

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY
NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862.

TRANSACTIONS
AND
JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS
1956-57.

THIRD SERIES, VOLUME XXXV.

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 Hon. Secretary or one of the Editors. Papers may be submitted at any time. Preference is always given to original work on local subjects.

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ARTICLE I.

Dalswinton and the *Ala Petriana*.

By ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

Professor Richmond and Dr St. Joseph have once more placed this Society, and all students of Roman Britain, in their debt by their succinct and most interesting report (these *Transactions*, 3rd series, XXXIV., 9-21) on the large Roman fort at Dalswinton in Nithsdale, discovered from the air by Dr St. Joseph and examined in a trial excavation by the two writers in partnership. The main results of their examination are not likely to be challenged or to need any modification, however much more digging there may be occasion or opportunity for on the site: it was a Flavian foundation, showing evidence for two successive periods of occupation, the second involving an increase in its size and, on any showing, provision for it to hold a different type of garrison.

The authors go further, suggesting specifically that the new garrison was a cavalry regiment one thousand strong, the *ala Petriana* (the only unit of that type in the province of Britain). That suggestion, as they point out, depends on two specific points:

(a) The dimensions of Dalswinton II., 723 feet by 620 feet¹ over its ramparts, closely match those of the Wall fort at Stanwix by Carlisle, 700 feet by 580 feet, now unquestionably identified as the station of the *ala Petriana* in the Notitia Dignitatum's list *per lineam Valli*—and for long years before that list was compiled, since the fort is named after the regiment stationed in it: we may compare the case of Leon in Spain, which came to be known in late Roman times as *Legio VII. Gemina*, its garrison from the time of Vespasian onwards. The assumption here is that such dimensions were standard for that type of unit, an *ala milliaria*, and no other.

¹ Op. cit., p. 17; at p. 13 they are given as 730 by 625 feet.

(b) The earliest of the structural periods at Corstopitum, near Corbridge in Northumberland, is thought to have involved a fort with an identical, unusual planning of its interior (with no axial street leading straight into the fort from its south gateway but, instead, one lying well back from its axis on either side), while a tombstone of early style, found in Hexham priory and presumably brought thither by its Anglian builders with other Roman stones from Corstopitum, implies that the *ala Petriana* was stationed at Corstopitum in the Flavian period.

The case is stated with great skill, and (like anything coming from the pen of Professor Richmond) it must obviously be treated with respect. But a serious doubt subsists in my mind, and it seems proper that I should enter a caveat, before the movement of the *ala Petriana* from an Agricolan fort at Corstopitum, via Dalswinton,² to its ultimate base at Stanwix, passes into the canon of Roman Britain.

The crux is the assumption that the first fort at Corstopitum was in fact identical in lay-out and, presumably, in size with Dalswinton II., and that the *ala Petriana* was already one thousand strong *circa* A.D. 81-90, the period when it is assumed to have been stationed at Corstopitum. On the first point, it will be sufficient, perhaps, to stress that the lay-out and plan of the first Roman fort at Corstopitum have yet to be worked out in convincing detail, however attractive Mr John Gillam's theoretical case for a large fort, with its long axis E.-W., may seem (and indeed it is that case which Professor Richmond and Dr St. Joseph appear to have accepted). But a more serious objection must be advanced on Order of Battle grounds; for there is strong reason to suppose that it was not until after A.D. 98 that the *ala Petriana* was selected for conversion from its original establishment of 500 to the milliary establishment which marked it out as the senior mobile striking-force of the provincial army. Its name has been restored by Professor Nesselhauf on the fragmentary diploma of A.D. 98 which

² Op. cit., p. 18.

lists three *alae* and six cohorts, serving in Britain, from which time-expired men had been honourably discharged in that year; taking into account the number of letters to be restored and the fact that at that period abbreviations were not customarily used in the titles of units (except for *c.R.* = *civium Romanorum*, signifying that the unit concerned had received a block grant of Roman citizenship in recognition of its gallantry in action), he showed reason for reading [*Gallorum Petria*]na *c.R.* as the name of the first *ala*.³ But before the death of Trajan in A.D. 117 it appears as *milliaria* on an inscription from Attidium in Umbria, recording the public career of a certain C. Camurius Clemens who had been its prefect, previously serving as tribune in command of *coh. II. Ulpia Petraeorum* (one of the new units raised after the annexation of the new province of Arabia in A.D. 106).⁴ On that basis, it would seem not unreasonable to suppose that it was in the period 98-110, or thereabouts, that the *ala Petriana* was raised to an establishment strength of one thousand; and in that case its size can have had no necessary relevance to the supposed large fort, Corstopitum I.: by contrast, it would better fit Corstopitum II., which we have good reason to suppose was of approximately the same size and the same general lay-out as its second-century successors, closely matching Wall forts like Benwell, which could house either an *ala quingenaria* or a *cohors milliaria*. For what it may be worth, let me add that the Hexham tombstone of one of the regiment's standard-bearers does not credit it with the title *milliaria* or, for that matter, *c.R.*, and the man commemorated has the single name of a non-citizen: so that we may infer that it was set up before A.D. 98, when the diploma gives the unit the latter title, though not necessarily very long before that date.⁵

It seems wiser, therefore, to leave open the question what unit, or rather what garrison was in occupation of Dalswinton II. One thinks of the possibility of a "task-force," rather

³ C.I.L. XVI., 43.

⁴ C.I.L. XI., 5669=Dessau, I.L.S., 2728.

⁵ For the inscription, cf. *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VII., 995=Dessau, I.L.S. 2520.

than a single unit, having been provided for by the unusual lay-out of streets—which had the effect of allowing two units to occupy the *praetentura* of the fort, each having its own *via praetoria*, while keeping the *porta praetoria* itself in a neutral position. Examination of its barracks, in a further—and longer and more expensive—excavation, might one day decide the question. But it will be prudent to wait for further detail before accepting the view that Dalswinton II. was the key fort in the whole Roman scheme for mobile operations in the north of Britain in the last decade of the first century, and that in it the *ala Petriana* was “poised to repel a thrust down Nithsdale or to operate with effect far beyond the valley, in Kyle or Cunningham.”⁶

A note may be added about the basic assumption, undoubtedly a correct one, that the *ala milliaria* was in fact designed to form the main mobile striking-force in a provincial army. The point has never yet been discussed in detail, however obvious it may seem to the intelligent historian, and this is not the place for such a discussion; but it will suffice to stress that there can never have been more than about a dozen such units in the whole Roman army, and there was no provincial army which can be shown to have contained more than one of them: furthermore, study of their stations (in so far as they are known) makes it apparent that they were regularly placed in positions from which the main effort of Roman operations in the province concerned could best be made—and it should be no surprise to learn that two of the equestrian officers who won greatest honours in the Danubian wars of Marcus Aurelius, M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex and M. Valerius Maximianus, had both risen to the distinction of the *militia quarta*, as commanders (though not in direct succession) of the *ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria*, in Upper Pannonia.⁷ It can be shown with virtual certainty that the first *alae milliariae* were formed under the Flavians, the total rising

⁶ Richmond and St Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷ For *militia quarta*, cf. my *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, 1953, p. 148 f.; for the two officers, *C.I.L. VI.*, 1449=Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 1107 and *l'Année Epigraphique*, 1956, No. 124.

slowly as new regiments were formed (two of them by Trajan) or existing ones selected for expansion (as must have been the case with the *ala Petriana* some time in Trajan's reign). The placing of the *ala Petriana* at Stanwix, on Hadrian's Wall, confirms Horsley's shrewd assessment of the question where the main effort on that frontier was expected to be exerted; and it may well be that the need for the army of Britain to include an *ala milliaria* was one of the lessons learnt during the period, still imperfectly documented, between Agricola's recall and the closing years of Trajan's reign.

ARTICLE 2.

The Monastery at Applegarth.

By R. C. REID.

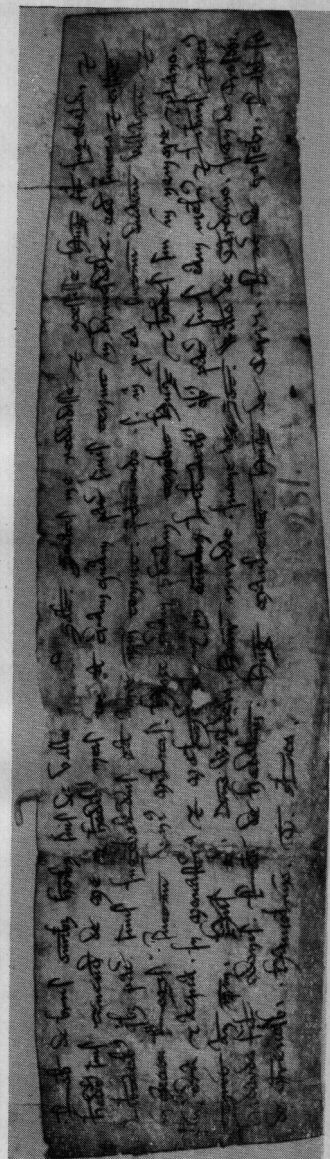
The Ordnance Survey Map records at Applegarth the site of a monastery which it marks with a cross, just south of the Manse. Attention was drawn to this as long ago as 1927 and an explanation was offered.¹ But the explanation was conjectural, for no mediæval reference could be brought forward to support it. Now at last a reference is forthcoming. In a document assigned by Bain² to c. 1215 Robert de Brus restores to Hugh, son of Ingebald, certain lands in Dryfesdale, to be held "in wood and plain, land and water, *monastery* and mill" as his father held them before him, rendering to Brus the services of two villis and in the king's army the service of one knight. This alone is justification for the tradition.

Brus held Annandale of the crown for the service of 10 knights. This knight's fee of Hugh, son of Ingebald, must have been considerably larger than the present parish of Dryfesdale, if the whole of Annandale was divided into 10 knight's fees. The unusual reference to a monastery in what was the stereotyped formula of a charter, is significant. It implies that somewhere within the area covered by the grant was a site that was, or had been, a monastic establishment at one time. It is also significant that a witness to the grant was William de Gardino, the first known member of the Jardine family, whose association with Applegarth was only severed within recent years and whose burial mausoleum stands in Applegarth kirkyard. We may never know the boundaries of the lands gifted by Brus to Hugh, son of Ingebald, but it is suggested here that they covered both Dryfesdale and Applegarth ("the service of two villis" of the charter) and that at Hugh's death Applegarth, by

¹ *Applegarth before the 13th Century*, in D. and G. Trans. XIV., 158.

In the Historical Monuments Commission's report on Dumfriesshire it is listed under sites—No. 30—*Monastery, Applegarthtown*.

² *Calendar of Documents relative to Scotland*, I., 635.



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Plate I.

c. 1215. Charter by Robert de Brus to Hugh son of Ingebald of the whole land which his father held in Drivesdale. Hugh shall hold it in wood and plain, land and water, monastery and mill (Bain I. 635 and P.R.O. DL/3, No. 219).

marriage or otherwise, became the property of William de Gardino, just as Dryfesdale came into the hands of the de Bosco family. But somewhere on Hugh's lands there must have been a site to which was attached a tradition that there was once a monastery there. Such a monastery was almost certainly a Celtic foundation.

What then may have been a plausible conjecture in 1927 has become, on the evidence of this charter, an historical probability. There certainly was no mediæval monastery at Applegarth otherwise some record of it must have survived. It may have been Anglican or even Celtic. The New Statistical Account records that a small portion of carved stone was found resembling "one of those ornamental stone crosses which in former times were the usual appendages of Romish churches." But the stone has disappeared. All that we can surmise is that it was an Anglian cross of the tenth to twelfth centuries. It is proof that an Anglian church was once at Applegarth but cannot be proof of an Anglian monastery there. The monastery may have been of earlier date, a recollection of a Celtic monastery. That would take us back to the days of St. Kentigern, whose Life records that "the holy bishop building churches in Hodelm, ordaining priests and clerics, placed his see there . . . for a time."

More than five centuries later, c. 1120, David, earl of Huntingdon, who within a few years was to become king of Scotland reorganised the bishopric of Glasgow. The Norman church naturally sought to claim all the lands and churches of the Celtic and Anglian churches that had preceded it. But such was the state of the country that no one knew for certain what those possessions were. An inquiry was made, c. 1124, known as *David's Inquest*, which recorded the findings of the older and wiser men of the whole of Cumbria who found that the churches of St. Kentigern numbered 30 in all, of which 10 were believed to be in Annandale. Of these 10 all, except 2, have been provisionally identified. There can be no mistake about some of them such as Hoddam and Dryfesdale. Applegarth is not mentioned. But there are two churches in that list of 10 which have not been identified—Colehtoun and Brumescheyed. It was suggested

in 1927³ that Brumescheyed may be the former name of Applegarth. Place names are often corrupted, frequently changed. The great abbey of Whitby changed its name twice. To Bede it was known as Straenaeshalch, later in the Danish occupation it was known as Prestbi, finally when the Northumbrian foundation was reorganised and refounded in Norman days it was known as Whitby. Likewise it is supposed that Hoddam itself was once known in Northumbrian days as Tigbrethingham. Brumescheyed is an Anglian name and probably means "Broomshed," a ridge of land covered with broom—not inapplicable to the vicinity of Applegarth church.

One further charter may be mentioned here. It is very fragmentary but is a grant by an unnamed bishop of Glasgow—probably John—to Robert de Brus ii. of Annandale, of the lands of the church of Glasgow in Stratanant, to be held in fee as his late father Robert de Brus i. held them. Lawrie⁴ suggests a date prior to 1147. Bain in his Calendar⁵ suggests a date between 1140 and 1152. The charter is addressed by the bishop to all the sons of Holy Church of his whole "*parochia*" or episcopal see. The use of this term *parochia*⁶ for a diocese is not uncommon in the very early church before the Norman reorganisation had taken effect. But once that reorganisation was well under way the term took on a very different connotation and was applied to the definitely delimited areas which in gross made up the diocese—the mediæval and modern parish. It may therefore be conjectured that at the date of this charter (1140-50) the parish system in Annandale was still in embryo and Applegarth was only emerging as a parish.

The bishop's grant was obviously a matter of high policy, and there must have been a *quid pro quo* from Brus to the bishop and, though there is no record of it I would suggest that Brus undertook the obligation of dividing Annandale into parishes and providing churches for each of them. It may have been a loosely worded undertaking, for,

³ D. and G. Trans., XIV., 161.

⁴ *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 162.

⁵ Bain I., 30.

⁶ See Dowden, *The Mediæval Church in Scotland*, p. 112.

in the episcopate of Ingelram, who died in February, 1174, a dispute, of which no details are given, arose between that bishop and Robert de Brus ii. which was only settled in 1187 when Brus and his son, who predeceased him, granted to the bishop the churches of Moffat, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Dryfesdale, Hoddam and Castlemilk.⁷ Clearly the dispute related to the churches of Annandale and I would conjecture that the undertaking of the elder Brus in 1140-50 had been completed by his erecting, or encouraging his feudal knights to erect, churches—merely of wood, wattle and plaster—according to the new parochial system; and that his son, Robert de Brus ii., thought that they should be his seignorial property whereas bishop Ingelram regarded them as part of his diocesan inheritance. This final concord of 1187 left Brus and his knights with the right of patronage of all the remaining churches of Annandale. But let us return to the monastery.

The Celtic church was based on the primitive monastic system. Each of the larger valleys would have a monastery situated at some central point which can sometimes be identified to-day, wherever there is a group of very small parishes, many now extinct from Reformation times. Whit-horn is an obvious example, so is Kirkmadryne in the Rynnes of Galloway. In Dumfriesshire we may postulate that each of its main valleys had a monastery. Nithsdale probably had one in the region of Morton or Dalgarnoc; Eskdale, it may be conjectured, had one in the central position at Staplegorton where a sixth to seventh-century cross has come to light. Annandale had Hoddam. Of these three valleys Annandale is far the widest and longest and it may have been found impossible to serve Upper Annandale from Hoddam. A second monastery further north than Hoddam would be required. I suggest it was located at Applégarth.

These monasteries were communities of priests who served the surrounding district at outlying points, where a

⁷ Dowden quotes a Bull of Pope Urban III. (1185-87) concerning the scarcity of churches in the diocese of Glasgow, inasmuch as children frequently died without baptism, and adults without confession and the *viaticum*. This Bull may have been the direct cause of the Brus grant of 1187. (Reg. de Glasgow, I., 64.)

standing cross was erected, surrounded by a mound and ditch within which was the cemetery. Historically the cemetery long preceded the church. When St. Kentigern, after his enforced withdrawal to Wales, established a monastery at Glasgow he chose a spot at a cemetery which had previously been consecrated by St. Ninian. Such a monastery would embody a church and perhaps a number of individual oratories, huts for the brethren and perhaps some sort of guest house. In due course these monasteries were taken over by the Anglian church. There would be no fundamental changes for the Anglian pagans of northern and western England had been christianised by the Celtic church and naturally adopted its practices. In England the Celtic monastery became an Anglian minster, and it was some time before the parish church with resident priest came into being, more often than not, on the same open sites as the cemetery and standing cross. Once a cemetery, always a consecrated site for burial. A few of the English minsters survived either as collegiate churches or developing into houses of Augustinian canons. But the majority, like Hoddam, "declined into ordinary parishes revealed only by the survival of anomalous dues or rights recorded in later documents."⁸ The monastery of Applegarth must surely have been a much smaller community than Hoddam—perhaps a daughter house, and is only faintly revealed to us by the charter of c. 1215.

In England several of these monastic or minster sites have been examined, but perhaps one of the most remarkable is a site that once had been a minster. In the heart of the city of Stafford, in the Midlands, stands the parish church of St. Mary, at the west end of which once stood the church of St. Bertelin. This has long been pulled down and no plan of it is known. In 1953 it was decided to clear the graveyard of St. Mary's Church and turn it into a Garden of Remembrance. Permission was obtained to excavate the site of St. Bertelins. First the foundations of an early eleventh-century stone church were laid bare, with thirteenth-century addi-

⁸ D. and G. Trans., vol. XXXI., 178.

tions, which had been demolished in the sixteenth century. Below and within these foundations were found the wooden post holes and sleeper trenches of a rectangular wood and wattle church not later than the tenth century, perhaps much earlier. Both stone and wooden churches were orientated. Below the level of the wooden church was found a coin of Aethelraed the second, which must have been lost c. 1000. It lay directly on the top of a buried wooden cross that had been carefully placed in the centre of, and aligned with, the wooden church that had covered it. It lay in a pit sunk 16 inches into the natural sub-soil with a packing of pebbles. It appeared as a thick layer of carbonised wood, the shaft being 6-8 inches thick. The underside was markedly semi-circular. The possibility of raising it intact had to be abandoned owing to the weather and the friable nature of the ground, but the photographs clearly show the cross lying 5 ft. beneath the present surface. Mr C. A. Ralegh Radford has suggested that "as a first stage we may assume an enclosure marked by a standing cross of timber and used both for service and burials. Later a small timber church was erected. The post holes and eastern sleeper beam suggests that this was a rectangular building. Good parallels are provided by Carolingian buildings on the continent. . . . The first stage must be pre-Danish, the wooden church may also be pre-Danish of the seventh to ninth centuries. The replacement in stone would follow as a natural result of increasing wealth."⁹ He cautiously makes no comment on the cross but the main report of the excavation suggests that when the wooden church was built the wooden standing cross was taken down and reverently interred and duly aligned in the centre of the newly erected structure. If that could only have been established beyond all manner of doubt, this site of St. Bertelin could demonstrate every phase of development of the Christian Church.

If only we had the funds and permission to excavate below the present church of Applegarth, we might well find evidence of a similar development of Christian endeavour.

⁹ Excavation Report. *The Church of St Bertelin*, City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, p. 26.

ARTICLE 3.

Lieut.-General Alexander Dirom (1757-1830).

By JOHN RODDICK, S.S.C.

Lieutenant-General Alexander Dirom of Mount Annan and Luce, Annan, Dumfriesshire, was the son of Alexander Dirom of Muiresk, near Turriff, Aberdeenshire, and his wife, Ann Fotheringham.¹ The Estate of Muiresk had been purchased in 1767 by General Dirom's father, who was then Sheriff-Substitute of Banffshire, and also Provost of Banff from 1767 to 1770 and again from 1776 to 1779. It lies on the Aberdeenshire side of the River Deveron on the borders of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire—a fine old house, the oldest part dating back for three centuries or more.

General Dirom was born in 1757 and he died at Mount Annan on 6th October, 1830, survived by his widow, Mrs Magdalene Pasley or Dirom. He was destined originally for the Law but being threatened with consumption was sent abroad and afterwards, being cured, entered the Army. This was not altogether welcome to his parents as his grandfather had been "out" in 1715 and 1745 and his father in 1745. That his father had been a supporter of the Stuart cause in 1745 and was Sheriff-Substitute of Banff 22 years later is perhaps a tribute to the genius of the advisers to the Crown for making use, without hesitation, of ability wherever it can be found.

It has been said that General Dirom more than any other man of his time was responsible for rousing Dumfriesshire out of the lethargy of the previous century. That "lethargy" was due partly to the disturbed condition of the Borders between England and Scotland, for there was little object in improvements if they were liable to destruction or forcible removal. It has also to be noted that the period in which he lived—particularly the first quarter of the nineteenth century—was one of great development throughout Scotland and the Empire.

¹ Burke—*Landed Gentry*, 1832.

He owed much to the inspiration he received from his father, the respected Provost of Banff, and from persons of high degree with whom he was brought into contact in his early days.²

The eldest son of General Dirom was Lieut.-Col. John Pasley-Dirom of the Grenadier Guards who died without issue on 2nd June, 1857. The Estates of Mount Annau and Luce passed ultimately under the Entail to Madeline, the eldest daughter of General Dirom's second son, Captain Alexander Dirom, then to the late Mr Patrick Alexander Pasley-Dirom and to his eldest son, Mr John Patrick Alexander Pasley-Dirom, who resides in Canada.

Army Career.

General Dirom's name first appears in the Army List as a Lieutenant in the 88th Regiment of Foot on 13th October, 1779, when he was 22 years of age. After serving a year at home he was sent out to Jamaica where he remained for five years under the command of General Darling and of General Campbell. Here his amiable disposition and officer-like conduct, joined to a person and address remarkably attractive, quickly gained him promotion. When he left the Island his services were acknowledged in the handsomest manner by the Colonial Assembly who presented him with a sword of the value of £200 and strongly recommended him to the Government for promotion. In 1786 he went to the East Indies with the rank of Major. In 1790 he was acting as Deputy Adjutant-General engaged in the second Mysore

² It is recorded in the "History of Banff" (James Imlach) that "around the year 1775, Banff was perhaps the gayest little town in Scotland. Besides many respectable residents, at the head of whom was the Countess Dowager of Findlater, in the castle, most of the country gentlemen and their families had their winter establishments in town. The Duke and Duchess of Gordon frequently made a visit to Banff for a few days. At that time, in 1775, Her Grace was unquestionably the most beautiful and fascinating woman in Great Britain." Her part in raising the Gordon Highlanders is so well known that it requires for present purposes no more than a passing reference to the kiss she bestowed on every recruit. That Banff was exceptionally fortunate in its citizens is evident from the very numerous bequests ranging from £70,000 and £18,000 to smaller sums left to the town for the benefit of its inhabitants.

War in India. He became Major-General in 1809 and Lieut.-General in 1813.

While in India he was brought to the favourable notice of the Marquis of Hastings, Commander of the Forces in India, with whom for the remainder of their joint lives he seems to have kept up a close connection and he called one of his sons Francis Moira Dirom after the Marquis of Hastings (who previous to succeeding to the Marquisate was Lord Francis Moira). Amongst his principal writings were (1) a narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the War with Tippoo Sahib in 1792; (2) During the Napoleonic scare and following the declaration of war between Britain and France in 1793, he carried out by order of the government a military survey of the West of Scotland and subsequently published "Plans for the Defence of Great Britain and Ireland"—Edinburgh, 1797; and (3) Account of the Improvements on the Estate of Mount Annan,—Edinburgh, 1811, *vide* "The Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. V., page 1001.

He married Miss Magdalene Pasley of Cleughhead (afterwards called Mount Annan) on 7th August, 1793. She was a niece of Mrs Malcolm of Burnfoot, Langholm, and it is possible that he first met his future wife through friendship in India with the Malcolm Family (the Four Knights of Eskdale). The young couple first resided at Cleughhead, Annan, then the mansion house of the estate. Mrs Dirom's father was Robert Pasley of Craig, Langholm (neighbouring property to Burnfoot) a Merchant in Lisbon till 1786, who however, never lived at Cleughhead after purchasing the estate but continued to reside in London till his death in 1793.

General and Mrs Dirom had 12 children—seven sons and five daughters. The eldest son was the above Lieut.-Colonel John Pasley Dirom, born 5th November, 1794, their second son was Captain Alex. Dirom, 24th Regiment, and the youngest son, Rear-Admiral James Dirom, born 1815, died 1878. The latter was survived by his second wife, who lived many years at Newpark, Annan, and the present writer knew

her well some 50 years ago, from which it can be seen that two or three lives can cover a long period of years.

Prior to a century ago the associations and connections of Dumfriesshire with the other Border Counties of Roxburghshire and Berwickshire were both socially and commercially much closer than since then—the construction of railways having tended to bring communities situated along the line of the railways more closely in touch with each other to the detriment of the old associations connected only by roads, often of indifferent construction. The automobile era is now happily doing much to restore the old conditions. Although a railway was at one time proposed and the ground surveyed for a railway from Dumfries to Langholm, Hawick and the other Border towns, the project was dropped.

Mount Annan Estate, then called Brydekirk and Cleughhead, extended to 1384 acres and cost £12,000 in 1782 with a rental of £400. The new mansion house of Mount Annan was built by General Dirom's grandson, Colonel Thomas Pasley Dirom, and it remained in the family till 1926 when it was unfortunately completely burned to the ground.

Purchase of Luce.

General Dirom sold his estate, Muiresk, Aberdeenshire, in 1795, and with the proceeds purchased the estate of Luce, adjoining Mount Annan, extending to 653 Scots acres, for £8000, which was reckoned dear as the rental was only £230 and there was no mansion house or woods of value. A Scots acre is roughly $1\frac{1}{4}$ English acres.

