges. The face of this disc is covered with a number of small settings, some empty, others still holding relics. A small equal armed cross, now empty, occupies the centre of the disc within a circular setting; this probably held a further fragment of the True Cross. Around it are a ring of 11 cells for separate relics. Four, slightly larger, are placed opposite the arms of the central cross. The other seven, irregular in size and shape, are set between. Seven of these cells still hold small fragments of bone or horn. The whole of this disc must originally have been covered either with a gold lid or, more probably, with another setting of crystal. From the enclosing ring and equidistant from the knob, spring the remains of two attachments, also of gold. These were originally loops or hooks, to which would have been attached a chain, for the suspension of the reliquary. The remains of these hooks are roughly executed, but they are an original feature, as the inscription is interrupted at these points.

The Relic List.

On the plain band forming the central part of the enclosing ring is the inscription incised in an early form of Lombardic lettering. This lettering and the general design of the reliquary point to a date in the last quarter of the 12th century. The inscription reads:

+ SE XPSTI : NINIANI : (space for hook) ANDRE EX
MAURIS : GEORGII : MERG' : D'NOR' : FERG' :
BO (hook) NEF' : SE MARIE

The titles are separated by short horizontal strokes, three or more in number (represented in the transcript by a colon); the words within the titles are not separated in the original. The apostrophe in the transcript represents a mark of suspension, resembling a large comma pendant from the upper margin. The inscription may be expanded to read: *Crucis sancte Christi : Niniani : Andre ex Mauris : Georgii : Margarete : Domini Norberti : Fergusiani : Bonifatii : Sancte Marie*. It is clearly a list of the saints, whose relics are included

and the string of titles in the genitive case are grammatically dependent on an understood noun, such as Reliquiæ. It is a more durable form of the attestation on parchment often found within a reliquary, authenticating the objects enshrined.

The list of relics starts with the True Cross, which is written at the top of the circle next to the knob which closed the cover. On the other side of the knob the inscription ends with the title of the Blessed Virgin, ensuring that the names of Christ and His Mother should be recorded in the place of honour. These two relics alone are distinguished by the adjective holy (*sancte*). The relic of the True Cross was probably obtained through Holyrood Abbey, Edinburgh, a foundation to which Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and his son, Uchtryd, were generous benefactors.¹⁷ The second place in the list is held by St. Ninian, the founder of Whithorn, the church in which his body lay enshrined; this place at the head of the list, immediately following the title of the Cross, indicates that the reliquary was prepared for a church closely connected with the cult of St. Ninian. St. Andrew of the Moors is an allusion to the apocryphal Acts of Matthew and Andrew, recording the missionary activities of these Apostles in the land of Myrmydonia.¹⁸ The Greek legend was probably transmitted to Saxon England through a Latin translation, now lost. It formed the basis of vernacular versions such as the Andreas poem in the Vercelli Codex and the Homily in the Blickling Ms,¹⁹ both dating in their present form from the 10th century. The old connections between Whithorn and the Northumbrian Church, especially the connection with the School of York,²⁰ would explain the knowledge of this legend at Whithorn. The poetical use of *maurus* in the sense of African is classical; medieval geography placed the fabled land of Myrmydonia in remoter Africa. St. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr of Antioch in Pisidia, who is commemorated in the Calendar of New Ferns

¹⁷ *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Trans.*, III., xxvii., 104.

¹⁸ Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 132.

¹⁹ *Early English Text Society*, nos. 58, 63 and 73, p. 228.

²⁰ *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Trans.*, III., xxvii., 95.

and other Scottish calendars²¹ on July 20, is intended, rather than Queen Margaret of Scotland (ob. 1093). whose canonisation took place only in 1251. St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg and founder of the Order of Præmonstratensian canons, is certainly recorded under the abbreviation D'NOR'. With the exception of the well recognised abbreviation for sancte, all the other contractions in the list are by curtailment of the end of the name; it would therefore be anomalous to read D . . . nor. Moreover, the only name appearing in Scottish Calendars which would so expand is the extremely doubtful St. Donort, who does not appear in a genuine medieval record.²² Dominus Norbertus is a normal 12th century form, used among others by St. Bernard²³ and remaining in use until the canonisation of St. Norbert in the 16th century. The inclusion of his relics in a list of the late 12th century points to a Præmonstratensian house.²⁴ St. Fergustian (the form is taken from the Calendar of Aberdeen) or St. Fergus was a Pictish Bishop of the early 8th century.²⁵ His inclusion in a Whithorn list is to be explained by the refoundation of that church by Fergus, Lord of Galloway,²⁶ who would certainly seek a relic of the saint, whose name he bore. St. George and St. Boniface call for no comment.

The combination, in a late 12th century relic list, of St. Ninian in the leading place and Archbishop Norbert, implies an origin in a Præmonstratensian house, closely connected with the cult of St. Ninian. The only church which fills these conditions is Whithorn, for the daughter foundation of New Ferns dates after 1220, too late for the style of the reliquary. It must therefore be attributed to the Cathedral of Whithorn and probably to the second Bishop

²¹ A. P. Forbes, *Calendars of Scottish Saints*.

²² *Ibid.*, 326.

²³ *Sancti Bernardi epistolæ*, viii. art. lvi.; cf. *Acta Sanctorum, Junii*, i., 795.

²⁴ The only mediaeval Scottish calendar which notices Archbishop Norbert is that of New Ferns, a Præmonstratensian house and daughter of Whithorn, which has the entry *Commemoratio Norbarti* on 6th June.

²⁵ Forbes, *op. cit.*, 336.

²⁶ *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Trans.*, III., xxvii., 103.

of the revived line, Christian (1154-86), who was commemorated at Prémontr  as a founder of the Pr monstratensian house and who clearly had a particular devotion to this Order.

Phylacteries.

This reliquary belongs to the class known as a phylactery. The phylactery is defined by the ecclesiological encyclop dist, Durand of Mende, as a vessel of silver, gold, crystal, ivory or some such material, in which are conserved ashes or relics of the saints.²⁷ They were used for the preservation and exposition of lesser relics, which were possessed in great numbers by the more important churches. William I. of England on his deathbed charged his son and heir to present to Battle Abbey, among other gifts, 300 phylacteries of gold and silver, many of them with gold or silver chains, the whole having formed part of the treasure of the Saxon kings.²⁸ Dr. Rose Graham quotes from the early Customs of Cluny, where the warden of the church is instructed to issue a phylactery to each of the monks walking in the Rogationtide procession.²⁹ The 14th century inventory of Durham includes a number of lesser relics kept in boxes of ivory or flasks (folis) of crystal.³⁰ This term may be compared with the older ampulla also used for this purpose; it is likely that the flasks of Durham were not very different from the phylactery. Finally there is the evidence from Whithorn itself. The Treasurer's Accounts in 1501 and 1506 show that during the visits of James IV. the King made offerings not only at the "towme" or "ferter" (i.e., the shrine of St. Ninian, where his body lay), but at the reliques;³¹ this suggests that at some point in the church away from the shrine there was a collection of smaller relics, probably including those in this phylactery.

²⁷ Durandus *Rationale*, I., 3: Philateria vero est vasculum de argento vel auro vel cristallo vel ebore et hujusmodi in quo sanctorum cineres vel reliquiae reconduntur.

²⁸ *Historia Fundationis Monasterii de Bello*, ed Brewer, 37.

²⁹ *Arch ologia*, lxxx., 149, quoting Albers, *Consuetudines monasticae*, ii., 23.

³⁰ *Surtees Society*, ix., 427.

³¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ii., 72 (1501) and iii., 380 (1506).

William Paterson and the Dumfries Election of 1708.

By G. PRATT INSH, C.G.E., D.Litt.

I.

In May, 1708, William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England and inspirer of the Darien Expeditions, stood as a candidate for the Dumfries Burghs—Dumfries, Sanquhar, Kirkcudbright, Annan, and Lochmaben—in the first election for the House of Commons of the British Parliament. The Dumfries Election resulted in a double return.

The history of this controverted election has a twofold interest. It reveals in clear detail the Parliamentary procedure for dealing with such a contingency. It adds one more episode to the long story of blows inflicted on Paterson by an unkind Fate. "To my great grief," wrote the Supercargo of one of the ships of the Company of Scotland that in 1702 crashed on a reef off Malacca, "the concerns of our Company and those concerned it seem to me so very unprosperous as if Fate had declared itself a Violent revengeful Enemy."¹ What seemed to the Supercargo characteristic of the history of the Company appears to the student of the life of Paterson not less typical of the varied career of the financial pioneer who gave the great Company of Scotland its organisation and inspired its Directors with the Dream of Darien.

We learn first of Paterson's political aspirations from a letter he wrote from his house in Westminster on 10th April, 1708. This letter he addressed to "The right honourable the Earle of Annandale, to be left at Mr Robert Johnston's, in the next door to the Black Boy in Pell Mell, Westminster, London."

"Being advised," Paterson wrote, "by some of my friends to offer my service to the canton or class of Dumfries as their

¹ Darien Shipping Papers (Sco. Hist. Soc.), p. 241.

representative in parliament, and well knowing your lordship's interest and influence there, I hereby apply myself to you, for your countenance, without which I cannot expect success therein to my satisfaction.

" If my business in parliament had been done six weeks, or two months sooner, I should have had an invitation from a place much nearer London; but that being out for this time, my eye fell next on the place of my birth, where I should most of all rejoice in being usefull.

" If my friends think fit to choose me there, it will naturally bring me to lay myself out as much as possible for procuring the good of that part of the country, particularly of the several boroughs, towards which the justice, favour and regard I have lately had from the parliament of Great Britain will very much contribute.

" I pray your lordship would favour me with a line of advice, in this matter, and wherein I can serve your noble family, be assured of the utmost affection and diligence from, my lord, your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

" Willm Paterson." 2

II.

By this time the dream of Darien had long faded and its place had been taken by the grim memories of the dismal realities of the Isthmus. But, in terms of Article XV. of the Treaty of Union, the shareholders of the Company of Scotland — " the adventurers in the joynt-stock " — had received generous compensation from the Equivalent, which Paterson had helped to calculate. The references in his letter to his relations to the Parliament of Great Britain concern, however, not his work as a financial consultant at the time of the Union but the assistance he received later in an entirely personal difficulty.

By a characteristic gesture of irony, Fate refused the accountant who had helped to assess the Equivalent any aid from it. On the rather specious ground that Paterson was a London shareholder, the Directors of the Company of

Scotland maintained that he was not entitled to receive compensation: they even declared that Paterson, whom they held responsible for the loss of £8000 sterling of their funds, was greatly in their debt. Finding he could obtain no satisfaction from the Company, Paterson appealed to Parliament.

On 26th February, 1707/8, a Petition of William Paterson, Esq., was presented to the House and read. It set forth, "that he hath been at great Expence and Pains, and sustained very considerable Losses, on account and at the Instance of the African and Indian Company of Scotland: That by the 15th Article of the Treaty of Union it was agreed, that, after the necessary allowance for the Losses private Persons might sustain in reducing the coin of Scotland to the Standard of England, the Capital Stock of the said Company, together with Interest at Five per Cent., should be paid out of the Equivalent: And praying that his Claims to Moneys for his Services and Losses may be considered, and he be satisfied out of the Equivalent Money."³

The House referred the Petition to a Committee. On 17th March they instructed the Committee to present their Report when the Bill for the further directing the payment of the Equivalent Money should be read the second time. The following day the Bill was down for its second reading. The Committee reported that Paterson should receive the payment claimed. The House agreed and gave instructions "that it be Referred to the Committee of the Whole House, to whom the Bill for the further directing the Payment of the Equivalent Money is committed, to receive a Clause, to enable the said Commissioners to state the Petitioner's Account, according to the said Resolution."⁴

The Act received the Royal Assent on 1st April, 1708. On 10th April Paterson wrote to the Earl of Annandale.

III.

Paterson was not so fortunate with his next Petition. It came before the House of Commons on 23rd November,

³ Journals of the House of Commons, xv., 577.

⁴ J.H.C., xv., 616.

1708. It dealt with the Double Return for the Dumfries Burghs. It recounted a very strange story.

On 26th May the Commissioners from the five burghs met, "in order to chuse a Burgess, to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borroughs": Mr William Copland for Dumfries; Captain Hugh Fullerton for Kirkcudbright; Mr William Johnston for Annan; Mr Andrew Johnston for Lochmaben; Mr William Alves for Sanquhar. Encouraged by the support of his Dumfries friends and relying on the influence of the Earl of Annandale, Paterson anticipated no difficulty in securing his return: "the Petitioner was a Candidate for the said Borroughs, and ought to have been returned alone for the said Borroughs." But he found unexpected opposition on the part of William Johnston, who put himself forward as a candidate and had the support of Andrew Johnston and Hugh Fullerton: "and they, and he himself, have elected and returned him, with the Petitioner, thereby making a double Return, to the Petitioner's great Wrong: And praying such Relief in the Premises, as to the House shall seem meet."

William Johnston's was much more positive in his attitude. In assuming the status of a candidate, he refused to divest himself of that of an elector. "The Return is very unjust," his Petition maintained, "the Petitioner being unquestionably elected by Three of the said Five Burghs: and believe this Return is maliciously made by the Sheriff Deputy of the County, and Town Clerk of Dumfries, to put the Petitioner to Charges, who used all possible means with them to make such Just Return, as the Law required, but they would not; whereupon the Petitioner entered his Protestation against their unjust Proceedings — "That it appears by the said Return, that the Petitioner was duly elected by Three of the said Five Burghs: And praying that he may be allowed to take his Place in the House, or be otherwise returned, as shall be thought fit."'⁵

The new parliament of Great Britain, for which Paterson and William Johnston were rival candidates, held its

⁵ Journals of the House of Commons, xvi., 9.

first meeting on Tuesday, the 16th of November. The reason of the long interval that had elapsed between the Election of early summer and the assembly of Parliament was explained in the opening address of the Lord High-Chancellor, who spoke in the name of the Lords Commissioners, acting under the Authority given to him by Her Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal:

"We are, by Her Majesty's Command, in the First Place, to observe to you, that the extraordinary Length of this year's Campaign, hath obliged her Majesty to defer your Meeting longer than otherwise she would have done, that you might be inform'd with the greater Certainty, of the State and Posture of the War, in order to your Resolutions for the ensuing Year."⁶

After choosing their Speaker, the Commons adjourned to the 18th of November. The Members of the House of Commons spent three or four days in qualifying themselves by taking and subscribing the Oaths. When they assembled for formal business on 22nd November, the first thing they did was to vote an Address to the Queen, to "console her upon the Death of Prince George; to desire she would take care of her Royal Person, and to assure her, that they would support her against all her Enemies."

Next day the Commons dealt with the Double Return for the Burghs of Dumfries. The Petitions of Paterson and Johnston were read. The House ordered that:

"The Merits of the said Return be heard upon this Day Seven-night, being the 30th Day of November instant;

"The consideration of the said Petitions, touching the Merits of the said Election, be adjourned until after the Merits of the Return be heard."⁷

When on Tuesday, 30th November, the House proceeded to the hearing of the Merits of the Double Return, Counsel were called in and the Petitions were again read.

⁶ Boyar, A., *Queen Anne*, p. 359.

⁷ J.H.C., xvi., 9.

By a majority of 20 (168-148) the House:

"Resolved, That William Johnston, Esquire, is duly returned a Commissioner to serve in this present Parliament for the Burgh of Dumfries.

"Ordered, That the Clerk of the Crown do attend this House To-morrow Morning, to rase out that Part of the Return, which relates to Mr Paterson.

*"Ordered, That the Merits of the Election for the said Burgh be heard upon Tuesday, the 21st day of December next."*⁸

On 1st December the Clerk of the Crown attended, according to Order, and amended the Return for the Burgh of Dumfries. It was not, however, till Tuesday, 25th January, 1708/9, that the House proceeded to the final stage of the investigation. On that day Paterson's Petition was once more read; Counsel were in part heard: some witnesses were examined. On Thursday, 27th January, the inquisition was resumed; counsel were again heard; some more witnesses were examined on behalf of Paterson. Then the House

*"Resolved, That William Johnstone, Esquire, is duly elected a Commissioner to serve in this present Parliament for the Burgh of Dumfreize."*⁹

Despite the ostentatious parade of parliamentary meticulousness and impartiality the whole protracted business was an elaborate and cynical mockery. "When the new House met," writes our greatest authority on the England of Queen Anne, "the election petitions were carried by the votes of the House in favour of 'Whigs and Courtiers,' as shamelessly as the Tories had carried them on former occasions. Bishop Burnet, who, strong partisan as he was, had always some sense of decency and fair-play, was shocked at the injustice of his own side. There was no doubt who had won the General Election."¹⁰

⁸ J.H.C., xvi., 25.

⁹ J.H.C., xvi., 72.

¹⁰ G. M. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, II., 332.

Paterson had been the victim—and not for the first time—of social and political forces of whose strength and ruthlessness he had but a blurred and hazy conception.

IV.

Paterson's discomfiture at Westminster did not deprive him of the confidence and the esteem of his Dumfries friends and supporters. "We are very sorry," the Magistrates of Dumfries wrote to him on 9th February, 1708/9, "that you prevailed not to be representative of our 5 burghs. However, seeing Mr Wm. Johnston represents who, being no friend to us will be endeavouring to advance Kirkcudbright and Annandale upon our ruine, we desire you will (as formerly), espouse our interest as far as you may and can do, and especially in that juncture when (as we are informed) My Lord Marquess of Annandale and Mr Wm. Johnston have caused the town of Annan to send up their Charter to be ratified by the British Parliament, with the addition of several new privileges and particularly a heavy imposition or custom on all who pass the bridge of Annan, which ought to be free to all the lieges and subjects, because one Dr. Robert Johnston having mortified a thousand pounds Sterling for building thereof the same was uplifted but, as we are informed, was not applied for that use, which with the interest thereof since uplifting and in time coming, would not only have built the bridge but kept it in repair for ever.

"And we doubt not but Captain Fullerton will be proposing some advantages for Kirkcudbright to our prejudice. So we desire you will concern yourself in behalf of this town to oppose any projects for Kirkcudbright and Annan having any privileges granted to them at this time, and that you will give us timeous notice of any such design.

"And likewise we desire you to promote the establishment of a post betwixt Carlisle and this Town, according to the Scheme which you have.

"We have written to Lieutenant Collonel Stewart, Representative of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and to Lag, to befriend us in all these things. So we desire you

will discourse with them thereanent and give us your Advice therein. The Town Reposes intire trust in you that you will not see them wronged at this critical juncture, which will be a further obligation put by you on them."¹¹

It is altogether unlikely that at this time Paterson was able to do anything to help his Dumfries friends. He was indeed making little headway with his own affairs:

But al be that he was a philosophre
Yet haddé he but litel good in cofre.

It required ten long years and three Acts of Parliament of the reign of George I.—a private Act of the first year of the reign, a Public Statute of 1716¹² and another of 1718¹³—before his claim of £18,241 10s 10½d could be met.

With his mind at length free from financial anxiety, Paterson betook himself, on a July afternoon in 1718, to the Ship Tavern without Temple Bar and made his Will. The legacies he left to his two nephews and his two nieces, children of his late sister Janet (who had married Thomas Mounsey), and to his only surviving sister, Elizabeth, married to John Paterson, younger of Kinharvey, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, provide an interesting sequel to his Dumfries candidature of ten years before. In his long commercial and financial Odyssey he had seen much of the world: London, Amsterdam, New England, Berlin, Edinburgh, the Caribbean, the Isthmus of Darien. After his wanderings and his vicissitudes he found his thoughts turning back to the home of his childhood from which he had been parted so long. If he had possessed that acquaintance with the Humanites which Burnet declared he lacked, he might have found himself murmuring:

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnis
angulus ridet.

¹¹ From a scroll copy in the Dumfries Burgh Archives.

¹² 3, Geo. I., c. 14.

¹³ 5, Geo. I., c. 20.

Paterson of Kinhervie.

By R. C. REID.

The following notes are the result of a search made in hopes of establishing the connection of the Patersons in Skipmyre with the Patersons of Kinhervie. So far it has not been successful, though the tradition that they were cousins is probably accurate.