Parts of Brownmoor and four small lots of Bonshaw Estate were also purchased in 1807-8, making with 56 acres of Common Muir a total of 2198 Scots or 2750 English acres in all.

Upwards of £30,000 in money was spent on the improvement of the lands, hedges, buildings, houses, cottages and roads on the two estates including the Village of Brydekirk. No doubt a substantial part of this money came from Mrs Dirom's side of the house.

General Dirom was appointed to command the forces

for the North-West of England, with headquarters in Liverpool, and during this service he suppressed the Luddites. But all this while with the able help of his wife and the weekly reports from her and from his farm manager he kept in close touch with estate developments.

He and his friend Thomas Telford, who was at that time engaged in surveying the line of the Caledonian Canal, were ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Nicholas Vansittart, to make a survey of the country between Carlisle and Portpatrick, which included the harbour at Portpatrick and the Bay of Portnessock.

Mr Telford returned to England and it was agreed between them that Telford should make the Plans and General Dirom should prepare the written report. That report was acknowledged by Telford on 16th March, 1803, as follows: "Your excellent report of district between Carlisle and Portpatrick received—so perfect I have scarcely touched even the calculations."

After some delay, in 1811 the new bridge over the Eden at Carlisle was built, as recommended in the report, at the joint expense of the Government and the County of Cumberland; and the new road from Carlisle to Gretna was constructed—cutting out the longer route via Longtown—all bridges, including the new bridge over the Esk at Garriestown, "the Metal Bridge," being built at Government expense to facilitate communication to Ireland. New bridges over the Dee at New Galloway and Cree at Newton-Stewart were built at the joint expense of the Government and the respective counties concerned, viz., Kirkcudbright and Wigtown.³

As a result the distance between Carlisle and Gretna was shortened by five miles and the road from Carlisle to Portpatrick shortened from 125 to 99 miles.

Division of Annan Common Muir, etc.

General Dirom took a leading part in the final scheme drawn up in 1802 for the Division of the Common Muir of

³ For previous work at the western end of this road in 1763, see *The Military Road to Portpatrick* in D. and G. Trans., vol. 27, p. 120.

Annan (part of the old Regality) extending to 1500 acres, which only supported a few scraggy horses and Galloway cattle. Dr Singer reports (1811) on this Muir that it "was a deformity and disgrace in so fine a country and is now divided into many lots and studded with numerous farm steadings and neat dwellings and the greater part of that useless waste has in the short space of seven years been enclosed with hedge-rows and is now cultivated and bearing rich crops."

He also took a leading part in the erection of Annan Academy, supported by funds reserved in the division of the Common Muir, which was in great measure his benevolent work.

He was the chief subscriber and one of the promoters of the new road surveyed in 1795, commenced 1798, with bridges over the Annan and Kirtle from Springkell to Kelhead, shortening the distance between Langholm and Dumfries by two miles and opening up Springkell and Mount Annan Estates—length seven miles.

At that time great improvements were going on all over Scotland similar to and in some cases greater than in Dumfriesshire. Cultivation was being extended from the valleys to the hills. It was estimated by Dr Singer that between 1780 and 1811 farm produce was at least doubled in Scotland which was now exporting great quantities of grain in place of importing it as previous thereto. Grain in Annan, for instance, had up to 1780 to be imported from Carlisle on the backs of horses whereas by 1811 large quantities of grain including wheat were exported to Carlisle and Liverpool markets. In 1811 there were no less than 34 vessels registered at the Port of Annan, two of which were for foreign trade and the remainder mainly in coastal trade with a total tonnage of 1694.

The suppression of smuggling due to the inclusion of the Isle of Man within the Realm and the operation therein of anti-smuggling laws, resulted in a great improvement of the arable lands between Sark and Nith, whose occupiers had previously been able to meet their rents by the sale of illicit liquor.

Estate Improvements.

The subject of our sketch was assiduous in his search for lime, minerals and water supplies on the two estates. He opened stone quarries at Corsehill and improved and added to the farms of Luce (now Luce Mains), Mount Annan Mains and Brydekirk Mains. Incidentally large quantities of freestone from Corsehill Quarries were shipped in the latter part of last century to America for use in New York to provide the old "Brownstone Fronts" of Harlem and the older parts of that city. Space does not allow full details of these improvements to be given here, but for a succinct account of his estate improvements one can not do better than refer to *General View of Agriculture*, by Dr Singer, 1812 (Ballantyne) or *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Dumfriesshire), 1841 (Blackwood), or *Old Time Farming in Dumfriesshire*, by W. G. M. Dobie, 1949 (Dinwiddie). The first named contains a full report and the last named an excellent review of the improvements on the estates. While the rents increased from £750 to over £2000 (mainly through capital expenditure) not only did the population increase from 175 to 571 but the inhabitants were comfortably lodged and (including the farm tenants) in better circumstances than 15 years before.

Mole draining was practised on a wide scale and probably the first set of disc harrows ever to be used in the world was invented at Mount Annan by William Halliday, the estate overseer. The rate of wages paid to agricultural workers on the estate in 1810 were:

Overseer—£40 plus percentage of rents collected, with free house, etc.

Ploughman—£40 plus cow's grass, stone of meal per week, house and firing.

Herd—7s per week with house.

Three men labourers at 1s 6d per day.

Two women labourers at 10d per day.

These wages may be compared with wages paid on industrial work in the adjacent town of Annan by Mr Hurst, the proprietor of a cotton factory then lately established.

He employed 44 men, 2 women and 68 boys and girls in spinning cotton yarn at a total wage cost of £53 11s 10d per week—under 10s per week per head.

Search for Coal, etc.

General Dirom prepared a General View of the Mineralogy of Dumfriesshire for inclusion in the map of the county published by Crawford in 1804—now lodged in the Ewart Library and made available to the present writer by the courtesy of the Librarian, Mrs McLean. It shews Plans of the Susanna Vein of Lead at Leadhills, the Louisa Vein of Antimony at Glendinning, near Langholm, and four sections of Borings for Coal between 1791 and 1795 (a) at Aiket Muir, Comlongan, (b) Repentance Hill, near Hoddam Castle, (c) Linbridgeford, near Kirtleton, and (d) Bogs of Canonbie. The only one of these of value was that at Canonbie, five seams of coal having been struck—the principal one being 5 feet 8 inches thick at 145 feet depth. It is interesting to note that recently the National Coal Board has found coal by borings in the Canonbie area at different levels ranging from 1316 feet (Crookholm) to 1713 feet (Rowanburnfoot). General Dirom's survey also included particulars of Lead Mining at Leadhills.⁴ He gave a reasoned explanation for the theory that coal if found in quantity in the county (including Sanquhar) would be found to form part of the same strata as those in Cumberland, both of which dip to the sea below the Solway Firth.

Village of Brydekirk.

General Dirom established the Village of Brydekirk with 999-year leases and right to occupy certain unimproved lands at very small rents. A grain and meal mill was built and a flax mill, one on each side of the river with mill races, etc. He opened brickworks (curious—when there was so much freestone on the estate) and marl and lime pits, planted

⁴ Total value of lead mined in or shortly before 1904 at Leadhills (Earl of Hopetoun) and Wanlockhead (Duke of Queensberry) £48,000 per annum, the Proprietors receiving every sixth bar as Lordship or Rent.

woods, constructed water supplies and planned his farms to meet the varying needs (a) of the full-time farmer, (b) the part-time farmer who had other employment, (c) the cottager.

Local Activities.

In 1806 he stood for Parliament for the Dumfries District of Burghs against Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate, who had the *Government* support. He was unsuccessful, but after the election he drove through the streets of Dumfries in an open carriage with his friend, Mr James Scott, a prominent Merchant of Annan. The cheers of the populace of Dumfries, it is recorded, put beyond doubt who would have been the popular choice. The support of the Government of the day was relatively much more powerful before the Reform Act than in modern times (c.f., the Dreepdailly Election described by Sir Walter Scott). Scotland with a population of somewhat over 2,000,000 sent 45 members to Parliament *chosen by only 26½ voters*. Cornwall alone sent nearly as many members to Parliament as the whole of Scotland.

In recognition of the help given to him by the people of Annan during the election he presented to the Town Council a silver Snuff Mull which is placed on the Council Table at their meetings to this day and is annually passed round to the public at Landheads, near one of the Mount Annan Lodges, at the Riding of the Marches—that locus having been chosen in olden days out of compliment to the donor. The inscription on the Snuff Mull reads:

“ Presented to the Provost, Magistrates and Council of the Royal Borough (sic) by their friend, Brigadier-General Dirom, of Mount Annan—in testimony of his gratitude for the independent and disinterested support with which they honoured him during his canvass in 1806.”

Note the spelling of Borough which indicates the Snuff Mull was purchased and inscribed in England, probably London.

On the formation of the Commercial Bank of Scotland in 1810, General Dirom along with John Murray, Esq., of Murraythwaite, Colonel Graham of Mossknowe, Mr John Nicholson, shipbuilder, and Mr James Scott before referred to, petitioned the Directors to open a Branch in Annan as (a) there were no banks nearer than Carlisle or Dumfries and (b) trade and commerce in the district had considerably increased. The request was granted and the branch opened in 1811, Mr Scott being appointed the first agent.

Robert Burns.

General Dirom was instrumental in obtaining Commissions in H.M. Forces for the two sons of the National Bard of Scotland. That his recommendations were justified is borne out by the fact that the poet's elder son, William Nicol Burns (named after William Nicol, friend of his father and teacher in the High School of Edinburgh), became a Lieut.-Colonel in the Indian Army, retired on a Pension of £1000 a year, a good sum in those days, and died at the age of 81. The younger son, James Pitcairn Burns, also became a Lieut.-Colonel and died—a distinguished Oriental scholar—at the age of 91. It is a comforting thought that the neglect of the poet during his lifetime was partially atoned for by the practical help and kindness shown to his family by, amongst others, General Dirom.

Burns wrote to his friend, Mrs Dunlop of Dunlop, in the year 1793: "I am just reading an exceedingly well-written narrative of "the Campaign at Seringapatam done by a Major Dirom, who was Adjutant-General there and now living in this neighbourhood." At that time Burns had not met General Dirom, but the late Mr Frank Miller of Annan, the well-known antiquarian, in a letter dated 24/9/24 to Mrs Norah C. O'Reilly (a descendant of General Dirom and happily still alive) writes: "I have come across a most interesting reference to General Dirom in one of Burns's letters dated May, 1795:

'Give the enclosed epigram to my much valued friend Cunningham and tell him that on Wednesday I

go to visit a friend of his, to whom his friendly partiality in speaking of me in a manner introduced me. I mean a well-known military and literary character—Colonel Dirom.’ ”

Alexander Cunningham, Edinburgh,⁵ was a W.S.—one of the Poet’s best friends. It is clear therefore that Burns had a year before his death made the acquaintance of the General. The latter attended the Commemoration Meeting of Burns held in the Commercial Inn, Dumfries, on 25th January, 1822. There were 50 present, including John McDiarmid in the chair, General Dirom, John Syme (croupier)⁶ and James Hogg.

Hugh Clapperton, Explorer.

On the suggestion of Mr James Scott, he further recommended Hugh Clapperton (afterwards the West African explorer) to the Marquis of Hastings for a commission in the Navy. It will be recollected that Clapperton and Mungo Park by their explorations did much towards the opening of our West African Territories. Hugh Clapperton was born in Butts Street, Annan, in a house adjoining that in which the Rev. Edward Irving was born and as boys they played together in a garden mutual to both houses. Clapperton’s father was a surgeon in Annan—George Clapperton—who was said to have had 21 children, of whom Hugh was the youngest. It can readily be understood with a family of this size how much the father would appreciate help in getting his numerous brood placed in life. Hugh Clapperton’s grandfather, Robert Clapperton, M.D., was a native of the north of Scotland, studied medicine in Edinburgh and Paris

⁵ Alexander Cunningham (d. 1812) was a well-known Edinburgh writer and a nephew of Dr William Robertson the historian. Burns met him in Edinburgh in 1786-7 and their friendship continued throughout the Poet’s life. His love affairs were the subject of some of Burns’s poems and many of his most interesting letters were addressed to this Edinburgh friend.

⁶ John Syme (1735-1831) was a Dumfries writer who lived on the small estate of Ryedale, Troqueer. He accompanied the poet on his tour of Galloway in 1793. From 1791, Syme held the office of Distributor of Stamps in Dumfries.

and settled in Dumfriesshire first at Crowdieknowe, Middlebie, and afterwards at Lochmaben. He had six sons, five of whom became doctors, including the eldest, George—father of the explorer.

Amongst the tutors to General Dirom's younger sons—in addition to Thomas Carlyle and Edward Irving—was David Brewster, afterwards Sir David Brewster, the philosopher, and one of the founders of the British Association, and Principal of St. Leonards and St. Salvators at St. Andrews, 1838-1859.

The General was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society London, in 1794, and he was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, wrote a poem, "The Harp on the Hill," on the death of two of the General's daughters. Another of the daughters was Mrs Christine Pringle of Yair, Selkirkshire (wife of Alexander Pringle of Yair), who died at the early age of 26 and to whom there is a Memorial Tablet in Annan Parish Church.

Historical.

War had been declared between France and Britain in 1793 and peaceful conditions were not restored until after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. During the 40 years between 1780 to 1820 the agricultural practice of England and Scotland was rapidly changing from the old strip system of runrig to the proper rotation of crops, the enclosure of Commons and the opening of Marl and Clay pits, etc.—led by Coke of Holkham, Norfolk, and improved upon by the great landlords of both countries. It is recorded that many Scottish Landlords sent their grieves and managers to Norfolk to learn the new methods and within a very few years such was the progress made in Scotland that it was not long before some of the more enlightened English landlords sent their grieves and managers to Scotland to observe and study the new improved methods and experiments being carried on there—particularly in the East of Scotland.

It was a period of intense activity and development

whether in literature, art or religious thought, the last culminating in the formation of the free church in 1843.

England and Scotland were at the turn from the old leisurely life of the eighteenth century to the busy industrial era of the nineteenth, due in part to the invention of James Watt and others, of the Steam Engine and its application to collieries, etc. Railways were to come later with their impact upon the trade of the country.

The smoke and flames of the factories were beginning to obscure the life of the previous century which was slowly but surely passing into oblivion.

General Dirom died in 1830 at the age of 73 and it only remains to record that his widow continued her good works after his death until the day of her death. She was at the head of several Charitable Societies in the district and in the town of Annan, and she built entirely at the expense of herself and friends the Church of Brydekirk—the stipend of the Minister and Church expenses being annually provided at her own cost except for the small amount realised from seat rents.

Her husband owed much to the loyal support of his wife who, notwithstanding the cares of the numerous family had to take on the management of the estate during her husband's prolonged absences on military duties and public business. Coming from a family of considerable note in the Langholm area she was well equipped to give the greatest support to her husband in his varied and numerous activities.

Alexander Dirom was a man who by his travels, power of observation and reasoning and his energy and assiduity, was able to perceive the probable trend of the future and to use his best endeavours to benefit his fellow countrymen in the circumstances he could see looming ahead.

ARTICLE 4.

Balliol's Manor House on Hestan Island.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD.

Hestan Island, lying across the entrance to Auchencairn Bay and measuring about 500 yards from north to south by a maximum width of 300 yards, is connected with the mainland at Almorness Point by a natural three-quarter-mile-long ridge of sand and mud, which dries out for about two hours at low tide. The island, rising to a height of rather under 200 ft., is steep and irregular with good pasture and a flattish area in the centre, which might be cultivated. There is a lighthouse near the centre of the east side and a single small house on the north shore immediately above the beach at the end of the ridge linking the island with the mainland.

Above the house and about 50 yards to the south a ruined building stands on a shelf, which may in part, have been artificially levelled. The walls, of rough rubble probably mortared, stand to a maximum height of about 4 ft. and are 3 ft. thick. The building measures internally 36 ft. 9 in. by 15 ft., with the long axis running approximately east and west. The exterior angles are rounded, the interior are squared. It faces north. There is a door near the centre of that side and another in the wall opposite. No other feature is visible. Lying loose in the garden near the house is a granite corbel of the type used for supporting the base of the principals or the wall plate of an open timber roof. The type of masonry, probable door checks and the use of granite for the corbel point to a late mediæval date, probably after 1300.

On the flat top of the island towards the south are traces of a stone walled enclosure. One of these is marked on the 6 in. O.S. map surveyed in 1849-51 and revised in 1907. There are at least two others which belong to the same system, but have more ruinous walls. These enclosures should be associated with the present house, which dates from the nineteenth century or possibly a little earlier. Tracks leading

up to the unused mine are probably contemporary with these enclosures.

In the same area are the remains of a much older enclosure of stone, which shows as a broad grassy bank, forming an arc of a circle. This could not be fully traced, but the topography suggests that the area enclosed was about three or four acres. This enclosure, which is much older than the modern fields, should presumably be associated with the late mediæval building.

Towards the south end of this enclosure are indications of an even earlier structure. The remains suggest a small sub-rectangular building and could not be more fully examined for lack of time and bad weather.

There can be little doubt that the late mediæval building of stone is part of the dwelling which Balliol is known to have occupied on the island. It was probably his hall, the hall lying on the first floor, above low storerooms at ground level. This hall is more typical of a manor house than a castle, but given the position on an island the site would be defensible if enclosed within a palisaded courtyard and with supplementary defences above the beach and at the few other places, on which a landing is possible. The king's establishment would also comprise a number of wooden buildings within the palisaded enclosure; these would leave no trace on the surface. The large enclosure to the south may have been supplemented by others which a fuller survey would have disclosed; it would be a field for his horses and cattle.

The earliest building would be consistent with a small Christian monastery or hermitage; it can hardly be pre-Roman.

History provides a few notices of this manor house. Balliol's castle of Buittle had been destroyed in 1313 by Bruce and never reconstructed.¹ After Bruce's death in 1329, Edward Balliol was crowned after Dupplin (1332), but a few weeks later was surprised at Annan and escaped to England. Edward III. at once invaded Scotland and

¹ D. and G. Trans., 3rd ser., XI., p. 201.



Photograph by S. Cruden, A.R.I.B.A.

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Plate II.—BALLIOL'S MANOR HOUSE.

after Halidon Hill in July, 1333, had that country defenceless at his feet. The Lanercost Chronicle states that during this campaign Balliol, leaving Athol as his lieutenant at Perth, spent the autumn at Bishop Auckland and on Holy Island "because he had no castle or town or refuge in Scotland where he could safely dwell." It must have been shortly after this date that Balliol decided to prepare a residence on Hestan. The island had long been the property of Dundrennan Abbey and is mentioned as part of the demesne lands of that convent in a charter of free warren by Edward I. to the abbey on 18th October, 1305.² It is there named the island of Estholm. From the monks Balliol must have leased or acquired the island. By 1342 the building of the manor house had been completed and the island garrisoned by Duncan McDowell, the foremost supporter in Galloway of the Balliols. This site, the last refuge in Scotland of Balliol, could not be beleaguered easily, yet the mainland was undoubtedly in the hands of the Scots and the garrison cut off from munitions and supplies.

By 1st December, 1342, it was in sorry plight and Edward III. issued permits to some named merchants of Bristol to ship to the island wine, food and salt for the munitioning and sustenance of "our faithful Duncan Magdowell custos of that island with all speed."³ Two days later the sheriff of Gloucester was ordered to accelerate the action and Hugo de Moriceby, sheriff of Cumberland, was instructed to render every assistance in getting the provisions to the island *usque pelum dilecti et fidelis nostri Duncan Makdowell de Estholm in Galleway*.⁴ This reference to the site as a pele is a clear indication that the manor house lay

² Bain II., p. 123.

³ Rot. Scot., I., 634.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 635. I am indebted to Mr Bruce Webster for the following entries from P.R.O. 403/326-340: 1342, July 6, 60s expenses to Peter de Lourd, valet of Duncan MacDowell, coming to the King with letters of Duncan; July 8, £60 to Duncan (per Peter) for provisions; 1343, Ap. 3, £66 13s 4d to Duncan MacDowell as advance as wages for self and men at Estholm; June 27, £17 0s 5d to Duncan in completion of the same; 1348, February 23, £10 expenses to Duncan MacDowell in Scotland on King's business till Edward Balliol comes to Parliament at London.

within a stockaded surround, for Edward I. had erected peles at Dumfries, Lochmaben and Linlithgow.⁵

But McDowell, in spite of this English provisioning, must have succumbed to the Scots—by persuasion and not by force. He must have changed sides and been left in possession of the island. The English at once retaliated. The *Anonimale Chronicle* (p. 19) records what happened:

“The same year (1345) William de Dyfford (*lege* Ufford) joining with Sir Thomas de Lucy and others numbering 80 men of Coupland and Allerdale without knight or squire, entered upon the sea near Wyrkyngton and sailed to the pele of Estholme in Galloway and took none other than Sir Donkal Makduel, a knight of great renown amongst the Scots, and with him his two sons and 30 esquires and sergands of the country and his servants, and all the goods found within the pele, and dispatched them to England without disturbance and gave the said pele to fire and flame. And then the said Donkal was lodged in the Tower of London.”

After Neville's Cross (October, 1346), where King David was captured, Balliol ventured to return to Galloway and in May, 1347, established himself on Hestan. The same chronicle (p. 28) narrates his arrival.

“In the year 1347 (Ap. 10) Sir William Heroun and John de Coupland besieged the castle of Hermitage which castle was rendered to them on certain terms and conditions. The same year on 13th May, Edward Balliol, King of Scotland, by reason of the gathering with the lord of Moubray, Sir Thomas de Lucy and Sir Thomas de Rokeby with a great number of Englishmen, entered Scotland through the march of Carlisle, to recover the realm of Scotland for the said Edward Balliol, to whom the right of heritage belonged. At the same time Sir Gylbert Umfrayvyle, Earl of Angus, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Rauff de Neville with other valliant gentlemen in aid of the said Sir Edward Balliol, entered the land

⁵ Dr George Neilson—*Peel: its meaning and derivation*.

of Scotland near Roxburgh and joined the aforesaid lords. Combined they rode along the land of Scotland at the other side of the sea without notable incident till they came to a fortress (*forcelet*) in Galloway, called Esteholm, and there returned and left the fortress to be the residence of the said Edward Balliol and provided him with men at arms and archers to keep guard. And then the said lords took leave of Edward Balliol, commending him to God, and repaired to their homes."

But it must have been a precarious occupation of the island. In May, 1348, he was certainly in residence for on the first of that month Edward III. issued a precept to the sheriff of Cumberland to help victual the island of Estholm "which belongs to Edward de Balliol, King of Scots, and is situated in a place of the utmost peril—in *loco periculoso valde*—amongst enemy Scots."⁶ Later that year, as King of Scots and lord of Galloway, he granted charters dated at Estholm of the lands of Kirkandrews and Balmaghie to William de Aldburgh. In 1352 he donated to the same grantee, now knighted, the barony of Kells along with the reversion of his barony of Crossmichael and Kidsdale (? Kiddisdale in Glasserton parish).

But his status of kingship was nigh its end. Edward III. apart from grants of subsidies took but little notice of him and King David was released by Edward in 1357. Probably before that date Balliol had forsaken Scotland, for his erstwhile champion McDowell, recognising at last the hopelessness of the Balliol cause, in 1353 had come to terms with the Scottish crown and with Douglas now lord of Galloway. Thereafter Hestan Island is engulfed in silence.

⁶ Rot. Scot., I., 713.

ARTICLE 5.

Edward de Balliol.

By R. C. REID.

Until such time as a fuller picture can be compiled the following notes on Balliol and some of his Galloway supporters should not be out of place, for though he is an ignominious figure, as the catspaw of Edward III., he does not deserve the neglect he has received at the hands of Scottish historians.

On his abdication of the crown John Balliol was held a prisoner though well treated. In 1297 he was removed from Hertford to the Tower. His son, Edward, was also lodged there and the expenses of the maintenance there of John *et certae familiae suae* are on record.¹ In mid 1299 John was transferred to the care of the papal Nuncio, who assigned to him a castle belonging to the abbot of Cluny. By 1302 he was allowed to reside on his paternal estates at Hélicourt-en-Vimeu, France, where he died in April, 1313.² But his son, Edward, was retained in England no doubt as a hostage for his father's conduct. At first young Balliol had been in the *hospitio* of Prince Edward, but when in 1297 he was removed to the Tower³ his valet, Walter Frene, was reimbursed for his expenses.⁴ Later he was in the care of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield but when his father was sent overseas, Balliol was delivered on 18th November, 1299, to the custody of the earl of Surrey.⁵ In 1309 he petitioned Edward II. and the Treasurer was instructed to do what was reasonable.⁶ The petition may have sought removal from Surrey's care for in September, 1310, he was sent to reside with the king's two brothers.⁷ When his father died

¹ Stevenson, ii., 361.

² Scots Peerage, i., 7, but see D. and G. Trans. (1931-3), vol. xviii., p. 239, where it is said to be October, 1314.

³ Stevenson, ii., 251.

⁴ Stevenson, ii., 135.

⁵ Stevenson, ii., 405.

⁶ Bain, iii., 106.

⁷ Bain, iii., 162.

Edward arranged that Balliol should render homage by proxy to the king of France for the French estates⁸ and he must have been allowed to go and reside there for in September, 1315, he returned from France having given the chancellor security that he would do so. He was still not a free subject.⁹ In 1320 in a list of gifts to Scottish adherents of Edward II. he figures as in receipt of 20 merks in aid of his expenses.¹⁰ In the following 10 years Edward gave him three safe conducts—July, 1324; July, 1327; and October, 1330—to cross from France to England.¹¹ The last one was to Balliol and his retinue. Something clearly was in train. For the disinherited lords were preparing to invade Scotland and Balliol was an obvious asset. Edward judiciously turned a blind eye on their proceedings as long as they did not cross his frontier. So they took ship to the coast of Fife, seized Dunfermline and struck at Perth. At Dupplin Balliol and the disinherited defeated a force of Scots numerically vastly superior and Balliol was crowned at Scone on 24th September, 1332.¹² The *Scalacronica* states that Dupplin was won by a miracle of God.

⁸ Bain, iii., 348 and *Röt. Scot.*, i., 143.

⁹ Bain, iii., 449.

¹⁰ Bain, iii., 701.

¹¹ Bain, iii., 841, 923, 1010.

¹² It would be interesting to know where the crown came from. Walsingham quoted by Hailes (1797) i., 290, alleges that when John Balliol, en route to France in November, 1298, was searched at Dover the gold crown and Great Seal of Scotland were found in his possession. Some confirmation may be found in an inventory of valuables found by the English in Edinburgh Castle in 1296-7, the golden sceptre by John Balliol, and a crown, being lodged with the Master of the Wardrobe at Perth on 23rd June (Stevenson, ii., 142). Wynton (Book VIII., cap. 12) narrates how John was deprived of the royal emblems at Montrose. Furthermore it is recorded on 17th September, 1296, that the Great Seal of Scotland of John Balliol was ordered to be lodged with the barons of the English Exchequer (Stevenson, ii., 105). John's crown, probably the ancient crown of the Alexanders, must have gone to England along with the Great Seal. Robert the Bruce had a golden coronet hastily made for his coronation in 1306 which, after Methven, came into the hands of, or was pinched by an English knight, Geoffrey de Coigners, who was pardoned for "concealing" it in March, 1307 (Bain, ii., 1914). It also must have gone to England. Between Dupplin and his coronation there was just time for Edward Balliol to send to London for either his father's or Bruce's crown. But no record has been found of its issue from the English Treasury. John Balliol had held Scotland

[Continued at foot of next page.]

Once crowned, Balliol went south towards his ancestral estates leaving Duncan, earl of Fife, as his warden at Perth. No sooner had he departed than the Scots retook Perth, destroying its defences.¹³ Reaching Annan, Balliol was surprised by a night attack and fled the country on 16th December, 1332. In the fight his only brother, sir Henry Balliol was slain.¹⁴ At Roxburgh on 23rd November, he rendered homage to Edward, surrendering £2000 worth of lands in southern Scotland. At Burgh (perhaps Brough-under-Stainmoor) he renewed his oath on 12th February, 1333, and then re-entered Scotland, burning Oxnam in Teviotdale, with his headquarters at Roxburgh, whence he advanced to the siege of Berwick in May, being joined there by Edward III. The disastrous battle of Halidon hill on 19th July ended the siege and for a second time Balliol was in the ascendant. The way back to Perth was reopened and in October he held a Parliament there to ratify his agreement with Edward. It is clear that Edward did not trust him, for on 1st October he notified the earl of Athol that he was sending Henry de Percy and Ralph de Neville to attend the Parliament as his representatives,¹⁵ adding to them the next day Henry de Beaumont.¹⁶ On 10th February, 1334,

of Edward I. by homage, and received formal seisin. When he resigned the throne it was accomplished by delivery of a white wand appropriate to disseisin by consent. But Edward Balliol held of Edward III. by homage and fealty as a fief of England. So, when he gave up the Kingdom, it was not by disseisin nor surrender to his overlord. He transferred the sovereignty with all its dignities. The symbol was therefore not a white wand but actual delivery of "our present crown of gold and of corporeal possession of the soil of the realm" (Dr George Neilson in *Juridical Review* (1899), vol. ii., p. 186). It necessarily follows that Edward Balliol's crown also must have gone to England, and perhaps the Great Seal too. The present crown of Scotland is of much later date (J. J. Reid. *The Scottish Regalia*, P.S.A.S., 1890).

13 Fordun, cxlviii. Perth had been fortified by Balliol with ditches and palisades. Knighton (Twysden, 1651) gives some useful particulars—Balliol landed at Kinghorn on 7th August and stopped at Dunfermline, fought Dupplin on 12th, and next day captured Perth (col. 2560), but had to beat off an attack by sea and land.

14 Knighton says that Balliol went to Annan for a parley with the Scots, fled to Carlisle where he was received by Ralph Dacre and proceeded to Leicestershire to a Lady de Guynes, at Norholme, where he was fitted out with clothes to replace those he had lost.

15 Bain, iii., 1094.

16 Rot. Scot., i., 259.

another Parliament was held at Edinburgh reaffirming in detail the treaty and Balliol's shame. Several letters patent were issued under the great seal of Scotland.¹⁷

In all the recorded English documents relating to Edward Balliol he is described officially in most correct and courteous terms such as *magnificus princeps Edward de Balliol rex Scotiae*,¹⁸ but in the entry headings of the registers he is described by the entry clerks as *se gerens pro rege Scotiae* or more frequently *pseudo rex Scotiae*.¹⁹ The unofficial headings clearly indicate the regard with which he was held by his English supporters. Yet he was allowed royal attributes, thus in October, 1333, he empowered some men of Hartlepool to cruise on the Scottish sea seeking contraband of war.²⁰ In the summer of 1334 the Steward of Scotland headed a rising against Balliol who retired to England and seems to have resided in the neighbourhood of Carlisle where three of his servants were murdered.²¹ But he returned with Edward III., wasting Avondale and spending Christmas at Renfrew,²² whence he appears to have gone south to Newcastle for on 6th March, 1335, Edward granted Balliol that he should have a Constable and a Marshall in his army exercising those offices, without which he could not maintain discipline whilst Balliol resides "in our kingdom."²³ On 1st May, 1335, Balliol was again at Carlisle seeking restoration to Dundrennan of lands in Ireland.²⁴ Perhaps he already had his eye on the possibilities of Hestan Island.

In July, 1335, Edward again invaded Scotland by the west March whilst Balliol entered by the east route, joining forces at Cumbernauld.²⁵ On 29th July, Balliol held a

¹⁷ Bain, iii., 1109-12.

¹⁸ Rot. Scot., i., 386.

¹⁹ It seems probable that these headings are not in the original record but may be the work of the 19th century editors of *Rotuli Scotiae*.

²⁰ Bain, iii., 1097.

²¹ Bain, iii., 1152.

²² Hailes, iii., 194.

²³ Rot. Scot., i., 326.

²⁴ Bain, iii., 1157 and Rot. Scot., i., 392.

²⁵ Hailes, iii., 198. Knighton (c. 2566) says that Edward crossed by the ford of Sulwath and on 13th July, Lord Montague and others crossed the ford of Annan and plundered near Caerlaverock. Balliol and John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, made for Dumbarton to reinforce the castle there.

Parliament at Edinburgh, Edward sending with him a clerk named David de Wooloure to see that he fulfilled his undertakings when Parliament met.²⁶ In December, Edward was in Perth where on the 12th he granted the Isles to John of the Isles and received the submission of many Scots.²⁷ On 26th December he ordered restitution to Balliol of his personal lands in Lauderdale, Berwickshire, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Peebles and Dumfries. These were the hereditary lands of the Balliols which, in his eagerness to secure Edward's help, Balliol had neglected to retain when he granted southern Scotland to Edward.²⁸ Meanwhile Balliol seems to have been unable to collect any royal dues or even his rents from his hereditary lands. He had failed to pay for his expenses when he stayed on Holy Island, so on 12th February, 1336, Edward ordered the sheriff of Northumberland to arrest his horses and goods to the value of £45 3s 10d.²⁹ Balliol was then at Berwick and Edward, then at Newcastle, granted him supplies of flour and wine.³⁰ This was only the beginning of a long series of subsidies, for Edward had to pay Balliol's debts.³¹

The following year Edward was busy with the fortification of Perth making it the English headquarters in Scotland, and though Balliol was to make it his nominal seat of government, and indeed his usual residence, Edward insisted that he commit its custody to sir Thomas Ughtred. But no sooner had Edward gone south than the Scots rose and devastated the lands around Perth and in February, 1337, Percy and Neville were dispatched to deal with them.³² Till May Balliol may have been in Perth where Ughtred was preparing to withstand attack, receiving supplies and reinforcements.³³ But Balliol did not stay, regarding discretion as the better part of valour. So from 31st May to 6th June he was at Staunford.³⁴ That December, 1337, Ughtred

²⁶ Bain, iii., 1169.

²⁷ Rot. Scot., i., 381.

²⁸ Rot. Scot., i., 391.

²⁹ Rot. Scot., i., 409.

³⁰ Rot. Scot., i., 393.

³¹ Hailes, iii., 207.

³² Rot. Scot., i., 483.

³³ Rot. Scot., i., 489.

³⁴ Bain, iii., 1232, 1234.

seems to have been replaced, for with Balliol's consent Thomas, earl of Norfolk, was appointed *custos* of Perth.³⁵ Yet by May, 1338, John de Lilleburn was in charge of that garrison,³⁶ and that August Balliol seems to have been in Perth when he was asked by Edward to appoint or reinstate Ughtred in command there.³⁷ Access to Perth was too dangerous if not impossible but, till closed by a French fleet, was always open by sea. Before that happened Balliol was south again and Ughtred surrendered on terms on 17th August, 1339.³⁸ Edward was preoccupied with his war in France and was unwilling to campaign in Scotland for Balliol's benefit. So instead he increased his financial help. £200 of Balliol's debts incurred in the north were paid by Edward and his knight, Edmund de Barde, was paid from the Garderobe for the maintenance of 40 men at arms—a personal bodyguard of Balliol. Apart from donations of wine and other commodities Balliol was paid 30s a day during peace and 50s a day in war.³⁹

In October, 1339, Balliol was appointed leader of Edward's army against the Scots who were invading the Marches and in February, 1340, seems to have been at Newcastle⁴⁰ and was granted the gift of the temporalities of the archbishopric of York within Hexhamshire, *sede vacante*.⁴¹ In June, 1341, he was at Fulham where under his own privy seal he sought a protection to go north, receiving £100 for his expenses on 31st July.⁴² His position in S. W. Scotland had, however, materially improved for on 20th August, 1339, three important local men, Duncan

³⁵ Rot. Scot., i., 516.

³⁶ Rot. Scot., i., 533.

³⁷ Rot. Scot., i., 541, 543.

³⁸ Ughtred's position at Perth must have been serious. Supplies destined for Berwick had to be diverted to Perth in May and even Mansur Marmion, parson of Hoghton, was licensed to send from Hartlepool supplies for his nephew in Perth (Rot. Scot., i., 565, 566). Ughtred's conduct of the defence of Perth was the subject of enquiry in March, 1341 (Rot. Scot., i., 607), and in May he was vindicated and ordered to be paid £1843 4s 6d for the expenses of his men and munitions (Rot. Scot., i., 609).

³⁹ Bain, iii., 1280, 1309.

⁴⁰ Rot. Scot., i., 575, 583.

⁴¹ Bain, iii., 1316.

⁴² Bain, iii., 1362, 1365.

McDowell, Eustace de Maxwell and Michael McGethe (McGhie), had come to Edward's peace.⁴³ It is quite impossible to explain the numerous tergiversations of these Galloway men and countless other Scots, unless it was the pressure of self-preservation. As long as there were two parties—Bruce and Balliol—striving for the crown it was scarcely possible to engender a national spirit.

It is probable that about this date Balliol felt himself strong enough to return to Galloway and built his manor house on Hestan Island, placing Duncan McDowell in charge of its small garrison. But of his own movements there is little record. In August, 1341, he was reappointed commander of Edward's army,⁴⁴ but seems to have been displaced in October by Henry de Lancaster, earl of Derby.⁴⁵ He was solaced on 28th October with a gift of £300.⁴⁶ But he cannot have been free from anxieties for on 2nd June, 1341, king David returned from France to Scotland and a political reorientation was the natural result.

Edward III. took the inevitable precautions. In July, 1342, he granted the king's peace to all felons who were willing to fight against the Scots.⁴⁷ Balliol was again nominated captain of the army. His forces were specified and their scale of payment, amounting to £1462 0s 12d.⁴⁸ In September he was directed to go to Carlisle to defend the western marches. Trouble was already developing and Hestan was threatened in December.⁴⁹ The following April whilst still apparently at Carlisle, Balliol and Anthony de Lucy were authorised to treat with the potent but treacherous William Douglas of Liddesdale, and in August troops were being rushed up to defend Lochmaben.⁵⁰ By 18th August, 1344, Balliol was back again at Newcastle where he was again declared captain of Edward's host.⁵¹

⁴³ Rot. Scot., i., 571.

⁴⁴ Rot. Scot., i., 610.

⁴⁵ Rot. Scot., i., 617.

⁴⁶ Rot. Scot., i., 618.

⁴⁷ Rot. Scot., i., 629.

⁴⁸ Rot. Scot., i., 630.

⁴⁹ Rot. Scot., i., 632, 634.

⁵⁰ Rot. Scot., i., 637, 640.

⁵¹ Rot. Scot., i., 652, 654.

A truce had been declared for three years ending at Michaelmas, 1346, and in that autumn David II. invaded England and was defeated and taken prisoner at Neville's Cross on 17th October. Balliol must have been present for under date 20th March, 1347, is a note of army expenditure and wages debursed for Balliol, Dacre and others. Balliol had 50 men at arms at 16s total per day, one banneret at 4s, eight knights (chevaliers) at 2s, 40 esquires at 12d and 50 mounted archers at 4d each. The total for 90 days' service was £417. There may have been some dispute about this payment for an indenture, of which no particulars have survived, was made with Balliol thereanent,^{51a} but the wages had to be paid in gold nobles.⁵² Balliol at once returned to Galloway and actually was in residence at Caerlaverock.⁵³

On 9th May, 1346, Balliol was at Fulham,⁵⁴ perhaps to arrange the raid that followed. Henry de Percy and John de Neville were hired to serve under him for a year in January, 1347, Percy with 100 men at arms and 100 mounted archers, and Neville with 80 men at arms and 80 mounted archers.⁵⁵ Then followed the destructive raid into the Lothians.⁵⁶ All his hereditary lands were restored to Balliol by Edward.⁵⁷ Balliol by then must have been settled in at his manor on Hestan Island and for a brief space been a very real lord of Galloway. On 14th February, 1348, he had been summoned to attend the English parliament,⁵⁸ and in April Edward ordered his sheriff of Dumfries to allow Balliol to exercise the jurisdiction of regality in his lands of Botill, Kenmore

^{51a} Rot. Scot., i., 691, 699.

⁵² Bain, iii., 1450.

⁵³ Tytler ii., 74, quoting Knighton, who states that Balliol was ordered to hold for a time in safe custody the "castellum de Laverok in Galwaya" to overawe the Scots (c. 2592). John de Maxwell had been taken prisoner at Neville's Cross (Rot. Scot., i., 678) and is believed to have died in the Tower (Scots Peerage). His son Herbert had a safe conduct to go to London and back on 20th August, 1347, and having made an amicable agreement with William de Bohun (of Lochmaben) in September, 1347, was given a protection for himself and his castle of Caerlaverock (Rot. Scot., i., 704).

⁵⁴ Bain, iii., 1458.

⁵⁵ Bain, iii., 1479.

⁵⁶ Hailes, iii., 243.

⁵⁷ Rot. Scot., i., 710, 720.

⁵⁸ Bain, iii., 1526.

and Kirkandrews which his forebears had exercised in heredity since the days of king Alexander and past memory of man, "which lands are in our lordship (dominium) of Dumfries lately granted by us to the said king."⁵⁹ A year of quietude followed; then in January, 1351, a safe conduct was issued to William de Aldeburgh, valet of Balliol to go to England,⁶⁰ obviously in connection with the pending release of king David. On 4th March these proposals were explained to Aldeburgh, Patrick M'Culloch and John de Wiginton on behalf of Balliol. Next day Balliol was hastily summoned to attend.⁶¹ The negotiations were held at Hexham and removed to Newcastle and in June Balliol was assured he would suffer no prejudice if they failed. Then followed two uneasy and anxious years for Balliol. In February, 1352, he received a safe conduct to go to Edward⁶² and William de Aldeburgh, the like in May. In September again Balliol and Aldeburgh posted off south and Edward, to allay anxiety, gave the men of Galloway a protection at Balliol's request.⁶³ March, 1353, found Edward renewing his assurances as to the negotiations and on 6th August ordered Balliol and Aldeburgh to attend at Westminster.⁶⁴ One can only surmise what may have passed at all these conferences for David had been temporarily released to raise his ransom in Scotland. On August, 1353, William lord Douglas swept into Galloway and forced Duncan McDowell to renounce Balliol,⁶⁵ and in January, 1354, Edward de la Vale was instructed to maintain the castle of Botill in the company of Balliol.⁶⁶ Perhaps some attempt was being made to restore that Castle. Yet further assurances came to Balliol in June, 1354, and in July he was ordered to proceed to Edward. He may not have gone, for a few days later William de Alburgh, as messenger for Balliol, had letters

⁵⁹ Rot. Scot., i., 715, 720.

⁶⁰ Rot. Scot., i., 738.

⁶¹ Rot. Scot., i., 739, 740.

⁶² Rot. Scot., i., 741, 748, 751.

⁶³ Rot. Scot., i., 753, 754.

⁶⁴ Rot. Scot., i., 761.

⁶⁵ Hailes, iii., 250.

⁶⁶ Rot. Scot., i., 763.

of safe conduct *per mare veniendo*.⁶⁷ So the land route through Dumfries must have been closed.

Balliol's situation at Hestan was parlous. The end was at hand. A last appeal was made in May, 1355, William de Aldeburgh, now knighted, acting as messenger whilst Balliol, downcast and sick at heart, brooded despairingly on his islet.⁶⁸ No hope was held out for him as king. Abdication was called for and on 20th January, 1356, he granted away to Edward the kingdom of Scotland, his crown and title and all his personal lands in Galloway and in England. The witnesses for Scotland were the four abbots of Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh and Jedburgh, and the faithful William de Aldeburgh. Not a churchman from Galloway, his real home, was present.⁶⁹ He laid down his crown at Roxburgh and on 20th February at Bamburgh agreed to an indenture whereby for 5000 merks and a pension of £2000 he made Edward III. his universal heir "on account of his great age and feebleness and inability to continue the great labours he had to sustain."⁷⁰ The *Scalacronica* adds this gloss—because he had no heir nor any more of his lineage and because he was of Edward's blood, wherefore he could not tell where better to bestow his title and crown than upon Edward. The farce of the *pseudo rex* was ended.

Balliol retired to Yorkshire and obscurity. He could not retreat to France for when Edward attacked France the French king confiscated all the lands in France of Edward's supporters. Hélicourt was confiscated in 1355.⁷¹ There is some evidence that Balliol tried to make his peace with France for on 18th September, 1351, John II., King of France, issued letters patent that though Balliol had been waging war against John's allies of Scotland, nevertheless he now understands that Balliol is proposing to return to the French King's peace and therefore pardons

⁶⁷ Rot. Scot., i., 767.

⁶⁸ Rot. Scot., i., 777.

⁶⁹ Rot. Scot., i., 787-9.

⁷⁰ Rot. Scot., i., 800.

⁷¹ See *The Early Homes of the Balliols* in D. and G. Trans., xviii., p. 239.

him for all offences against France and promises to restore his lands.⁷² In October, 1356, he was pardoned for hunting and fishing at Haytefeild, Yorks.,⁷³ and in the following February Edward promised to pay his debts in the event of Balliol's death before the accounting.⁷⁴ There is no record of any marriage.^{74a} The D.N.B. states that his ignoble life lasted till 1367 when he died at Wheatley, near Doncaster, but he was certainly alive in May, 1363, when a grant in the Patent Rolls was made to him, and a Yorkshire Inquisition gives his death as 27th January, 1364.⁷⁵ Few tears can have been shed in Scotland at Balliol's passing. Yet he was remembered in the prayers of the church, but not in Scotland. To the monks of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire the two sisters and heirs of sir William de Aldeburgh granted annual rents to establish a chantry wherein to pray for the souls of their brother, their parents—and of Edward Balliol "chevaler," in perpetuity.⁷⁶

THE COMPANIONS OF BALLIOL.

Of the companions and supporters of Balliol who composed his tiny court but little is known and there is even less recorded of his officials. But the great seal was almost as important a royal emblem as the crown and for that a chancellor, as keeper of the seal, was essential. By the treaty of Birgham (1290) it was laid down that the great seal should remain in the custody of the chancellor of Scotland for the time being, he being a native of Scotland

⁷² Printed in vol. 18 of De Lattenhove's edition of Froissart's *Chronicles*, p. 336. I am indebted to Mr Bruce Webster for this note.

⁷³ Bain, iii., 1622.

⁷⁴ Bain, iii., 1626.

^{74a} In 1296 the embassy of Sir John Soulis and others completed a treaty with France, which embodied the betrothal of Edward Balliol with a daughter of Charles, Count of Valois, in which several of the Balliol estates in France are mentioned (*Liber Pluscardensis*, ch. 19). But there is no evidence that a marriage took place.

⁷⁵ Dr Balfour Melville, *David II. and Edward III.*, in an Historical Association's pamphlet.

⁷⁶ Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655), vol. I., p. 963. The ladies' names were Isabel, wife of Sir William de Ryther, and Elizabeth, wife of Sir Brian Stapilton, younger. Richard II. issued a royal license for the foundation of the chantry maintained by two annual rents of 40s each from the two moieties of the manors of Kyrkeby-Orblawers and Kereby. I am indebted to Mr Grant Simpson for this note.

and resident there. But with two crowned kings of Scotland—one a refugee in France and the other for the most part in England as ejected from Scotland—and the king of England virtually administering the largest and most vital part of Scotland as his own domain, it is practically impossible to know who any chancellor of Scotland was really serving. But alike in the early and the latest stages of this reign two chancellors may be assigned to Balliol. At one of his first parliaments William Brisbane is named as chancellor of Scotland, but it is unlikely that, after Balliol's flight from Annan, either that chancellor or the great seal accompanied him in his wanderings in England.⁷⁷ Perhaps chancellor and seal remained in Edinburgh. Tytler mentions that William Bulloch was chancellor in 1339, but he was Balliol's chamberlain and in that year forsook him and was the cause of Ughtred's surrender of Perth. It must be assumed that Balliol was without a chancellor or seal till after Neville's Cross (1346).

Edward III. then decided that Balliol must be provided with a chancellor. So disregarding treaty provisions Edward III. secured the services of an English cleric, a near relation and executor of the mayor of Newcastle who fell at Halidon. William Emeldon was a prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Chester and held other English livings.⁷⁸ A formal contract dated 18th March, 1346-7, embodied the terms of his appointment. Balliol does not seem to have been a party to it—officially at least. Emeldon was clearly a nervous and reluctant party when he contracted with Edward III. to become chancellor to Balliol, undertaking to accompany him in charge of the great seal on his next expedition into Scotland. But Emeldon was taking no chances if he could help it and contracted that he should have a personal bodyguard of 10 men at arms and 10 archers at 2/- a day and that he was to be paid in advance a £10 bonus (regarde). Further if lords Percy and Neville were to return from Scotland he was not bound to remain

⁷⁷ Hailes (1797), iii., 188, 214.

⁷⁸ Bain, iii., 1532.

with Balliol.⁷⁹ There is no record of his activities and it must be assumed that he did not go to Hestan Island, for such documents as emanated from that manor were under the privy seal.⁸⁰

Of the rest of his entourage there is only mention of two knights of Edward Balliol—Edmond de Barde in 1339 already mentioned and William de Aldeburgh, his most faithful henchman, last heard of c. 1360 as Captain of Honfleur in Normandy and captured by the French in a sortie.⁸¹ He was a son of a well-known English knight, sir Ivo de Aldeburgh, warden of the town of Roxburgh in 1312.⁸² Sir William had previously been a valet of Balliol. Other recorded valets were William de Stapilton, 1334, and Richard Sefoul already mentioned, Thomas Thorp, 1348; John de Wygynton, 1348-56; Thomas Ergaill, 1348-9; Thomas Bryd, 1349-54; John Weston, 1350; John Rok, 1355, and John Aldburgh, 1354. These names are taken from P.R.O. Issue Rolls where are recorded the payment of subsidies and pensions paid to Balliol on the receipt of his valets.⁸³ Roger de Tong is named in 1337 as Balliol's sergeant.⁸⁴

The only known list of Balliol's Galloway followers occurs during his residence on Hestan, being the witnesses to Aldeburgh's charter in 1352.

SIR MATHEW McLOLLAN and John McLollan his son are claimed as possible ancestors of the lords Kirkcudbright. The name first appears in 1305 though the Bombie family does not start till 1434 (*Scots Peerage*, I. 256). It is possible that the McClellans of Gelston were the senior branch. It is curious that the name does not figure in Ragman Roll but this Galloway name may well have been corrupted by the English scribes.

⁷⁹ Bain, iii., 1492.

⁸⁰ The extant great seals and privy seals of Balliol are fully described and listed by Stevenson and Wood, vol. I., p. 8. As far as is known, Edward Balliol had no coins struck in his own name, though Burns has suggested that he may possibly have had money struck under his father's name.

⁸¹ *Scalacronica*, p. 151.

⁸² Bain, iii., 319.

⁸³ I am indebted to Mr Bruce Webster, M.A., for searching these records.

⁸⁴ Bain, iii., 1253.

SIR ROGER MOWBRAY must be identified with a son of sir Alexander Mowbray. He held under Edward Balliol some lands in Borgue and half the barony of Preston in Kirkbean. Much is known of the father, sir Alexander, but little of his son.⁸⁵

JOHN DE REREYK took his name from the parish of Rerrik. In February, 1334-5, he shared with Walter Durant twelve quarters of wheat from Conhaith, a gift from Edward III.⁸⁶ As John de Rerrayk, *c.* 1365, he served on the assize at Philip de Mowbray's service. In 1444 a Fergus de Wraykis held the lands of Ardarie (Ardrie in Preston) as descendant of a Gilbert Dispenser who *c.* 1220 held those lands of Alan, son of Roland, for the service of a tenth of a knight's fee.⁸⁷ Fergus was the ancestor of the Reriks or Reddiks of Ardrie, Dalbeattie and Barharrow. The name is now Roddick.

SIR PATRICK McCOULAGH and GILBERT McCOULAGH were members of an ancient Wigtownshire family, the only local one known to have been consistently loyal to the Balliol interest. For a full account of the early generations see *D. and G. Trans. (1936-8), XXI., p. 384.*⁸⁸ There is little to add. When Balliol forsook Hestan sir Patrick must have accompanied him. In 1358 a safe conduct was issued to Thomas Macolagh of Scotland to go to Canterbury where he wished to reside⁸⁹ and two months later a Thomas and a Gilbert, with their wives, went there also.⁹⁰ Sir Patrick was still there in November, 1363, when at his own request safe conducts were issued to Thomas and Gilbert McColaghs of Scotland,⁹¹ and on 16th April, 1364, Christopher, son of Patrick, had a safe conduct to go from England to Scotland with four men on a trading venture.⁹²

⁸⁵ *D. and G. Trans. XI., p. 54*, for a full discussion of this family, and *D. and G. Trans. XXXIII., p. 197*, for a *Mowbray Service, c. 1365*.