It is not known where the family of Paterson of Kinhervie originated. But it is likely that they sprang from a long line of Dumfries burgesses. Certainly the branch of the Patersons of a later date who were centred at Kelton (Dumfries) were probably descended from the William Paterson, burgess of Dumfries, who lent 100 merks to John Maxwell of Kirkconnell and was infeft in an a/r of 12 merks scots furth of the 6 merkland of Kelton in August, 1581.¹ The Christian name of Walter is common to the Terrauchtie, Kelton, and Kinhervie families.

The lands of Kinhervie lay in the parish of New Abbey, and were church lands of that abbey. In 1547 John, abbot of Sweetheart, admitted his father, Thomas Broun of Land, and his heirs as kindly tenants of a £10 land that included the £3 land of Lochill and the 40/- land of Kinhervie,² which tenancy was converted into a feu in 1559.³ In 1612 John Broun of Land granted the 40/- land of Kinhervie and Clokcloy to his brother, Gilbert Broun of Largis,⁴ who in 1617 resigned it in favour of Mr John Hay, town clerk of Edinburgh, who was infeft on 18 January, 1618, John Paterson in Kinhervie acting as bailie.⁵

The Patersons must have got their first footing in Kinhervie when Walter Paterson married Nicholace Broun. Walter Paterson was in Kinhervie as early as 1583, when

¹ Kirkconnell writs.

² Laing charters, 532.

³ Ibid., 701.

⁴ Ibid., 1643.

⁵ Ibid., 1790.

he was denounced rebel for not bearing witness in a deforcement action relating to the teinds of New Abbey.⁶ Walter was dead by November, 1617,⁷ being survived by his wife. Six sons are recorded of the union:

- (i.) John Paterson in Kinhervie, of whom hereafter.
- (ii.) Cuthbert Paterson, mentioned with his brothers and father in a charge of violent molestation of William Newall in New Abbey.⁸
- (iii.) Thomas Paterson of Auchingray, apparently a natural son,⁹ was infeft on 20 May, 1618, by his brother, Archibald, in a 5/- land of Carsgowane.¹⁰ Thomas had some matrimonial troubles. The name of his lawful wife, if he had one, has not come down to us. But he and one Margaret Broun claimed to be spouses. In 1627-8 Thomas failed to answer a charge of Cohabitation and adultery.¹¹ In 1630 things came to a head, and he had to find his son-in-law, Thomas Clerk, as surety in £500 that he would cease living with Margaret, his "pretendit spouse," whilst Margaret was to be lodged in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh till she renounced a decret of adhesion secured by her in collusion with Thomas as "pretendit spouse."¹² After some months in the Tolbuith, Margaret was set at liberty, having renounced the decret and enacted herself under penalty of £500 from further cohabitation with Thomas.¹³ Thomas had a son named Edward.¹⁴
- (iv.) Archibald Paterson of Carsgowane, who held by assignment a wadset for 400 merks on a 10/- land of Carsgowane from Florence Broun and her son, John Broun of Shambellie.¹⁵

⁶ Acts and Decrees, vol., 95; f., 278.

⁷ P.R.S., I., f., 7.

⁸ Kirkcudbright Reg. of Hornings, 8 Oct., 1618.

⁹ Laing charters, 2015.

¹⁰ P.R.S., I., f. 77.

¹¹ R.P.C., 2nd series, II., 129, 202.

¹² Ibid., III., 445.

¹³ Ibid., III., 572.

¹⁴ P.R.S., IV., f. 299.

¹⁵ P.R.S., I., f. 7.

(v.) Robert Paterson of Barley, infeft by his brother, John Paterson of Kinhervie, in the 20/- lands of Barley and the Brighthouse croft.¹⁶ He married Helen Thomson and had a son, John.¹⁷

(vi.) Richard Paterson.¹⁸

John Paterson (i.) of Kinhervie must have had his tenancy turned into a feu, and seems to have entailed the property of Kinhervie and Clokcloy to his two sons, whom failing to his brother, Robert of Barley.¹⁹ He married Helen Murray,²⁰ and was dead by 1637, with issue:

(i.) John Paterson (ii.) of Kinhervie, of whom hereafter.

(ii.) Gilbert Paterson, mentioned in the entail.

John Paterson (ii.) of Kinhervie was infeft in the estate on 10 August, 1637,²¹ and two years later, with consent of his curators, John Turner of Ardwell and Thomas Paterson, his uncle, infeft William Hendrie, son of Michael Hendrie, wright in Mylnehill of Drummilling, under wadset for 500 merks. He was dead by 1672, and the name of his wife has not been ascertained. His issue was:

(i.) John Paterson (iii.) of Kinhervie, of whom hereafter.

(ii.) James Paterson in Cullindoch may have been a son of John Paterson (ii.) of Kinhervie, as he frequently figures in the records relating to Kinhervie. He had a son, Adam Paterson in Cullindoch, who married (contact dated 25 March, 1692) Marion, daughter of Thomas Maxwell of Little Beoch.²² The spouses in 1695 secured a wadset on the lands of Crofts.²³ They had a son, John Paterson, infeft in an a/r from Margley.²⁴ It is possible that James was the same as

¹⁶ P.R.S., II., f. 133.

¹⁷ P.R.S., iv., f. 269.

¹⁸ Kirkcudbright Hornings, 8th Oct., 1618.

¹⁹ P.R.S., iv., f. 269.

²⁰ P.R.S., ii., f. 183, but, described as Helen Muligane in G.R.S., vol., 20, f. 279.

²¹ P.R.S., iv., f. 269.

²² P.R.S., 7th April, 1692.

²³ P.R.S., 8th Jan, 1696.

²⁴ P.R.S., 5th August, 1702.

James Paterson in Cullingruch, who died in March, 1693.²⁵ If so, his wife was Janet Grinlaw, who died in November, 1691, and his mother was Janet Cuitlar, and he had the following children: James, his executor; John, Adam, Thomas, Janet, Nicholas, and Robert.

John Paterson (iii.) of Kinhervie married Margaret Alect, 2nd daughter of Robert Alect of Edinghame (contract dated 30 December, 1672), infesting his spouse in an annuity from the 3 merklands (or 40/- lands) of Kinhervie and Clokcloy,²⁶ and obtained a charter of confirmation from the Bishop of Edinburgh.²⁷ In 1684 John Paterson of Kinhervie, James Paterson of Cullendoch, and a number of New Abbey parishioners were summoned to appear at Lochfute before the Commission of Justiciary,²⁸ and as a result, on 9 October, John signed the Test.²⁹ He and his wife were both alive in 1701, when his eldest son was married. Their issue was:

- (i.) John Paterson (iv.) of Kinhervie was a witness in 1678 to his father's charter of Confirmation of Kinhervie. He married (contract dated 19 March, 1701) Bethia, daughter of John Paterson in Skipmyre, when, subject to his parents' liferent, the spouses were infeft in Kinhervie.³⁰ He died in June, 1739, survived by his wife,³¹ called Elizabeth in his testament.
- (ii.) James Paterson, 2nd son, was a witness in his brother's M/C.
- (iii.) Janet Paterson, eldest daughter, married (contract dated 7 September, 1699) John Morisone of Culloch.³²

²⁵ Dumfries Test., 31st March, 1693.

²⁶ P.R.S., 30th June, 1673.

²⁷ P.R.S., 26th November, 1678.

²⁸ R.P.C., 3rd series, VIII., 662.

²⁹ Ibid., X., 226.

³⁰ P.R.S., 31st May, 1701.

³¹ Dumfries Tests., 4th June, 1740.

³² P.R.S., 11th October, 1699.

The family of Skipmyre is much more difficult to elucidate. Being tenants and not owners of Skipmyre, the Land Registers are of no assistance. At the close of the 17th century the farm of Skipmyre, then part of Kirkmichael estate, was tenanted by two members of the Paterson family, John and James. Though proof is lacking, they were apparently brothers, and their paternity is still unestablished, though a John Paterson in Skipmyre, who died on 7 February, 1694,³³ may have been their father.

John Paterson married Bethia Paterson, presumably a cousin, and was alive in 1701, when his daughter Bethia married John Paterson, younger of Kinhervie. Another daughter, Janet, was first wife of Thomas Mounsey, merchant in Skipmyre, from whom the Mounseys in Skipmyre were descended.³⁴ There were probably several sons of John Paterson, for a tombstone ambiguously records James Paterson, who died 5 April, 1694, son of John Paterson in Skipmyre, and John and William Patersons undescribed, but presumably other sons who died young. The only known surviving son was William Paterson, who will always be associated with the founding of the Bank of England. From this it is clear that the family of John Paterson in Skipmyre died out.³⁵

James Paterson in Skipmyre, the presumed brother to John, lived to a great age, dying on 29 May, 1722, age 101, having married Margaret Wilkin, who died in February, 1694, according to the tombstone. Their son, Adam, died on 29 May, 1737, aged 71.

In a Rental of the Barony of Kirkmichael amongst the Forfeited Estate Papers, under the heading "The £10 land of Trailflat," occurs the farm of Skipmyre, tenanted by James and John Patersons and William Graham, paying a

³³ Trailflat tombstones.

³⁴ In 1671 Thomas and James Muncie (or Munsey) in Kirkmichael, were tenants of Sir Robert Dalzell of Glenae, who then owned the Kirkmichael estate (R.P.C., 3rd ser., III., 700-1).

³⁵ John Paterson in Skipmyre is known to have acted as attorney for Robert Carruthers of Rammerscales on 3rd May, 1697 (P.R.S., 2nd ser., V., f. 422).

rent of £21. It is not known who these James and John were, unless sons of the centenarian James. Graham may well have married a daughter of James, for the centenarian had acted as cautioner in the Testament of William Beattie in Skipmyre, who died in 1688, survived by a family and his widow, Janet Paterson.³⁶

³⁶ Dumfries Tests., 8th Febuary, 1689.

Burial Mound, near Gatelawbridge.

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

The site of the mound is about 600 yards south of the deserted house of Highlands, on Townfoot Farm, near Gatelawbridge, in the parish of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire (Fig. I.).¹ The terrain is a ridge about 600 feet above sea level, composed of sandy glacial drift and given over to pasture. The mound, which lies on the western slope of the ridge, not far from the crest, was discovered a few years ago by Mr R. C. Reid, Mr A. E. Truckell, and some pupils of Wallace Hall Academy. The excavation was undertaken by Messrs W. D. Murphy and J. C. Wallace from 31st July, 1954, to 7th August, 1954.

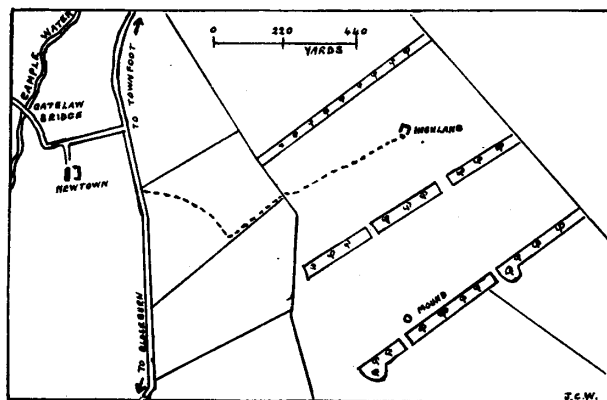


Fig. 1.

The original intention was to cut two trenches, each three feet wide and at right angles to one another, through the mound and its ditch, and to expose a central area 10 feet square. Because of inclement weather, this project had to be curtailed, the area actually excavated being shown on the Plan and Sections (Fig. II.).

¹ Nat. Grid ref. NX 914 958.

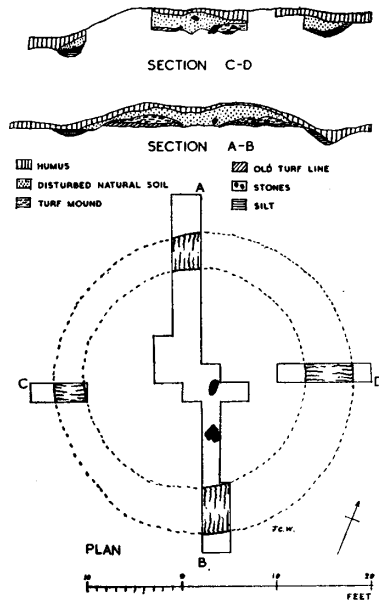


Fig. 2.

Before excavation the site appeared as a mound varying in height from a few inches on the eastern side to some three feet on the west, with a top surface about 14 feet in diameter, and indications of a surrounding ditch. The top had an irregular depression, suggesting that it had suffered interference at some earlier date.

The Ditch.

Excavation revealed a ditch of irregular profile, having a concentric outer lip 32 feet diameter, a width varying from five feet to less than four feet, and a depth varying from 16 inches to 10 inches. Beyond the ditch, the natural soil showed as an orange-yellow sand and gravel. The ditch itself contained dark silt, but this, in Sections C and D, was almost entirely covered by a layer of deep red sand and gravel separating the silt from the topsoil; this feature was repeated in a much smaller degree in Section A.

The Mound.

With the topsoil removed, the mound proved to be covered with the same deep red deposit which overlay the ditch, this deposit merging into the natural soil in the centre of the mound. Lying between the ditch and this central area was a layer of turf having a maximum depth of 12 inches and containing large stones. Underneath this turf layer was a black streak of varying thickness, indicating, presumably, the original turf line. No trace was found of any cist, cremation, nor inhumation.

Conclusion.

As no indication was found of cist, inhumation, cremation, nor grave goods, one cannot confidently assert that the site is that of a barrow or burial mound. Yet it is difficult to see what other purpose the mound could have served. The structure is of the type classified as a Bowl Barrow in "The Bronze Age Round Barrows of Wessex," by L. V. Grinsell.² It would appear to have been formed of a mound of turf, probably covered by the material quarried from the ditch which encircled it.

At some later date, possibly comparatively recently, the barrow seems to have been broken open and robbed. Evidence barrow seems to have been broken open and robbed. Evidence for this is threefold:

- (a) The barrow, when discovered, had a considerable depression in the top.
- (b) The turf mound appears to have been excavated in the centre and refilled with red natural soil.
- (c) The red soil overlying the silt in the ditch must have been thrown there long after the barrow was constructed, and probably is formed of material dug out of the centre of the barrow when it was robbed.

It is interesting to note that Mrs C. M. Piggott, in her report on the "Excavation of 15 Barrows in the New Forest,

² P.P.S., New Series, Vol. VII., pages 73-113.

1941-2,'³ states that a consistent feature of these barrows was that they were composed of a simple turf mound, some 100 feet in diameter, surrounded by a wide, flat-bottomed ditch. Gravel and clay from the ditch was heaped over the turf mound, completed by a covering of loam. With the exception of two, all burials, whether cremation or inhumation, were placed on, not below, the old ground surface. It will be seen that, except for the difference in size, the mound at Townfoot Farm accords well with the description of these New Forest barrows.

Acknowledgments.

Thanks are due to Mr Matthew Weir, of Townfoot Farm, for permission to excavate the site; to Mr R. C. Reid and the Dumfriesshire Educational Trust for financial assistance; to Dr. Mitchell, of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, for identifying samples of soil; and to Mr W. D. Murphy for his help in the work of excavation.

³ P.P.S., New Series, Vol. IX., pages 1-27.

Guisborough and the Annandale Churches.

By the late GEORGE NEILSON and GORDON DONALDSON.¹

Guisborough, a small town in Yorkshire, near the mouth of the Tees, was, Camden truthfully assures us, "very much graced by a beautiful and rich monastery, built about the year 1119 by Robert de Brus, lord of the town." Few great families settling in England after the Norman conquest failed to signalise themselves by some such act of religious munificence. Very many noble buildings which still enrich the English landscape owe their origin to the time when these Norman immigrants had got comfortably into possession, no longer questioned, of extensive manors in the land. A variety of causes induced those grants, often splendid in their generosity. Some writers have endeavoured to trace in them a species of penance, or at least an expression of remorse for the wrong and suffering inflicted by the forcible seizure of England. The evidence is not convincing. It is better to rely on two unquestionable influences—first, the fashion of church-building already in full operation in Normandy before 1066; and, second, the occasion for lively gratitude which the second generation of William the Bastard's followers had in the victorious issue of the adventurous campaign which had made the Norman Duke an English King. It had made, at the same time, younger sons and simple men-at-arms into feudal lords with broad acres. No wonder that such goodly fanes arose. The Church was in its prime of spiritual vigour, and piety found no nobler monument than in these stately houses of God. How true and great was the feeling they voiced one can best appreciate perhaps in such a place as Durham Cathedral, where, as if to symbolise the aims of Christianity itself, built not for time but for eternity, the

¹ This paper reproduces the substance of articles published by Dr Neilson in the *Annandale Observer* of June 19, July 3, 17 and 31, 1896. His commentary has been at points revised, and the charters, which he translated in full, are given in more summary form.

vaulted aisles, mighty pillars, and plain semi-circular arches of the body of the work, produce an unequalled effect of sombre majesty.

The house of Brus made no niggard dedication. "The Abbey Church seems," said Bishop Gibson, "by the ruins, to have been comparable to the best cathedrals in England," and the remains still standing attest his reliability. It was a foundation of Augustinian Canons, dedicated to the Virgin, and it was from time to time enriched by many munificent gifts of lands and revenues from the founder and his descendants. Probably it was very soon after David I. ascended the Scottish throne in 1124 that he granted at Scone to the original Robert de Brus his charter of Annandale, then described as "Estrahanent and all the land from the march of Dunegal of Stranit to the march of Randolph Meschines." The bounds of Annandale were thus, on the west, Nithsdale, then held by its Celtic lord, Dunegal; and on the south, Cumberland, held by Ranulf, "le Meschyn," or the younger, made Earl of Chester by Henry I. Of the ecclesiastical condition of the district at the time nothing is known except for the meagre facts revealed by the Inquest of David,² a half-judicial enquiry taken a few years before the advent of the Brus lords. In that return, the date of which was between 1115 and 1124, the only Annandale possessions of the see of Glasgow were Hodelme, Abermele, Drivesdale, Trevertrold, and, perhaps, Aschbi, i.e., Hoddom, St. Mungo, Dryfesdale, Trailtrow, and Esbie. The old and wise men of Cumbria, forming a kind of jury to answer the enquiries of Prince David, not yet king, certified that these were, or had of old been, the property of the church of Glasgow. Unfortunately they vouchsafed in their certificate no information regarding the extent of these possessions, although in some other cases they recorded particularly a ploughgate and a church as the extent of the interest of the see of Glasgow in the respective places. Over the *lands* which the bishops of Glasgow had in Annandale, Robert de Brus, the first lord, must have acquired proprietary right,

² *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, i., 1.

for the Bishop of Glasgow, between 1141 and 1152, granted to his son, " Rodbert of Brus, in fee, the land of the Church of Glasgow, of Stratanant, to be held as honourably and quietly as his father had held it."³ The *churches*, however, of the places mentioned in David's Inquest remained with the bishop, for in 1170 Pope Alexander III. confirmed the title of the Bishop of Glasgow to various churches, including Hodelme, Casthelmilc, Drivesdale, and Eschebi.⁴ Subsequently the Brus lords made no grant to Guisborough Abbey of any of these churches, a fact showing that their powers of patronage and disposal were confined to the churches which they themselves had erected and did not extend to those which pertained to the bishop.

It was probably not many years before or after 1170 that the first grant of the Annandale churches was made to Guisborough by Robert de Brus. His grandfather was the original Robert; his father, also named Robert, has been for distinction called *primus*, while he himself is called *secundus*. His document is not extant, and its terms can be gathered only from the tenor of the confirmation granted by his son, William, lord of Annandale between 1191 and 1215. This important document forms the first in the series of Annandale charters, collected from various sources, and printed in the *Chartulary of the Priory of Gyseburne*, admirably edited for the Surtees Society by Mr W. Brown. The number of subsequent confirmations may strike the modern reader as savouring of superfluity, but the explanation is simple. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such repeated renewals of grants were customary for several reasons, of which the main one is thought to have been the uncertainty attaching to the power of alienation possessed by landowners. Hence the desirability of obtaining a renewal from the heir of a granter, hence the importance of getting a royal confirmation superadded.

The first charter, No. 1176 in the Surtees Society volume, of date about or shortly before 1200, is here trans-

³ Bain's *Calendar*, i., 30.