⁸⁶ *Bain, iii., 1150*.

⁸⁷ *R. H. Charters, No. 308*.

⁸⁸ In the Ewart Library there is a typewritten M.S. calendar of the papers of the M'Cullochs of Ardwell by Walter M'Culloch, W.S.

⁸⁹ *Rot. Scot., i., 821*.

⁹⁰ *Rot. Scot., i., 856*, and again in April, 1361 (*Rot. Scot., i., 856*).

⁹¹ *Rot. Scot., i., 875*.

⁹² *Rot. Scot., i., 881*.

It seems probable that this visit was really a cover for negotiations for the family's return to Scotland, for in January a treaty with England was embodied in a Scottish Act of Parliament whereby the " disinherited " were to be restored to their Scottish lands. The part of the act relating to the English lords was never fulfilled but *pro bona pacis habenda* the lords Godfrid de Ross, Patrick McOwlach, Edward de Lethame and William de Weschynton were restored to their inheritance.⁹³

Finally when Patrick was back again in Scotland his fighting instincts did not allow him to remain there, for on 11th June, 1369, he secured a safe conduct to go with Godfrey de Ross and 80 men at arms to England and thence to France to fight against the French for Edward III. As such they were described as " Scottis Anglicatis."⁹⁴

But of all the supporters of Balliol the Galloway family to which there are most frequent references was the McDowells.

THE McDOWELLS.

Like the McCullochs the family of McDowell can claim to be one of the earliest Celtic stock in Galloway. Ragman's Roll of 1296 includes the names of a Fergus McDowell and a Dougal McDowell, probably brothers.⁹⁵ Dougal or Duncan was a common name in the family and it is not easy to differentiate amongst them. As Galloway men they were supporters of the Balliols. Any Bruce association must have been anathema to them. Indeed their whole attitude was dictated by hostility to Bruce and not necessarily by love of England. It was, in fact, the time honoured policy of Galloway. On John Balliol's surrender of the crown they submitted to Edward I., as did all Scotland, and till 1336 served the English interest, not without advantage to themselves. Early in 1297 (the date is uncertain) Edward I. issued Letters Patent to Dougal McDowell and Gibon fitz Kan to raise 1000 foot soldiers in Galloway and Carrik and

⁹³ A.P.S.I., 13th January, 1364.

⁹⁴ Rot. Scot., i., 931.

⁹⁵ Bain, ii., p. 198.

to join sir Richard le Brun and forces from Cumberland,⁹⁶ perhaps in connection with Wallace's descent through Dumfriesshire into Galloway and the capture of Monygoft.⁹⁷ This must have been before 13th June, 1297, when Edward I. thanked them for their success.⁹⁸

Dougal McDowell had a younger brother of the same christian name, and on 1st March, 1306-7, on the elder's petition, Edward I. granted to the younger Dougal the marriage of the daughter and heir of Hugh de Chaumpaigne, a tenant *in capite*, thus bringing the barony of Borgue into the family. The lady was duly handed over to her future spouse.⁹⁹ This may have been the reward for M'Dowell's capture of Sir Reginald de Crawford and the two brothers of Bruce whom Edward I. promptly executed. In the relative documents Dougal is described as "Captain of the army of Galloway" and his personal reward was 50 merks and a charger.¹ Palgrave (p. 318-9) prints a list of the rewards made by Edward I. with the advice of Dougal, who was granted the lands forfeited by Brice de Blare along with the office of coroner of Ayr and the lands of la Mark, just as sir Robert Boyd had held them. Bain dates this 1st March, 1306-7. Perhaps one of Dougal's followers was Elyas de Vaus who at Dougal's request was pardoned for the death of a Caldebeck man at Carlisle.² To avenge the death of his brothers, Bruce, in September, 1307, descended on Galloway ravaging the countryside. Dougal, here described as "one of the greater men of Galloway," with others sought help from Edward who sent the earl of Richmond as warden and sir John St. John to assist them.³ Galloway at this juncture was an unhealthy place of residence. Its bishop had removed permanently to Yorkshire and McDowell followed suit. Some safe residence in England was essential for his family. In April, 1309, he

⁹⁶ Bain, ii., 1049.

⁹⁷ D. and G. Trans (1924-5), XII., p. 250.

⁹⁸ Stevenson, ii., 177.

⁹⁹ Bain, ii., 1905.

¹ Bain, iv., p. 483.

² Bain, ii., 1919.

³ Bain, iii., 15.

first figures as a knight, probably of English creation, and for good service to Edward II. and to his father was granted the manor of Temple Couton (Yorks.) and also Temple Sowerby in Westmorland as a residence for his wife and children seeing that "Dougal was hated by the Scots."⁴ Shortly after this Temple Couton had been resumed by the crown but on 8th February, 1311-2, the keeper of the Temple lands in Yorkshire was ordered to deliver that manor to Matilda, wife of Duncan McDowell, till her husband executed a legal surrender in due form.⁵

Though his family was safe in England Dougal was busy on the Border for he had been appointed by Edward as constable of Dumfries, receiving as such in 1310-11 a prest of £212 9s 6d.⁶ With this office was conjoined the sheriffship of Dumfries. In May, 1312, sir Dougal at once proceeded to fortify the castle and a list of munitions there survives. They came from his brother, Fergus McDowell, who was acting as Edward's receiver at Holm Cultram and were sent to Dougal's clerk, John de Monrethe, the receiver at Dumfries.⁷ But by July he complained that promised supplies were not coming from Carlisle and in consequence many of the garrison were deserting.⁸ The detailed and organising grip of Edward I. had given place to the timorous hesitancies of Edward II. Sir Dougal had to surrender the castle to Bruce on 7th February, 1312-13.⁹ But the terms of surrender must have allowed the garrison to depart, for in July, 1314, Dougal was sent by Andrew de Harcla, in command at Carlisle, to warn Edward II., then at York, of Bruce's impending attack on Carlisle.¹⁰

Sir Dougal is next heard of upon the high seas. Since July, 1310, he had been in close touch with John of Argyll from whom he received that month 100 merks.¹¹ Sir John

⁴ Bain, iii., 83, 84.

⁵ Bain, iii., 241.

⁶ Bain, iii., 236.

⁷ Bain, iii., 27, 274, 278.

⁸ Bain, iii., 281.

⁹ Bain, iii., 304.

¹⁰ Bain, iii., 369.

¹¹ Bain, iii., 157.

of Argyll also was in English pay, as bitter an enemy of Bruce as sir Dougal. He was Admiral of the English fleet on the sea coast of Ulster endeavouring to cut off Scottish supplies from reaching Edward Bruce in Ireland.¹² He was joined by sir Dougal who was in receipt of a yearly sum of £20 from Edward II., and whose wife, Matilda, in August, 1316, was given a crown grant of £10.¹³ Sir Dougal did not long remain at sea. He was ordered to go to Ireland in Edward's pay and petitioned that he be granted the land of St. Samoun in Ireland till he recovered his estates in Scotland. Clearly he hankered for his home lands in Galloway.¹⁴ He had been granted by Edward II. the ward of the late Henry de Maltoun's lands in Yorkshire and Cumberland. He was still due to the crown £10 for this grant and for his good services Edward III. remitted the balance.¹⁵ His friend and ally John of Argyll predeceased him—"impotent in body and his lands in Scotland destroyed"—and as executor of John he had to collect the arrears of his English pension of 200 merks.¹⁶ Sir Dougal himself was dead by the end of 1327 and on 27th January, 1328, Edward III. confirmed to his widow—here called Margaret—the ward of de Malton's lands.¹⁷ The widow herself was dead by the close of 1333.¹⁸

Sir Dougal was succeeded by his son, Duncan McDowell, who seems to have held quite different views of policy to his father. The one had been a staunch anti-Bruce adherent, the other was a wobbler. But Bruce had been on the throne for 20 years and by the treaty of Northampton was recognised by England. So the son abated his father's unyielding attitude and made his peace with Scotland. Under date of July, 1334, the *Anonimale Chronicle* (p. 2) records a rising of the Scots shortly after the crowning of

¹² Bain, iii., 479.

¹³ Bain, iii., 504.

¹⁴ Bain, iii., 857.

¹⁵ Bain, iii., 910.

¹⁶ Bain, iii., 912.

¹⁷ Bain, iii., 944, 946.

¹⁸ Bain, iii., 1106.

Edward Balliol, which harried the men of Galloway who loyally adhered to Balliol.

At the same time a knight of Galloway, Dunkal Makduel by name, who had always sustained the part of the king of Scotland (Balliol), by the malice and enticement of his newly married wife, rose against the said king and roused the men of Galloway against him.

It is rather remarkable that Sir Duncan McDowell should choose this moment to change his political outlook. Balliol had fled from Annan and was a wandering outcast in England. One would expect that sir Duncan would have chosen that moment to change his family allegiance. But the disastrous defeat of the Scots at Halidon hill on 19th July, 1333, should have been a deterrent unless the date of his defection given in the *Anonimale Chronicle* is wrong. It is possible that his defection may have taken place before that battle. He soon repented his change over, and on 20th August, 1339, with Eustace de Maxwell and Michael McGethe (McGhie) he submitted to Edward III., being formally admitted to Edward's peace on 22nd May, 1341.¹⁹ He must have regretted the promptings of his wife, whose name is nowhere recorded. He was sent by Edward or Balliol to establish a pele on Hestan island. It was an exposed and dangerous post but its retention was regarded as of importance by Edward. Threatened by Scottish forces sir Duncan, in spite of reinforcements and provisions from England, must have wavered again. Edward even gave him quittance for wine from the royal cellars.²⁰ But the English did not wait for him to turn his coat again and in 1345 seized Hestan and left it in flames. Sir Duncan and his two sons were lodged in the Tower of London. Sir Anthony de Lucy who effected the seizure received in June, 1346, 700 merks for this exploit.²¹ The McDowells are stated to have been taken on the March, and Hailes (iii. 122) quoting Knighton in his list of prisoners taken at Neville's Cross mentions "Duncan McDouuel and Duncan McDouuel." They may be sir Duncan and his son whose capture in

¹⁹ Rot. Scot., i., 571, 609.

²⁰ Rot. Scot., i., 624.

²¹ Bain, iii., 1462, 1469.

Galloway has been transposed by Knighton to the eastern March.

McDowell repented at leisure and sought the assistance of Balliol for his release. He petitioned Edward in the first instance on behalf of his nephew who for four years had been a prisoner at Tickhill.²² In March, 1347, his son, Duncan, was removed from the Tower to Rochester and in September both father and son were moved to York²³ and the sheriff there was ordered to retain in custody the wife, brother and two sons of sir Duncan as hostages. He had been freed by his indenture with Balliol.²⁴ In October, 1348, his wife and brother were released but his two sons continued as hostages, one with Thomas de Lucy and the other with Richard Talbot and Adomar of Athol, presumably at Dalswinton or Dumfries.²⁵

Another petition (1337) throws some light upon the family. It emanated from (sir) Duncan McDowell and shows that his father had lost the considerable estate of a £100 land in Scotland for his allegiance to Edward I. and II. some 30 years ago. Sir Dougal and his brother, unnamed, had captured two brothers of Bruce in battle for which his said brother had been slain in Scotland. The eldest son of sir Dougal had been slain at Stirling (? Bannockburn). Edward II. had given sir Dougal a pension of £20 but sir Duncan, the petitioner, and his six surviving brothers were now utterly deprived of support and he therefore prayed that his father's pension be continued till such time as he could recover their lands in Scotland. The petition is endorsed "It seems to the Council it would be charitable to do some favour to them," but there is no record of what was done.²⁶ The names of Duncan's six brothers are unknown but one of them must have been the Thomas McDowell whose wife Johanna had been abducted at Carlisle in 1308 with his goods and chattels.²⁷ It is by no means

²² Bain, iii., 1470.

²³ Rot. Scot., i., 1491, 1508.

²⁴ Rot. Scot., i., 703, 704.

²⁵ Rot. Scot., i., 722.

²⁶ Bain, iii., 1522.

²⁷ Bain, iii., 36.

certain that sir Duncan ever returned to Hestan though a Duncan McDowell—perhaps a son as he had not the knightly prefix, as had McClellan and Mowbray—was a witness at Botille in 1352. He must have realised that the end of Balliol's kingdom was at hand. Balliol renounced that kingdom in 1356 and William, earl of Douglas, swept over Galloway, Cumnock and Kyle.²⁸ "Donald MacDowell" at once came to terms at Cumnock. His final tergiversation must have facilitated the success of Douglas.²⁹ This change of front paid dividends at last, for various members of the family, who cannot be definitely identified save by the name of Dougal, benefited with grants of land. Thus David II. granted c. 1345 to Dougal McDowell the lands of Sannaik, Twynham and Kelton;³⁰ c. 1357 the lands of Twynham and Borg;³¹ c. 1358 to John McDowell of the lands of Sannaik, Colwen, Kelton and Bombie;³² c. 1358 to Margaret McDowell of the lands of Culwen, Kelton and Bombie;³³ c. 1342 to Fergus McDowell of the lands of Borg which John Mowbray forfeited,³⁴ and c. 1345 to Fergus McDowell of the office of Constable of Kirkcudbright and a three merkland.³⁵ It is at present only possible to guess at the relationships of these grantees.

But there is little doubt from the references to the lands of Culwen that the grantees were descendants of sir Duncan McDowell for in 1366 king David confirmed a grant by sir Dougal McDowell to John Trumpour called Carrik Herald of a four merkland called Litolgretby in the lordship of Kyrassalda in the sheriffdom of Dumfries and the 20s lands of Glengarg and Glencrag in the lordship of

²⁸ *Liber Pluscardensis* (1880), ii., 229.

²⁹ Wynton's *Chronicle* (1872), ii., 487, where sir Duncan is called schyr Dowgald.

³⁰ R.M.S., 1306-1424, app., ii., 1006.

³¹ *Ibid.*, app., ii., 1147, 1193.

³² *Ibid.*, app., ii., 1176.

³³ *Ibid.*, app., ii., 1221.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, app., ii., 835.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, app., i., 1007.

Culwen.³⁶ At that date sir Duncan may still have been alive.^{36a}

THE ACTA OF BALLIOL.

Of the charters granted by Balliol as king there are only a few scattered references, but from some notes in the Maitland Thomson MSS. at the Register House, kindly sent me by Mr Athol Murray, it appears that that distinguished archivist may have contemplated an Acta of Edward Balliol. The following may be regarded as a provisional Acta. It is uncertain when Balliol's regnal years started. It is assumed here that the year commenced on 24th September, his Coronation day.

1332 []. To Robert de Byncestre, of the lands of sir Alexander Seton in Scotland, dated directly after Balliol's arrival at Perth (Bain, iii., 1223).

1332, Oct. 3. At Roxburgh. To sir Ivo de Aldburgh, of lands in Broxmouth forfeited by Andrew Gray (Bain iii., 1480 and Rot. Scot., i., 707).

1332, Oct. 20. At Roxburgh. To sir Thomas Ughtred, of the manor of Bonkhill forfeited by sir John Stiward (Stewart) (Bain, iii., 1128, and Rot. Scot., i., 273).

1332, July 26. At Berwick on Tweed. To his clerk, Simon de Sandford, for life, of the keepership of the Hospital of Ruthersford next Jedworth (Rot. Scot., i., 327).

1332, Oct. 24. To Walter de Selby, of lands in Plenderleith, Co. Roxburgh, forfeited by sir William Wyschard (Rot. Scot., i., 820 and Bain, iii., 1670).

1332, Dec. 14. At Roxburgh. To his valet Richard Sefoul, of a £20 land held by his forbears (Bain, iii., 1249 and Rot. Scot., i., 514).

³⁶ R.M.S., 1306-1424, No. 206 and app., ii., 1517.

^{36a} In the B.M. (pressmark 1400 r23 (36)) there is a very scarce genealogy of the families of Brisbane, Hay and McDowell of Makerstoun (Roxburghshire) prepared in 1840 by Sir Wm. Fraser. It originates with Sir Dowgall or Duncan MacDowyle, "a powerful chieftain of Galloway in the beginning of the 14th century," who married Margaret Fraser, only daughter of Sir Gilbert Fraser and of Margaret Corbet "domina de Makerstoun," with whom he acquired the baronies of Makerstoun, Ythetholm and Clifton. Their only recorded son, Fergus MacDowyle of Makerstoun, had a Crown charter of confirmation of those lands on 3rd May, 1374 (R.M.S. 1306/1424-459, 460) and was succeeded by his son, Sir Dougal MacDowell, who was dead by 1411, being succeeded by Sir Archibald MacDowell, who received a further Royal Confirmation (R.M.S. 1306/1424-App. ii., 1929) and married Euphemia Gifford, youngest of four co-heiresses of Sir Hugh Gifford of Yester. Their son, Dougal, was of Makerstoun and Yester. A photostat of the complete genealogy has been lodged at the Scottish Record Office.

- 1333-4, Feb. 14. At Edinburgh. To Edward III., of the town, castle and county of Berwick annexed to England for ever: homage ect. (Bain, iii., 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111).
- 1333, July 25. To William Duresme, merchant burghess of Derlington, of lands late of William de Eughless, rebel, to the extent of £40 yearly; he is to answer for anything which may be found in excess of such extent. Witnesses Henry de Bello Monte earl of Bughan, David de Strabolgie earl of Atholl, Richard Talbot, Thomas Ughtred and John de Felton knights. (Cal. of Pat. Rolls, 1334-38, p. 110).
- 1333, July 29. To Henry de Percy, of the pele of Lochmaben, the valley of Annan and Moffatdale as Thomas Randolph, late earl of Moray held them to the value of 1000 merks yearly (Percy Chart., p. 448).
- 1333, Sept. 15. At Glasgow. To Galfrid de Mowbray, of lands in Roxburgh and the Forest in right of his wife, Isabella, countess of Mar (Rot. Scot., i., 278).
- 1333-4, Feb. 17. To sir Richard Thaleboth (Talbot), of the castle of Kildromy. The castle always to be ready for Balliol in case he needs to retreat there. (Nat. MSS. of Scotland, ii., no. 35, original at B.M.).
- 1333-4 []. At Edinburgh. Indenture as to payment by above sir Richard to sir William de Montagu, for the use of sir Robert de Keth, of 960 merks for delivery of the lands of Keyth, etc. (Nat. MSS. of Scotland, ii., no. 37; original at B.M.).
- 1334, March 1. At Berwick. Agreement with Edward III. and his Parliament (Rot. Scot., i., 261 ff.).
- 1334, June 12. To Edward III., of the southern counties of Scotland (Bain, iii., 1127).
- pre 1333-4, March 2. To John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, of the earldom of Stratherne (Bain, iii., 1118).
- pre 1334, June 24. To Thomas de Wakefield, of the gift of the Hospital of St. Leonard's, near Edinburgh (Bain iii., 1130).
- 1334, Aug. 28. To Henry de Percy, of the forfeiture of all lands and tenements of all the men being within the pele of Loghmabane. He is not to receive anything further from Balliol for besieging the peel (*pro obsessione peli predicti*) (Percy Chart., p. 448).
- 1334, Sept. 5. To Henry de Percy, of the manor of Carstryvelin and other forfeited lands (detailed) provided that if they are found to exceed £690 16s 6d, the surplus is to be at Balliol's will (Percy Chart., p. 447).

- pre 1333-4, March 8. To Henry de Percy of the lands of sir Walter de Corry and his son John, in Annandale (Percy Chart., p. 436).
- 1334, Sept. 15. To William de Stapilton his valet, of the lands that belonged to Adam de Delmayne and John, son of William L'Englis, in the valley of Liddell and the lands called Hirdmanstoun in Teviotdale (Rot. Scot., i., 728).
- 1334, Sept. 25. At Glasgow, ratifying a confirmation of king John Balliol of a grant by William the Lion to Glasgow cathedral (Reg. Ep. Gl., i., no. 283).
- pre 1334, Nov. []. To Randolph de Dacre, of the lands, castle and manors formerly belonging to Roger de Kirkpatrick and Humphrey de Bois (Rot. Scot., i., 294).
- pre 1335 []. To John de Barneby, of the vill of Elstaneford (Haddington) worth £20 per annum (Bain, iii., p. 330).
- 1335, May 1. At Carlisle. Letter to Edward III. concerning the Irish lands of Dundrennan (Bain, iii., 1157).
- 1335, Sept. 12. At Perth. To John of the Isles, of the islands of Colonsay, Mull, Skye, etc., Kintyre and Knapdale during the minority of the son and heir of sir David de Strathbogie, last earl of Athol, with four letters attached (Bain, iii., 1182 and Rot. Scot., i., 463).
- pre 1335, Oct. 15. To Thomas de Burgo, of the office of chancellor and chamberlain of Berwick (Rot. Scot., i., 384).
- pre 1335, Dec. []. To brother John de Wirkeleye, master of the Hospital, of the manor of Templiston, near Edinburgh (Rot. Scot., i., 386).
- pre 1335-6. To Gilbert Talbot, of the barony of Dirleton extending to a £140 land (Bain, iii., p. 336).
- pre 1335-6, Feb. 8. Presentation by the Abbot of Holm Cultram, of Dom. Walter de Annandia to the Advowson of Dornock, and an acre there, gifted to the Abbey by Edward de Balliol and confirmed by John, bishop of Glasgow.³⁷
- pre 1335-6. To Reginald More of Fentoun, of 15 husbandlands in the barony of Drem worth 20 merks yearly (Bain, iii., p. 336).
- pre 1336, Nov. 28. To Richard earl of Arundel, of the Stewardship of Scotland (Bain, iii., 1218).

³⁷ John de Lindsay, rector of Ayr, was lord of Stablegorton and of Kirkconnell "*in valle de Nith*" (Reg. Ep. Gl., I., 238). He became Bishop of Glasgow and died about August, 1355. He was a supporter of Balliol and figured at his Parliament, 1333-4 (Dowden). The rectory of Dornock had been vacant for 12 years since death of Dom Radulfus, last rector. Balliol's gift was to relieve the Abbey's penury caused by the war (see also *Records of Holm Cultram*, p. 146) (Reg. Ep. Gl., I., 249).

- 1336, Dec. 2. At Perth. Charter to Anthony de Lucy, of the barony of Dromsiringard and all the lands which belonged to Maurice de Moravia knight, beyond the Scottish sea, together with the barony of Carmenoc, which belonged to Patrick de Dunbar, late earl of March, forfeited by the said Maurice and Patrick, the king's enemies and rebels. Anthony to answer for the value of the lands in excess of 600 merks; declaring that the said lands do not belong to the crown and are not part of the king's patrimony and that no grant has been made of them hitherto. No witnesses given (Maitland Thomson's Transcripts from 15th century copy at Cockermouth Castle).
- 1337, May 31. At Stamford. To the English chancellor asking for a protection for a merchant. Under Privy Seal (Bain iii., 1232).
- 1337, June 6. At Stamford. Letter to the chancellor of England notifying that the abbot of Lundores had come to his peace (Bain, iii., 1234).
- 1337, July 1. At Stamford. Letter to the chancellor of England requesting protection for one of his valets (P.R.O. Ancient correspondence, vol. 39, no. 53. Partial transcript in Maitland Thomson's notebook, no. 16, p. 27).
- 1337, July 1. At Stamford. Letter to same (Ibid., vol. 45, no. 230).
- 1337 []. To the same seeking pardon for sir Richard Cros and protection for sir Robert Gower and Roger de Tong, his own sergant. Under Privy Seal (Bain, iii., 1253).
- Pre 1339. Ap. 10. To John de Orreton, of the lands forfeited by sir John Lindsay of Wauchop (Rot. Scot., i., 710, and Bain iii., 1328).
- 1339, May 21. At the manor of Auckland. To sir John Strivelyn of the lands and tenements of sir William de Keth and of sir John Strivelyn of Glennessie, forfeited as enemies and rebels. Great Seal damaged and largely illegible (Northamptonshire Record Office, SS. 2851).
- 1339, August 9. At Bishop Auckland. Confirmation of Charter by John, king of Scots, to William de Silkesworthe, of the whole land of Balmutah formerly belonging to William de Crombathy, clerk, in the tenement of Kingorn. Witnesses: Sir Thomas Surtays, sir Adam Percevale and sir Henry de Haverington, knights; no seal (Nat. MSS. of Scotland, vol. ii., no. 38, original in Durham Misc. Charters, no. 363).
- 1343, Oct. 27. At London. Acquittance to the prior of Durham for £15 16s 4½d received by an Exchequer tally levied in his name. In French, Privy Seal attached (Ibid., no 39, Raine North Durham, app. no. 83, original at Durham, no 3716).

- Pre 1347. Ap. 12. To Walter de Manny of the vill of Nesbit (Rot. Scot., i. 694).
- 1347, Sept. 21. Letters Patent to John de Denton (of Denton, Cumberland) of the Forest of Garnery forfeited by William, bishop of Glasgow, "our enemy and rebel," paying yearly 20 merks. At the island of Eastholm, fine privy seal attached (D. and G. Trans., 1916-18, vol. V., p. 258).
- c. 1347. Agreement with Henry de Percy who is to remain with and aid Balliol with 100 men at arms and 30 knights of his banner wherever he is in Scotland. Henry is to be given 2000 merks worth of land on this side of the Scottish sea in such place as shall be agreeable to him. Details are given of payments for each class of men serving (Percy Chart., p. 447, and cf. Bain, iii., 1477).
- 1348, Sept. 20 and 21. At Isle of Estholme. To his valet William de Aldburgh of the lands of Kirkandrews and Ballemcgethe (Balmaghie) (Bain, iii., 1578).
- 1348, Sept. 21. Letters Patent to the same erecting above into a free barony. At Isle of Estholme (Bain, iii., 1578).
- Pre 1349, Nov. 4. To William de Warrenne of half the lands that were William de Soule's in the valley of Liddell, forfeited by Ermygarde, heir to the said William. The lands and castle of Hermitage had been occupied by William de Douglas of Scotland till the battle of Durham (Rot. Scot., I., 730).
- 1352, Nov. 29. At castle of Botill. To sir William de Aldburgh of the barony of Kelles in Glenken and the granter's castle of Insula Arsa and the reversions of his barony of Crossmychael and Kisdale in Galloway (Bain, iii., 1578).
- 1352, Dec. 1. At the castle of Botill. To the same erecting the above into a free barony (Bain, iii., 1578).
- 1355-6, Jan. 20. At Roxburgh. Cession to Edward III. of the kingdom of Scotland (Bain, iii., 1591-2 and Rot. Scot., i., 787-8).
- 1355-6, Jan. 25. At Roxburgh. Resignation under Privy Seal to Edward III., making him heir to the kingdom of Scotland (Bain, iii., 1596-7 and Rot. Scot., i., 789).
- 1355-6, Jan. 27. At Roxburgh. Letters under Privy Seal renouncing to Edward III. the rights and royal dignities of Scotland (Bain, iii., 1603).
- pre 1359, July 14. To sir Alexander Mowbray, of lands in Scotland extending to 120 merks sterling. Ed. III. restores the lands to Mowbray (Rot. Scot., i., 838).

ARTICLE 6.

The English Occupations of Dumfriesshire in the Fourteenth Century.¹

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The Treaty of Northampton has always received at least its fair share of attention in the history of the Scottish Wars of Independence; but the very interest which it has aroused has sometimes obscured the fact that Scottish independence remained a matter of grave doubt for almost another 30 years. It was not till 1357 that the danger was really over, and for much of the intervening period Edward III. was in effective possession of large areas of Scottish territory.

The treaty in fact remained in effect for only five years, and the grudging recognition which it had given to Scottish independence was withdrawn almost as soon as the English found an opportunity to renew their attempts at conquest. With Edward III.'s thinly disguised support, a party of adventurers, headed by Edward Balliol, the son of the John Balliol who had been awarded the crown in 1292, tried to recover the Scottish lands which they had lost as a result of their earlier support of the English; when the unofficial attempt failed, Edward III. abandoned all concealment, and in the spring of 1333 openly renewed the attempt to bring Scotland under his superiority. The Treaty of Northampton was in tatters, and David II. was forced to flee to France, taking with him the English wife who was now all that was left to him of the benefits conferred in 1328: for all practical purposes the struggle for Scottish independence had to be won again.

Edward's scheme was soon revealed. In payment for his aid to Balliol, he demanded and received the cession of the whole of southern Scotland—the counties of Berwick,

¹ I have to thank Professor E. I. G. Stones, Mr J. Campbell, and Mr Grant G. Simpson for many helpful corrections and suggestions. To Mr R. C. Reid I am indebted for much help and encouragement in preparing this paper for publication. For the errors which remain and the opinions herein expressed I am alone responsible.

Roxburgh, Selkirk, Edinburgh, Peebles and Dumfries, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk and Ettrick, and the constabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow; the rest of Scotland Balliol was to hold of Edward III. by liege homage.

To carry such a project into complete effect, however, proved no easier for Edward III. than for his grandfather. There was still much resistance left in Scotland, and Edward, after 1337, had the very compelling distraction of the war with France. It was largely because Edward's attention was occupied elsewhere that his opponents were able gradually to restore their position and reduce one by one the various English garrisons. Even so, when David II. was at last able to return in 1341, the English were by no means completely expelled; but David's position seemed now assured, and indeed would have remained so, but for the disaster of Neville's Cross. His capture in 1346 lost in a moment all that the patient efforts of his supporters had secured. The English at once followed up their good fortune, and much of the south of Scotland again came under their control. It was not till after another 11 years of diplomacy and war that David II. was able to win recognition of his independence, and then only *de facto*: England begrudged him the title of king for years afterwards.² Nevertheless, the Treaty of Berwick in 1357 left David secure on the throne, and if Edward still tried to exert a personal influence on him and tried to get him to appoint an English heir, the English crown seems for the moment to have abandoned its attempt to conquer Scotland by force.

² Cf. *Rotuli Scotiæ* (1814) i., p. 953b. Letters patent of Edward III. dated 12th December, 1372. "Know that since in each of our acquittances to our brother of Scotland, David de Bruys, while he was alive for the payments of his ransom we addressed him as our brother of Scotland without adding the title of king of Scotland which letters our brother accepted as sufficient for himself and his people . . . in case Robert our cousin of Scotland fears that the said letters of acquittance will be insufficient since they do not specify the title of king of Scotland, for the greater security of our said cousin we grant and declare that it is our intention and that of our council that the said letters of acquittance given and to be given in future in the name of 'Robert our cousin of Scotland' shall be of the same force as if our cousin had been styled in them king of Scotland . . ."

Between 1328 and 1357, therefore, Scotland's independence was far from being assured. In these years, the English power in Scotland ebbed and flowed but it could never be discounted.

Dumfriesshire was, naturally enough, one of the areas most vitally affected by these fluctuations. It lay across one of the main routes into Scotland, across the Solway fords and up either Annandale or Nithsdale; and was therefore one of the first stopping places of any English invaders, whether they came to plunder or to settle. It was, too, one of the counties ceded by Balliol, and that meant the introduction of English administrative officials.

Dumfriesshire, however, was more closely involved than this. Its inhabitants were often openly active on the English side. As early as 1332, when Balliol was in some difficulty at Perth, they came to his aid by creating a diversion and so distracting his attackers, an intervention which led to their being attacked afterwards by the supporters of David II.³ This support for Balliol's interests is not altogether surprising for the south-west of Scotland was the home country of Edward Balliol himself. The Stewartry had been, since the days of Devorgilla, Balliol territory, and Edward Balliol recovered his lands there whenever English fortunes were sufficiently flourishing. The general cession of southern Scotland did not affect his right to his own property.⁴ He is, moreover, found in those regions on several critical occasions. It was in Annan that he planned to spend Christmas in 1332 when a surprise attack by the Scots sent him scuttling for refuge to England⁵; and in the summer of 1347, after an abortive attempt to reach Perth, he again established himself "for safety" in these parts, one account says at Caerlaverock⁶ another at Hestan Island, near the mouth of the Urr river, in the Stewartry.⁷ Balliol clearly felt that he could

³ *Chronicon de Lanercost* (ed. J. Stevenson, Maitland Club, 1839), p. 269.

⁴ *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 273a, p. 710b.

⁵ *Lanercost*, p. 270; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton* (Rolls series No. 92), i. (1889), p. 465; *John of Fordun* (*Historians of Scotland*, i., 1871), p. 356.

⁶ *Knighton*, ii, (1895), p. 47.

⁷ *Anonimale Chronicle* (ed. V. H. Galbraith, 1927), p. 29.

hope for more support in these regions than elsewhere in Scotland, and it was a natural consequence that Dumfriesshire was one of the first parts of Scotland to come under the control of his English allies, and that their occupation should have proved more than ordinarily effective.

The pattern of the English occupation was, to a degree, dictated by strategy, and in Dumfriesshire, from a strategic point of view, one position was of cardinal importance—the castle of Lochmaben. On the modern map it seems important enough, standing as it does at the entrance to Annandale and thus commanding one of the two western routes into Scotland. But the modern map actually conceals its strategic significance in earlier times.⁸ Nowadays, and since the eighteenth century, we are accustomed to think of the route up Nithsdale as running, like the railway, from Carlisle to Annan, direct to Dumfries, and so up Nithsdale. But it is only in comparatively recent times that we have been able so to disregard the Lochar Moss, a formidable natural barrier which extended over the whole lower valley of the Lochar, and covered the eastern approach to Dumfries from a point somewhat north of the town, right to the Solway, with only a narrow and easily broken passage at the coast. We have sixteenth-century authority for the fact that it was a complete barrier at that time,⁹ and it must have been no less so in the fourteenth century. If one wanted to go up Nithsdale, the convenient route led, not directly west to Dumfries, but north to Lochmaben, then and only then west to Dalswinton in Nithsdale, and so north. Dumfries itself was off the main route. Lochmaben stood, not just at the entrance to Annandale, but at the point where the routes up Annandale and Nithsdale divided, and thus it commanded all the routes into Scotland on the west; it was, therefore, the key point in the English occupation.

⁸ On the historical geography of Dumfriesshire cf. the excellent Introduction to the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments for Scotland, *Dumfriesshire Inventory* (1920), especially pp. xxx. et seq.

⁹ *Dumfriesshire Inventory*, p. xxxi., referring to State Papers (Henry VIII.), vol. V., pt. iv. (cont.) (1836), pp. 554-5: a report to Henry VIII. describing the difficulties of approaching Caerlaverock.

We do not know exactly when it was surrendered to the English, but it is clear that it was surrendered on terms by its keeper, Patrick Charteris, and not taken by storm;¹⁰ it was in English hands some time before 21st November, 1333,¹¹ and it remained in their hands, without a break, till the 4th of February, 1384, when it was captured by Archibald Douglas.¹² Its fall marked the end, for the time being, of any English authority in Dumfriesshire, and it had outlasted by almost 30 years the rest of the English possessions in the county.

Along with the castle of Lochmaben, the English naturally enough gained some control over the rest of the lordship of Annandale: English records have many references to the men of Annandale in the allegiance of the king of England.¹³ Just how much of the Lordship was actually in English control we cannot be sure, but in a document of 1352 recording an arrangement between Edward III. and William Douglas of Liddesdale the latter received half of the town of Moffat and various other lands in Moffatdale, which suggests that English authority stretched pretty far north.¹⁴

At the same time it is clear that English authority in Annandale was weakening long before they lost control of Lochmaben castle itself. The Lordship was the ancestral

¹⁰ Rot. Scot., i., p. 274a.

¹¹ J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii. (1887), No. 1101. An order repeating a previous order to Henry Percy to surrender the castle to Henry Beaumont and Ralph Neville till the disputes between himself and Edward Bohun are resolved.

¹² Fordun, p. 383, giving the date as 4th February, 1383. It is, however, probable that Fordun begins the year on 25th March, so that this would be, by our reckoning, 1384. *Liber Pluscardensis* (*Historians of Scotland*, vii., 1877), p. 320 also gives 1383. The castle was still in English hands on 4th January, 1384, cf. Bain, iv., No. 331, which includes a receipt for stores of that date. By 5th March, 1384, its commander, Alexander Fetherstonhalgh, was under arrest in Carlisle Castle, for unspecified offences, presumably connected with the loss of the castle—P.R.O. *Exchequer Miscellaneous Accounts* E. 101/554/26.

¹³ E.g., *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1345-1348*, p. 240. A commission to enquire into a complaint by the tenants of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, of Annandale in Scotland, who are in the king's peace and fealty, 21st January, 1347.

¹⁴ Bain, iii., No. 1562. Printed in full in Rymer, *Foedera* (*Record Commission*, 1825) iii. (1), p. 246-7.

inheritance of the Bruces¹⁵ and, when the Treaty of Berwick was made in 1357, David II. naturally wanted it back. The result was that from 1360 onwards—the arrangement is repeated in more detail in 1364 and 1366—the revenues of the Lordship of Annandale were divided between the English holder and the Scottish king;¹⁶ and it is then clear that there are people there in the allegiance of the king of Scots as well as in that of the king of England. Both sides seem to have agreed on a peaceful settlement with reasonable returns to each. Like the peace of Berwick, this arrangement persisted till the 1380s, when fighting was renewed and the English were expelled.

West of Annandale, there is a rather different picture. Here the English penetration was even less permanent, and it seems to have depended very much on the support of two local families—the Maxwells and the MacDowells, of whom the Maxwells were for the English the more important. English fortunes in this part of the country reflect fairly closely the support, or lack of support, they were receiving from these two families; and the English were clearly aware of the value of their assistance: for the heads of these families for the time being are almost the only people from this part of the country to receive direct payments in the form of pensions or special grants of money, from the English Exchequer. Even more striking is the fact that, though both deserted the English several times, the English were nevertheless always ready to take them back into favour, even though both had broken their oath of allegiance to the English crown, a crime which, in other cases, sometimes carried drastic penalties¹⁷ but not, evidently, in the case of people whose help was so valuable as that of the Maxwells and the MacDowells.

The importance of the Maxwells to the English is simple

¹⁵ This point was made by the Scottish ambassadors during negotiations probably belonging to 1363—Bain, iv., No. 92.

¹⁶ Bain, iv., No. 47. Indenture dated 1st May, 1360. *Ibid.*, No. 100. Indenture dated 25th August, 1364. *Ibid.*, No. 127. Indenture dated 15th December, 1366.

¹⁷ As for instance in the case of the Earl of Menteith, executed towards the end of February, 1347—Rymer, iii. (1), pp. 108 and 110.

enough. They owned Caerlaverock, and it was a position second only to Lochmaben in significance. Guarded by the Lochar Moss, and from the sea by the mudflats, it was immensely strong, indeed almost impregnable. While it was in hostile hands, it was a superb base from which raiders might sally out and plague the communications of anyone who tried to hold any other base in the neighbourhood. We know, from the comments of those who tried, that Lochmaben itself was difficult enough to defend if Caerlaverock was hostile.¹⁸ The castles of lower Nithsdale—Dumfries and Dalswinton—must have been much harder to hold without command of Caerlaverock. Hence, an English occupation of Nithsdale, almost required the backing of the Maxwells; while even to hold Annandale against their opposition was not easy.

The MacDowells did not have any such obvious strength; but they do seem to have been, with the Maxwells, the chief influence over the men of Galloway, the Maxwells in Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry, the MacDowells west of the Cree; both together seem to have been decisive in swinging Dumfriesshire and Galloway on to the English side.

At the start of our period, they were both supporters of Balliol; indeed it was Eustace Maxwell who led the diversion which helped Balliol when he was in difficulties at Perth in 1332.¹⁹ With this support in the south-west, it is not surprising that Edward III. seems to have had no great difficulty in taking over his new county of Dumfries. The grant of the county on the 12th of June, 1334, was followed at once by the appointment as sheriff of Dumfries of a very prominent Cumberland landowner—Peter Tilliol.²⁰ We have no evidence that he did not enter peacefully on his office.

The actual annexation of the south seems to have produced a revulsion against Edward and Balliol. Duncan MacDowell abandoned the English side, in common with many others, at just about this time.²¹ Eustace Maxwell,

¹⁸ Dumfriesshire Inventory, p. xxxi., referring to Bain. ii., p. 535.

¹⁹ Cf. note 3 above.

²⁰ Rot. Scot., i., p. 271.

²¹ Lanercost, p. 278. The events are approximately dated about the end of July.

however, remained firm and that was quite enough to maintain the English sheriffdom of Dumfries in effective existence. On the other hand Eustace Maxwell himself soon appears as sheriff and that may well indicate the price that had to be paid for his support. We do not know when he entered upon office, but he was acting by the 15th of October, 1335.²²

Somewhere about May, 1337, however, he too abandoned the English side, for reasons which are not clear.²³ He had indeed received the previous year a special order from Edward III. to be more prompt in rendering his accounts,²⁴ and it is true that he had been able to collect little enough of the nominal revenue of his office: but we have no definite evidence that he was in trouble with the Exchequer, and he may simply have judged the time appropriate to change sides. Loyalty to the English had its inconveniences. The Stewartry was raided by the Scots in the spring of 1337²⁵ and this may well have convinced Maxwell that the disadvantages of supporting the English outweighed the advantages; especially since the English themselves were not always prepared to spare their supposed allies: in the summer of 1335 they had plundered the district round Maxwell's own castle of Caerlaverock.²⁶ Eustace Maxwell's defection seems in any case to have been part of a fairly widespread movement in the first half of 1337: we know that at this same time considerable numbers of people in eastern Dumfriesshire and in the county of Roxburgh were also deserting the English.²⁷

He was provident enough however not to change sides until he had got what he could out of the English. He was already allowed to retain to his own use £20 per annum of the profits of the castle of Caerlaverock;²⁸ on the 16th of May, 1337, he received a gift of another £20;²⁹ while he had

²² Bain, iii., p. 317. His account for the period 15th October, 1335, to 29th September, 1336.

²³ Lanercost, p. 290.

²⁴ Rot. Scot., i., p. 441a. The sheriffs of Roxburgh and Edinburgh received similar orders.

²⁵ Lanercost, p. 288.

²⁶ Knighton, i., p. 472.

²⁷ Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1334-38, p. 442.

²⁸ He had been allowed to retain the sum by a warrant of 4th December, 1334, cf. his account as sheriff in Bain, iii., p. 317.

²⁹ P.R.O. Issue Rolls E. 403/294. 16th May.

received £40 as an advance on his wages at a date which is uncertain but was probably a little earlier.³⁰ It was in May that he is said to have abandoned the English side. Having drawn what he could, he went.

Just how serious his desertion was for the English position in Dumfriesshire, it is not easy to say. The account has it that he roused the Stewartry against the English; but Dumfriesshire seems to have gone as well. True, Edward granted Carlaverock to Ralph Dacre, but it is not apparent that he did anything except plunder his newly acquired domains.³¹ There is no evidence at all that the English administration in Dumfriesshire continued to function after Maxwell's defection. Indeed, there is one significant piece of evidence to the contrary. A rent of 40s from Stapelgorton (which normally accounted to the sheriff of Dumfries) was, for the year ending 29th September, 1337, set down to be collected by the sheriff of Roxburgh, a fact that suggests very strongly that the sheriffdom of Dumfries was not functioning. And the sheriff of Roxburgh proved unable to collect the money: as he explained, the county was in a state of war.³²

We may then assume that from the summer of 1337 till the battle of Neville's Cross, the English administration had ceased to operate in western Dumfriesshire. It is true that both Eustace Maxwell and Duncan MacDowell returned to the English allegiance in August, 1339, though we have no idea why;³³ and Duncan MacDowell at least appears actively to have taken the English side: from 1342 he is apparently holding Hestan Island for them.³⁴ On the other hand the

³⁰ Ibid., 24th May. The money had already been paid to Eustace Maxwell by the Bardi, one of the houses of Florentine bankers whose services were used by Edward III. On 24th May, they received reimbursement from the Exchequer.

³¹ Lanercost, pp. 290-1.

³² Cf. R. C. Reid in *D. and G. Trans.* (1952-3), xxxi., p. 167, and Bain, *iii.*, p. 373.

³³ *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 571b.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 625-6. Letters dated 10th April, 15th April and 20th April, 1342, arranging for a naval escort to be sent with Duncan MacDowell to Galloway, and also for supplies and assistance to be provided for him. Ibid., p. 634b. Letters dated 1st October, 1342, arranging for

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references to him suggest that he was doing no more than holding an isolated post in hostile country, and it is possible that he never intended his support to be of any particular value. Once he had got his supplies and money from the English, he once more changed sides. In 1345 the English had to take by storm the fortress they had themselves supplied;³⁵ and the following year Duncan and his eldest son were bought by the crown from their captors, and safely lodged in the Tower—hardly a reward for faithful service.³⁶ Apart from this doubtful help, the English seem to have been without allies in Dumfriesshire at this time. The only other reference to a Dumfriesshire landowner which I have found in English records at this period is a safe-conduct issued to John Stewart of Dalswinton, in January, 1343; and it indicates that, though the English seem to hope that he will come to be of their allegiance, he was not so at that time.³⁷ The Maxwell family seem to have given no active help, despite Eustace's nominal return to the fold in 1339. Neither he nor after his death in 1342 his successor John appear in the records as English supporters, and John fought with David II. at the battle of Neville's Cross, and was there captured.

So it would seem safe to argue that between the defection of Eustace Maxwell in 1337 and the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 English authority in Nithsdale was negligible. They

supplies for Duncan MacDowell at Hestan. There is further evidence of Duncan MacDowell's connection with the English at this period in the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer. P.R.O. Issue Roll E.403/326, 8th July, 1342. Payment of £60 to Duncan MacDowell "for the defence of a certain Pele which he holds in Galloway for the king." P.R.O. Issue Roll E.403/327, 3rd April, 1343. Payment of £66 13s 4d to Duncan McDowell as wages for himself and his men in the defence of the Pele of Hestan.

³⁵ Anonimale Chronicle, p. 19.

³⁶ P.R.O. Close Roll C.54/179 m. 4d. An enrolment of the indenture dated 14th June, 1346, between the king and Sir Thomas Lucy, recording the surrender of Duncan MacDowell and his eldest son to the king in return for a grant to Lucy of 700 marks from the profits of the county of Cumberland. They were received from Lucy by the sheriff of York, on 5th July, 1346, and delivered by him at the Tower on 18th July, P.R.O. Pipe Roll E.372/191 m. 48.

³⁷ Bain, iii., No. 1403. The original, P.R.O. Chancery Warrants C.81/1535(2), states that the English hope for advantage from the negotiations with him.

still held Lochmaben and Annandale, though Lochmaben castle itself was in temporary danger in 1343;³⁸ they were trying, as opportunity offered in these years, to recover a foothold in the west, but lacking solid local support, they could achieve nothing.

Neville's Cross changed the picture. As they followed up their success, the English found that once again they could get that local support in the west which had been essential in the past. With David II. a prisoner, Balliol's chances seemed to have improved enough to encourage support once more. In August, 1347, the then head of the house of Maxwell, Herbert Maxwell, made his peace with the English.³⁹ (John Maxwell seems to have died soon after his capture.) In the same month, the English also found it possible to reach an accommodation with Duncan MacDowell.⁴⁰ So far apparently from wanting to take vengeance on him for outwitting them in the past, they were content to release him on terms of something approaching friendship, though perhaps as a result of past experience they did take hostages—his wife and two children—for his good behaviour. Thus the English once again had the support of the two chief local powers.

The English sheriffdom of Dumfries was in existence even before this: in January, 1347, William Dacre was appointed;⁴¹ and he was succeeded in October by Aymer de Atholl.⁴² The second at least, appointed after the accommodation with Maxwell and MacDowell, seems to have been able to function with some efficiency: his main achievement was apparently the repair of the castle of Dalswinton, a task which he claimed to have completed by the summer of 1348.⁴³ The repair seems to have been extensive, and the fact that the English were prepared to spend money in this fashion

³⁸ Cf. A. A. M. Duncan in *D. and G. Trans.* (1952-3), xxxi., p. 74.

³⁹ *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 704a and *Bain*, iii., No. 1507.

⁴⁰ *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 703b.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 686a.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 706b.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 713a and p. 716a. The first refers to the "repair" of the castle, the second to its "construction."

suggests that they were seriously concerned to "dig in" in Nithsdale.

They remained rather longer on this occasion than in the 1330s, but again they departed in the end. The last mention of Aymer de Atholl in the area is in November, 1352,⁴⁴ and it is clear that he is hard pressed: he "is continually engaged in the defence of certain of our lands in Scotland." (It is the chancery of Edward III. that is speaking.) The next year Duncan MacDowell deserted to the Scots for, it appears, the last time, an ominous event for English prospects in Dumfriesshire.⁴⁵ Finally, either in 1355 or 1356 (perhaps the latter is more likely), there occurred a series of campaigns which seem to have recaptured the whole of the south-west from the English.⁴⁶ Even Annandale, according to the Scottish chronicles, fell at this time; and while that is certainly an exaggeration, since Lochmaben remained secure for long after, it may well be sufficiently true to provide an explanation for the appearance of men in the Scottish allegiance in Annandale, and for the division of its revenues between the English and Scottish kings.

From 1356, therefore, till the fall of Lochmaben in 1384, English possessions in Dumfriesshire were reduced to no more than a half-interest in Annandale. Further west nothing remained.

Thus for much of the fourteenth century Dumfriesshire was on a constantly varying frontier. It is clear that all these changes of authority, and the successive advances and retreats of the English, cannot have failed to affect the inhabitants. Yet it is difficult with the evidence at our disposal to be very precise as to what that effect was.

It is not easy, for instance, to say whether the presence of an English administration made any direct difference to

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 754a.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 761a. Orders dated 18th August to the chancellor and chamberlain of Berwick, and the sheriff of Roxburgh, to seize the lands of Duncan MacDowell, who has deserted to the Scots. The failure to address any such order to a sheriff of Dumfries suggests strongly that no such official was in existence.

⁴⁶ Pluscarden, p. 298. The *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* by Andrew of Wyntoun, ii. (Historians of Scotland, iii., 1872), p. 487.

those subjected to it. We have only one year's accounts for the English sheriffdom of Dumfries, Eustace Maxwell's for the year ending Michaelmas, 1336;⁴⁷ and there are no Scottish accounts for the sheriffdom even remotely comparable in date. Without any such comparative material, it is not possible to make very much use of this isolated document. It bears no obvious sign of any attempt to lay increased burdens on the shire. Indeed, if we can deduce anything from that account, the new regime was bearing distinctly lightly on its subjects; for Eustace proved unable to collect the greater part of his revenues—or perhaps maintained to the English Exchequer that he had been unable to do so. There are too many unanswered questions. We have not the material to assess adequately that aspect of the English occupation.

There are aspects, however, that one can attempt to assess. One of the consequences of the successive English occupations was that Dumfriesshire suffered a considerable incursion of English landowners. Those who had supported Edward Balliol expected to be rewarded, and the lands of those who persisted in loyalty to the Scots provided the means. The operation was normally straightforward enough, but it was not always so. Annandale provides an example of the sort of confusion that could arise when everyone was anxious to grab such lands as might be available. It was an obvious prize, both on account of the strategic position of Lochmaben, and the value of the Lordship itself, and there was strong competition for it. Henry Percy, as well as being one of the greatest landowners in the north of England, was a prominent supporter of Balliol, and in return for this support he received from Balliol a grant of the Lordship of Annandale.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, another English noble had a claim to it—Edward Bohun, the descendant of the Bohun to whom Edward I. had granted the Lordship. He contested the matter, and, since Annandale was now formally in the hands of the English, and he was a man of the highest influence at the English court, it is not surprising that he

⁴⁷ Printed in Bain, iii., pp. 317 et seq.

⁴⁸ Percy Chartulary (Surtees Society, cxvii., 1911), p. 448.

won. Bohun received the land on 23rd September, 1334,⁴⁹ but he did not enjoy it long, since, about 1st November following, he was drowned trying to rescue a servant who was in difficulties on the Solway sands.⁵⁰ The Lordship, however, remained in his family until the male line became extinct in 1373, when it passed, temporarily, into the hands of the Crown.