⁴ *Registrum Glasguense*, p. 23.

lated from the Latin, but the original document is itself defective:

William de Brus . . . , with advice and assent of Christiana, my wife, . . . [Know that I have granted and confirmed] to God [and the church of St. Mary of Giseburne and the canons serving and to serve God there] the donation which my father, Robert de Brus, made to them, namely, of the church of Anant, and of the church of Lochmaban, and of the church of Kirkepatric, and of the church of Cumbertres, and of the church of Reinpatric, and of the church of Gretenhew, with all the pertinents of each. This grant and donation and confirmation I have made to the foresaid church and canons for the love of God and of the Blessed Mary, and for the weal of my soul and those of my wife and my heirs, and for the souls of my father and of my mother, and of all my ancestors, in free, and quiet, and pure, and perpetual alms. Before these witnesses: Christiana, my wife, William of Heriz, Henry Murdac, Adam of Seton, Leonine, Udard of Hodelm, Hugh Malebisse, Richard the Fleming, Robert, son of Adam of Levington, Walter Heriz, Adam the English, Peter of Uplium, William of Toskotes, Alexander Pugeis, Nicolas of Driffeld, Alan Pulein and William, his son, Osbert, parson (*persona*) of Hilderwell, Michael, parson (*persona*) of Stainwegges.

The grant thus made by Robert de Brus and renewed by William, his son, was confirmed by King William "the Lion";⁵ that king died in 1214, and the list of witnesses in his charter shows that it was granted in the latter half of his reign.

William de Brus was succeeded in 1215 by his son, Robert (*tertius*), who, in a charter of c. 1218, confirmed the grants of his father and grandfather of the Annandale churches, adding "six oxgates of land, five in Stranton and one in Hert, with tofts thereto adjacent and with all their other pertinents, liberties, and easements within the town and without, and all the other lands which Robert de Brus, my grandfather, gave or confirmed to them, and which William, my father, gave or confirmed to them, as well in Herterpol as in all other places."⁶

⁵ *Cartulary*, No. 1177.

⁶ *Cartulary*, No. 1178.

Robert de Brus (*quartus*), the unsuccessful competitor for the Scottish throne, was the son of the granter of the last charter. He also gave his ratification of the title of the priory, in a deed which was at one time supposed to be the original Brus grant.⁷ This charter, being in much fuller terms, is translated in full.⁸

Robert, son of Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale
 [Know that I have granted and confirmed] to God and the church of St. Mary of Gyseburne and the canons serving and to serve God there, the church of Anand, with the lands, teinds and possessions belonging to it; and the church of Logmaban, with lands, teinds, and possessions belonging to it; and the church of Kyrkepatric, with the chapel of Logan and all its pertinents; and the church of Reinpatric and the church of Cumbertres and the church of Gretenhaw, with all their pertinents. To be held and had by God and the foresaid canons and their successors, freely, quietly and honourably, in such wise that it shall be lawful to them in times to come for ever freely to dispose of and ordain concerning the teinds of the foresaid churches according to their pleasure, and to set them to ferm or to give or to sell them to whomsoever they wish and in whatever way they wish and wherever they wish, to make their profit, without hindrance from me and my heirs and our men. I grant also . . . the church of Hert, with the chapel of St. Hylda of Herterpoll and with lands, liberties and possessions to them belonging, and the church of Stranton, with all lands, liberties, and possessions belonging to it. To be held and had by the foresaid canons and the foresaid church freely, quietly and honourably, according to the purport of the charters of my ancestors which they have thereupon, and as I have seen more expressly contained in the same. Wherefore I will and command that the foresaid canons shall have and hold all the aforesaid freely and quietly and honourably as any church most freely and quietly holds any alms. And this grant and confirmation I have made to the foresaid church of Gyseburne and the canons aforesaid, for the love of God and the Blessed Mary, and for the weal of my soul and those of my wife and my children, and for the souls of my father and my mother and all my ancestors, in free and quiet and pure and perpetual alms. In witness whereof to the present writ I have caused my seal to be affixed. Before these witnesses: Sirs John of Bulmer, John of Romundeby, John, son of Marmedoc, Adam of Seton,

⁷ *Reg. Glasguense*, p. xxvi., and No. 546.

⁸ *Cartulary*, No. 1179 (date near, probably before, 1279).

Roger of Kyrkepatric, William Wychard, knights, William of Brus, Master Adam of Kyrkecuthbrith, William, son of Richard, son of Seyr, Richard of Romundeby, John of Redmershyl and others.

In addition, by a separate charter, Robert *quartus* gave to the canons a piece of land in the fields of the town of Annan.⁹ The reference to a grange, to which the land granted was adjacent, suggests that the canons would have premises into which their teinds of the Annandale parishes would be gathered each year at harvest:

Robert, son of Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale
[Know that I have granted] to God and the Church of St. Mary of Giseburne and the canons serving and to serve God there, in free, pure and perpetual alms, a certain meadow in the fields of the town of Anand, viz., that meadow which lies next to the grange of the foresaid canons towards the south (in the town foresaid) and which meadow the procurator of the said canons once held at farm of me for two shillings a year. [Witnesses as in preceding charter.]

Robert de Brus (*quintus*), the Competitor's son, who by marriage became Earl of Carrick and was the father of King Robert I., likewise confirmed the grants made to the priory by his predecessors, but his charter adds nothing to our knowledge of the Scottish properties given to Guisborough.¹⁰

The Guisborough Cartulary preserves also a number of documents illustrative of the relations between the Annandale churches and the bishopric of Glasgow. The first of these records an important agreement which brought to an end a dispute between de Brus and the bishop over the churches which, as previously mentioned, pertained to the latter. The date is c. 1187-89:¹¹

Let all men present and to come know that this is the agreement made between Engelram, bishop of Glasgow, and Robert de Brus (the faith of each party being interposed), and finished and confirmed between Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, and the said Robert de Brus, that, laying to rest the

⁹ *Cartulary*, No. 1181 (date near, probably before, 1279).

¹⁰ *Cartulary*, No. 1180 (date perhaps c. 1295).

¹¹ *Cartulary*, No. 1182; *Reg. Glasg.*, No. 72 (with three witnesses omitted).

quarrel and controversy which was agitated between the bishops of Glasgow and the foresaid Robert de Brus concerning certain lands in Anantdale, Robert (that is, de Brus) gave and granted to God and the church of Glasgow, and Engelram, the bishop, and his successors, in free and perpetual alms, the church of Moffet and the church of Kirkepatric with all their pertinents, which at that time he had in demesne. Also he granted and by the present writ confirmed to the church of Glasgow and all the bishops of the said church the donation of the church of Drivesdale and of the church of Hodelm and of the church of Castelmile, freely and quietly for ever. So by this final concord peace was confirmed between the church of Glasgow and the bishops of the said church and Robert de Brus and his heirs; but as the before-named Robert de Brus did homage to Engelram, bishop of Glasgow, and to Jocelin, his successor, for the good of peace and for love and counsel, in such wise he and his heirs shall do homage to their successors. Before these witnesses: Simon, archdeacon of Glasgu, William, dean of Anandale, Walley, dean of Dunfres, William, parson (*persona*) of Lohmaban, Thomas, parson (*persona*) of Kastelmile, Master William of Houeden, William and Walter, clerks of the bishop. Witnessing also and granting: Robert de Brus, son of Robert de Brus, John de Vaus, William de Brus, Ivo de Crossbi, Udard, steward of Robert de Brus, Richard de Crossebi.

This agreement was confirmed by King William "the Lion."¹²

In 1223 an important agreement was made between the priory and the bishop from which it emerges that the priory's relations with its Annandale churches had some unusual features. Normally, the patronage of churches pertaining to a religious house remained with that house, which presented its nominees to the bishop, who then gave collation; normally, too, such churches were served by vicars, for the house itself drew the corn teinds, which properly formed the endowment of the parson (*rector*). Guisborough, however, renounced in the bishop's favour the patronage (*ordinatio et collatio*) of the churches which it held in his diocese, and, while it retained the corn teinds of the churches (along with three merks yearly from the church of Annan and three

¹² *Cartulary*, No. 1183; *Reg. Glasg.*, No. 73.

merks yearly from that of Lochmaben), a quantity of meal from these corn teinds was assigned to the incumbents of the churches of Cummertrees, Gretna, Rainpatrick and Kirkpatrick, who are styled not vicars but parsons (*rectores*). The parsons were to enjoy, in addition, the other teinds of their parishes. The agreement is translated in full:¹³

In the year of our Lord's incarnation 1223. Whereas many dissensions have frequently taken place between the bishops and the church of Glasgow and the canons of Gyseburne concerning the churches of Anant, of Loumaban and of Cumbertres and Kirkepatric and Reinpatric and Gretneho, to be had by the canons for their own uses—according to their assertion: at length on [30 August], for the perpetual tranquillity of both churches, the Lord Walter, bishop of Glasgow, and the said canons of Gyseburne, with solemn and sufficient security, submitted themselves freely (all appeal, contradiction and cavil being set aside) to the provision and disposal of discreet men, who, having God alone before their eyes, have proceeded in that business in this form: Ordaining that all the teind sheaves of corn of the churches of Anant and of Loumaban, with the sheaves of the chapel of Rokele, shall go to the uses of themselves, the said canons, freely, quietly, fully from all exaction and episcopal burden. But all the other things shall go to the parsons of those churches fully and without any contradiction; having regard, however, to the interest of the monastery of Gyseburne in three merks, to be taken yearly by the parson of the church of Annan for the maintenance of a light, and in three merks to be taken by the hands of the parson of Loumaban at the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin yearly; which three merks, to take away every scruple of contention (the consent of the chapter of Glasgow having been obtained), the said canons shall pay to the church of Glasgow yearly at the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin for the maintenance of lights. Besides, all the teind sheaves of the corn of the churches of Cumbertres, Gretneho, Reinpatric and Kirkepatric shall go to the uses of the canons, with the teinds of corn of the chapel of Logan; reserving to the parsons in each of these four churches four skeps of meal, to be taken at a certain and competent place yearly, and to be assigned by

¹³ *Cartulary*, No. 1185. *Persona*, the general term for a parish priest in earlier times, had been used previously. No doubt the reason why the incumbents were now styled *rectores* and not *vicarii* was because they were not appointed by the priory. (It was the invariable Scottish practice to translate *rector* as "parson"; "rector," in the vernacular, is unknown in Scotland.)

the canons within the parishes according to the provision of lawful men. But all other things, with the lands of the churches and teinds of the same, shall, in like manner with the other churches, go to the uses of the parsons of these churches. They added, however, that the foresaid canons should have in each parish an *area* in a competent place and an acre of land in the field to gather their corn. Also they provided that the Lord Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors should for ever have the ordering at their pleasure of the foresaid churches when they shall be vacant, and in each appoint parsons without contradiction by the canons, not waiting for their presentation, which they have for ever renounced, granting to the said bishop and his successors the whole ordering and collation of the said churches; reserving the teind sheaves and other things as was before provided; reserving also the rights and tenure of the parsons of the churches who now are, until they shall resign or die. Reserving also the tenure and possession of William of Glencarn in the church of Loumaban and chapel of Rokele for his whole life, paying to the canons yearly 33 merks, half at Martinmas and half at Whitsunday. And let the instruments made to the canons upon the said churches, if they shall wish to use them against this provision, be quashed and void, so that if the said bishop or any of his successors shall wish to come against it the foresaid canons may freely use them. And in witness hereof the said canons of Gyseburne have affixed the seal of their chapter to the present writing. Before these witnesses: Sir Peter, and Henry, prior of Jedd[worth], Master Stephen of Lillesel[live], Master Hugh of Potton, Sir William of Glencarn, Sir A. and Sir Robert, chaplains of the lord bishop of Glasgow, Master Robert of St. Albany, Robert of Herford, William, parson (*persona*) of Yrskin, clerks of the lord bishop; Master Robert, vicar of Oxenham, and many others.

By a separate deed, presumably of the same date,¹⁴ the canons formally renounced their rights in the patronage of the churches (Kirkpatrick being omitted from the list, evidently *per incuriam*), reserving to themselves the corn teinds (with the exception of the provision for the parsons) and other rights as specified in the agreement translated above.

The arrangement so made in 1223 was within a few years amended to the extent that the three merks due to the priory from the church of Lochmaben were granted to the bishopric,

¹⁴ *Cartulary*, No. 1186 (between 1223 and 1239).

to be applied in future to the maintenance of a light in Lochmaben church.¹⁵ This itself may indicate that the agreement had not proved satisfactory, and it emerges that before long disputes ensued over the provision made for the payment of the parsons of the Annandale churches. These disputes were settled by a fresh agreement, recorded in the following deed of 1265, whereby the parsons received a substantial increment at the expense of the priory.¹⁶

John, by the grace of God bishop of Glasgow, to all sons of Holy Mother Church to whom the present writ shall come, greeting everlasting in the Lord. Whereas between us and the parsons of the churches of Anand, of Loughmaban, of Cumbertres, of Gretnehou, of Raynpatrick and of Kirkepatrik on the one part, and the lords Ralph the prior and the convent of Giseburne on the other part there arose a dispute on the insufferable decrease of the portions belonging to the said parsons, according to the appointment of our predecessors, and that because they asserted that they could not be fitly supported and sustain their due and usual burdens: at length by consent of our chapter of Glasgow, for ourselves and the foresaid parsons, and for our and their successors, and likewise for the foresaid prior and convent and their successors, such controversies being laid aside and to be laid aside forever, it has been agreed in our presence and provided and expressly consented to in this form, viz.:

That all the teind sheaves of corn, however belonging to the foresaid churches and their chapels from lands cultivated and to be cultivated, in fields and yards, shall be reserved to the said canons and their successors, for their own uses, without any diminution or derogation, with areas and lands belonging to them according as is contained in the writs of our predecessors. But all the other things belonging to the said churches, with the remaining lands of the churches and the teinds of their lands, shall go for the use of the parsons of the said churches, who shall be for the time, but with these additions, to be paid annually by the hands of the foresaid canons or their procurators within their parishes, at a certain and competent place, for the sustenance of the said parsons and the full support of burdens, viz.: 40 shillings sterling to the parson of the church of Anand, 6 merks sterling to the parson of the church of Loughmaban (who shall—that is to say at his own expense—cause

¹⁵ *Cartulary*, No. 1187; *Reg. Glasg.*, No. 125.

¹⁶ *Cartulary*, No. 1188.

the chapel of Rokele to be served in the due and wonted manner by a fitting chaplain), 12 skeys of meal to the parson of the church of Cumbertres, 12 skeys of meal to the parson of the church of Gretenhau, 10 skeys of meal to the parson of the church of Rainpatrick, 10 skeys of meal to the parson of the church of Kirkepatric (who shall at his own expense cause the chapel of Logan to be served in the due and wonted manner by a fitting chaplain): which money and ferm each of them shall receive by equal portions at two terms of the year, or half (that is to say) at Martinmas and the other half at Whitsunday. Also each of the foresaid parsons at his first institution shall have free choice whether he would prefer to take the portions before-written in the foresaid manner or to take a certain sum of counted money for his lifetime; and whichever of the two he shall once choose, that he shall without demur hold for his lifetime, and it shall in no wise be lawful to ask anything else of him. But if any of them shall choose counted money, the total portion which concerns him (his own buildings and yards alone excepted) shall remain in the hands of the foresaid canons, and the said parson at the beginning of his institution, the holy gospels being shown, shall give his bodily oath that by no fraud or evil design neither will he make nor cause to be made any detriment or hindrance as regards the entire taking of such portion remaining in the canons' hands, but rather will faithfully apply ecclesiastical diligence and execution when he shall be applied to, so that such portion may fully go to the use and profit of the foresaid canons as if he had had to take the same himself. The sums of money which any of them may choose in the several churches, that is, in the church of Anand 33 merks, in the church of Loughmaban 38 merks, in the church of Cumbertres 18 merks, in the church of Rainpatrick 18 merks, in the church of Kirkepatric 18 merks. And whereas the faculties of the foresaid churches having been very diligently considered we find that the foresaid portions or foresaid sums of counted money are sufficient for the sustenance of the foresaid parsons and the support of burdens, we—our chapter of Glasgow giving consent—for us and our successors have decreed by episcopal authority that the foresaid parsons and their successors ought to be content with the foresaid portions or sums of money beforenamed for ever for sustenance of burdens, and in whatever case however happening, so that if hereafter any of them shall presume to attempt anything against this provision we enact that he ought in no wise to be heard, but perpetual silence imposed on him. The foresaid parsons, too, who shall be for the time, shall answer to us and our successors in matters episcopal and

shall sustain all the burdens of the churches. But the parsons of the churches of Anand and Loughmaban shall, at the appointed terms, without any delay or contradiction, pay to the foresaid canons the sum of money contained in the writs of our predecessors to the use of the canons and the increase of lights in the church of Glasgow. If, at any time, they will not do so, we shall, so far as need shall be, compel them to pay the said quantities. The foresaid canons and their successors shall, at their pleasure, freely dispose of and arrange concerning all and sundry the foresaid teind sheaves of corn in time to come for ever, and the portions of any parsons who shall choose as aforesaid counted money, as long as they shall remain in their hand and shall in every way make their profit as they shall please whilst the parsons shall live and hold their pecuniary portions. And that this, a provision granted and approved by our chapter of Glasgow and by the foresaid parsons and by the foresaid canons (compearing in our presence), may remain firm and untarnished for ever, we have caused to be appended to this writ made in form of cirograph our seal and the seal of the chapter of Glasgow on the one part, and the foresaid prior and convent have caused the seal of their chapter to be appended on the other. These things were done in the year of grace 1265, on the 8th of the Ides of July [8th July].

This agreement was ratified by successive bishops of Glasgow, in 1273 and 1330, and in 1330 also by the dean and chapter.¹⁷ The confirmations of 1330, it will be observed, were after the War of Independence, which evidently did not at once result in any change in the legal relations between the Annandale churches and the Yorkshire priory. That practical difficulties in the way of the canons' enjoyment of their Scottish revenues had arisen is indicated in a letter of about the year 1318. Edward II. had issued an order on the priory to supply board and lodging to one Robert of Ryburgh during his lifetime. The canons, with great politeness, begged to be excused, pleading poverty and alleging that between the Scots on the one hand and predatory vagabonds on the other their main sources of revenues, especially the Annandale churches, were sadly impaired.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Cartulary*, No. 1188.

¹⁸ *Cartulary*, ii., 357.

Be it known to your Highness that our monastery of Gyseburne has suffered lamentably in books, vestments and other ornaments, through burning by sudden fire, and our churches of Annandale, in the diocese of Karliol [*sic*], and also of the bishopric of Durham, on which the greater part of the support of our house has hitherto consisted, have been utterly wasted on many occasions past by the miserable depredations of the Scots and of schavalders.

The reference to the churches of Annandale being in the diocese of Carlisle opens up the question whether during the War of Independence an attempt was made to extend the boundaries of Carlisle at the expense of Glasgow; but this point, and the whole question of the fate of those churches after the War of Independence, form part of what must ultimately be a larger study—the English administration of southern Scotland and the effect of the Anglo-Scottish wars on English ecclesiastical possessions in Scotland.

ARTICLE 12.

The Caput of Annandale or the Curse of St. Malachy.

By R. C. REID.

This is an attempt to explain when and in what circumstances Annan as the feudal caput or head place of the lordship of Annandale, when gifted by David I. to Robert de Brus c. 1124, was forsaken in preference to Lochmaben as the administrative centre in mediæval times. The principal evidence is based on the life of St. Malachy written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, with which must be read the Chronicle of Lanercost, which is the only source of our knowledge of St. Malachy's curse. These two sources supplement each other and establish that what at first sight appears to be merely an interesting but unsubstantiated tradition, is really a definite page of the early history of Annandale. St. Malachy was a well-known Irish 12th century saint who succeeded in reforming the tribal churches of Ireland and bringing them more into harmony with the reforms already adopted on the Continent. His achievements in Ireland have nothing to do with Annandale, and it is sufficient to say that for a short while he was archbishop of Armagh and thus titular co-arb of St. Patrick, the first to hold that position who was not a member of the tribe of the man who brought Christianity to Ireland. At the time of the curse he was Papal Legate in Ireland and bishop of Down. Twice towards the close of his life the saint set forth to visit Rome. The first journey was in 1138, and he returned from Rome as Papal Legate.