The Bohuns were the most notable English newcomers to the list of Dumfriesshire landowners, and they were, of course, absentee landlords, ruling their estates through officials. There were, however, many lesser men who may well have taken more interest. Whether Peter Tilliol, the first sheriff, got any lands in Dumfriesshire is not known, but another prominent Cumberland gentleman, John Orreton, certainly did. On 20th October, 1332, he received from Balliol the lands which had formerly been in the possession of John Lindsay of Wauchope;⁵¹ and we have references in 1333⁵² and again in 1348⁵³ which indicate that he actually received possession. Another prominent Englishman, Ralph Dacre, an earlier member of the family which was to be so powerful in the north in the sixteenth century, was pursuing in 1334 legal action to secure lands formerly held by Roger Kirkpatrick and Humphrey de Boys, which he had been granted by Balliol, and of which he had been

⁴⁹ Bain, iii., No. 1101. Order to Henry Percy dated 21st November, 1333, to surrender control of the castle while the dispute is being settled. *Ibid.*, No. 1133. Renunciation by Henry Percy, dated 20th September, 1334, of the castle and Annandale to Edward III. *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 280b. Grant to Edward Bohun, dated 23rd September, 1334, of the castle and Annandale. Percy received extensive compensation elsewhere, *Ibid.*, p. 280a.

⁵⁰ Adam Murimuth (*Rolls Series*), p. 74. He was dead before 6th November, 1334, for on that day the chancellor was ordered to seize into the king's hands the lands of the late Edward Bohun, P.R.O. Chancery Warrants C.81/218(8277).

⁵¹ Calendar of Patent Rolls 1340-43, p. 173. Confirmation dated 23rd April, 1341, of a charter of Edward Balliol dated 20th October, 1332.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1330-34, p. 469. A protection dated 8th October, 1333, for "John de Orreton, of the barony of Walghope in the county of Dumfries."

⁵³ *Rot. Scot.*, i., p. 710a. Order dated 30th January, 1348, to the sheriff of Dumfries to restore to John Orreton his lands of which he had possession till ejected by the Scots and which the sheriff has now wrongly taken into the king's hands.

wrongfully dispossessed by the English sheriff of Dumfries.⁵⁴

We owe our knowledge of these cases largely to chance—there may well have been more of which we have no record.

Even apart from the incursion of Englishmen and the ejection of the Scots who would not support Balliol, there were other more immediate and more appalling consequences of the disturbed state of the frontier. Law and order were weak anywhere in Scotland or England in the fourteenth century, but the uncertain and fluctuating allegiances of the border lands were an open invitation to disorder and lawlessness on an even greater scale than elsewhere. The careers of Eustace Maxwell and Duncan MacDowell, with their constant and almost entirely unpunished fluctuations from side to side, show how little authority either government had if the local powers chose to defy them. The possibilities of large-scale plundering were endless, and that with almost complete impunity as far as the law was concerned.

It is so common to think of these disturbed conditions of border warfare, and border reiving, and of the campaigns which punctuated the English advances and retreats, as a romantic episode in the past that it is important to stress the grimmer side. The English records have a large number of complaints by the men of Annandale, particularly, that they have been subjected to endless plundering and pillaging.⁵⁵ The frequent repetition of these complaints suggests that, as would in any case be probable, the English authorities could do little about it. We have one document which fills in the picture.⁵⁶ It is a complaint by William Lord Douglas to the English king and Council, and though undated

⁵⁴ Bain, iii., No. 1139 and Rot. Scot., i., p. 294a.

⁵⁵ Calendar of Patent Rolls 1343-45, p. 506. A commission to enquire into such complaints dated 5th May, 1345. Rot. Scot., i., p. 875a. Order to the wardens of the marches dated 3rd December, 1363, to put a stop to such incidents. Ibid., p. 887b. A similar order dated 14th November, 1364. Such instances could be multiplied. The northern counties of England were no more fortunate. Cf. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1345-48, p. 105. A commission to inquire into the claim by the men of the county of Cumberland that they are so wasted by the Scots that they cannot pay their taxes.

⁵⁶ Bain, iii., No. 1664.

belongs to a period after the treaty of Berwick, when the two countries were nominally at peace. He complains of plundering of his lands and people in Eskdale by English raiders; and the raiders are not common criminals or brigands, but two of the most prominent Cumberland land-owners, Robert Tilliol and Thomas Lucy; the latter about that time had actually been sheriff of Cumberland. The raiders had used Lochmaben castle as their base, and had not only driven away large numbers of livestock, but also held many of his people to ransom to the value of £5000. It was a common trick of such raiders. When every allowance has been made for the exaggerations of a petitioner, the picture of destruction and damage to the inhabitants of Eskdale is still grim enough. If Lochmaben castle was being used as a base for raiding in those parts, it is unlikely that the rest of Dumfriesshire got off any more lightly.

Being subjected to routine border raiding was bad enough: being the victims of full-scale border campaigns was far worse. Again, an acquaintance with the more glamorous incidents in Froissart has cast a rosy light over fourteenth-century war. The reality was very different. The object of a campaign was to do the maximum material damage possible, to carry off all plunder that could be carried off, and destroy everything that remained. English accounts of campaigns in France take a grim delight in listing the number of towns burned on their progresses. Dumfriesshire was subjected to the same treatment. Dumfries itself and other towns in the neighbourhood were burned in the winter of 1345,⁵⁷ and that was only one of many such episodes. The most appalling instance is the campaign of the autumn of 1337, a general raid over most of southern Scotland from Teviotdale to Nithsdale.⁵⁸ We are told that few people were killed, for few were found in the path of the English; but the raid was timed probably deliberately to occur after the harvest and the chronicler notes that the English destroyed the grain in the barns, as well as plundering the animals and burning

⁵⁷ Lanercost, p. 341.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-2.

the houses. We have no account of the consequences, but our imagination can provide a terrible picture of desolation in the wake of such a raid. Mediæval economy was, by our standards at least, never much more than marginal, and it was difficult to bring supplies from any distance. Dearth was common enough, even in time of peace; in the wake of such a campaign sheer starvation must have been very near. With their animals driven away, their houses burned, and the grain in their barns, all the reserves they had, destroyed, there can have been few resorts left for the inhabitants of Dumfriesshire.

It is a grim picture, but it must be remembered, because it is the continual background to Anglo-Scottish relations in this period.

ARTICLE 7.

An Excavation at Amisfield Tower, 1957.

By R. E. BIRLEY AND D. C. FILDES.

Amisfield Tower was the home of the Charteris family from 1171 until 1834, and there is a reference in a document of A.D. 1300 to a "castrum" on their estate. This has for some time been supposed to refer to a roughly rectangular earthwork, measuring about 150 ft. from north to south and 140 ft. from east to west, behind the stables near the Tower. This earthwork is not mentioned in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* (1797), which gives a full account of the Charteris family and of the Tower, and the first printed reference to it seems to be in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, 2nd edition (1852), p. 236, as follows:

"Near Amisfield house . . . may be seen the remains of a small military post, nearly square, which has all the appearance of having been a Roman fort."

In the Royal Commission's Dumfriesshire Inventory (1920) it is accorded a brief and non-committal paragraph, under No. 583:

"Amisfield Enclosure.—Rather less than 100 yards to the west of Amisfield Tower there is an irregular quadrilateral area, which has been enclosed by a stone wall, encompassed by a ditch 11 ft. wide at base and 7 ft. deep, with an outer rampart on the crest of the counter-scarp. The enclosure, which measures 154 ft. from north to south by 143 ft. from east to west, has apparently been entered from the south. It obviously belongs to a much earlier period than the tower."

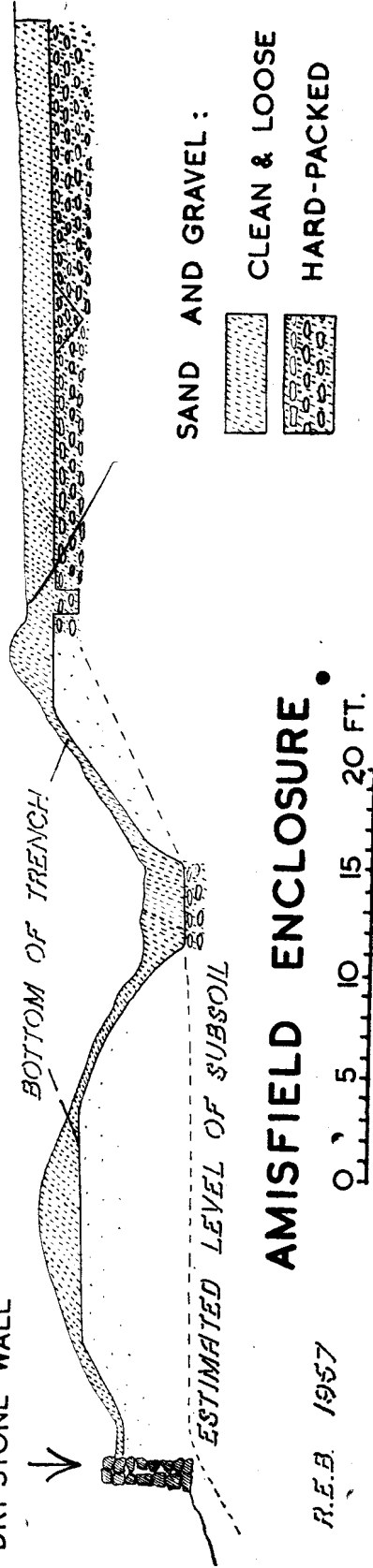
It has more recently been suggested, by Mr R. C. Reid in his note on the site of Cockpule in Dumfries (these *Transactions*, 3rd series, XXX., 191, and *Charteris of Amisfield*, by R. C. Reid (1938), p.10), that the earthwork might represent an early form of moated grange, within which there would have been wooden buildings.

In August, 1957, excavation was undertaken on the site by the writers, at the kind invitation of Major Johnstone, the present owner of Amisfield Tower. A section was cut across the rampart and ditch of its N.W. side, the position of the trench being largely determined by the absence of trees at that point; the trench was later extended some way into the interior of the enclosure. The most striking feature disclosed was the ditch, which was remarkably steep and well-defined for a supposedly thirteenth-century site. The banks were composed of loose sand and gravel, without any backing of turf, clay or stone; and the bottom of the ditch, surprisingly close to the modern surface, was found to be completely clean, with no silt or any other form of deposit. This cast extreme suspicion on the authenticity of the entire site—a suspicion which was confirmed when the trench was extended into the enclosure; there, at a depth ranging from 18 to 24 ins. from the present surface, after digging through a layer of loose mould deposit from the pine trees growing there, and then loose, clean sand and gravel, we found a hard-packed surface of the sand and gravel which form the natural subsoil of the area: a trial hole cut into this surface confirmed that it was in fact natural.

Throughout the dig there was a complete absence of any trace of occupation: the loose sand and gravel was as clean as the compact surface of the subsoil, and neither pottery nor any other form of rubbish was found. Apart from this complete absence of occupational material, we are satisfied that the very loosely constructed banks of the ditch could not have retained their sharpness of outline for as much as 300 years, if as long as that; for one thing, rain water would have eroded and undermined them, carrying at least some silt into the ditch itself. It is therefore quite out of the question that the site can be of any great antiquity.

It seems reasonably possible that the earthwork may, in fact, have been a "folly," dating from the close of the eighteenth century; that, at least, might serve to explain the fact that Grose's book, published in 1797, makes no reference to it.

DRY-STONE WALL



AMISFIELD ENCLOSURE

R.E.B. 1957

Our thanks are due to Major J. L. Johnstone, for his kindness in inviting us to excavate and for his hospitality during the excavation; and to the County Surveyor's Department for assistance in producing the accompanying section.

ARTICLE 8.

Excavations At Terally (Wigtownshire), 1956.

By ROBIN G. LIVENS, B.A., F.S.A. (Scot).

1. INTRODUCTION.

In May, 1955, trenching operations conducted by the Wigtownshire County Council, in the course of laying a water-main, unearthed traces of a number of cist-burials a few yards above high-water mark on the shore of Terally Bay, Kirkmaiden Parish, Wigtownshire (National Grid reference: NX/122412). The discovery was brought to the notice of the Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, Mr R. B. K. Stevenson, and the Curator of the Burgh Museum, Dumfries, Mr A. E. Truckell. By arrangement with the local authorities, the remains of some of the skeletons then unearthed were sent to the Department of Anatomy of the University of Glasgow for examination.

Since the evidence recovered from these preliminary excavations pointed to the presence of a Long Cist Cemetery upon the site, a request was made that I should undertake the further exploration which seemed desirable. Excavations were accordingly carried out under the auspices of the University of Glasgow, for a 10-day period in April, 1956.

Thanks are due to the many people who made the excavation possible and who took part in it. Professor J. D. Mackie, Professor of Scottish History in the University of Glasgow, and Miss Anne S. Robertson, Under-Keeper of the Hunterian Museum, secured the support of the University for the project and gave me the warmest encouragement in the conduct of the excavations. Mr Ninian Buchan-Hepburn of Logan, the land-owner, and Mr J. H. Torrance, the tenant-farmer of Terally, kindly gave their permission for the excavations to take place, while Mr Torrance placed us further in his debt by allowing us to use one of his sheds for shelter and the storage of tools.

The work on the site was carried out on eight working days by a team composed entirely of volunteers, including

both local residents and students, which averaged six in number. Miss V. H. Foulkes, of Nottingham, bore a considerable amount of the responsibility for supervising work on the site. The team of helpers was too numerous for each of them to receive individual mention, but acknowledgment must be made of the help and kindness of Mr and Mrs G. M. Wyllie, of Drummore School, and of Mr J. W. Milroy, of Cailliness Farm, Drummore.

I must also acknowledge the help which I have received from Mr Stevenson and Mr Truckell, in both the compilation of this report and the preparatory work which the excavation entailed. The substance of this report also owes much to my discussions with many other friends and colleagues. Dr Archibald Young, of the Department of Anatomy of the University of Glasgow, has examined the skeletal remains from the site and his report is appended to this account.

The site of the cemetery lies upon the terrace of the Early Post-Glacial Raised Beach which, on this part of the coast, forms a well-marked ridge, some 35 ft. above O.D. (see Fig. 2); inland from the site, which is in a level field, a small stream has carved out a meandering path for itself and the gap, through which it penetrates the ridge of the Raised Beach, is overlooked by the Mote of Terally (see below). Further inland, the ground rises, in gently rolling contours, as the hinterland of the Mull is approached.

Terally Bay itself is located in an area of considerable importance: it lies upon the eastern coast of the Mull of Galloway, facing east across Luce Bay towards the Stewartry. On a clear day, the Isle of Man is easily visible from the site, while the Antrim coast can be seen from the hinterland of the Mull. The area forms a most favourable landfall for voyagers coming northwards up the Irish Sea, for shelter is provided from the prevailing south-westerly winds by the Mull itself and the shores of Luce Bay abound in sandy beaches, which would be ideal landing-places for primitive craft. A feature of the area is, not surprisingly, the close cultural contacts which it enjoyed with Ireland and other areas which could easily be reached by sea; it is true to say

that, even as late as Mediaeval times, the area had closer contacts with Ireland than with the rest of Scotland, while as recently as the beginning of the present century, the coal supplies for the area were brought by boat directly across the Solway Firth from Maryport, Whitehaven or Workington.

The same fact is evidently true of the Prehistoric settlement in the area: the first Mesolithic food-gatherers had many cultural affinities with the inhabitants of the Antrim coast (Movius, 1942), while the Neolithic chamber-tombs of the area have well-marked Irish affinities (Piggott, 1954, pp. 152-192); the presence of four polished stone axes found at Drummore, which have been petrologically examined (Stone and Wallis, 1951, p. 116) and attributed to the Great Langdale group of factories, may indicate that the trade in coal across the Solway Firth was preceded by a traffic in other commodities. Although remains of all periods are known from Torrs Warren (Davidson, 1952) and Mesolithic remains are known from the Mull (Lacaille, 1954, pp. 154-156), our knowledge of the remains of later Prehistoric antiquities from the Mull itself is patchy. The axes mentioned above and a Food-Vessel found at Cairngaun (Wilson, 1887) suggest that some of the cairns marked on the Ordnance Survey maps of the area may be of Late Neolithic or Bronze Age date.

So far as we know, the Iron Age saw the first extensive, permanent settlements in the Mull (Fig. 1). Presumably the fortified enclosures in the higher areas of the Mull and the fortified areas on the West coast (Listed by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Galloway Inventory, Vol. 1, pp. 53-59) are to be assigned to this period. The distribution of Motes in this area is notably different from that of these other fortified sites: with a single exception (Clanyard), these Motes are strung out along the Eastern shore of the Mull and in every case, without exception, a beach suitable for landing from small boats lies ready to hand. These Motes are presumably to be assigned to the Early Mediaeval period, though none of them has yet been scientifically excavated, and the number of them may suggest an intensive occupation of the area at that time, while their

distribution suggests that their inhabitants were a seafaring folk.

In default of excavation of both representative Motes and other fortified sites in the area, it is impossible to establish the inter-relations of the two types of sites, or to fix their chronology within anything other than the broadcast limits. At present little is known of the nature of the occupation of the Motes: there is no evidence for residential settlements in their immediate vicinity, while their concentration in a relatively small area may mean either that they were not all occupied simultaneously or that some of them may have been small refuges, erected for security by the local inhabitants, rather than the strongholds of a dominant minority who imposed themselves on the area.

Early Christian monuments occur in the Mull (R. S. G. Anderson, 1937) and are concentrated principally in two areas, at Kirkmadrine and Drummore. The associations of these monuments with the extant churches in those localities are not certain, but they do attest the presence of ancient ecclesiastical sites in the Mull.

Numerous casual finds of cist-burials are recorded by the Ordnance Survey maps, and the list has been supplemented from information collected locally. In their distribution, they show no significant coincidence with the distributions either of Motes or of other fortified sites. In two cases, however, cist-burials are recorded from the immediate vicinity of Motes (at Kilstay and Terally). The exact nature of the cist or cists found at Kilstay is not known, but at Terally, there is evidence that they formed a regular cemetery.

2. FEATURES OF THE SITE (Fig. 2).

The Mote.

This is described by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Galloway Inventory, Vol. 1, p. 60, no. 152) as a natural feature, but since it consists of a mound of sand and pebbles, standing actually upon the ridge of the Raised Beach, there is good reason to suppose that, in part at any rate, it may be an artificial structure. Erosion, coupled with

the burrowings of rabbits, has disclosed the presence of large beach-pebbles in the mound: these may conceivably form some sort of revetment.

The Standing Stone.

This stands upon the edge of the Raised Beach terrace, 520 ft. away from the Mote on a bearing 30 deg. (Mag.); it consists of a standing slab of stone, some 3 ft. 6 in. high and measuring some 3 ft. 3 in. wide by 9 in. thick; the longer axis of the stone is aligned in a South-West North-West direction and the stone is canted towards the South-West; its top is much broken and, so far as can be seen, the stone bears no carvings or inscription.

The Burial Cists.

The cists which were uncovered in 1955 seemed to be aligned along the terrace of the Raised Beach and ran in a direct line from a point close beside the Standing Stone on its seaward (eastern) side towards the summit of the Mote. The trenching for the water-main followed this line to a point some 200 ft. past the Standing Stone, unearthing about 11 irregularly spaced cists *en route*. Beyond this point, the course of the trenching was diverted to the Southward, in order to avoid the Mote, and no more cists were found. The site was inspected by Mr Truckell and the positions of all the cists were plotted; it seems likely that the cists had an East-West orientation.

3. THE EXCAVATIONS.

The principal aims of the excavations undertaken in 1956 were twofold: first, to ascertain, if possible, the extent of the cemetery and, second, to attempt to excavate one or more cists under properly controlled conditions. From the evidence which came to light in 1955, it seemed likely that further cists might occur in one or both of two areas:

SITE A: In the immediate vicinity of the Standing Stone. The first cist found in 1955 lay close beside the Stone and it seemed possible, therefore, that a second line of cists,

parallel with the first, might, be found to commence beside the Standing Stone on its landward (Western) side.

SITE B: On the line of the cists discovered in 1955, between the point at which the 1955 trenching diverged from that line, and the Mote.

Excavations on Site A.

Three areas were laid out in the immediate vicinity of the Standing Stone and excavated to a depth of 4 ft. No traces of cist-burials or of any other structures were found. The subsoil proved to consist entirely of Raised Beach material below a layer of turf and humus some 9-12 in. deep. Worked flints (see Appendix B) occurred in the humus and the topmost zone of Raised Beach material, but below a depth of approximately 18 in. the only flints recovered were unworked, water-rolled pebbles. At a depth of approximately 4 ft. below turf-level, the colour of the sand and gravel, intermingled with the pebbles of the Raised Beach, changed abruptly from yellow to black. In view of the looseness of the material in the sides of the trenches and the probability that nothing would be found below that level, it was thought expedient not to excavate below a depth of 4 ft. 6 in.

Excavations on Site B (Fig. 3).

As a result of work on Site A, it became evident that it would not be possible to locate any second row of cists which may exist, parallel with the first. It was therefore decided to concentrate work on Site B, which was on the line where more cists might reasonably be expected to occur. Three areas were excavated along that line, again with negative results, apart from further occurrences of worked flints and confirmation of the nature of the Raised Beach, as observed in the trenches on Site A. When work in these areas proved fruitless, a trench was cut on an oblique line across the site and a cist (Cist I.) was located.

The cist had its sides and cover-slabs made of Port Logan slate, slabs of which had been roughly dressed to a suitable shape. These could have been obtained from a point

not more than a mile away along the shore, where this rock outcrops. When opened, the cist proved to contain an extended burial, oriented east (feet)-west (head), laid in the cist upon its back, with the arms probably crossed in front of the pelvis. The cist was floored with a layer of fine, black sand.

The section across the grave (Fig. 3, inset) sheds a certain amount of light upon its construction: the pebbles and gravel of the Raised Beach formed a continuous, apparently unbroken stratum above the cist, but it was evident that a pit had been dug and the side-slabs placed on edge in it and supported in place by a packing of slightly finer material than that which composed the Raised Beach proper; the cover-slabs were placed on the cist after the deposition of the corpse and then the whole pit must have been refilled, presumably with the original soil.

The skeleton (see Appendix A) was in a poor state of preservation: the smaller bones had, for the most part, disappeared completely, while those parts of the more substantial bones which were in contact with the floor of the cist were much corroded. The skull had rolled to one side and may originally have been pillowed against the end slab at the head of the cist. No grave-goods were found in the cist, nor were there any traces of burial-vestments or of a wooden coffin.

The position of Cist I., which was directly on the line of the cists discovered in 1955, demonstrated that there were more graves along that line; accordingly, a further area was laid out and excavated and a further cist (Cist II.) was found therein. Cist II. differed in construction from Cist I.: the sides of Cist I. were formed each of two slabs while those of Cist II. each consisted of five slabs, laid somewhat irregularly and having a slight "herring-bone" overlap at the ends; there were no traces of an end-slab at the foot of the cist. The reasons for the differences in the construction of the two cists are not clear, but it is noteworthy that two styles of construction turn up in close juxtaposition in the same cemetery. Port Logan slate was again used for

making the cist and Cist II., like Cist I., was floored with sand. Cist II. was no more than 9 in. below turf-level and its ruined condition suggested that it may have been hit by a plough: the side-slabs had slipped inwards and some of the cover-slabs had been broken and had fallen into the cist. The skull of the body had been much damaged by one of the cover-slabs, which had fallen on to it. The orientation of the cist and of the skeleton within was similar to that of Cist I. and the bones were in a very fragile state.

4. DISCUSSION.

Long Cist cemeteries in general may be said to have the following features:

(a) They consist of interments in long cists built of stone slabs; each cist normally contains a single burial, which may be fully extended or slightly flexed.

(b) The cists frequently have an approximate East-West orientation.

(c) A lack of grave-goods in the cists is a consistent feature of these burials.

(d) There is no evidence, from either documentary sources or from excavations, to associate these cemeteries particularly with any one type of site, such as churches or motes.

The distribution of typical Long Cist burials and cemeteries in the British Isles has its interest (Fig. 6). They seem to fall into two main concentrations: one in Ireland and around the shores of the Irish Sea ("The Irish Sea Group") and the other in Eastern Central Scotland, principally in the Lothians, Fife and South Angus ("The Forth-Tay Group").

Published examples of cemeteries and cists occur widely throughout Ireland (Raftery, 1941; O'Kelly, 1955). A particular concentration may be noted in Co. Down (O'Laverty, 1882), while in Antrim, typical Long Cist burials are reported as occurring in existing churchyards. In the Isle of Man, published records of such cists are scanty, but Megaw (1949) notes that slab-lined graves are

"invariably found in the pre-Viking Christian cemeteries in the island." In Wales, Long Cist burials seem to occur principally in the coastal areas: they are reported from North Wales (Nash-Williams, 1951, pp. 115-6), Pembrokeshire (Fox, 1926; R.C.A.M. Pembrokeshire Inventory, Nos. 140, 559, 976 and 991) and South Wales (Nash-Williams, 1953, p. 103).

The principal concentration of these burials in Scotland has already been noted; it has been suggested (Simpson, 1945) that some of the Scottish cemeteries may be associated with Ninianic sites. Scattered Long Cists occur outside the main concentrations (Stevenson, 1952), but the Terally cemetery is the first to be found on the West coast of Scotland south of Crinan.

The chronology of these cemeteries is difficult to establish. The cemetery at Killegar, Co. Wicklow (Raftery, 1941), produced a single sherd of determinate pottery; on this evidence, Dr Raftery dates the whole group of Long Cist cemeteries to the Early Iron Age. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence to show the direct association of the potsherd with the Killegar interments, nor is it certain that the manufacture of the potsherd is contemporary with the use of the cemetery; it is even less certain that all Long Cist cemeteries are contemporaneous with the one at Killegar. At Mawgan Porth an apparently typical Long Cist cemetery is probably to be equated with the occupation of the eighth-century settlement site (Bruce-Mitford, 1956). A single burial, apparently in a typical Long Cist at Montrose, was associated with four incense-vases, apparently of Mediaeval date (J. Anderson, 1876). At Llantwit Major, however, orientated Long Cist burials were inserted in the ruined structure of the Roman villa and the interments are equated by the excavator (Nash-Williams, 1953) with the fourth-century occupation of the site. The date of these burials cannot be before 350 A.D. and, if they are late-Roman, they may well be Christian, while if they are post-Roman, they are almost certainly so.