The second journey was in 1148, when he was aged and failing. On this journey for the first time is mentioned the fact that for part of the way in France he travelled on horseback. To go to Rome was a pilgrimage and as such was expected to be made on foot. On the second journey, as on the first, he deviated in France from the direct pilgrim way

to visit Clairvaux abbey, where his friend, St. Bernard, was abbot, and a few days later, on 2nd November, 1148, died in St. Bernard's arms. He was buried in the abbey church, clad in the habit of St. Bernard, who himself whilst he lived used to don the habit of St. Malachy for High Mass and special ecclesiastical occasions. St. Bernard died on 21st August, 1153, and, clad in the habit of St. Malachy, was laid beside his friend in the same tomb.

As St. Malachy travelled by land, he must have traversed Galloway and Annandale on three occasions, but it is not certain on which he emitted his curse. Dr. Neilson, whose view is adopted here, thinks it was when the saint was outward bound on his last pilgrimage—in 1148. But it may have been on his return from his first visit to Rome. At first sight it seems remarkable that St. Bernard does not mention the episode. But it must be remembered that during his lifetime the curse cannot have been fulfilled, and in any panegyric of St. Malachy the curse may have seemed out of place unless its consequential fulfilment could have been recorded; then the claim for its inclusion in the Life would have been irresistible. At any rate, 200 years after the curse was uttered there was still a vivid local tradition relating to it, as recorded in the Lanercost Chronicle. But it was not till 1895 that the attention of the public was drawn to it by Dr. George Neilson. That learned author, in his eagerness to tell the story and crown it with evidence of its truth, has not made full use of a passage in the chronicle which forms the preamble to the narrative. It runs as follows:

“ Robert de Brus (the Competitor) rests with his ancestors at Guisburne in England, but it was in Annan that he yielded up his spirit, the *chief town of that district which lost the dignity of a burgh*¹ through the curse of a just man in the following way.”

Dr. Neilson then proceeds to paraphrase the Latin of the Chronicle:^{1a}

¹ *Burgi amisit honorem* (Lanercost Chronicle).

^{1a} *Scots Lore*, No. III., p. 129.

The bishop reached Annan, the capital of the dale, where he sought refreshment from the lord of the place. This must have been Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, the son of the original grantee. Made warmly welcome, and seated at an "ornate" table on the north side of the Brus's hall, he was partaking of food along with 2 fellow clerics, his companions, when he heard the servants discussing the fate of a robber who was about to undergo sentence. Shortly after, the Brus himself entered with hearty greetings to his guests. The bishop's heart, however, was filled with the thought of the poor wretch without, whose doom was so near. He at once appealed to the Brus who as baron, with jurisdiction of pit and gallows, held the thief's fate in the hollow of his hand. "I demand," said the humane and warm-hearted Irishman, "as a pilgrim that, since judgment of blood has never yet violated the place of my presence, if the man has committed any crime, you will grant me his life." The bishop's "noble host nodded," says the chronicler, "not in courtesy but in deceit; and acting according to the prudence of this world which is folly with God, he secretly gave orders to hang the thief." Meanwhile the bishop, in happy ignorance, rejoicing that he had saved a human life, finished his repast and prepared to go his way. Before starting he bestowed his blessing on the Brus's house and table and household. As he was departing, imagine his surprise to behold hanging on the gallows near the roadside the body of the robber. The life for which he had interceded, as he supposed successfully, was after all not his. The Brus with a nod had betrayed the bishop. What wonder that he promptly revoked his blessing and turned it into a curse, first on the Brus and his offspring and second on the town (*civitatem*) itself.

The wording of that curse has not come down to us, but the bishop must have had much experience of such anathemas in dealing with his untamed co-religionists in Ireland, and we may be sure that the curse was thorough, comprehensive, and devastating. The chronicler says that the family of Brus never prospered till the days of the Competitor, a century later. The genealogy of the family is none too clear.

Just before the battle of the Standard in 1138 Brus had divested himself of the lordship of Annandale in favour of his son, Robert *le meschin* or the younger. The younger is stated to have been only 14 at the battle of the Standard, so he would have been 24 at the time of the curse (*Scots Peerage*, II., 429). His action had been that of an impetuous youngster rather than that of a man of mature judgment.

Though the story that has come down from the chronicler implies maturity, it most certainly applied to Robert de Brus, the younger. Now Robert the younger had a long life, succeeding in 1141 and dying in 1196. The curse cannot have applied to him directly. Two sons only are recorded to him, so it is possible that a heavy mortality amongst the unrecorded issue might well be attributed to the curse. His eldest son certainly died without issue in his father's lifetime, and of the younger son, William, who succeeded to Annandale, all too little is known to justify any conjectures. But it is quite clear that the family was aware that it lay under a curse, and any family bereavement, misfortune, or setback was sure to be attributed to the saint. Two generations later another Robert de Brus (the Competitor) took steps to appease the saint and allay the curse. The chronicler tells us that :

“ On coming to manhood he (the Competitor) personally went to the saint (i.e., the saint's tomb), craved his pardon, commended himself to him, and thereafter visited the saint every 3 years. Moreover, returning in his later days (1273) from pilgrimage to the Holy Land (on crusade), where he had been with sir Edward (later Edward I.), he turned aside to Clairvaux and there for ever made his peace with the saint and provided a perpetual rent from which 3 silver lamps with their lights are maintained on the saint's tomb.”

Now that makes a very good story of the type so dear to the monkish chronicles of the 13th century. But Dr. Neilson has proved that it is a true story, for he unearthed from the chartulary of Clairvaux a charter which proves beyond all question that the Competitor on his return from the crusade went to Clairvaux and took steps to appease the saint and secure the revocation of the curse. That he was successful in allaying the wrath of the saint was made obvious to the world when the Competitor's grandson ascended the throne of Scotland. Indeed, it may well have been in view of that family aspiration that the Competitor visited Clairvaux. An abstract of the charter is as follows:

Charter by Robert de Brus lord of Annandale granting to God and the blessed Mary and to the house and monks of Clairvaux, in order to maintain lights before the

blessed Malachy (*ad sustinendum luminare coram beato Malachia*) and for the good of his own soul and the souls of his predecessors and successors, the lands of Osticroft as Roger de [] William de Wode and Galfrid Collan lately held of the granter, free of all multures at the granters mill and free of all secular customs and services.

wit—sir David de Thorthorwald then steward of Annandale, sir Richard de Herice and sir William de Saint Michael knights, Mr Adam de Kirkcudbright, Dom. William de Duncorrey, William de Corri, Adam Hendeman, Richard Crispin and William de Are.

To the charter is appended the Competitor's seal. The lands of Osticroft in Annandale have not been identified.

So the curse was fulfilled and appeasement made. But the curse was double pronged. It applied both to the family and to the house wherein they dwelt. What happened to the house, the hall and its ornate table where the saint refreshed himself? Dr. Neilson has properly identified this house, the *castellum* of the first charter, c. 1124, with the Mote of Annan. On the summit of the Mote hill within a stockade must have stood the wooden hall (*aula*) of the Brus separated from the large bailey court to the south by a ditch which may once have been just as deep as the formidable fosse that embraces the site. Some bridge must have connected the Mote hill with the bailey, and the entrance to the *aula* would certainly face that bridge towards the south. The general practice was for the door to be at one end of the hall and the high table at the other end. This would place the ornate table at the north end of the hall, and is proof that the chronicler was familiar with the site. Just outside the bailey on the south across the wide surrounding ditch was the church, where now are the remains of a disused burial ground. The original church must have been coeval with the Mote, and it is significant that in all the numerous recorded documents relating to the gift of Annandale churches to Guisburn, Annan always has first place in the list. Though nowhere is Annan described as the caput of Annandale, it must be inferred from the c. 1124 charter, the church and the nature of the site that the caput was at Annan.

When Brus first entered his new domain he probably

found only a small settlement of mud and wattle huts inhabited by natives of mixed racial origins, who spent most of their lives fighting and fishing. The site perhaps had been chosen because there was a handy ford across the river at this spot. The selection of Annan as a caput rather than some more central spot within the dale may have been dictated by the fact that the site was readily accessible from the south should it be necessary to invoke assistance and reinforcements from England. It is reasonably close to the Solway fords, and the river is still navigable to this point for far larger boats than were in use in the 12th century. Conversely, if calamity occurred, the river provided a quick get-away. The ample bailey could accommodate a large force of armed retainers. Like the motes of Urr and Staplegorton, Annan has all the characteristics of a mote of the earliest period.

These Anglo-Norman structures have been studied, excavated, and classified by Mr Hope Taylor in an address to the 1954 Summer School at Aberdeen. In his view (*per litt.* 23 Jan., 55)

the classic motte form is a tall truncated cone with a flat top relatively small, accompanied by a bailey. In the purely military castle, which may be called class A, the motte serves to carry a watch tower and to offer refuge in extreme emergency, and the bailey is the defended living place of the garrison. There is, however, a second class B, in which the residential requirements of a great family dictate a modified motte form. Here the horizontal dimensions of the motte top are increased to allow the erection of a hall, etc.; the bailey accordingly becomes only a secondary dwelling area. Side by side with these two classes march the great motteless castle mounds, hills scarped to increase natural defensibility—such as Corfe and Reigate; and further types are represented by the Abinger motte, where there is no bailey at all. In Scotland, Mr Hope Taylor affirms, it is even more difficult than elsewhere to date a motte or motte-like work by superficial inspection alone, for, although the time lag in the introduction of the form, relative to England, may be small, there would seem to be a strong possibility that its Scottish survival was prolonged. If faced by two such earthworks in Scotland, one of class A and the other of class B, both certainly known to have been built by the same person or family, one might reasonably expect the class A motte to be the earlier—as representing an initial phase of military

activity or native unrest. But the real difference between them is one of use and, in the abstract, not of date. The change of form surely indicates a change in local conditions; it is not typologically an evolution. The class A work may, in fact, have preceded the class B, but in the present state of our knowledge it would be over-bold to suggest that the reverse could not be true. Normally one would expect modification of an existing castle to meet new needs. However, where there was an imperative need to re-site a stronghold, it seems only natural that the new works should embody such changes as different general conditions allowed.

It is obvious that the first thing Brus did on arrival was to establish a secure base; a church and mill were essential corollaries. Nor was the gallows forgotten.² Subinfeudation of the valley amongst his followers would follow, probably by gradual steps, and perhaps two generations of the family were to pass before the process of the Anglo-Norman settlement of Annandale was completed. During that period (1124-1194), certainly before 1166, another fortified residence was established by the family at Lochmaben. The local inhabitants had clearly settled down under the new feudal dispensation, and the need of a quick get-away no longer was an imperative precaution. Further, the question of nationalism was arising. Annan was now to look northwards rather than to England for assistance, and as such it was too close to the frontier fords. Though readily accessible by sea, it was not adequately accessible by land. The only road in Annandale was the old Roman road which by-passed Annan. It must still have been in active use, for as late as the 16th century there is charter evidence that the section north of Abingdon was known as the Merchants' Way.

In these changed circumstances Annan was too exposed and inaccessible. A new base was required more central and served by roads. The strategic position of Lochmaben, close to the main Roman trunk road northwards and on the cross-road to Dalswinton and Galloway, was an obvious choice, and there the family of Brus, prior to 1166, erected their second mote hill. Its design is in marked contrast to that of Annan. No longer was the lord of Annandale afraid

² Bain i., 1681.

of his retainers, the hired adventurers and mercenaries of the past. The isolation of the Annan mote hill is abandoned, and a large flat-topped mote hill was constructed to accommodate the lord, his household and principal retainers. It was surrounded by just as massive a ditch as at Annan, but the large and imposing bailey has given place to some very indefinite traces on the south-west of a modest annexe, the defensive features of which must have been singularly slight. Indeed, a later Robert de Brus, who became king, described his residence at Lochmaben at his manor house.

Thither at some date that can only be conjectured the Brus must have transferred the caput of the lordship. It was here that in 1166 William the Lion granted Brus his confirmatory charter of Annandale—the earliest reference to the site that has survived.³

In the wars of 1173-4, arising out of the claims of William the Lion to the earldom of Northumbria and which terminated with the capture of William at Alnwick, Brus must have sided with England,⁴ for an English chronicler, Benedict of Peterborough, states that "William held the castle of Annan and the castle of Lochmaben, which were the castles of Robert de Brus."⁵ From this it is evident that in 1173 Annan mote was still functioning and entire. In 1202 Uदार, the knight of Hodelm, gave over to the bishop of Glasgow all rights that he had to the church of Hodelm.⁶ This transaction was effected within the church of Lochmaben. It is only to be expected that an important transaction of this nature would take place at the seat or caput of the lord of Annandale.

About the year 1218 (the witnesses prove it to be correctly dated) there is a less clear reference, when William, son of Ralf the Lardener, in order to meet a debt due to

³ Sir Archibald Lawrie (*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 308) affirms that the *sum castellum* of David's charter was Lochmaben, being led astray by the fact that William the Lion's charter was granted at Lochmaben (Bain i, 105). He also makes the further mistake that William's grant was *per servitium centum militum*, whereas Annandale was held by service of ten knights.

⁴ But Neilson in his *Burghs of Annandale* asserts that Brus was a staunch adherent of William the Lion.

⁵ A. O. Anderson, *Scottish annals from English chronicles*, p. 247.

⁶ Reg. Ep. Glas., i., 83.

his overlord, resigned all the lands in the *vill* of Annant which his predecessors held of Robert de Brus. This was done at the curia of Sir Robert de Brus of Annant.⁷ This does not mean that the court was held at Annan; indeed, the court could be held wherever Brus was at the moment. Thus in 1249 Brus held his *plena curia* at Dryfesdale.⁸ None of the surviving Annandale charters state where they were granted, so, when Ralf de Camera, constable, witnesses, c. 1215-45, a resignation of a grange built on land at the head of the *vill* of Annan,⁹ it does not necessarily follow that Ralf was constable of the castle or mote of Annan. The resignation may have been made at Lochmaben, of which Ralf may have been constable. The nature of the township of Annan is further illustrated by a charter, c. 1258 (from the witnesses), of a man named Lambert Scarlet of Annan, who gifted to the monastery of St. Bees in Cumberland an annual rent of 6d from a certain toft, which he had bought from Roger Pacok, in the *vill* of Annan, lying next his house which he held of the hospital of Annan.¹⁰ At some date between 1173 and 1202, or at latest 1218, there must have happened some momentous occurrence that changed the worldly status of Annan from the caput of a vast lordship to a simple *vill*.

It has seemed to have escaped notice that the mote of Annan is only a fragment of what it must once have been. Dr. Neilson cannot have noticed it, and in the *Inventory of the Historical Monuments Commission*, p. 2, there is no reference to it. But a scrutiny of the plan given in the *Inventory* should raise some doubts. The late Dr. Mackay Mackenzie in his *Mediæval Castles in Scotland*, p. 13, refers to "the curiously thinned and elongated character of the mote[hill] itself." I am indebted to Mr. Raleigh Radford for pointing out to me upon the site that almost half of the mote hill has been swept away, and perhaps, with less certainty, a slice also is missing from the bailey. To the casual observer all this is

⁷ Bain, i., 704.

⁸ Bain i. 1763.

⁹ Bain i. 1681. Dr. Neilson has shewn (Scots Lore no. iii. p. 129) that the dates assigned by Bain to 6 or perhaps 7 of the undated Annandale Charters are wrong and should read 1215-45 instead of 1260-80. They are nos. 705, 706, and 1680-85 of the first volume of the Calendar.

¹⁰ Reg. St. Bees. p. 354.

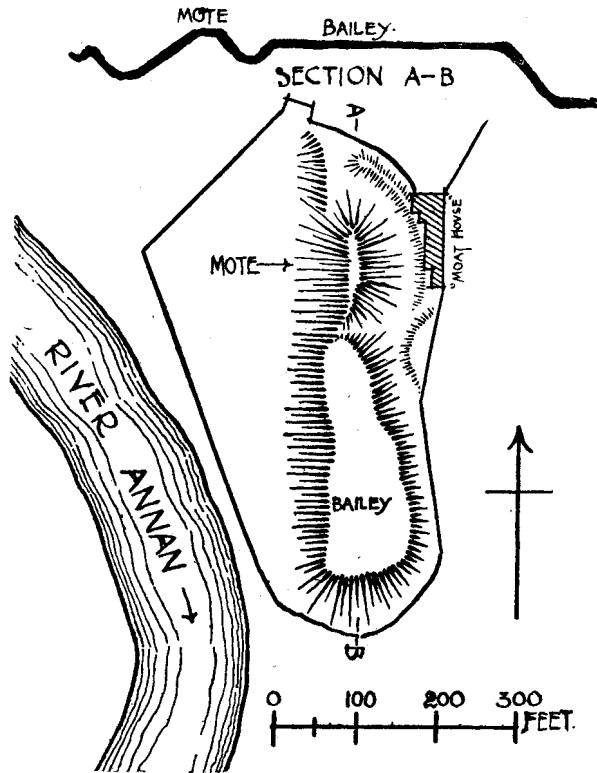


Fig. 1—THE MOTE OF ANNAN.

[Reproduced by the courtesy of H.M. Stationery Office.]

not readily noticeable, for a modern path has been led across the denuded side of the mote hill, and that side (only) planted with trees. The river bed is now well away from the north part of the site, but within the policy wall to the west of the mote there is clear evidence of the past encroachment of the waters.

Writing of baronies and their caputs, Professor Croft Dickinson affirms that a barony is identifiable by certain constant features "it is a unity or *unum quid*; it has a caput which is inseparable from it and is impartible; it is indestructible; it forms a unit for administration and law; it possesses its own officers and baron bailie."¹¹ But these

¹¹ *The court book of the barony of Carnwath*. Intro., xviii.

distinctive features belong to a later period than the caput of Annandale, which was based on military rather than legal or civilian considerations. Further, Annandale was not a barony though later it was to become divided into baronies. Annandale was more akin to a regality long before such a term came into existence. Indeed, Dr. Neilson maintained that at first the king's writ did not run in Annandale unless it had been endorsed by the lord of Annandale. It is always dangerous to attempt to project backwards into the 12th century the established conditions and legal conceptions of a later century. Yet this statement of constant features must be equally applicable to the caput of Annandale, with perhaps one modification. Professor Dickinson says "it is indestructable." But the Professor had not met St. Malachy.

It is suggested here that the catastrophe must have occurred between 1173 and 1218, and that it was the direct cause of the removal to Lochmaben of the caput of Annandale. No one in that superstitious age could have failed to associate the calamity with the curse of St. Malachy, and Brus himself must have fled from Annan as a place accursed. It must be assumed that at least some of the inhabitants would follow suit.

Feudal administration found in Scotland a virgin soil, and the great lords followed the example of the crown in encouraging foreign traders to settle in their lordships. For that the lord offered protection throughout his domain and freedom of toll on their personal property. At first only permanent settlers were wanted; to each was given a toft of land on which to build a house, and by analogy with chartered burghs there might also have been immunity of kirsset, i.e., delay of any payment to the lord whilst erecting a house upon the settler's toft. Once established within the bailey, they soon spread outwith it, erecting their primitive houses on their tofts, but storing their merchandise in the bailey. Primarily it was protection that was sought, for trade could only function in a place where moveable goods were safe from pillage. A new class, a bourgeois population, was thus fitted into the social structure, and in 12th century

Scotland most of this new class of traders were an alien population—largely Flemings—amidst a people hostile in feeling to the newcomers. The essence of the primitive burgh was defence. Once that defence was broken down there could be no protection, and the traders would at once depart in search of it, to Lochmaben perhaps, or to Dumfries. As a nascent burgh Annan would no longer exist. It would be an open *vill*. Even ecclesiastically Annan lost its pre-eminence. In all the Guisburgh documents Annan is named first in the group of Annandale churches gifted to that house. But in the last one, 1265, whereby a fixed stipend for the rectors of those churches is substituted for a fixed share of the teinds, the rector of Annan, though still named first, is allotted 40/- sterling, as compared with the rector of Lochmaben, who got 6 merks sterling or £4.¹² The world is prone to assess "dignity" by its emoluments. Further, in the Papal confirmation of the same year (1256) it is Lochmaben that is given priority in the list of churches.¹³

The moment catastrophe rendered the mote of Annan unusable as a place of defence there must have been an exodus of traders, which would explain the phrase of the chronicler of Lanercost that Annan "lost the dignity of a burgh through the curse of a just man."