As Stevenson has pointed out (*op. cit.*), an East-West

orientation of the cists need not necessarily indicate that the interments are Christian so that any cemetery containing such burials need not therefore be of Christian date. Some ecclesiastical sites, however, have produced typical Long Cist burials; notable among these are Whitby, Glastonbury, Durham, Kelso, Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, Coupar-Angus and Iona. If Simpson's suggestion of Ninianic associations for these burials is valid, it is notable that Whithorn did not produce any Long Cist burials, while Iona certainly did. The chronological problem posed by these cemeteries is far from being solved: it seems likely that, on the basis of our present knowledge, we may say that these cemeteries may date, in the main, from the Early Christian period, but it is likely that their use commenced in the Early Iron Age and subsisted into the Mediæval period (cf. Tildesley, 1929) and there is evidence, at any rate in the North of Scotland, for their use continuing into the eighteenth century (J. Anderson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 369 n.).

The Terally cemetery contained at least 13 extended burials, in typical stone-built cists; at least two of the cists (and probably all of them) had an approximate east-west orientation and, so far as is known, contained no grave-goods. An unusual feature of the site was the alignment of the cists, apparently in a single row, between the Standing Stone and the Mote; this suggests that both those features were present on the site before the cemetery was laid out, for it would have been a simple matter to lay out the graves along that line, when both ends of it were so clearly marked. It is possible that the Standing Stone may originally have been a cross-slab, bearing either a painted or a lightly incised cross of which no trace now survives. It is not unlikely that each grave was surmounted by a small heap of upcast soil, which would have served to mark its position; the irregular spacing of the cists along that line might suggest that the whereabouts of the pre-existing burials was not always exactly known.

The presence of the Terally cemetery fills a gap which has hitherto been assumed to exist in the distribution of

these cemeteries. It has been presumed that any contacts between the "Irish Sea" group and the "Forth-Tay" group should have traversed South-Western Scotland. The lack of such cemeteries in the South-West of Scotland has always been an obstacle to the association of the spread of the use of these cemeteries from Ireland to Scotland with the Christianisation of the latter country by Irish missionaries. If, on the other hand, there is no connection between the use of these cemeteries and the spread of Christianity to Scotland, it may well be that the Terally cemetery is just an outlier on the fringe of the "Irish Sea" group. In this connection, it must be conceded that many of these Long Cist cemeteries and interments have no definite associations with Christian sites; it has, however, been observed by Simpson (op. cit.) that it was not Early Christian practice to bury the dead in the immediate vicinity of the church. Certainly, in view of the strong links between the Mull of Galloway and Ireland, which can be presumed to have existed during the Early Christian period, the evidence of the Terally cemetery cannot be regarded as decisive.

In spite of the association of the cists at Terally with the Early Post-Glacial Raised Beach and of the occurrence of Mesolithic worked flints on the site, there is no evidence to suggest that the Terally cemetery could be of Mesolithic date. The Raised Beach merely provides a *terminus post quem* for the cemetery, since the burials cannot have been made until the Early Post-Glacial High-Level Sea had retreated. The only positive evidence for the date of the burials is inferential, based upon the presence of the Mote and of the Standing Stone upon the site and upon the evident relation of the cemetery to both those features. There is no evidence to show that the Standing Stone is of pre-Christian date. The Mote may be of Norman date, but is not certainly so. If, as has been suggested above, both the Mote and the Standing Stone pre-date the cemetery, the burials may be dated probably to some time in the Early Christian or Mediæval periods, with possibly a slight bias in favour of the latter; beyond that, the present evidence does not permit us to go.

Three main conclusions may be drawn from these excavations:

1. The burials at Terally were found to form a typical cemetery of Long Cist type; the cists were found to be of two types, but no special significance could be attached to the differences between them.
2. The date of the cemetery is uncertain, as are the nature and location of the habitation site(s) which it presumably served; the relation of the burials to the Mote, however, permits us to suggest that the cemetery post-dated the construction of the Mote.
3. The significance of the cemetery is debatable: the site has its importance in demonstrating that such cemeteries do occur in an area where none had hitherto been known. The presence of the cemetery may merely underline the close maritime contacts between Galloway and Ireland, such as are observable on other evidence, or it may imply that the two main concentrations of Long Cist cemeteries were in contact with one another through South-Western Scotland. The evidence of this single cemetery, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive of either view.

APPENDIX A.

Report on the Skeletal Remains.

By ARCHIBALD YOUNG, T.D., M.A., M.B., and R. G. LIVENS.

The human remains from this site fall into two main groups: the material from the two cists which were excavated in 1956 and the scattered remains from the trenching in 1955. While the majority of the material is contained in the latter group, it is not clear how many separate individuals are represented therein; the remains from the 1956 excavations, however, give a more complete picture of two separate individuals.

For anthropological purposes, the results of these excavations are far from conclusive: the three cephalic indices ascertainable (the skull from Cist I. and those listed in Part II., A. and B) range from 75.8 to 68.42. The former figure is well within the

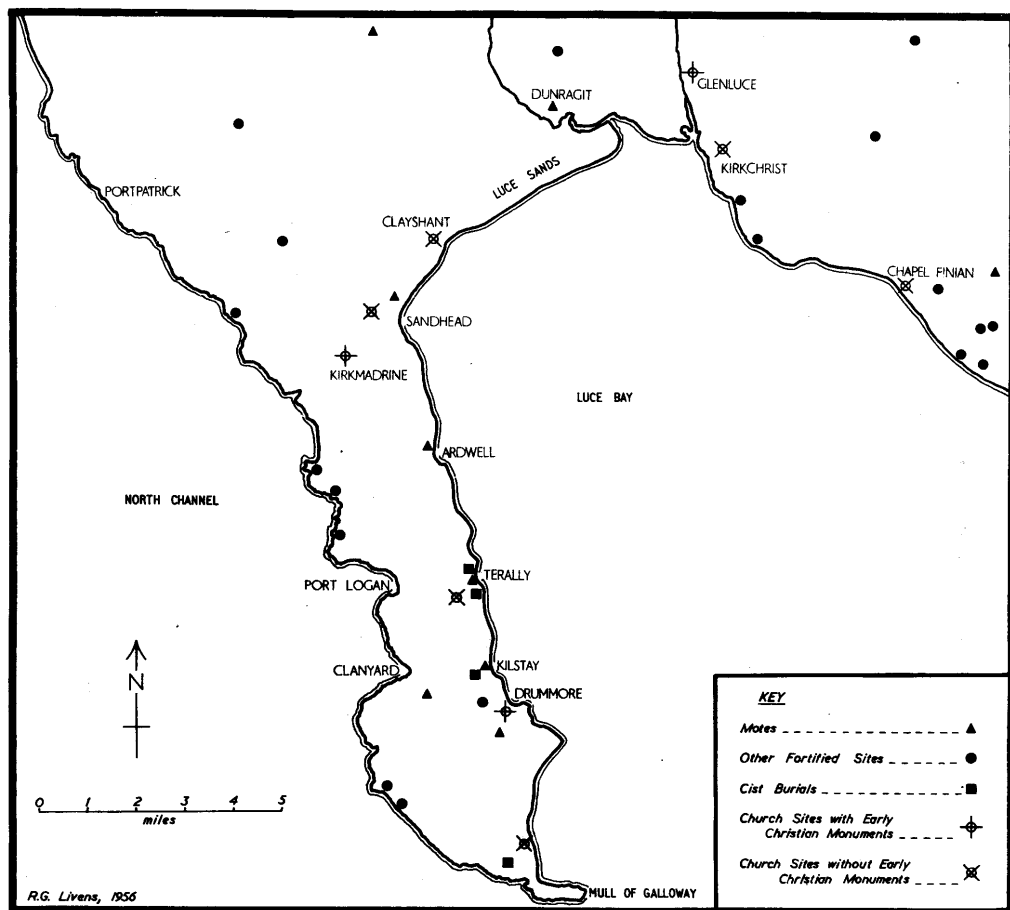


Fig.1

The Society is indebted to the Hunterian Museum and the University of Glasgow for these illustrations.

TERALLY 1956

GENERAL PLAN

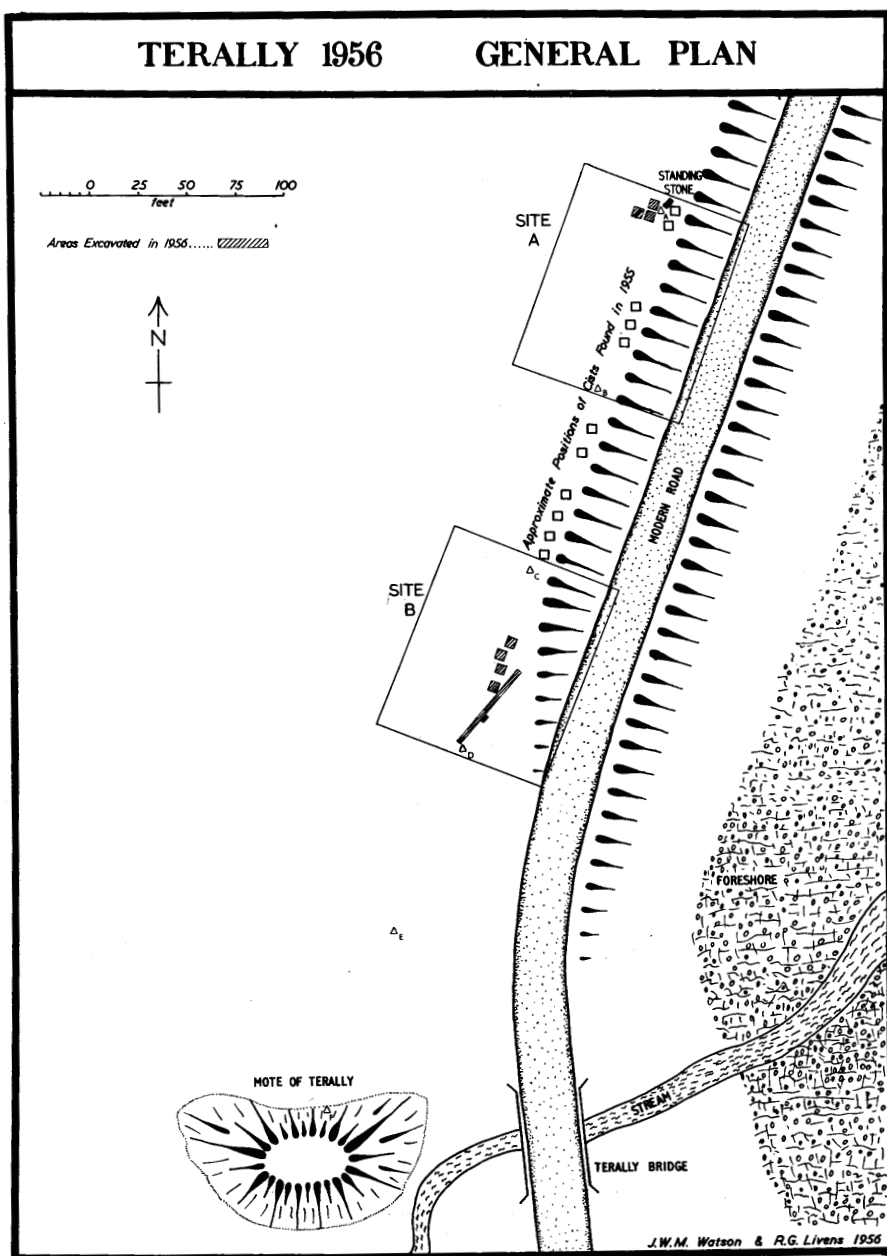


Fig. 2

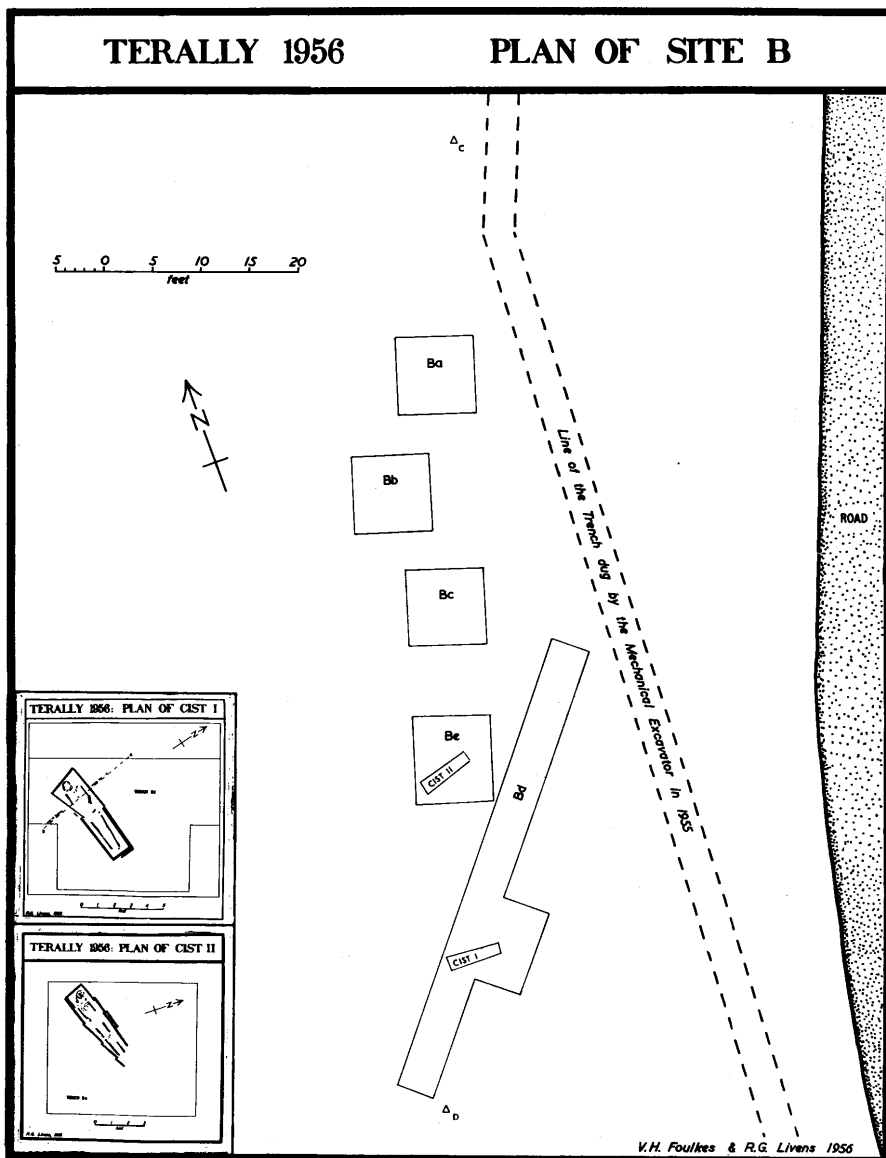


Fig. 3

TERALLY 1956: SECTION OF CIST I

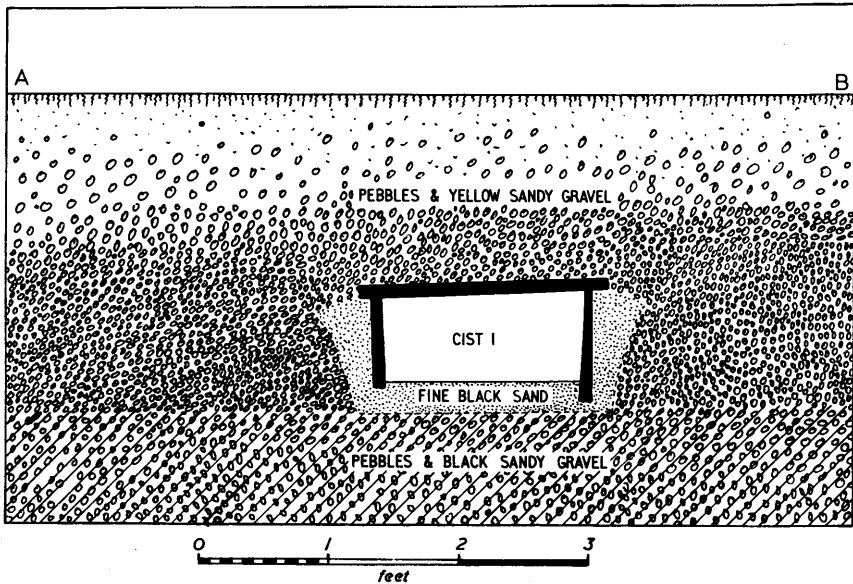


Fig. 4

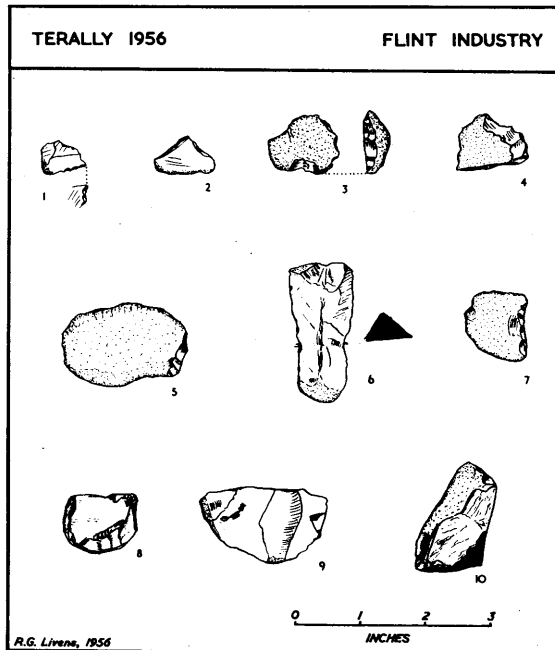


Fig. 5

BRITISH ISLES

LONG CIST BURIALS & CEMETERIES

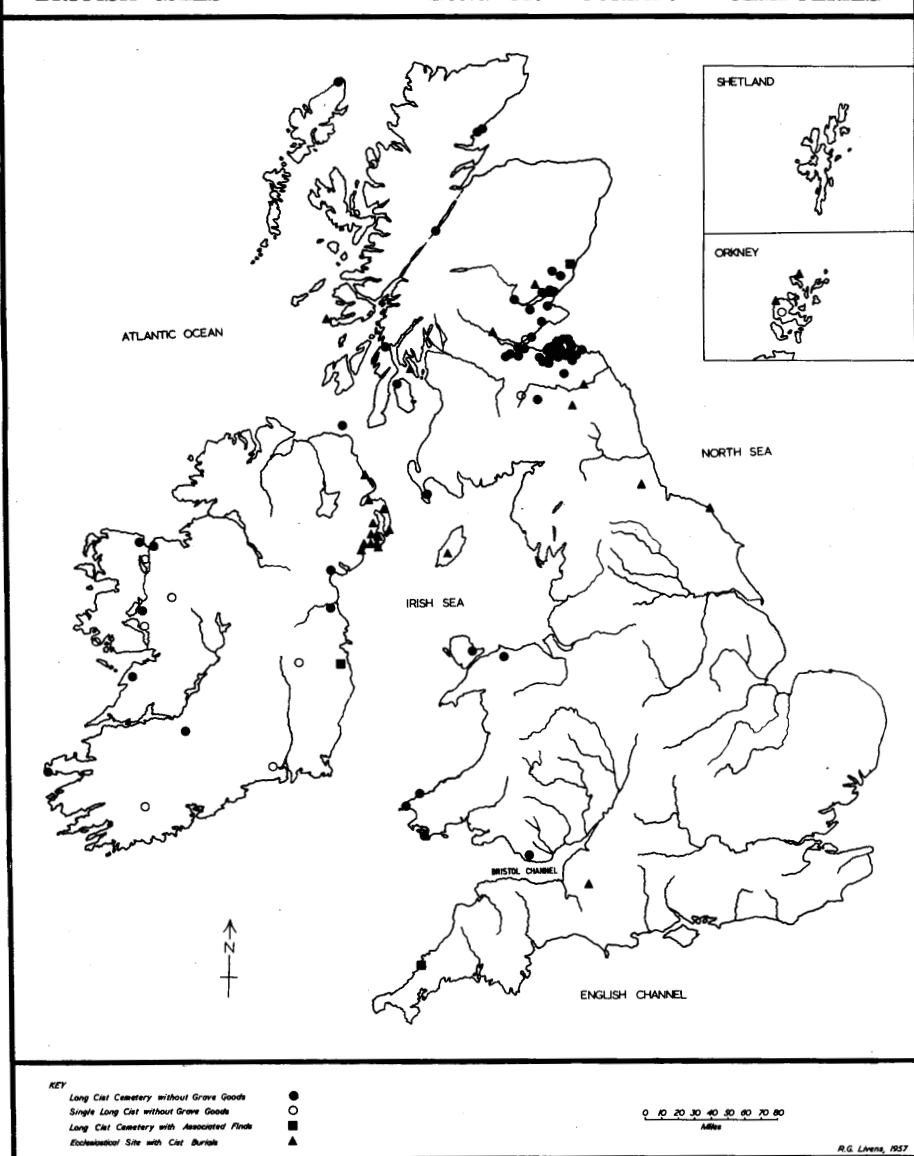


Fig 6

range of known Iron Age types (Morant and Goodman, 1940, *idem* in Wheeler, 1943, pp. 337-371) in the South and North of England, although the extent to which the mesaticephalic types spread into Scotland has been disputed (Howells, 1938). The skull from Cist I., on the other hand, with its cephalic index of 68.42, is pronouncedly dolichocephalic, more so than any known Iron Age type or the present-day Scottish Lowland type. The skull from the Long Cist burial at Gairloch, Ross-shire, has a cephalic index of 72.6, which led Wells (in Stevenson, 1952) to suggest that that particular individual may have had a Neolithic strain in its ancestry; such a strain may be even more pronounced in our specimen.

The incomplete state of most of the bones and skeletons made it impossible to compute the stature of the individuals represented with any certainty; two calculations were made, utilising the Dupertuis/Hadden formula and both (the burial in Cist I. and that listed as Part II., D) indicated a height of approximately 5 ft. 7-8 ins. Such indications as were present suggested that most of the individuals died at or before the age of about 40 years; this also concurs with other known evidence regarding the expectation of life in the Iron Age (Morant and Goodman, *Op. Cit.*).

The general picture presented by these remains is of a community of extremely mixed physical types: the environment in which they lived may well be typical of the Iron Age. There are no deformities which might be due to under-nourishment, while the worn state of many of the surviving teeth shows that much of the diet must have been coarse and presumably the cereal foods contained considerable quantities of grit. The risk of violent death seems to have been considerable, since both the burial in Cist I. and the skull, Part II., A, show signs of serious injuries which almost certainly proved fatal.

Part I.—Remains from the 1956 Excavations.

CIST I.

A. The Skull.

Most of the cranium was well preserved, with the exception of the right parietal and temporal bones, parts of which had been corroded by contact with the floor of the cist. The supraorbital ridges suggest that the skull is that of a male and the state of the sutures suggests that his age at death was 30 to 35 years or over. Other features of note are the prominent cheek-bones and a flattening of the occipital bone. The cranial length is 190 mm. and the breadth 130 mm., giving a cephalic index of 68.42.

B. Dentition.

A complete set of teeth is present: they are heavy and well

worn, with the exception of the third upper left molar, which had been preserved from wear by a malformation of the corresponding lower molar; more than half the mandible (22) is preserved: it shows a pronounced torus and some crowding of the lower incisor teeth. The external aspect of the first lower left molar bears a small cavity.

C. Pathology and Stature.

Some vertebræ bear traces of slight arthritic ridgings. The length of the tibia is 375 mm.; the height of this individual, computed therefrom, is 171.388 mm. (i.e., some 5 ft. 7-8 ins.). A feature worthy of note is the absence of the proximal end of the left humerus: in conjunction with the position in which the bones were found in the cist, it suggests that the left arm was detached from the body and laid in the cist separately, since it could never have got into the position in which it was found, had it been properly articulated. Such an injury as the detachment of the left arm may well have been the cause of death.

CIST II.

Observations.

The fragmentary condition of the skull in this cist made it impossible for accurate measurements to be taken. The general indications provided by the bones suggest that the person was noticeably more lightly built than the occupant of Cist I. and may well have been a woman; the state of the bones and of the epiphyses shows that death took place at a relatively early age (probably between the ages of 15 and 17 years). None of the long bones was sufficiently complete to serve as a basis for calculating the stature.

Part II.—Remains from the 1955 Excavations.

There are bone fragments of at least three individuals. These comprise:

A. Left half of skull without base or mandible.

Approximate breadth, 130 mm. Approximate length, 185 mm.
Cranial index, 70.4.

This skull may well have been divided before burial; if so, such an injury must have been the cause of death. The heavy eyebrow ridges suggest that this individual was male.

B. Most of a skull, lacking most of the right half of the calvarium and the right temporal bone, but the mandible is complete. Some teeth are missing and most are heavily worn. The age is doubtful, but probably thirty-five to forty years. This individual might be female but, if so, she was tall and well built, with strong features.

Approximate breadth, 140 mm. Approximate length, 185 mm.
Cranial Index, 75.8.

- C. Calvarium in three large pieces and one or two small fragments. This appears to be a more heavily built individual than A or B and is more decidedly male. The forehead is more sloping and the nose more retrouse than B.

There are also two fragments of a left Tibia packed with another set of bones (but no skull fragments); these could, from their texture and appearance, belong to this set.

- D. There are parts of the body and limb skeleton of another individual, apparently of fair size: from the length of the Femur, the height could be 5 ft. 7-8 ins.

- E. A third set of bones and fragments are those of another individual: they may belong to Skull B (above), since they include the petrous part of a right Temporal Bone and were accompanied by a cryptic note: "Skull with these bones."

There are also various assorted bits of other vertebrae and ribs, too fragmentary for an accurate identification.

APPENDIX B.

Report on the Mesolithic Finds.

A. Geochronology.

The stratification of the worked flints in and above the top-most layers of Raised Beach material shows that their deposition must post-date the maximum of the Early Post-Glacial Marine Transgression. The presence of some water-rolled artifacts, such as No. 6 (see below), shows that the sea cannot have retreated far at the time when some of the flints were deposited. Some of the flints, if current opinions on the subject be accepted (Lacaille, 1954, p. 78, Table IV.), may have been deposited after about 2500 B.C., while the flints which are in an unrolled condition could have been deposited at any time after that.