And the saintly Malachy, what of him? Lying side by side with his friend and biographer, St. Bernard, sharing the same tomb in far-off Clairvaux, the blessed Malachy may well have felt that with the fulfilment of his curse he could harken to the prayers and appeals of the Competitor and revoke the doom of disaster he had imposed upon the lords of Annandale. So, illuminated by the faint rays of the three silver lamps gifted by the Competitor, the two saints reposed in their long last sleep for 600 years, till in the convulsion of the French Revolution destruction overtook Clairvaux, and where once were holy places now stands a modern glass factory.

In the whirligig of time it might almost be said that the Competitor had got back upon the saint a bit of his own.

¹² Guisboro Chart., ii., 349.

¹³ Papal Letters, i., 337.

ARTICLE 13.

Old Keir Gravestones.

By Col. J. R. H. GREEVES.

The following are copies of the inscriptions on all the grave slabs in Old Keir Churchyard of 17th century date; a few are added of the very early years of the 18th century. They are here recorded as being perhaps of interest to a few families still existing or represented by descendants in the female line. In many cases the letters are joined together. The epitaph on Lilius Summervel (No. 1) is particularly pleasing.

(1) A rectangular flat slab; the name and date of death round the edge; the verse in six lines in the centre of the stone, all in relief.

HERE LYIS INTERR'D BENETH THIS BRITTLE STONE
A LILLIE ONCE SO RARE AS FEW OR NONE ❀
WITHIN THE PRECINCTS OF FAIR FLORAS TREASURE
COULD PARALEL FOR GRACE OR VERTUES MEASURE ❀
WHOS BEING MUCH WEARIED WITH THIS WORLDS TOYLE
GOD HATH TRANSPLANTED TO A BETTER SOYLE ❀
LILIAS SUMMERVEL SPOUS TO MR BERNARD SANDERSON
MINISTER AT KEIR DEPARTED FEBR 1 YEIR OF GOD 1644
& HIR AGE 28

(2) A rectangular slab; the inscription round the edge; traces of a winged cherub's head in the centre.

HEIRE LYES ROBERT KER YONGER IN POUNDLAND
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 8 OF MARCH
ANNO DOM 1671 OF HIS AGE 18

(3) A rectangular slab, the inscription incised, the part referring to Catherine Sharp in italics.

HERE LYETH THE CORPS OF JOHN GRIERSON OF
BARJAG WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE — DAY
OF FEBRUARY 1704 AND OF HIS AGE —

Here also lies interred ye body of Catherine Sharp daughter to John Sharp of Hoddum spouse to the said John Grierson who had by him two daughters & afterwards spouse to James

Griersone of Capenoch who had by him one daughter she died
Sept 1728 in the 52 year of her age

(4) Incised on an older stone, which had originally an inscription in relief, now completely illegible except for one or two letters in the centre.

THE MEMORIE OF JOHNE GREIRSONE OF NETHERKEIR
QUHA DEPAIRED THIS LYFE UPON THE ELLIWENT
DAY OF MAY THE ZEIR OF GOD 1644 BEING OF THE
AGE OF 61 ZEIRES

(5) A rectangular slab with inscription round the edge and continued in an additional line across the end; in relief.

HEIR LYETH AGNES MAXWELL SPOUS TO HOMER
CRIERSON OF BARJARG AND DAUGHTER TO SIR JOHN
MAXWELL OF CONHAITH WHO DECEASED DECBR 22 1680
YEARS HER AGE 62.

(6) A rectangular slab with inscription round the edge in relief; the later inscription incised along one side.

HEIR LYES JAMES HERSTANES WHO DEPARTED THE
LAST OF JANUAR THE YEIR OF GOD 1662 & HIS AGE 45

This stone and buirell place belongs to Robert Hairstons
in . . . : Cleugh 1751

(7) A rectangular slab, the earlier inscription in capitals, the later in italics.

HEIR LYETH NIKLOWS DRYEMPEL SPOWS TO JOHN
OSBWRN WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 5 DAY OF
FEBRWARY THE YEAR OF GOD 1696 HER AGE 63.

HEIR LYES A MATRON IN OUR CHURCH IN CLOS.D TO
HONOUR GOD TO GOOD THINGS STILL DISPOS.D
CONCENTRED UER HER THOUGHTS ON TRUTHS
SUBLIME . . CH LED HIR TO THE SOURCE OF GRACES
STREAME.

Here lyes the Corps of Mary Osburn spous to Thom
Dalrymple who died in Aprile the 15 day 1708 aged 32.

(8) A rectangular slab with open Bible and hour glass at the top.

HEIR LYETH THE CORPS OF ELISABETH PORTEUS SPOS
TO MR IAMES ELDER MINSTER AT KIR WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIF THE 11th OF AGUST 1701 YEAR.

IF IT BE ASKT WHOS CORPS ARE HERE INTERRED
ITS ANSUEARD THUS A MATRONS WHO PREFERRED
ZIONS WELFARE TO AL TRANSIENT THINGS

AND IN CHRIST WERE AL HER SOLACING SPRINGS.
IN MEMORIE OF ROBERT ROBSON IN WATER SIED WHO
DIED NOVR 8TH 1767 AGED 88 YEARES
.LSO BETTY ROBSON DAUGH.ER TO JOHN ROBSON
TENNA.T IN WATERSIDE WHO DIED THE .5 DECR O STE
1765 AGED 3 YEARS (Date perhaps 25).

Also Jean Robson daughter to the above named John Robson
who died Feb 28th 1784 aged 25 years.

(9) At each end of a slab with some undecipherable
design in between.

HEIR LYETH IOHN HIDLSTON MILLER OT THE KIR
MIL HUSBAND TO MARGRET UILSON UHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE THE 8 DAY OF DECMBER THE YEAR (No sign
of any date).

HERE LYES THOMAS HIDLSTON SON TO IOHN
HIDLSTON IN KIRE MILE WHO DEPARTED THE 13 OF
SEPTEMBER 1687 HIS AGE 17

(10) Here lyeth the Corps of John Dalrymple of
Watersyde who dyd march the 25th day 1625 his age 63.

Also the Corps of John Dalrymple of Waterside who died
the 20 of July 1731 his age 63. (Both these apparently cut
by the same hand.)

Likeways the corpse of William Dalrymple of Waterside
who died the 21st of March 1760 in the 59th year of his age.

(11) ROBERT MCMERTEN HERE DOTH LYE
WHO IN BANDANOCH DID DYE
AND LIVED BOTH PIOUS AND GRAVE
BING ANE OBJECT OF GODS LOVE
AND MANS ALSO AS WE SOPOSE
WHO NOW IN GLORY DOTH REPOSE
YEA SHAL FOR EVERE PRESE THE LAMB
WHO HIM AND OTHERS DID REDEIM
UNTO THIS BLESSED STATE HE WENT
IN THE NINTETH THRIE HIS TIME BEING SPENT
HIS AGE CONSISTING SIXTIE EIGHT
AND OF THIS WORLD HE TOOK HIS LIVE
UPON OCTOBER THE FIRST DAY
IN THE NINTH IN HIS GRAVE THEY DID HIM LAY

(12) HEIR LYES ROBERT SMITH YONGER WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 6 DAY OF AGUST THE YEAR OF GOD 1684 AND OF HIS AGE 40 IAENHERSTANS. (For Jane Haerstances—perhaps his wife.)

(13) HEIR LYETH THE CORPS OF ROBERT HOLIDAY HUSBAND TO JEAN HOOLIPS IN UPPER BRECOCH WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JUN THE 22 1719 AGE 71. ERECTED BY ROBERT JAMES JOHN THOMAS RODGER HOLIDAYS HIS SONS.

Notes.

(A) John Grierson of Netherkeir (No. 4) was son and heir of John Grierson of Inglistoun, by his wife Margaret Grier, and grandson of Robert Grierson of Inglistoun, who was appointed one of the Sheriffs Depute of Dumfries on 4th October, 1580.¹ John obtained the land of Nether-keir in 1626 from John Grierson, son of Gilbert Grierson of Penmurtie by his wife Janet Wauch,² and the lands of Barjarg were appraised at his instance from Robert, son of Thomas Grierson of Barjarg by Elizabeth Kirko, in April, 1635.³ He was twice married, his second wife being Margaret, daughter of Homer Maxwell of Speddoch (son of Homer Maxwell of Speddoch, and grandson of Homer Maxwell, Burgess of Dumfries). By her he had seven children. He spent some of his latter years in County Monaghan in Ireland,⁴ and died 11th May, 1644, aged 61. His eldest son, Homer, sometimes called Henry, married Agnes, daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Conhaith (No. 5). Their only son, John of Barjarg, was served heir to his grandfather 26th February, 1663.⁵ He married Grissell, daughter of Robert Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and died November, 1692,⁶ having had six children, of whom the eldest, John (No. 3), succeeded to Barjarg and married Catherine, daughter of John Sharp of Hoddum, Sheriff Clerk of Dumfries, by his wife, Susan Muir. They had two daughters, Grissell and Jean: the former married Charles Erskine, Lord Advocate 1742, Lord Justice Clerk 1748, who took as his title Lord Alva, and their son James sold Barjarg in 1777 to the Rev. Andrew Hunter. The second daughter, Jean,

¹ A. Cunynghame Sheriff Court Book. (D. and G. Trans., XII., p. 157.)

² Barjarg MSS.: See IS dated 23rd and recorded 26th Sept., 1636. (Gen. Reg. of Sasines.)

³ Barjarg MSS.: See IS dated and recorded 18th March, 1636. (Dumfries Reg. of Sasines.)

⁴ Lag Charter Chest 222, 223, 224: Barjarg MSS.

⁵ Barjarg MSS.: See Inq. Gen., 4679.

⁶ Various IS in Barjarg MSS.

married Andrew Crosbie of Holm, Merchant and Provost of Dumfries. John Grierson died in February, 1704, and his widow married, secondly, as his third wife, James Grierson of Capenoch, son of John Grierson of Capenoch by his wife Marion, daughter of the Rev. William Broun, Minister of Glencairn. Their daughter, Susanna, married Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, 3rd Baronet, of Closeburn, on 22nd January, 1727,⁷ and thus carried Capenoch to the Kirkpatrick family.

(B) On 16th May, 1653, Robert Grierson of Milnmark, nephew of John Grierson (No. 4), gave a bond for £185 16s to Bernard Sanderson, Minister of Keir (No. 1).⁸

(C) On 8th November, 1653, Archibald Stewart gave a Discharge to Robert Grierson of Milnmark, James Hairstanes in Penfillan (No. 6), Robert Ker in Pundland (probably father of No. 2), and John Bennoch at Keir Miln for Margaret Grierson's jointure from 1644 till 1653. She was daughter of Homer Grierson, jun. (son of Homer Grierson above mentioned) and wife of John Stewart of Garloaff.⁹

Unreferenced statements made above are from various documents among the Barjarg MSS., including pedigrees noted from a copy at Capenoch, by kind permission of John Gladstone, Esq.

⁷ Edinburgh Marr. Reg. (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1908.)

⁸ In Barjarg MSS.

⁹ In Barjarg MSS.: See IS dated 8th April and recorded 9th May, 1672. (Dumfries Reg. of Sasines.)

Recent Museum Acquisitions—1955.

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

When the last article on "Recent Acquisitions" appeared in the 1950-51 volume, the Museum's Stock Register stood at just over 700: now, in March, 1955, it is over the 1850 mark.

Much of this increase is in the Bygoness sections—domestic and agricultural implements, dress (built up from zero to over 500 local items, including the very fine dress, dated about 1765, of Jenny Graham, the Dumfriesshire poetess), blacksmith-work, early photographs, and so on. The increase on the more strictly "Natural History and Antiquarian" side has, however, been proportionally just as great, and has included many important items.

To take "Natural History" first, the major items have been the transfer of the Society's large Herbarium collection, mainly local, to the Museum, where the process of separating local and non-local material is proceeding; the acquisition of the bulk of the local geological collection of the late Mr Wallace, Grocer, Dumfries; and the donation by Mr Foster Smith, then at Wanlockhead, of a fine collection of Wanlockhead minerals; while the ornithological section benefited by the bequest by the late Mr George Robson of his fine collection of local bird specimens, the great majority in good condition; while another set of footprints in Permian Sandstone, originally built by Dr. Duncan into the porch of Mount Kedar Church, was added to the already fine collection of Corncockle footprints. The great pair of Red Deer Antlers, semi-fossilised, from the boreal peat underlying the raised beach at West Preston Merse, found in 1931 by Mr John Robson, has now been presented by him to the Museum.

The acquisition of stone monuments—Roman, Dark Age, and Mediæval—was a principal feature of the last Note: this

has continued, for the fine Romanesque slabs from Hoddom Old Kirkyard, mentioned in that Note, have, through the kindness of Captain Brook, come to Dumfries: these are the great slab of coarse breccia, with carefully offset sides, No. 8 in Mr Raleigh Radford's excellent paper in last year's *Transactions*; the less massive slab with opposed spirals at the base of the cross-shaft, No. 9 in the same paper; and the fine late-mediæval slab in fine pink sandstone with elaborate cross and a worn Lombardic inscription beginning, "HI(c iacit . . .)."

A piece of coarse interlace work of 10th-11th century date, about two feet long, in red gritty sandstone, was found in Hoddom Old Kirkyard, and also added to the collection already in the Museum.

From Closeburn Kirk, through the kindness of the Kirk Session there, came part of a finely-worked 9th century sandstone cross-slab showing a cross-shaft rising from a square base, shaft and base both in double-outline, with particularly finely executed interlace work occupying the spaces on either side of the shaft; with this came two elements of a Norman doorway. All these appeared to have been built into the now ruinous old church which stands beside the present building.

From an early church-site on Woodhead Farm, overlooking Penpont, came a fine small slab some two feet long, bearing a Maltese cross within a roundel and a dagger: it seems to date stylistically to about 1250; Mr Davidson, the farmer, kindly presented it; his son ploughed up this slab (and several larger fragments which are still in the soil) some years before; aerial photographs show a sub-rectangular enclosure with a sub-rectangular building beside it, both occupying a commanding position on a natural platform on the steep meadow-face. As Penpont is one of a group of small "nucleated" parishes depending in the Celtic Church period upon Closeburn, and as the mediæval church proper stands in the grounds of the present church in the valley below, this humble cell and burying-ground

may well be a survival into Early Mediæval times of a Dark Age foundation.

From Ruthwell, by courtesy of the Kirk Session, there came the simple incised cross of pre-Anglian type, dated by Mr Raleigh Radford in a recent volume of the *Transactions* to about the 6th century, and the two fine mediæval slabs in red sandstone, originally from the Hospice of the Knights of St. John at Kirkstyle, and later built, with the Permian footprint-slab mentioned above, into the porch of the church at Mount Kedar by Dr. Duncan. These both have ornate crosses and a large stylised sword. On the opposite side of the shaft to the sword one bears a hunting-horn and baldric, the other a plough coulter and sock.

During alterations to the 1725 Old Manse at Torthorwald a finely-worked slab bearing a beautifully-cut and fresh 15th century Gothic inscription—at present being studied by Mr Raleigh Radford—was found, with a block bearing two shaped recesses and edged with dog-tooth ornament: both bore on their surface both the soft 1725 mortar of the Manse and also rock-hard hot-poured mortar of mediæval type, suggesting that at some date they had been built into Torthorwald Castle.

An inscribed door-lintel of late 16th—early 17th—century date was found during demolition operations by Messrs R. K. Brown, built into a rubble wall adjoining the New Bazaar Hotel on the Whitesands; this, much mutilated in successive re-usings, includes the name Sharpe, the phrase, “Be God,” and “In the Zeir —,” the THE being ligatured together and the A having a characteristically early form. Another word surviving intact is “gifts.” A peculiarity is that, probably owing to an early defacement, the left-hand side of the inscription is in applied letters in clay on a separate slab and overlapping on to the main slab, the clay letters being of slightly later form.

A small cross-arm, probably of the gable cross, from Southwick Old Kirk, has also been received per Mr Haslam of Cairngill.

General archæological acquisitions cover a wide range. The Mesolithic is represented by a small group of "limpet-hammers" and flint-knapping tools from the shell-midden site underlying the Chippermere "fort" site recently reported on by Mr John Fiddes; the fine Neolithic flat stone axe from Watcarrick has already been mentioned in the *Transactions*, as has the Food Vessel and a fragment of Beaker from the Mollance cist excavated by Mr Wallace; an exceptionally fine food vessel of Irish affinities, found on 30th May, 1860, on Carlesgill, near Langholm, came from Mr Little, Craig Farm, Langholm: it is carinated, and bears rich incised and bossed decoration and rudimentary looped handles round the carination. Mr Little, grandfather of the donor, has left an exceptionally clear account of its finding.

The writer has found, in his front garden, a fine hollow flint scraper and a flake of Middle Bronze Age type, probably associated with the settlement to which the Palmerston Urnfield, less than 200 yards away, belonged.

Several specimens of worked timber represent the fine Iron Age Crannog in Milton Loch, excavated by Mrs Piggott in autumn, 1953.

Roman pottery and metal from the excavations at Bankhead, Dalswinton, has come to the Museum, through the good offices of Professor Richmond. A considerable amount of Birrens 1895 material has been unearthed from cupboards in the Society's lecture room. A considerable group of pottery and half of a striated quern-stone from the civilian annexe at Carzield came per Mr Rodgerston, the enthusiastic young farmer there.

A fine collection of Dr St. Joseph's aerial photographs from the Cambridge University Collection, covering all periods in the area, has been put on display. Roman sites are, of course, prominent among these.

A small collection of Mote of Mark material—fragments of crucible and of moulds—now represents that fine 8th century site: a small iron bloom of Dark Age type comes

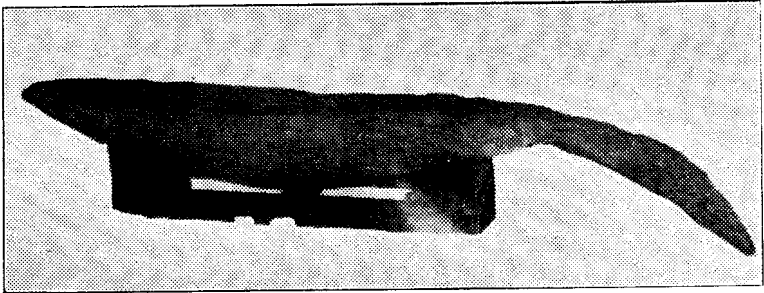
from Tynron Doon; and a small head of doubtful Dark Age-Medieval type, very "Celtic"-looking, adorns a broken whetstone from the Lochar Moss, near Collin.

From the Middle Ages proper come 600 odd pieces of pottery, etc., from the late James Barbour's 1901 excavation at Lochrutton Crannog; a single piece, found by Mr John Inglis, is the first find of pottery from the promontory site which acted as "bailey" to the crannog's "motte." The excavations at Castledykes, Dumfries, yielded a small collection of mediæval pottery; a tradesman's trench in High Street, near the head of Bank Street, yielded another piece; and a collection of early mediæval pieces, simply labelled "Dumfries," along with a glazed pebble showing the existence of a kiln, came from the Stewartry Museum; as did a tiny brass tripod pot no larger than a cup, "found in a Galloway bog," and a fine green-glazed 14th-15th century jug from Kirkpatrick-Durham, with another jug of 17th century type from the same place. There have been several acquisitions of Mediæval and Renaissance coins, all locally found, notably a beautiful "Crookston dollar" of Mary and Henry. A fine button mould, in the form of a cube—a very rare type, and the first record for Scotland—comes, per Dr. Harper, from near Whithorn; it is of late 15th-early 16th century date. Glenluce Abbey is represented by its Conventual Seal. The illuminator's art is represented by the pages of missals and a Sarum portable matutinale found binding Herbert Anderson's Protocol Book (1542-8), in the Town Hall strong-room; one of the missals is intermediate between the York and Sarum rites, and so probably locally written; these were probably from Holywood or Lincluden—frequent references to "virgins" and "more virgins" suggests the latter in its Convent days; they date to just after 1300. On loan from the Town Council is Princess Margaret's 1425 confirmation of the Bridge Dues to the Greyfriars. A fine Flemish brass mortar, dated "1590," seems to have been in the area since that date; the 17th century is represented by tiger-ware and other material from "St. Lawrence's Chapel," Fairgirth, and the fine chip-carved

Bible box from Creetown, and the 18th by the 1711 inscribed hand-bell from Dalswinton, and the ornamented rhone-pipe heads and brackets from Bank Street and High Street; the Charteris family of Amisfield is represented by a razor with "J.C., Amisfield Tower, 1736," scratched on its handle.

"Canoe" from Piltanton Burn.

By Miss E. McCaig.



The above is a photograph of the dug-out "canoe" which was found at Piltanton Burn, near Stranraer, when the Department of Agriculture was carrying out a scheme of drainage in 1945. The Rev. R. S. G. Anderson, the well-known archæologist, was asked to examine the find, and the "canoe" was taken to the garden of the Manse. Mr Anderson asked Professor Gordon Childe to come to Castle Kennedy to see the canoe, but unfortunately Mr Anderson's death occurred before the visit could take place. In a letter written from the National Museum to Mr R. C. Reid, dated 16th March, 1945, Professor Childe says: "As you probably heard, the Rev. R. S. G. Anderson died last month. I was down in the district last Tuesday. In the garden of the Manse is a curious canoe-like object that Mr Anderson identified when it was dug up at the widening of Piltanton Burn. The whole log has been shaped, and the axe marks are clearly visible, but it is not hollowed out. It is, nevertheless, quite an interesting object, at present in good condition, though of uncertain date, and should, I feel, be deposited in a Museum." When this letter was written there was no Museum in Stranraer, and Professor Childe suggested that

the canoe should be taken to Dumfries Museum. Owing to various circumstances this was not done at the time, and the canoe was lost sight of for nine years.

When Professor Childe's letter again came to light a search was made for the "canoe" at Castle Kennedy Manse, but no trace of it could be found in the garden. At last it was discovered at the foot of a tree in the wood adjoining the garden, quite close to the main road. It was brought to Stranraer with the help of men from the County Surveyor's department, and after a suitable stand had been made it was placed in the Museum at the County Library Headquarters in Stranraer in June, 1954.

The "canoe" is nine feet eight inches long, of which the curious narrow, pointed, depressed "stern" takes up about three feet; maximum width is two feet three inches, and depth one foot eight inches, and is in very good condition despite its years of exposure after discovery. Its importance lies in the light it sheds on the methods of construction of these canoes: axe marks and areas of charred wood are still discernible. The long, downward-pointed termination is quite unique; indeed, the "canoe" may never have been completed, and, if so, is all the more unusual, for unfinished examples are almost unknown.

The trunk from which it is formed seems to be that of a well-grown oak tree. Dug-out canoes, of course, can date to any period from the Mesolithic to the 16th century A.D.

The Furnishings of Comlongan, 1624.

By R. C. REID.

Very few records exist of the actual furnishings of an old Scottish house at the time of the union of the crowns. Definitely dated pieces of furniture can be found in museums and in some cases an old dwelling-house has been restored and equipped with period furniture. But that is an artificial assemblage and is no substitute for a contemporary inventory. Fortunately there has recently come to light amongst the Murraythwaite titles a list of the furnishings of Comlongan Castle in 1624. At that date the laird was Sir Richard Murray of Cokpule, who began life as a university graduate and was probably a churchman, being Dean of Manchester. All his time was spent at Court in London. He was created a baronet in 1625, and when he died in 1636 he was possessed of estates in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as the lands and barony of Cockpool in Nova Scotia.¹ The Comlongan estate was managed for him by one Launcelot Murray as chamberlain till the year 1624, when Launcelot demitted office on the appointment of Andrew Murray of Moriquhat as chamberlain. This list was drawn up when Launcelot delivered the castle and its keys over to Andrew. It is clear that those who drew it up started at the top of the castle on the wall walk and worked downward to the entrance gate.

The *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments Commission* does not show the plan of all the floors, and has been superseded by Dr. W. Douglas Simpson's fuller account in these *Transactions*,^{1a} making use of the complete set of measured drawings by the late Dr. Thomas Ross. From these drawings it is possible to identify the rooms mentioned in the list. Items i., ii., and iii. were on the wall walk where the long

¹ Scots Peerage, i., 227.

^{1a} 1940-1, vol. xxiii., p. 20.

gallery still stands on the western gable. The little gallery may have corresponded on the east gable, between the newel stair and the sclaithouse. The male domestics may have been quartered at this elevation. The attic over the third floor does not seem to have been made use of. Immediately below the attic was the third floor, which has two fireplaces, and must therefore have consisted of two rooms, called in the list the inner and outer windiehall, being items iv. and v. Their naming would indicate that they were very draughty apartments, perhaps the quarters of the female staff.

Below them, on the second floor, was the solar, the sleeping quarters of the laird and family, originally designed as one large room with a wide fireplace midway in the south wall.² Later the room was divided and two fireplaces inserted in the east and west walls. These two rooms are represented in the list as the laird's chalmer on the east (item vi.) and the western chalmer (item viii.). In the north wall of this floor, opening from either side of the window recess, are two mural chambers; that on the west is provided with a garderober and the larger eastern one provided with two shallow recesses in its south wall.³ Neither the *Inventory* nor Dr. Douglas Simpson suggest the purpose of this eastern mural chamber, but the list (item vii.) shows that it was the chapel of the castle. The schole hous chalmer (item ix.) may perhaps be the intra mural chamber in the north-west corner of this floor.

Descending by the newel stair from the solar to the hall, one passes another mural chamber a few feet above the level of the hall floor, entered from the stair and figured B on Dr. Ross's plan. This is the nether stair chalmer of the list (item x.) which Dr. Simpson thought might have been the laird's muniment room and silver house.⁴ But the muniments in 1624 were kept in the pledge chambers (item xii.) in the absence of prisoners. The hall chalmer (item xi.) is

² Trans., xxiii., p. 25.

³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

more difficult to place, but in the south-east and north-west corners of the hall are mural chambers, either of which might have been the hall chalmer. Below the hall but above the basement was formerly an entre-sol entered from the hall at point A in Dr. Ross's plan. This must be the over-wall of the list (item xiii.), which seems to have been the general store and lumber room of the castle. In the basement (item xiv.) was stored kitchen and culinary utensils. The brew house (item xv.) may have been there or outwith the castle, for there is mention of the locks and keys of three stables.

One cannot peruse this list without some astonishment. Scotland was always a poor country, but the family that could erect the fine and massive tower of Comlongan, that could embellish it with much ornamentation in the hall and elsewhere, and that was amassing properties throughout the United Kingdom and even in Nova Scotia, ought certainly to have afforded better furnishings than those described in this shabby list. The list would clearly indicate absentee lairds and the decay of perishable items owing to non-usage and neglect. If surmise be permitted, the castle may not have been used as a place of residence since the death of Sir James Murray of Cokpule, who died in 1620, leaving three daughters and no heir-male, the estate being successfully claimed by Sir Richard Murray, baronet brother to the late Sir James.⁵ If so, the castle had stood empty for four years, if not longer, with perhaps a caretaker resident in the long gallery on the wall-head of the castle. For such may be the explanation of the "spunge and lytle beuk" recorded there.

1624, August 26. At Cumlungen.

The quhilk day in presens of Mr Gavine Young, minister at Ruthwall, James Murray in Hitchill, Charles Murray in Moriquhat, Thomas Graham in Blakhall, and John Murray, son naturall to umquhill Sir James Murray of Cokpuill, was producit be Andrew Murray of Moriquat

⁵ Scots Peerage, I., 226.

ane warrant direct from the Rycht Honoll the laird of Cokpuill, ane warrant direct to Lancie Murray chamberlain for the tyme to delyver to the said Andrew the whole keyis, plenisching, furnitur and quhatsomever was in his custodie within the inner and outer gatis of the place of Cumlungen as the warrant daited at Strand June 25 at moir length beiris, for obedience to the quhilk command and warrand the said Lancelot delyverit the keyis, plenisching, furnitur and other efterspecifeit—before the witnesses abonenamit, day, yeir and place foirsaidis.

- (i.) Imprimis in the long gallerie, twa stand beds quhairof the inmost has ane fether bed and ane palleis under it, ane bawster, ane pair of scheitis, tua cods and wares,⁶ ane pair of wallkit blankets, ane pair of worset, ane sewit covering, ane stand of cuirtings with ane greine pand⁷ somequhat broydret. The by bed hes a fether bed, ane bowster, ane cod and codware, a pair of round scheitis, ane pair of blankets wormeitin, ane sewit covering and a course covering, a stand of grosse rid curttings and a sewit pand and a cunter clothe, a sponge, a lytle beuk and a chayre and a water pott, a lock and key.
- (ii.) The lytle gallerie has a stand bed without curttings with a fether bed, a bouster and a pair werce ill eitin and worne blankets, a lytle buird and an old chayre, with lock and key.
- (iii.) The sklaithous hes within it a stand of Harnessing for a man with lock and key.
- (iv.) Inner windiehall—thre stand beds, the upmost hes a stand of zellow curttings, a sewit pand, a fether bed, a bowster, a pair of blankets somewhat moth eitin, a sewit covering unlynnet and a course covering. The other twa beds bund togither having ane pand thrie single curttings of course stuff, twa fether beds, twa bawsters, four worne cods, twa pair worne blankets,

⁶ Cod wares—Pillow slips.

⁷ Pand—A narrow curtain fixed to the roof or lower part of a bed.

two course coverings and a chayre, this hes lock and key. Lykways in it is a gritt chest within quhilk ar tua pair linning scheitis, fyve pair round scheitis for codwairs, four coverings quhairof twa are lyned, a mortcloth, a guid buirdcloth and ane illworne, twa pands, twa braid greine curtings, one narow, fyve pair wallkit blankets quhairof one pair is worm eitin, twa pair worset and a lock and key, with lock and key on the duckat duir.

- (v.) Outer windiehall—four stand beds, four bowsters quhairof thrie ar filled with chaffe, four old coverings, thrie pair of skurvie worne blankets, with lock and key.
- (vi.) The lairds chalmer hes twa plenisching in the beds bot ane fether bed and ane muskett on ane bed heid, ane gritt locket kist within quhilk are twa stand of clothes, ane stand of blak saitin the other the doublett is quhyt saitin the breikis ar welwed and ane third stand of velvet broidret and a dussone silver spones.
- (vii.) The chappell hes a lock and key within quhilk is a lattron⁸ locket and twa locket chalmers.
- (viii.) Western chalmer—with twa stand beds with a stand of skurvie curtings, twa fether beds, twa bowsters, twa pair of worm eitin blankets, twa ill worne course coverings. A great locket kist within quhilk ar ten pair of small scheitis, four pair round scheitis, aught cods and wairis, four cuschins, fourtie serveitis, four buird clothes, four towels, twa cupbuird clothes, ane basin and a laver, with lock and key.
- (ix.) The scholehous chalmer—a bed with a staine of ill curtings, a fether bed, a bowster, twa pair of scheitis, four cods, twa vairis, ane covering, and ill blankets a pair, with lock and key.
- (x.) The nether stair chalmer—a bowster, a pair of round scheitis, a pair of ill blankets, a coverin, with lock and key.

⁸ Lattron—Lectern (N.E.D.)

- (xi.) The hall chalmer hes nothing bott a fether bed, a horse harnessing, a kist within quhilk is a waistcoit, sewin buistis quharin is leters except in one, and ane bonnet case.
- (xii.) The twa pledg chalmers ar weill locket, in the one ar thrie locket chartour kistis the one of thir keyis viz. the inner key Lancie reservet and Moriquhat hes the other dur key. Mairover was delyvered ane purse and fyve keyis within it.
- (xiii.) The over wall—in it are fourteen caikis of leid, a masking fatt, a kirk bell, fyve dussone putter plaitis quhairof 29 ar resonable guid, six worse, aught altogether brokin, 10 gud coveris, sevin bad. Truncheours⁹ 29 quhairof six ar nothing worth, six chandlers quhairof twa ar lytle and brokine, four sasars, a buist¹⁰ with sum glasses, with lock and key. At the futt of the stair is lock and key.
- (xiv.) In the sellar ar four brasse pott and ane yron pott, ar for no use, four pans for no use with twa gud pans boght be Lancie a yeir since for service of the hous, twa speitis, a pair of racks, thrie aill fatts, sum failed barrels, sevin old hogheids, a mortar with a pistole of bush.
- (xv.) In the brew hous is a masking fatt and leid and bailing buird and a kneding tubb.
- (xvi.) In the kitchin is a cruik, nothing els.

Twa of the rounds hes lock and keyis. Thrie stables has lock and keyis. The utter yett of all a strong lock and key.

We all affirm that the fether beds ar werie worne, for that thrie wald scarce fill ane bed.

(signed by) Andro Murray resawis, M. G. Young witness, James Murray witness, John Murray witness.¹¹

⁹ Truncheours—Plates or trenchers.

¹⁰ Buist—Box.

¹¹ This natural son of Sir James Murray is not recorded in Scots Peerage.

Addenda Antiquaria.

(i.) Papists and Non-Communicants in Dumfries.

By R. C. REID.

At the Reformation, as elsewhere, the great bulk of the population conformed to the new order and at least nominally forsook the Church of Rome. But there were many who were very lukewarm in their conversion and a few—a hard core—openly resisted and continued their former practices. Mr Gilbert Broun, abbot of Sweetheart Abbey, was their rallying point, and a study of the actions of that stalwart during this critical church period is long overdue. Forty-eight years after the Reformation he was still at large, though a very old man. Persecution seems to have left him unmoved.

Amongst his followers was a kinsman, John Broun of Lochhill, who was in the forefront with Mr Richard Broun, son natural to the abbot, when finally in 1608 the abbot was arrested in Dumfries by the officers of the guard after what must have been almost a riot. Lochhill was charged before the Privy Council with resisting the abbot's apprehension and denounced rebel for non-appearance.¹ Unfortunately no Presbytery or Kirk Session records for this period survive, but there are at the Register House² a few documents which throw some light on the action taken against Lochhill by the Kirk. In 1611 Broun was excommunicated by the Presbytery, but by 1613 he is reported to have subscribed the Christian Faith publically on a Sabbath day in the Kirk of Dumfries, and was therefore relaxed from the sentence. For a while he was left alone, and in 1617, when James VI. was visiting Scotland, he and John Turner of Ardwell were nominated as constables of the parish of Newabbey to be responsible for the parish quota of thirty horses to carry the King's baggage.³

Thereafter Broun was again in trouble with the Kirk, and Mr Adam Symson, minister of Newabbey, pronounced a second sentence of excommunication upon him and Janet Johnston, his spouse, for papistry. But the sentence can have rested but lightly on Lochhill, and in 1621 he was denounced rebel for pursuing and wounding his brother-uterine, John Lindsay of Glenstockane, for which he had to pay 300 merks.⁴ But the Presbytery

¹ R.P.C., viii., 132.

² R.H. Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents, No. 17.

³ R.P.C., xi., 190.

⁴ R.P.C., xii., 512, 556.

had not finished with him. To rout out papistry was their dominating preoccupation, and in 1622 the Moderator appeared before the Privy Council and complained that Lochhill and his wife, Mr Herbert Broun, indweller in Dumfries, Katherine Gledonyng, auld Lady Conhaith and John Asloane of Gariache, as suspected papists, were guilty of resetting Mr Robert Honnyman, doctor of physic, an excommunicated and trafficking papist. Once again Broun failed to appear and was denounced rebel.⁵

Papistry was the major offence, and was dealt with by the Presbytery. The lesser ecclesiastical offences, such as absenteeism from kirk, and especially failing to communicate, were dealt with by the Kirk Session. The latter would seem to have been a prevailing fault amongst all classes, if we may judge from the non-communicants dealt with in April, 1606. The Session was no respecter of persons. Whether the defaulter was a baillie or a burgess, a mere indweller or the Commissary himself, each and all were called on to explain their absence from Communion. All gave in excuses. But not one of them was accepted or believed by the Session. Indeed, it is obvious that the Session was very well informed as to their movements on the Sabbath. Perhaps the session relied on some system of informers. More likely, however, they openly employed definite searchers, such as was done by the Session of St Andrews—to search out the whereabouts of those absent from Communion. At any rate the session seems to have been very fully informed, and each excuse was examined and firmly disproved to the satisfaction of the session, as is apparent from the brief record extracted from four meetings of the session and certified by David Quhyte, the session clerk.

1611 Oct. 29. At Kirkmahoe. The which day in presence of the Bretheren of the Presbytery of Drumfreis convened for the time, John Broun of Lochhill was excommunicated for papistrie.

1613 July 27. At Drumfreis. The which day compeared John Broun of Lochhill & promised to sweare and subscribe the Christian Faith presentlie confessed in this realme by the thrie estates and established by the same, upon one of the two next Sabbathes publickly in the Kirk of Drumfreis.

1613 Aug. 10. At Drumfreis. The which day Mr Thomas Ramsay reported that John Broun of Lochhill had subscribed and sworne the Confession of Faith and that therefore he had relaxed him from the sentence of excommunication.

Extracted from the Books of the Presbytery.

M. Makjore, clerk.

⁵ R.P.C., xiii., 15-16.

1620 Aug. 22. At Drumfreis. The which day Mr Adam Symsons minister at New Abbey reported that he had prayed *pro secundo* for John Broun of Lochhill and Jonet Johnstoun his wife, quilk he had also reported to the Synodall Assemblie where he obtained warrand for their excommunication because of their papistrie.

1620 Oct. 3. At Drumfreis. The which day Mr Adam Symsons reported that he had pronounced the sentence of excommunication against John Broun of Lochhill and Jonet Johnstoun his wife for obstinacie in papistrie. The Bretheren ordaines public intimation to be made thereof.

Extracted from the Books of Presbytery.

M. Makjore, clerk.

Reg. House Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents No. 37.

NON-COMMUNICANTS.

1606 Ap. 25. Comperit befor the sessione of Drumfreis John Gledstanis son to William Gledstanis, Patrick Kae merchant burges of Drumfreis and Mr John Maxwell gluar and all confest yame selfis to havin bein lawfullit advertiseit to cum unto ye commissioun; but alledgit thir excussis,— John Gledstanis & Patrick Kae that yai wer nocht reconciltit with ther nytbors, and Mr John Maxwell yt he was seik. Qrunto it was repliyt for ye twa they usit na meines for reconciliatioun and that in no kaise hetred excussis absence and ye threitingis of excommunicatioun from ye tabill serves not mak men to absent yame selfis but to inforce yame to be more reddie; and for the said Mr John his seiknes it was allegit he did all his other effaires ordinarrilie notwithstanding ye same, he never being tyed to ye bed; and upon Monday morning immediatly efter communion he wanted his muche grin all his seiknes was befor; and seeing neyther the thre [their] wyffis nor servantis communicated they wer the mor suspicious to be authoris of sic ungodlie behaviour in thair families; Upon quhilk consideratiounis the saidis perteis were convict befor the said session of wilfull absence and thair exceptiounis and alladgances not relevant.

Comperit Robert Kae and being demandit quhy he cam not to the communion alledgit ther was nothing but bread and wyne at our communion, not any sacrament according to Krystis directioun, wt mony ma blasphemers speiches qlk he was giltie of in lyk manere; and sa was convict also.

John Bryce elder being warnit to ye session for to give answer in ye lyk kine for ye first tyme, comperit nocht.

1606 May 9. Comperit John Blaick messinger and Herber[t] Kairtour gluvar quha being accusit for absenting yame selfis from ye communion, the said John Blaick alledgis himself not to heve bein in ye cuntrie and also depones he wist not on quhat dayes the communioun sould haive bein ministret, and the said Herbert declaris yt he durst not present himself unto ye communioun suspectinge himself to be excommunicat. Qrunto was anserit for the said John he could not pretend ignorance of ye day seing according to ye common ordor intimatioun was made out of pulpeit sundrie tymes yrof and by ye Kirk officer twys at leist, everie familie was warned to ye examinatioun quik immediately preceidit ye communioun and that the said Johne's wyff cam not to ye communioun albeit she was at hame and knew well ye dayet quhilk was an geeit evidence yt the said John was willinglie absent and mover off his wyff to ye lyk dissobedience as was alledgit; and for [] the said Herbert yt suspiciounes ar our sklendir in this caise. And so yai wer [] convict of wilfull absence fra ye communioune.

1606 May 16. Comperit befor ye sessioun of Drumfreis Adam Kersan bailzie and being lawfullie admoneist to cum unto ye communioun is accusit for not communicating. He hes alledgit yt he wes not reconceillit wt his nytbour; qrunto it is replyit he ussit no meines of reconciliatioun and his nytbour whomwith he was at discentioun was willing and in taken of ye same he did communicate. And also the said Adam alledgit him to be frome hame in ye tyme of ye service of ye communioune,—qrunto it was replyit that his passing out of the toune upon Fryday betwein the twa communioune dayis and being under ye Fell towart ye New Abbey was not ane sufficient excusis seing it was wtin sevin or aught myll unto ye toun of Drumfreis. And also the said Adam schawis na greit necessitie of his bussiness yt he behuist to be yair at yt tyme. Qrupon he was also convict of wilfull absence. And seing his wyff and familie was also absent fra ye communioune not having ye same excuiss not only was he convict of absenting himself wilfully but also to be author of ye lyk falt in yaime.

1606 May 23. Comperit Homer Maxwell Commissary before ye sessioun of Drumfreis and being lawfullie admoneist to have cum unto ye communioune alledgit first yt he was not into ye cuntrie in ye tyme of ye administratioun of ye same; secondlie ther was sundrie bludis and wrangis done to his freindis qik standis yet unreconceillit. The sessioun taking dew tryell of ye same repellit ye same in no kaise to be relevant for causis afforsaid. Qrfor he excusand himself next by his absence in Edinburgh upon necessarie

causis. It was answerit yt he went to Edinburgh upon ye Setterday immediatlie preceeding the first at of the Communioun and came hame again on Sunday being ye last day yrof. Morover it was objectit yt his wyff being at home and all his familie (ane exceptit) communicated nocht nor came to ye examinatioun; Qroff he being head of ye hous could not be faultles and thairfor wes in no kaise by his absence excuissable.

Siklyk comperit Cudbert Cunnyngname nottar ane of the lait bailzies and, being lawfullie admoneit to have communicat, alledgis that he was into Edinburgh in ye tyme of ye administratioun of ye same and preparatioun yrto. It was answered he could not deny but he was at hame the last day of the communioun. The qulk qu[hen] he had granted zit he had alledgit by ressource of his absence befor that he could not upon suddentie be preparit, it was answerit yt intimatioun for examinatioun had been made to him at his hous twyss conform to ye common ordor and so ignorance could not be pretendit. Besydis nevir ane of his houshold cam to ye communioun; Qrfor he was in and convict off wilfull absenting not himself onlie but the rest of his familie.

John Bryce elder nevir absent from hame neyther at examinatioun nor communioune, yit being ye second tyme summondit to give his answer in ye lyk causs, comperit nocht.

Extracted de Libro Actorum.

(Signed) David Quhyte.

R.H. Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents No. 33.

(ii.) The Site of Cokpule.

By R. C. REID.

The site of Cokpule "castle," from which the family of Murray of Cokpule, took its designation, has long been in doubt. The *Inventory* is discreetly silent, and merely refers to the O.S. map. Cockpool is now a smallholding on the Comlongon estate. The farm originally was much more extensive, but for economic reasons it was broken up and the lands re-grouped with other holdings. About 1320 the Murrays acquired Comlongon, but a century was to pass before that massive tower was erected. The question has often been asked: Where did they live in the interval?

Somewhere in the vicinity of the smallholding of Cockpool the site had to be sought, and there faint traces of it are still to be seen. Just behind the smallholding in the angle formed by the meeting of the Seaheuch burn that runs down from Comlongon

Castle, with the Willow burn that rises in Longbridgemuir moss, can be seen a quite definite vestige of a wide ditch encircling a low mound. The mound is approximately 30 yards diameter and the ditch 14 yards wide. The mound still rises some 18 inches above the normal level, but at the close of the 13th century must have been much higher. That height was obtained by piling up on the site the excavated soil from the wide surrounding ditch, perhaps some 8-10 feet in depth, thus forming a mote-hill of late pattern without a bailey. In the south such structures are to-day called ring mottes, i.e., a raised enclosure surrounded with a ditch and rampart of earth or stone or by a wooden stockade and containing a wooden hall and other buildings. This was the manor house of Cokpule.

There are analogous sites in the county. Moss Castle (Murraythwaite), the original 15th century home of cadets of the Cokpule family, is a similar structure, and the mote of the Manderville family, hard by the kirk of Tinwald, would appear to be another. So must the rectangular earthwork behind the stables at Amisfield Tower have served as the manor house of Andrew de Charteris at the time of Bannockburn. In the 15th century the more powerful families forsook their manor houses and built massive towers, such as Comlongon, Closeburn, and Spedlins, usually on another site. The abandoned mote was soon denuded by weather and cultivation. At Cokpule the top of the mote has been ploughed back or cast down into the ditch, as has been the case of Tinwald.

This site is probably of earlier date than the coming of the Murrays to Ruthwell, of whom the earliest documented evidence is the grant of c. 1320 by the Earl of Moray as Lord of Annandale, to his nephew, William Murray, of the lands of Comlongon and Ruthwell, resigned by its previous owner, Thomas de Duncurry. The grant does not mention Cokpule, but may well have included it. It is possible that William Murray may have married a daughter of Thomas, for the charter includes the gift of half of the patronage of the church of Ruthwell, indicating that Thomas may have had two daughters and no sons. Of the Duncurrys, only two other references have been found. Between 1260 and 1280 Sir William Duncurry witnessed an undated Brus charter wrongly assigned by Bain to 1215-45 (Bain I., 1681), and again the same man witnessed Brus's grant, c. 1273, to Clairvaux (Scots Lore, No. iii., p. 129). Relationship is obvious but unknown.

If conjecture be allowed, the site of Cokpule dates from about 1200. It was a time when Rolland was re-establishing Anglo-Normans in Galloway. Some of them can be shown to have come from Cumberland. Now it is remarkable that a large proportion of these motes are located beside the sea or on a navigable estuary. The implication is inevitable. They represent the homes

of foreigners, Anglo-Norman intruders from across the Solway, who sited their homes so as to be readily accessible to and from Cumberland. Cockpule is sited on a creek that must have been navigable at that date. Even to-day at high tide a small boat could enter the creek. In 1300 at high tide the moats that surround Caerlaverock were filled by the sea. To-day Mr Halliday, who occupies the holding, affirms that in September, 1903, at high tide, driven by a strong gale, the sea water came across the road and flooded the steading right up to the back door of Stanhope, whilst at Browwell Mr Proudfoot had to hold on to the coping of the bridge to get through the water to his house.

Though it is not susceptible of proof, it is recorded on the tombstone in Ruthwell kirkyard of the family of Martin, tenants of Cockpule, that they had been tenants there for over 600 years.

(iii.) Note on Local Excavations.

By A. E. TRUCKELL.

From August to October, 1953, excavations on a small scale were in progress on the castlestead at Castledykes, Dumfries, and in its ditch. These revealed three sections of rubble base, representing a wall at least three feet thick running diagonally just south-west of the present flagstaff. Traces of other wall-bases, represented by masses of rotted mortar, were found parallel to this. On the east side of the castlestead, north of the flagstaff, was found a slighter wall, ending in a door-lintel. On both sides of and on this wall was black greasy occupation soil containing much charcoal and mediæval pottery—three fragments had also been found associated with one of the masses of mortar mentioned above, and a jug handle on the heavy wall-base. Three possible stake holes were found at the south edge of the castlestead. The well-preserved patch of wall north of the flagstaff, which yielded so much pottery, may represent an outbuilding of the "Chapel of Our Lady at Castledikis," still occupied at the end of the 17th century and mentioned as standing in the early 18th; it was just under the grass roots, whereas the heavy base lay at three feet depth. The last definite mention of the castle itself is as "waste" in 1335. The ditch was found to have a revetting of large stones and clay on one side and small cobbles on the other, and to have a base of puddled clay.

Later the same autumn assistance was given to Mrs Piggott's excavation at Milton Crannog; and in the summer of 1954 a dug-out canoe being washed out of the beach at Redkirk Point was investigated, and two circular artificial islands—not crannogs—in Auchenreoch Loch examined.

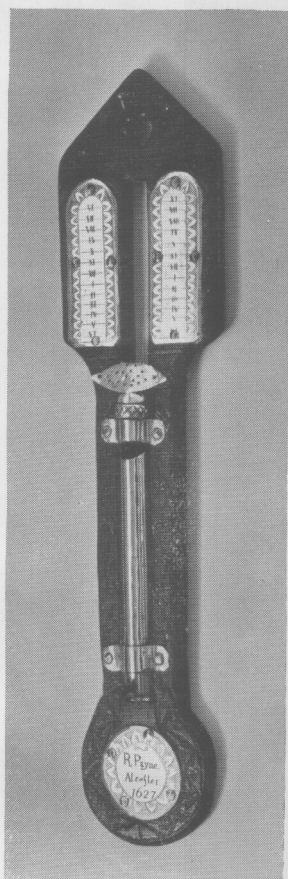


Plate I.—THE DABTON CLEPSYDRA.

(iv.) Note on a Clepsydra.

By A. E. TRUCKELL.

The accompanying illustration (Plate I.) is an unusual form of timepiece which belongs to Mr Johnstone, late of Dabton, late chamberlain to the Buccleuch Estates, who has kindly permitted its reproduction here. Bought at a sale, nothing is known of its history. If the date upon it is original, it is an unusually early example.

A clepsydra is a water-clock which measured time by the flow of water. It was the chronometer of the Greeks and Romans. It worked on the same principle as a sand hour-glass, and in Rome was used in its simplest form as a short-necked globe of known capacity, perforated by a small hole at the bottom, through which the water slowly escaped or stole away. Hence the Greek derivation *kleptein* (to steal away) and *hudor* (water). It was used to set a limit to the speeches in Roman Courts of Justice. It is said to have been used by the Egyptians, and one is believed to have functioned in the Tower of the Winds at Athens. It can never have been a very accurate timekeeper, as the flow of water would vary with the air pressure or temperature, and as the vessel emptied the rate of flow would decrease. But it was probably just as effective as a sun-dial.

Mr R. A. Plenderleith, of the Royal Scottish Museum, has most kindly provided the following note: I can find no written description of these 17th century clepsydræ. They differ radically from the very early water clocks, and, as they do not take into consideration the loss in "head of water" as the pointer falls, they are not accurate. I imagine they were "adult toys" similar in a way to the cat-gut barometer and were home-made by people who could not afford watches. To such, accurate time was of little interest, and the water-clock was possibly a little better than the empty stomach or a guess at the position of the sun. I wrote Dr. Ward of the Science Museum, who is very knowledgeable on timekeepers, and he replies as follows: "There is a considerable class of water-clocks bearing dates in the 17th century of which I frequently see examples, but I have yet to see one which I am sure really dates from that century. These have a cylindrical container for the water, which flows out from the bottom at a rate depending on the head of water. Nevertheless, a uniform time scale is provided, and in most examples the float is attached to a chain passing over a wheel to which the pointer is fixed. Even the ancient Egyptians knew better than this, and provided a conical vessel for their water-clocks, so as to give at least a roughly uniform rate of fall of water-level. The example shown in the illustration appears to be similar in principle to the '17th century' examples, but has a linear instead of a circular scale of hours. I have not seen one like this before, but it bears an uncomfortable general resemblance to the 'doubtful' ones."

(v.) The Chaplains of Comlongan.

By R. C. REID.

A note on the chaplains of Comlongan may not be out of place here in view of the identification of the chapel. (See p. 181.) The chaplainry was probably coeval with the structure of the castle, which is supposed to have been built by Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule, who flourished in 1474-93. (*Scots Peerage*, I., 220.) The foundation charter is not known to exist, though it may well be amongst the Mansfield archives. Practically all that is known of the chaplainry comes from an entry of 1606 in one of the protocol books of Herbert Cunynghame, now at the Register House, which provides us with a list of the chaplains and of the endowments. These endowments were on a remarkably generous scale for a family chaplainry, and would have formed a handsome provision for any parish church. They amounted to no less than a £10 land of excellent agricultural value, and the chaplains must have found themselves in clover. Dom. John Tait was apparently the first chaplain. Nothing is known about him, for he can scarcely be the chaplain of that name at Wigtown in 1520. (*R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 195.) His successor was Dom. Andrew Murray, perhaps a natural son of the laird, but no date can be given for his occupancy of the benefice. He was followed by Dom. John Murray, who can be dated by some notes in the Murraythwaite charter chest purporting to be from the *Mansfield Inventory*, No. 29, but obviously the work of an unskilled transcriber. Dom. John Murray, chaplain, witnessed the infestment of Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule as heir to his father, sir John Murray, on 3 July, 1529. On the eve of the Reformation Dom. Mathew Saidler was the chaplain. He must have been an aged man, for as early as 1538, as rector of Pennersax, he was a witness to a Mouswald charter (*R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 1922.) Saidler on 1 April, 1556, infest Cuthbert Murray, son and heir of Charles Murray of Cokpule, in the lands of the chaplainry, which thus passed into lay hands, though the rents of the lands would still be available for the chap-

lain. The next known chaplain was David Millar, a layman, who may once have been a churchman and a local notary whose services were much made use of by the lairds. In 1606 he disposed his interest to the laird, sir James Murray of Cokpule.

Incidentally this document reveals some errors in the account of the family as given in *Scots Peerage*.

1606 Sept. 5. Instrument of sasine narrating that John Murray apparent of Moriquhat as bailie of David Millar chaplain of the chaplainry of Cumlongane as superior of the following lands and annual rents, on precept written by Herbert Cunynghame notary dated at Comlongane 30 Aug. 1606 and witnessed by John Douglas son of William Douglas of Mar, William Dow Johnstoun, John Bell and William Scermonthe servitors to sir James Murray of Cokpule, infett the said sir James Murray knight brother and nearest heir to the deceast Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule in the £10 lands or thereabouts commonly called the Ladylands of the said chapel viz. the lands of Guliecroft, Aiket, Lytill Bellridding, Kirkstyle, Twathatis, Heyberreis and the mill thereof, Horsclois, Ruvell and Saltcoit commonly called Ladie Saltcoit, in which the said Cuthbert had died as chaplain in succession to Dom. John Tait, Dom. Andrew Murray, Dom. John Murray and lastly the deceast Dom. Mathew Saidler, to be held of the said David Millar and his successors in chief in feu for £10 scots as ancient ferme in the rentale of the said chaplainry and 2/ in augmentation as in an old feu charter granted by the deceast Dom. Mathew Saidler with consent of the deceast Charles Murray of Cokpule patron thereof to the said deceast Cuthbert Murray of Cokpule and his heirs.

wit—John Edgar of Land, William Dow Johnstoun, Thomas Ghrame and John Kirk servitors to the said sir James Murray.

Ex Protocol Book of Herbert Cunynghame No. 2 (24 July 1595 to 23 Sept. 1608).

Proceedings, 1953-54.

9th October, 1953.—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library at 7.30, 39 members and friends being present. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted, and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. The new President, Mr David Cunningham, was then installed. The proposed Revision of the Rules was adopted, and it was decided to print them in the next volume of "Transactions." The retiring President, Mr Angus McLean, then delivered his Presidential Address, entitled "The Earliest Farmers" (see "Standard," 14th October, 1953).

23rd October, 1953.—The lecturer on this date was Mr H. H. de Carle, of the Meteorological Office at Prestwick Airport, his subject being "What Makes the Weather?" giving a clear account of the observations taken and their correlation in the preparation of weather forecasts, well illustrated by lantern slides and epidiascope (see "Standard," 31st October, 1953).

6th November, 1953.—This Meeting, held in the Unionist Rooms, was a *Conversazione*. The speakers were: Mr Irvine on the Colouration of Plants; Mr Ian Stewart on Different Developments in the Sternum of Birds; the President on the Emperor Moth; and Mr Truckell on recent Archaeological Activities (see "Standard," 14th November, 1953).

27th November, 1953.—This Meeting was confined to short papers. Professor Balfour-Browne led off with a talk on *Depressaria Heracliana*, illustrated with his own slides. He was followed by Mr Truckell with a brief account of his Excavations at Castledykes, and by Mr Ian Stewart on Birds Trapped in his own Garden. Mr James Robertson wound up with a description of The Roy Maps plotted after the '45 Rebellion but not yet published (see "Standard," 5th December, 1953).

4th December, 1953. — Mr J. Grant Roger addressed the Society on "The Hill Plants of Scotland," delighting his audience with a series of exquisitely sensitive colour slides, accompanied by a commentary distinguished alike for ease and expert knowledge (see "Standard," 12th December, 1953).

18th December, 1953.—This evening Major-General Kirkpatrick came down from Perthshire to speak on the "Kirkpatricks of Closeburn," and to champion the traditional family account as against recent studies on that subject (see verbatim account in "Standard," 30th December, 1953).

8th January, 1954.—Dr. George Pratt Insh took as his subject "William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England," who

had stood as candidate for the Dumfries Burghs in the Election of May, 1708 (see Article 8 of this volume and "Standard," 16th January, 1954).

15th January, 1954.—Dr. James Aitchison, B.Sc., Director of Studies at Glasgow Dental Hospital and School, gave a lively address on "The Importance of Teeth in Archæological Excavations," and described just how much of its owner's type could be legitimately deduced from a single tooth (see "Standard," 20th January, 1954).

12th February, 1954.—This evening the Society was enlivened by a Lecture by Professor Denys Hay of Edinburgh University on "Booty in Border Warfare," which he summed up as brigandage as a way of life (printed in the last volume of "Transactions").

26th February, 1954.—Mr Arthur B. Duncan gave a talk on the "Nature Conservancy" recently set up by Royal Charter, and the work of the Scottish Committee, of which he was chairman. He gave a general review of the Conservancy's policy of adding a steady number of reserves each year, and described the relative functions of the various reserves.

12th March, 1954.—"The Marine Life of the Solway" was the subject of the address of Dr. A. C. Stephen, of the Royal Scottish Museum, who showed a number of slides of rarities in these coastal waters (see "Standard," 20th March, 1954).

26th March, 1954.—A memorable address on "The Nature and Extent of Romanisation in Scotland" was delivered by Dr. Douglas Young, who covered most of the ground dealt with by the Summer School at Dumfries last year (see Article 2 of this volume).

2nd April, 1954.—Dr. George Taylor, Keeper of Botany in the British Museum, gave a lecture on Plant Life in Thibet," illustrated by a series of brilliant-coloured slides (see "Standard," 10th April, 1954).

Field Meetings.

10th April, 1954. — On a bright, cold spring afternoon, a large company of Society members visited the 10-acre Roman site at Bankhead, Dalswinton, discovered from the air by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, Curator in Aerial Photography at Cambridge University. Excavations by Professor Richmond and Dr. St. Joseph had just been completed, and, after Professor Richmond and Dr. St. Joseph had spoken on the discovery of the fort, its Flavian dating, its importance as the western counterpart of Newstead, and its supersession, by reason of loose subsoil, by Carzield in the Antonine period, they conducted the large party of members and interested local residents round the excavations, pointing out the lead-smelter built in a gravel pit, the sequence of ditches, a small iron smelter, and the pattern of sleeper-trenches in more than one period where the trench cut the barrack-sites diagonally. Mr Angus McLean, in a witty speech, thanked the excavators for the trouble they had taken to make the visit a most interesting one. (See "Standard," 14th April, 1954.)

15th May, 1954.—An afternoon excursion, with Mr Ian F. Stewart as leader, was made to Drumlanrig Woods to study the bird life there. The weather was excellent, and 24 species were found in the available time. These were mostly passerine birds, notable examples being the Pied Flycatcher and Wood Warbler. The conditions and time of year made this a suitable opportunity to become acquainted with many of the songs and calls. Members and friends had a picnic tea in the woods, and Mr James Irvine proposed a vote of thanks to the leader. (See "Standard," 22nd May, 1954.)

12th June, 1954.—On a pleasant summery day of cloud and shadow, a large company of members visited Wanlockhead, and after a preliminary talk by Mr Boyd on the geology of the area in the Mennock Pass, the company visited the re-opened mine workings, where Dr. Burnett gave a most interesting address on the history of the Wanlockhead/Leadhills mines, and Mr Boyd spoke on the characteristic minerals found in the area. Then, in a private house, the company was shown a magnificent collection of local minerals, which were identified by Mr Boyd. As the finale to a most interesting afternoon, the company was driven to the Radar Station atop Green Lowther, where the staff explained the purpose of the station and demonstrated many of the fascinating instruments. After a packed tea, the company, with a last look at the fine panorama of mountain and valley, returned homeward. (See "Standard," 16th June, 1954.)

Presentations.

12th November, 1954.—Well-preserved Seal of the Chapter of Glenluce Abbey, slightly injured round the edges, salvaged from the residual junk of a Glasgow antique shop about to be auctioned and acquired by Mr H. McIntosh, Joint Hon. Secretary of the Glasgow Archæological Society, who has kindly presented it to the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society. It is now in one of the display cases in the Museum. The seal is a pointed oval in shape, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. x $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. A fine illustration of this chapter seal is reproduced in the "Archæological and Historical Collections of Ayrshire and Galloway," Vol. X (1899), p. 208. Laing's "Ancient Scottish Seals," p. 185, describes it as follows: "A very richly designed seal. A full-length figure of the Virgin and Infant Jesus standing within a Gothic niche, at each side of which a figure is kneeling. At the lower part of the seal is a lion rampant, crowned, for Galloway." Legend: S. Commune Monasterie Beate Marie de Valle Lucis.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

Membership List, April 1st, 1955.

Fellows of the Society under Rule 10 are indicated thus *

LIFE MEMBERS.

*Balfour-Browne, Professor W. A. F., M.A., F.R.S.E., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (President, 1949-50)	1941
Bell, Robin M., M.B.E., Roundaway, Waipawa, Hawkes Bay, N.Z.	1950
Birley, Eric, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Hatfield College, Durham	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), Down Place, South Harting, near Petersfield, Hants....	1946
Breay, Rev. J., Warcop Vicarage, Appleby, 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	—
Burnand, Miss K. E., F.Z.S.Scot., Brocklehurst, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1941)	1943
Bute, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, M.B.O.U., F.Z.S., F.S.A.Scot., 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, Auldgrith, 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
*MacLean, A., B.Sc., Wayside, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries (President, 1950-53) (Ordinary Member, 1944) ...	1953
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., Lavender Bank, Curlew Green, Saxmund- ham, Suffolk	1945
Perkins, F. Russell, Duntisbourne House, Cirencester, Glos.	1946
Phinn, Mrs E. M., Imrie Bell, Castle-Douglas (Ordinary Member, 1938)	1943
Porteous, Miss M., 125 Broom's Road, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1953)	1954
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
Thomas, C. H., O.B.E., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dumfries	1950
Thomas, Mrs C. H., Southwick House, Southwick, by Dum- fries	1950

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Airey, Alan Ferguson, Broadleys Cottage, Ghyllhead, Win- dermere	1951
Anderson, Miss Mosa, Charlton Cottage, Peaslake, Guild- ford, Surrey	1953
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Bogside, Langholm	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A., Bogside, Langholm	1946
Armstrong, William, Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	1946
Armstrong, Mrs W., Thirlmere, Edinburgh Road, Dum- fries	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
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
Bell, W. D., c/o Shell Oil Co., Ltd., West 8th Street, Calgary, Alberta, Canada	1954
Beveridge, Miss, Edgeware, 7 Palmerston Drive, Dumfries	1954
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
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
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
Bunyan, David, The Barony, Parkgate	1955
Byers, R., Munches Kennels, Dalbeattie	1951
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
Cameron, Dr. Ian, Crichton Royal	1954
Cameron, Mrs, Crichton Royal	1954
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
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., LL., Duncow, Dum- fries	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 Insti- tution, Dumfries	1943
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries	1948
Cunynghame, Mrs Blair, Broomfield, Moniaive	1948
Cuthbertson, Capt. W., M.C., Beldcraig, Annan	1920
Daly, Mrs Dorothy, Balmacarry, Kirkgunzeon	1955
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
Delday, Miss Elizabeth, 79 Buccleuch Street, Dumfries ...	1954
Dickie, J. Wallace, Glenlee, 17 Palmerston Drive, Dumfries	1954
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, Dum- fries	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
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
Duncan, Wm. W., M.A., Schoolhouse, Beeswing	1954

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
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
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, Mrs, 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, Marford, New Abbey Road, Dumfries ...	1945
Grierson, Mrs Thomas, Marford, New Abbey Road, Dumfries	1946
Grieve, S. L., The Drum, Southwick	1954

Grieve, Mrs, The Drum, Southwick	1954
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, 153 Kingstown Road, Moorville, Carlisle	1953
Hepburn, James, M.P.S., 35 Victoria Street, Newton-Stewart	1954
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
Jardine-Paterson, Mrs, Dalawoodie, Auldgirth	1955
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
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat	—
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries	1945
Johnstone, R., M.A., Schoolhouse, Southwick	1947
King, Norman, 14 Carlisle Road, Southport	1954
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, David, Dalswinton, Dumfries	1955
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, Dum- fries	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, Dum- fries	1953
M'Burnie, James, Empshott Lodge, Liss, Hants	1950
McCaig, Mr, Barmiltoch, Stranraer	1954
M'Caig, Mrs Margaret H., Barmiltoch, Stranraer	1931
McCaig, Miss, c/o County Library, Stranraer	1953
McClure, Miss J., Wellwood, New Galloway	1955
McConnel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 17 Horncap Lane, Kendal	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
McCulloch, Lady, 37 Fleet Street, Gatehouse, 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 N. H., Suswa, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1952
Macdonald, Mrs Bell, Rammerscales, Hightae, Lockerbie	1954
M'Kerrow, Mrs Arthur, Rickerby, Lochanhead	1950
M'Kerrow, Henry George, Whiterne, Albert Road, Dumfries	1953
McKie, John, 44 Terregles Street, Dumfries	1954

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
MacLean, Mrs M., Wayside, Dumfries	1944
M'Lean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries	1946
MacMillan-Fox, Mrs M. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive	1950
McMurdo, Edward G., 12 Janefield Drive, Dumfries	1954
MacPherson, Mrs Janet, Airlie Mount, Alyth, Perthshire	1954
McQueen, Miss Flora, Ford View, Kippford, Dalbeattie	1954
MacQueen, John, M.A., 48 Airthray Avenue, Glasgow, W.4	1952
M'Robert, Mrs F., 2 Stewartry Court, Lincluden	1948
Mair, Mrs, Balmoral Park, Annan Road, Dumfries	1955
Maitland, Mrs C. L., Cumstoun, Twynholm	1952
Mangles, Rev. J. L., B.Sc., Manse of Troqueer, Dumfries	1952
Marshall, Dr. Andrew, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1947
Marshall, Robert, Burnock, English Street, Dumfries	1955
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, Rev. Charles, M.A., Hillview, Nether Dargavel, Collin	1955
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
Moodycliffe, Edgar, senr., Barcroft, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1954
Moodycliffe, Edgar, junr., 4 Corberry Terrace, Dumfries	1954
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., Myddleton, New Abbey Road, 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
Musket, Andrew, M.A., Schoolhouse, Amisfield	1955
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, M.A., Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries	1944
Park, Miss Mary, F.S.M.C., Gordon Villa, Annan Road, Dumfries	1944
Paterson, G. E., Auchenbrae, Kirkcudbright	1954
Paterson-Smith, J., The Oaks, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1948
Paulin, Mrs N. G., Holmlea, New-Galloway	1950
Payne, Mrs, Milnhead, Kirkmahoe	1953
Penman, John S., Airlie, Dumfries	1947
Peploe, Mrs, North Bank, Moffat	1947
Piddington, Mrs, Woodhouse, Dunscore	1950
Pigott, Lady, Closeburn Castle, Dumfries	1945
Prentice, Edward G., B.Sc., Pringleton House, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1945
Prevost, W. A. J., Craigieburn, Moffat	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Highfield, Motherby, by Penrith ...	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, 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., Albany, 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
Rogers, D., Elanoy, Victoria Avenue, Dumfries	1954
Rogers, Mrs, Elanoy, Victoria Avenue, Dumfries	1954
Russell, Mrs E. W., Drumwalls, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Russell, H. N., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1953
Russell, Mrs H. N., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1954
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries	1944
Scott, John, Milton, Beattock	1945
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, 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, Rockcliffe	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
Stewart, Mrs, 43 Castle Street, Dumfries	1954
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 Dal- beattie	1933
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk	1950
Truckell, A. E., F.S.A.Scot., Summerville Avenue, Dum- fries	1947
Tweedie, Miss M., Carruchan, Dumfries	1952
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries	1946
Vardy, J. D., A.R.I.A.S., West View, Albert Road, Dum- fries	1954
Vasconcellos, Miss, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1954
Walker, Dr. C., Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1954
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

Walker, Peter E., B.T.O., S.O.C., R.S.P.B., 10 Delhi Road, Eastriggs, Annan	1954
Walmsley, Miss A. G. P., 4 Albany, Dumfries	1951
Walmsley, T. H., 16 St John's Road, Annan	1954
Ward, Miss E. M., Cragfoot, Grasmere, Westmoreland	1954
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, Dum- fries	1950
Brown, Andrew J. M., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright... ..	1948
Brown, David D. S., Robertson, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1948
Daly, Gordon, Balmacarry, Kirkgunzeon	1955
Davidson, Nathan, Leigh House, Castle-Douglas	1952
Farquharson, Gordon, 16 Henry Street, Dumfries	1954
Fox, Miss Jane, Glencrosh, Moniaive	1950
Gair, Alan, Delvine, Amisfield	1954
Gair, John, Delvine, Amisfield, Dumfries	1945
Graham, —, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming	1952
Hewat, R. J., Mains of Drumpark, Irongray	1952
Lockhart, Christine, c/o Armstrong, Dunaird, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1953
Marchbank, Helen, West Morton Street, Thornhill	1953
Mitchell, David, Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir	1952
Mitchell, Malcolm, Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir	1952
Murray, John, c/o A. E. Truckell, Summerville Avenue, Dumfries	1955
Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	1946
Noble, Simon Peter, 9 Albany Place, Dumfries	1954
Tallerman, Marie, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries	1953
Thomson, E. Ann, 18 West Morton Street, Thornhill	1953

SUBSCRIBERS.

Aberdeen University Library	...	...	...	...	...	1938
Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, per Lieut.-Col. J. Greeves, Linen Hall Library, Belfast	...	...	...	...	...	1954
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 Archaeology, 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
Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, Prinzen- strasse 1, Göttingen, 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
The Library, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, 3	...	...	...	...	...	1954
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, 1955.

- Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of
Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.
The Library of the Queen's University.
Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.
- Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Ter-
race, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- Caermarthen: The Caermarthen Antiquary.
- Cambridge: University Library.
- Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales,
Cardiff.
- Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæo-
logical Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.
- Carlisle Natural History Society.
- Edinburgh: Advocates' Library and National Library of Scot-
land, 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, 2 Ailsa Drive, Langside, Glasgow, S.2.
Geological Society, 207 Bath Street.
Natural History Society, 207 Bath Street.
- 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, Washing-
ton 25, D.C., U.S.A

Vitterhets Historie och Antikvites. Fornvännen. (K.)

Yorkshire: Archaeological Society, 10 Park Place, Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales, Aberystwith.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

For Year ended 30th September, 1954.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

Subscriptions	£199 0 0
Grant by Carnegie Trust (£100 received after close of this Account)	—
Interest—	
On 3½% War Stock	£8 1 0
On Savings Bank Balance	8 0 9
	16 1 9
Sale of Publications	7 6 9
Excursions—Paid by Members	14 11 9
Conversazione—Paid by Members	5 5 0
	£242 5 3
Balance of Current Account as at 30/9/53	226 5 7
	£468 10 10

EXPENDITURE.

Publications—	
Printing of "Transactions"	£238 15 6
Engraving Blocks	13 2 7
	£251 18 1
Excursions—Transport, etc.	11 16 3
Miscellaneous—	
Printing, Stationery, etc.	£27 19 0
Advertising	14 1 0
National Museum of Antiquities	2 3 5
Scottish Field Studies	1 1 0
Refund of Subscriptions	2 5 0
Lecturers' Expenses	7 10 6
Cheque Book	0 6 0
Bank Service Charge	0 15 6
Caretaker	1 17 6
Hire of Projector	1 10 0
	59 8 11
Conversazione—Teas and Hire of Hall	4 12 6
Repaid to Capital Account	50 0 0
	£377 15 9
Balance of Current Account as at 30/9/54	90 15 1
	£468 10 10

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

On hand at 30th September, 1953—

3½ % War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0
Balance with Dumfries Savings Bank	265	3	3
	£483 13 3		
New Life Member's Subscription	10	10	0
From General Revenue Account	50	0	0
	£544 3 3		

EXPENDITURE.

On hand at 30th September, 1954—

3½ % War Stock (at cost)	£218	10	0
Balance with Dumfries Savings Bank	325	13	3
	£544 3 3		

A. J. M. FLINN, Treasurer.

8th October, 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.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

RULES.

(Adopted 25th November, 1944. Revised 18th October, 1946.
Revised and adopted 9th October, 1953.)

Name of the Society.

1. The Society shall be called "The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society."

Aims.

2. The objects of the Society shall be to collect and publish the best information on the Natural Sciences and Antiquities (including History, Records, Genealogy, Customs and Heraldry) of the three counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown; to procure the preservation of objects of Natural Science and Antiquities relative to the district; to encourage local research and field activities in Natural Science and excavations by private individuals or public bodies and afford them suggestions and co-operation; to prevent, as far as possible, any injury to Ancient Monuments and Records, etc.; and to collect Photographs, Drawings and Descriptions and Transcripts of the same.

Membership.

3. The Society shall consist of Life Members, Honorary Members, Ordinary Members, and Junior Members.

Life Members.

4. Life Membership shall be gained by a composition fee of £10 10s, which shall entitle the Life Member to all the privileges of the Society.

Honorary Members.

5. Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty in number. They shall be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, without subscriptions, but shall be elected or re-elected annually at the Annual General Meeting. Honorary Membership shall, as far as possible, be reserved (a) for those who have aided the Society locally, or (b) for those of recognised attainments in Natural History, Archaeology, or kindred subjects.

Ordinary and Junior Members. Annual Subscription.

Privileges of Members.

6. Ordinary Members shall be proposed and elected at any Meeting of the Society by a vote of the majority present. They shall contribute annually on the 1st October or within three months thereafter Fifteen Shillings (15s) or such other sum as may be agreed upon at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special Meeting. All Ordinary Members shall be entitled to attend the Meetings of the Society and shall receive gratis a copy of the "Transactions" of the Society on issue.

When more than one person from the same family and residing in the same house joins the Society all after the first may pay

half the subscription rate and shall enjoy the privileges of the Society except that they shall not receive gratis a copy of the "Transactions."

Junior Members are those who have not attained the age of twenty-one. They shall be proposed and elected in the same way as Ordinary Members, but shall pay an annual subscription of Two Shillings and Sixpence (2s 6d) or such other sum as may be agreed upon. Junior Members shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, except that they shall have no vote nor shall they receive gratis a copy of the "Transactions." Junior Members shall be liable for the Ordinary Membership subscription on the first day of October following their twenty-first birthday, or within three months thereafter.

Subscriptions from newly elected Members are due immediately after election.

Overdue Subscriptions.

7. Members whose subscriptions are in arrears shall not receive the "Transactions." If in arrears for fifteen months and having received due notice from the Treasurer, they shall cease *ipso facto* to be Members of the Society.

Strangers.

8. A Member may introduce a friend to any Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

Office-Bearers. Council. Election.

9. The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Council composed of a President, Past Presidents, four Vice-presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Ordinary Members, together with a Librarian and Departmental Curators, if any. They shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting and shall be eligible for re-election with the following provisos:

The President shall not occupy the Chair for more than three years consecutively and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year.

Each year one Vice-President and three Ordinary Members shall retire and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year. In deciding who shall be ineligible for re-election, the Council shall take into account length of service and attendance at the Council meetings, but if vacancies occur owing to voluntary retirement or death, these vacancies shall reduce the retiring quota.

The Council shall have power to fill casual vacancies occurring during the year. Any person thus appointed shall be subject to the same conditions as those applicable to the person whom he replaces.

Quorum.

Five Members shall form a quorum at a Council meeting.

Fellows.

10. On retiring, Presidents shall become Fellows of the Society. This honour may also be conferred upon Members of the Society who have done outstanding scientific work for the Society. Such individuals shall be proposed by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting. A Fellow shall be eligible for any office for which he is qualified.

Committees.

11. The Council may appoint Committees for any specific purpose, and with such powers as may seem warranted by the occasion; any such Committee to be composed of not less than three Members of the Society, exclusive of the President and the Secretary, who shall be *ex officio* members of all Committees. Every Committee shall have power to co-opt.

Secretary's Duties.

12. The Secretary shall keep a Minute Book of the Society's Proceedings, shall conduct the ordinary correspondence of the Society, and shall submit a report on the previous year's activities at the Annual General Meeting. The Secretary shall call all Meetings.

Editor.

13. The Council shall appoint a Member of the Society as Editor of the "Transactions," who shall be *ex officio* a Member of the Council.

Treasurer's Duties.

14. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, take charge of the funds, and make payments therefrom under the direction of the Council, to whom the Treasurer shall present an Annual Account made up to 31st March, to be audited for submission at the Annual Meeting.

The insurance against fire and theft of all the belongings of, or of articles in charge of, the Society shall be the responsibility of the Treasurer.

Invested Funds.

15. The Invested Funds of the Society shall be in the name of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, for the time being, conjointly. Life Membership fees are to be regarded as capital, and are to be invested at the discretion of the above-named three Office-Bearers in any Stocks known as Trustee Securities, or in a Bank Deposit.

Meetings.

16. The Meetings of the Society shall be held, as arranged by the Council, and at such meetings papers may be read and discussed, objects of interest exhibited, and other business transacted.

Field Meetings.

17. The Field Meetings shall be held as arranged by the Council, to visit and examine places of interest, and otherwise carry out the aims of the Society.

Annual General Meeting.

18. The Annual General Meeting, of which not less than fourteen days' notice shall be given, shall be held in October, and at this Meeting the Office-Bearers, Members of Council, and two Auditors shall be elected. Fifteen Members shall form a quorum.

Reports (general and financial) shall be submitted and any other competent business transacted. Office-Bearers and Members of Council shall be nominated by the outgoing Council, but it shall be competent for any two Members to make alternative or additional nominations, provided that they are in the hands of the

Secretary, together with the consent in writing of the nominee(s), at least seven clear days before the meeting. A ballot shall be held if necessary.

Special Meetings.

19. The Secretary or the President shall at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society on receiving instructions of the Council, or a requisition signed by six Members. Every Member of the Society must be informed of any such Special Meeting, of which not less than seven days' notice must be given. Fifteen Members shall form a quorum.

Transactional Right to Publish Papers.

20. The Council shall have the right to publish in the "Transactions," or otherwise, the whole, or part, or a résumé of, any paper read by any member or person at a meeting of the Society, and the Council shall decide what illustrations, plates, or diagrams shall be reproduced with any such papers.

Separate Copies of Papers.

21. Contributors of papers to the Society shall be entitled, if such papers be published in the "Transactions," to receive ten copies gratis of such papers as "separates" in pamphlet form.

Loans.

22. The Society is prepared to accept articles of interest for exhibition on loan, but they will not be responsible for their damage or loss by fire, theft, or any other cause. It is desirable that parties lending articles should state the value put upon them, that the Society (in their discretion) may insure the articles for a similar amount. The Council shall have the power to terminate, or to refuse, the loan of such articles as they may from time to time see fit.

Rules.

23. These Rules cancel all other Rules previously passed. They shall be printed in pamphlet form and a copy shall be supplied to every member and to every new member on his election. They shall take effect from the date of the Annual General Meeting at which they are adopted.

Alteration of Rules.

24. Alterations of these Rules or the addition of any new rule shall be made only with the consent of three-fourths of the Members present and voting at an Annual General Meeting or at a Special Meeting, notice of such proposed alteration or addition having been given in writing to the Secretary not less than fourteen days previous to such Meeting. The Secretary shall intimate to all Members that a change in the Rules is proposed.

The above twenty-four Rules, which cancel all previous editions, were approved, due notice having been given to all Members, at the Annual General Meeting of the Society on October 9th, 1953.

ANGUS MacLEAN, President.

CATHERINE F. SERVICE, Secretary.

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