B. Nature of the Industry.

Of the 117 worked flints collected in the excavations, less than a dozen show signs of use. The rest appear to be the waste-products of flint-knapping. Such work may well have been carried on in the vicinity, for the raised Beach material contains many small, water-rolled pebbles of flint and these pebbles must have been virtually the only available source of raw flint. The small size and poor quality of the artifacts reflect this state of affairs. Worked flints occurred consistently throughout the area of the excavations: they seemed to form a thin, even scatter, without any noticeable concentrations.

C. Typology.

The scarcity of determinate artifacts precludes any definite opinion regarding the culture represented. However, microlithic forms and the waste products of microlithic industries are notable absentees. The implement-types which are represented seem to show traces of a remote, Upper Palæolithic tradition, such as can be detected in the Larnian Culture of Ireland (Movius, 1942, pp. 121-174) and Scotland (Lacaille, 1954, pp. 142-157). Evidence of this may be seen in the presence of a burin (No. 1), of parallel-sided flakes (No. 6) and of steep core-scrapers (such as No. 10). It seems evident, therefore, that here we have further evidence for the survival of dissolute traces of an Upper Palæolithic flint industry (presumably of Creswellian ancestry) in Scotland until at least Late Atlantic times (cf. Lacaille, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 253-262).

D. List of Flints Illustrated. (Fig. 5).

1. **BURIN**, formed on a broken flake of brown flint, with part of the white cortex adhering to one end of it. The burin facet is formed by a blow struck along the longer axis of the flake; the burin facet is formed, transversely, on the end of the flake (cf. Lacaille, 1955, p. 142, No. 18).

2. **RETOUCHED FLAKE**, of brown flint. A triangular flake has had one of the shorter edges trimmed by an inverse retouch, presumably for use as a small, hollow-scraper. The longer edge still bears the original cortex.

3. **SCRAPER**, of brown flint. A corticated slice off the exterior of a flint pebble has been retouched at one side to form a scraper; it shows extensive traces of use.

4. Fragment of a **SCRAPER** of a dull, pale brown, chert-like stone; in form it must have originally resembled No. 3, although the trimming of this example is rather less steep; the scraper has broken longitudinally.

5. **SCRAPER**, lightly patinated, of greyish-brown flint. This consists of a corticated slice off the outside of a pebble, with an inverse retouch at one end.

6. Prismatic-sectioned, parallel-sided **FLAKE** of white flint. This flake still bears the cortex at its lower end and has traces of wear along both edges. The flake is water-rolled.

7. **SCRAPER** of cream-coloured flint. This again is formed on a slice of a corticated pebble, which has been retouched on one side; it shows slight traces of water-rolling.

8. **SINGLE-PLATFORM CORE**, consisting of a portion of a pebble of brownish-grey, translucent flint. It bears the scars of the removal of numerous small flakes on one side, the other being corticated.

9. **SINGLE-PLATFORM CORE**, consisting of a portion of a pebble of light grey flint; while the cortex survives at both ends, both sides of the core bear flake-scars.

10. **STEEP SCRAPER**, fashioned out of a pebble of pale brown flint. This is a type of artifact which has strong Upper Palaeolithic affinities, being found in the classic French cave-deposits as well as sites in Britain.

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ARTICLE 9.

The Window Tax and the Assessor's Schedules for Dumfriesshire, 1748-1798.

By W. A. J. PREVOST.

A tax on windows of certain occupied houses was first levied in England in 1696. It was an assessed tax, levied according to the number of windows and openings, on houses having more than six windows. There was no such tax levied in Scotland, though in 1696 an overture for an imposition on glass windows was rejected in the Scottish parliament and later, in 1707, when the Act of Union was passed, the British parliament still exempted Scotland from those duties.¹

However in 1709 duties were granted upon all houses in Great Britain with 20 windows and more. Houses with 20 and under 30 windows were charged 10s, and with 30 or more 20s per annum. Scotland was therefore now subject to a tax which parliament increased no fewer than six times between 1747 and 1808, increases which applied to the whole of parliament's jurisdiction, and it was not until 1851 that the window tax was repealed and a tax on inhabited houses substituted.²

The window tax was not only a bad one but it was also very unpopular. This might be said of most taxes, but there were some things about this tax which were the cause of personal annoyance and which were very harmful. In the first place householders strongly objected to the periodical intrusions of surveyors to count their windows, for the surveyors were empowered to make an internal as well as an external examination of the property, and secondly the surveyors' interpretations of the meaning of the word "window" seemed often very unjust. Window, literally wind door, signified any "aperture in a building by which light or air are intromitted," and the assessors were legally

¹ A.P.S. 1698 and 1707.

² Stephen Dowell. "History of Taxation and Taxes in England." Vol. iii., p. 194.

entitled to include every hole in the outside wall of any house which they were examining. In two cases which were brought to court the judge decided that one man was rightly charged for a coal shute and another for a cellar window with iron bars. Furthermore the number of windows in a house did not afford any real evidence of the value of the house, and it was quite possible to find a country house of £10 value having more windows than a house valued at £50 in London. In order to avoid the tax, builders erected houses without due provision for windows; and in Edinburgh a whole row of houses had been built without a single window in the bedroom storey of any house.³

There is no doubt that owners and builders of farm houses and country cottages were greatly influenced by the tax, and at one time houses and cottages with more than five windows or lights were most uncommon. Throughout the period covered by these records there was often only one and usually only two houses shown as being subject to tax in each of the parishes of Wamphray and Kirkpatrick-Juxta, and these two parishes were not exceptional. The one house in every parish in the shire on which duty was invariably charged was the manse, if it was occupied. No duties were paid on unoccupied houses, a concession which was no doubt much appreciated by the landlords.

In order to raise more money an Act of George II. repealed the rates upon Houses, Windows and Lights which had been legalised by the Act of 1696, and laid down that after 21st March, 1747, the rates were to be as follows.

“ For every Window or Light, in every dwelling house in Great Britain, which shall contain 10, 11, 12, 13 or 14 windows or lights, the yearly sum of six pence for every window.”

“ For every window, in every dwelling house which should contain 15, 16, 17, 18 or 19 windows, the yearly sum of nine pence for each window.”

“ For every window, in every house containing 20

³ Dowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-203.

windows or more, the yearly sum of 1s for each window or light."⁴

Many more houses were now brought within the scope of the tax, and the window tax surveyors had their work considerably increased. They had also difficulty in interpreting the act, and as a consequence another was passed by parliament which came into force on 21st March, 1748.⁵ The act was designed to clarify and tighten up the rules and regulations in order to prevent any evasions or misconstructions. Thus every Kitchen, Scullery, Buttery, Pantry, Larder, Washhouse, Laundry, Bakehouse, Brewhouse and Lodging room belonging to the Dwelling House, though not necessarily part of it, was to be charged with the rates. Skylights, or windows or lights in Staircases, Garrets, Cellars, Passages and other parts of dwelling houses were also to be included. Finally the artful dodge as practised by householders of closing up windows before the surveyor arrived and opening them up again after he had departed was no longer feasible, for the surveyor had to satisfy himself that the window was not temporarily obscured and that the window opening had been well and truly permanently sealed up.^{5a}

The assessor's accounts for the county of Dumfries for the year 1748 which he delivered to the Exchequer are deposited in the Register House in Edinburgh. Also found there are sundry schedules for subsequent years down to April, 1798, all contained in four bound volumes.⁶

⁴ Act 20, George II., c. 3. In force as from 21 March, 1747.

⁵ Act 21, George II., c. 10. In force as from 21 March, 1748.

^{5a} Act 26, George II., c. 17. Refers to the rules and to the powers and duties of surveyors.

⁶ Register House. "Window Tax Records, Dumfriesshire."
March, 1748-September, 1748
April, 1753-April, 1759
Vol. 32.

April, 1759-April, 1764. Vol. 33.

April, 1764-April, 1772. Vol. 34.

April, 1772-April, 1785. Vol. 35.

April, 1785-April, 1798. Vol. 36.

(Gap. Years missing. April, 1795-April, 1797).

For part of Dumfriesshire ("Part of Sanquhar Parish" only).

April, 1753-October, 1756

April, 1758-April, 1759

See Part Lanarkshire. Vol. 63.

The records consist of what were originally large loose sheets of printed forms, with headings and columns which varied according to the acts which were in force at that particular time. The last and largest edition measures about 14 in. x 20 in.

The records contain a mass of personal names in association with their parishes and sometimes with their houses, and the searcher interested in a house, family or parish in the county may find therein something of interest to repay him for his labours.

A cursory glance through the records for 1748 is rewarded by a glimpse of many well-known Dumfriesshire names, and to take only a selection it is seen that "Robt. Riddell, Esq., Carse" in Dunscore, paid duty on 23 windows, "Hugh Maxwell, Dallsinton" in Kirkmahoe, on 12, "Alex. Ferguson, Craigdarroch" in Glencairn on 28, and "Sir Robert Laurie, Maxwellton" on 47. The Duke of Queensberry's house of Drumlanrig, the largest in the shire, had 181 windows. The history of "My Lord Carnwath's" house in Kirkmichael is of unusual interest for Lord Carnwath first paid duty on 51 windows, a number which was reduced in 1754 to 43, again reduced in 1760 to 38, and in the following year to 31, for my lord's house was "part burnt down."⁷

That windows were actually blocked up by house holders in order to reduce their tax commitments is not only confirmed by the assessor's figures in his returns but also by his occasional marginal notes. Thus in 1753 Wm. Johnston in "Whitewinehoss" in Dryfesdale parish closed two, and two Lockerbie residents closed two and four respectively. In 1757 Charles Charters of Amisfield "Stopt up to under 10," a procedure which for that year relieved Charters of any liability; and Sir William Jardine of Applegarth now had only 45 windows, for he had had "15 windows stopped up since my last visit."

⁷ Robert Lord Dalziell, of the family of the Dalziells of Glenae in Tinwald parish, purchased the barony of Carnwath in 1634, and was created Earl of Carnwath in 1639. Carnwath is in Lanarkshire.

Stopped up windows are not uncommon and to-day some are pointed out as having been stopped up on account of the tax, an information which probably lacks substantiation. Indeed it is most unlikely that there is a window in existence which tradition, estate records or plans prove to have been built up during the period when the window tax was in operation.

There are, however, sham windows found in old houses which, it is suggested, may have been constructed for one of two purposes, either with an intention to reopen and glaze at such time in the future when the tax should be repealed; or for æsthetic reasons only, to break the monotony of a blank wall and to maintain a uniformity when the omission of a window, real or false, would have appeared irritatingly irregular.

False windows inserted by architects for this last reason can often be identified without much difficulty, for though built up with rybats and to all appearances the genuine article, the sham covers a chimney vent or vents and sometimes even a fireplace.

It is to be regretted that the assessor's schedules are so deficient in marginal notes, for the bare records leave much that needs explaining. There are, for example, some houses which vanish for a period or altogether, though the rare marginal note provides a clue, such as the entry against "Alex Ferguson of Caitloch" in Glencairn who escaped payment as "his house thrown down and a new one not yet finished,"⁸ or against Mrs Shillington in Dryfesdale, who was "Dead and the house vacant."⁹ Others are noted as having just "removed," and in the case of a vacant stipend the manse was "empty."

The year of appearance of a house in the schedules is also sometimes puzzling, for the date may contradict other evidence available. This is well illustrated by the earliest entry for the Kings Arms in Moffat, now the Annandale, under the name of James Little, vintner, who paid £5 in tax

⁸ MSS., 5 October, 1756.

⁹ MSS., November, 1756.

on his 50 windows in July, 1783. Such a large building could hardly be missed when the surveyor made his previous visits, but it is nevertheless on record that the Littles and the Kings Arms were going strong in 1775 when the inn was patronised by Foote, the actor, and McCulloch of Ardwell.¹⁰

It is also said that the Kings Arms is of the same period as Moffat House which was built for the Earl of Hopetoun by John Adam the architect. The contract for the work was signed in 1762 and stipulated that the house was to be completed and ready for occupation within five years from that date.¹¹ This was done and the Earl first paid tax on his 53 windows in July, 1767.

It would seem, therefore, that tradition may err regarding the Kings Arms and likewise Moffat House, which is generally supposed to have been built in 1751,¹² a mistake which is understandable, for in 1763 Lord Hopetoun is shown as occupying a much smaller house in Moffat, a house with only 12 windows.

Another act which came into force in 1758 levied upon every inhabited dwelling house in Scotland a yearly sum of 1s, only houses not having more than five windows being exempted. It also increased the rates on larger houses. "For every window in every Dwelling House in Great Britain, which shall contain 15 windows or upwards . . . the yearly sum of six pence for each window, over and above, and by way of addition to, the several Duties chargeable thereupon, by virtue of former acts of parliament."¹³

This act, which the Commissioners of Supply for the counties were made responsible for putting in execution,

¹⁰ Chambers. "Traditions of Edinburgh." Contains story entitled "Leith Walk," and refers to winter 1774-75 or 1775-76. Prior to 1775 the only house of any size in Moffat was occupied by John Graham, postmaster, with 28 windows. In 1795, James Baldchild was proprietor "Spur Inn" and its 18 windows. In that same year he took over the King's Arms from James Rae—paying tax on its 39 windows.

¹¹ Transactions D. and G., 1913. J. T. Johnstone. "Moffat and Upper Annandale . . ."

¹² Sir W. Fraser's "Annandale Family Book . . .," Turnbull's "History of Moffat," etc., etc., all give 1751. The plan of Moffat dated 1758, shows neither Moffat House nor the King's Arms. In 1767, with the exception of Moffat House, no house in Moffat was taxed on more than 13 windows.

¹³ Act 31, George II., c. 22 In force as from 5 April, 1758. Paras. XIV., XXXI., XXXIII.

increased still more the work of the surveyors who had now not only to survey houses with 10 windows or more but also all those with over five. Posterity has benefited to this extent that their efforts have put on permanent record the names of the occupiers of all the lesser country houses and their assessments. This is best demonstrated by extracting and tabulating the entries for the parish of Eskdalemuir for the period 1748-1758.

	No. of Windows	Annual Charge
Aug. 1748—Mr James McGarroch, the Manse ...	14	7 0
1749-1752—Gap in the records.		
Nov. 1753—Thomas Bell of Crurie ...	22	22 0
Mart. 1754—Mr Richd. Bell, Crurey ...	14	7 0
June 1755—Mr Richd. Bell, Crewrey ...	13	6 6
Mr James McGarroch, Manse ...	10	5 0
Mr Wm. Borthwick, Nether Casway	12	6 0
June 1756—Mr Richd. Bell, Crurey ...	14	7 0
Mr Wm. Borthwick, Nether Casway	12	6 0
Marginal note: "The Manse, Mr McGarroch. Closed to g..."		
Aug. 1757—Mr Richd. Bell, Crewrey ...	13	6 6
Mr Wm. Borthwick, Neathercarsoch	12	6 0
Nov. 1758—William Curle, Yeatbyre ...	9	1 0
Mr Richd. Bell, Crewry ...	13	7 6
David Scott, Castlehill ...	6	1 0
William Beaty, Watcarrick ...	6	1 0
John Armstrong, Graystonlie ...	6	1 0
Mrs Curle, Midlyknow ...	8	1 0
Mr Wm. Borthwick, Nethercassock ...	12	7 0

It was not until 1767 that the Eskdalemuir manse was occupied by a Mr John Scott, the minister, and for reasons unexplained Castlehill, Graystonlie, Midlyknow and Nethercassock are omitted from the list.

As parliament had intended, the gross receipts from the window tax gradually increased with each successive imposition. These, for the country part of the shire, were £85 in 1748 and 22 years later were £159. The "country parts" of the parishes of Dumfries, Sanquhar, Lochmaben and Annan were always shown separately. After 1758 the duties collected from those towns do not appear at all, and the relative schedules are presumed lost. The contribution from Dumfries in 1748 was £42 9s 6d over and above the £85 just mentioned.

The information obtained from the early schedules for the town of Dumfries consists only of the names of the various householders and the number of the windows upon which they were assessed. They contain 83 names, presumably the occupiers of an equal number of houses, with an average of 15 windows per house. George Bell, provost from 1739 to 1745, Provost Crosby, Provost Ewart and the names of nine bailies are found recorded, and Robert Wight and John Scott, the two parish ministers, both occupied their manse. Amongst other familiar names are found those of Commissary Goldie and Collector Gordon of the excise.¹⁴

Of the three acts which have still to be considered, the implications of the first two only are reflected in the surveyor's accounts. The first, the act of 1762, further complicated the reckoning of the duties by charging extra duties which were mostly "in addition" to those which were already in force. Thus houses with 10-11 windows were charged a yearly sum of 6d "in addition," 12-14 windows were charged 1s in addition, and so on.¹⁵ However the next act, the "Commutation Tax" of 1766, simplified everything considerably by commuting all the original and additional duties into one charge only for each house, and fixed a scale accordingly. Houses with seven windows and upwards were charged a lump sum, plus a duty on all houses with six windows or more.¹⁶

The third act, the act of 1808, repealed the old duties and granted new duties in lieu thereof.¹⁷ These were, of course, increased, though houses with less than six windows were still exempted. Houses with six windows were charged 6s, while a house with 180 windows was assessed at £93 0s 6d. every window in excess of that number being charged 3s. The tax paid on Drumlanrig by "Old Q" would hardly have worried him, but it might have annoyed him if compared with the £9 odd paid by his predecessor the third Duke.

This act, however, is noteworthy in one respect, that the

¹⁴ See McDowall's "History of Dumfries."

¹⁵ Act 2, George III., c. 8. In force as from 5 April, 1762.

¹⁶ Act 6, George III., c. 33. In force as from 10 October, 1766.

¹⁷ Act 48, George III., c. 55. In force as from 1 June, 1808.

legislators added two more rules for the surveyor's benefit which must surely have closed for ever the tax evader's last loophole for escape.

The first rule settled that if the partition or division between two or more windows in one frame was 12 inches wide, then the window on each side of the partition was to be charged as a distinct window.

Secondly, every window giving light to more rooms than one was to be charged as so many separate windows as there were rooms. Was it possible that some resourceful architect had in mind one large window, so placed that two, three or even four rooms could be illuminated at one fell swoop . . . and at the lowest minimum charge?

A Bronze Age Cist at Mainsriddle.

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

Late on the afternoon of 8th January, 1957, a ploughman deep-ploughing a field just South of the village of Mainsriddle, and just inside the parish of Southwick (at map ref. E.947, N.565), cracked the edge of a large stone and, looking into the hole thus revealed, saw bones. Picking up a skull and a pelvic bone, he went to the village police station where he handed the bones to Constable Sturrock, who took them next door to Dr Milne-Redhead. The ploughman thought he had found the evidence of a recent murder, but the others realised that a prehistoric cist-burial had been found, and went over in the gathering darkness to examine the find. They then contacted Police Headquarters in Dumfries and Mr R. C. Reid of Cleuchbrae. Mr Reid contacted the writer, who went down the following forenoon and took exact measurements while Dr Milne-Redhead lifted out each bone, identifying it as he did so: a complete plan of the cist and its contents was thus produced.

The cist was of four slabs and a capstone, now at the Museum: the capstone is of yellowish sandstone, the slabs of carboniferous shaly limestone with calcite or quartz lines running through it. Internal dimensions were four feet long by twenty-two inches wide by twenty inches deep. The sub-soil, forming the floor of the cist, was of very coarse granitic grit, stained a deep red colour: the bones were stained the same colour, and this had probably contributed to their excellent preservation: manganese may be the chemical involved.

Over the South end of the capstone and extending some feet away from it was a deposit, several inches thick, of dense wood or peat ash, lying directly on the capstone. The situation of the cist is just on the seaward face of the summit of a hillock about 200 yards South of the village, at the edge of the raised beach, and overlooking the sandy shore less than half-a-mile distant.



[By permission of the "Dumfries Standard."

Plate III.

Dr and Mrs Milne-Redhead with Constable Howatson, comparing the find with corresponding bones from a modern human set in the doctor's possession.

In the cist, the body was lying on its left side, head East, feet West, knees drawn up, hands evidently originally lying loosely towards the left side of the chest. Between the pelvis and the feet was a beaker, of early type, with ornamentation of high chevrons and of dotted lines. Between this and the feet was a patch of charcoal. Among the bones of the left hand was a bone ring, which appeared to be an animal or fish bone, one of the nerve holes of which had been enlarged for suspension, suggesting that it was not a finger ring (but see Appendix). The face, judging from the ploughman's report, would have been South towards the sea and the Cumberland fells. The early type of the beaker and the broad-headed, heavy-boned, typically "Beaker People" physique of the body (the Beaker immigrants who may have brought the first Celtic language to Britain, seem to have come from North Holland and South Frisia and were broad-headed and big-boned in contrast to the small, long-headed, fine-boned Neolithic people who preceded them) might suggest, with the site and position of the burial, that he was a recent immigrant still looking to the sea.

The report on the bones which follows shows that he was aged about thirty, that he had perfect teeth which were little worn, suggesting that there was not much quern-ground grain in his diet, and that there was no injury to the bones.

The thigh-bones did not show the platycnema (flattening), characteristic of a habitual squatting posture, so common in Bronze Age skeletons.

The bone ring is flattened and polished on one side and this side bears ornament of radial incised lines. Professor Piggott and Mr R. B. K. Stevenson have both examined it and state that there is a parallel (though not identical) example from a burial in Aberdeenshire.

Mr Thomas of Southwick House, the proprietor of the land on which the cist was found, kindly brought the heavy slabs by tractor to the Museum, where the entire burial is being remounted as a display. Dr Milne-Redhead's expert

knowledge was most useful in recovering the plan of the burial and in identifying the bones, and the great care which he and Constable Sturrock exercised ensured the safety of the bones—which were dark red and very soft when found—until they had dried and hardened. Drying was also necessary in the case of the beaker fragments: the beaker was complete as the grit was carefully pulled from around it, but was of the consistency of liquid mud and disintegrated as the support of the grit was removed.

The co-operation of Dr Cameron, of Lockerbie; Dr Agnes Scott, Pathologist at Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary; Dr G. M. J. M'Whirter, who was responsible for the excellent X-ray plates, and Dr Scott's senior technician, who took photographs of the pottery and bone ring, has been most welcome.

Report on Bones Found at Mainsriddle, Kirkcudbrightshire.

The bones are buff coloured with irregular whitish patches. All are extremely friable and in many cases the cortical layer of compact bone has been lost. The ends of bones are much eroded which has caused difficulty in estimating the size of the individual.

When placed in order the bones appear to form the majority of the skeleton of an adult male human. Some of the small bones are missing or are represented by small fragments. These are particularly the small bones of the hands and feet, also some of the vertebrae and false ribs. The bones of the skull and pelvis are exceptionally well preserved. Examination of these leaves little room for argument that they belong to the skeleton of an adult male.

THE SKULL particularly is worthy of attention. Apart from damage to the left zygomatic process (cheek-bone), the floor of the left orbit, and portions of the left and central maxilla (upper jaw); the skull is complete and is articulated so well that it could be X-rayed with little difficulty. The skull is brachycephalic in type with heavy bone structure which is well shown in the lower jaw. There is damage to both mastoid processes which are laid open to show the mastoid air cells. While in the region of the lower jaw a word on the condition of the teeth is pertinent. They show no evidence of dental caries—

a sad commentary on our modern diet as few adults of to-day of similar age could present such a fine set. There is also no great evidence of wear on the teeth. If these teeth had eaten ground corn with siliceous grit admixed, as was frequently done in those times, the molar crowns would be well-nigh non-existent by his age.

The Age of the Individual (Life Years).

This has been estimated by:

- (a) The development and eruption of the teeth.
- (b) The fusion of the cranial sutures according to the table of H. V. Vallois.

The fusion of that part of the saggital suture designated as S.1 by Vallois places the individual as almost exactly thirty years of age. The condition of the epiphyses tend to support this.

X-ray Appearances of the Skull.

The notable feature of the X-rays of the skull is the universal increased opacity of the bones to X-rays, as compared with a modern skull, and also the obliteration of the inter-tabular area of rarefaction and the total density of the frontal air sinuses. I suggest that these changes are due to the absorption of a radio-opaque substance while lying in the ground for some thousands of years. The X-rays confirm the absence of disease at death and also the obliteration of the saggital suture already referred to.

Height of the Individual.

This has been extremely difficult to ascertain as the long bones are much eroded at their ends which makes approximation necessary. Dupertius and Haddens formulæ give a figure of total height of five feet nine inches.

In the long bones of the lower limbs there is no evidence of platymeria or platycnemias.

Cause of Death.

This examination failed to show any disease process or major injury which would account for death.

Conclusions.

These bones form the incomplete skeleton of one adult male human. The age at death was thirty years. The height of the man was approximately 5 ft. 9 in. There is no evidence of disease and no conclusive evidence of ante-mortem injury. This does not mean that he did not die either from drowning or in battle; on the other hand he could have died of a rapidly

progressive disease which would leave no skeletal sign. The teeth are interesting since they suggest a diet containing little grain foods. He was then mainly carnivorous?

X-ray appearances suggest that the bones have been in the ground for a very long time. Further study would be required to give an accurate dating of the bones. It should be added, however, that this is the finest example of a skeleton of the period to be put on view in the West of Scotland.

Note by Dr Cameron.

I regret to say that I am unable to subscribe to the present belief of the nature of the bone ring found amongst the bones of the left hand. These are the reasons for my heresy. Firstly. I know of no vertebra of fish which would be sufficiently strong to last as the bones have. E.g.: All the cartilage of the human body has disappeared. Secondly I know of no vertebra of any animal which is of this size which would give a small size central hole and yet have so thick a cortical layer of bone for the artificer to work, also it is much too round for a vertebral body. Again the nerve foraminæ do not emerge from a vertebra in the manner in which these foraminæ are constructed. In all humility I submit that the ring is a section of an animal long bone, which has been chosen to fit the finger of the left hand of the wearer. It has been worked and a foramen drilled for the insertion of a ligature to secure a precious object to the ring.

ARTICLE 11.

Loch Doon Granite.

By R. J. A. ECKFORD.

(late of H.M. Geological Survey).

The granite terrain of the region is often described as "the cauldron area" as it lies in a basin surrounded by hills formed of Ordovician rocks, such as greywackes, shales and cherts. These sedimentary rocks have been baked and hardened by the heat of the molten granite when it was intruded into the subterranean crust. The top covering of some thousands of feet of strata has been removed by denudation, but the hardened strata has proved more resistant to the weathering agents than the granite, hence the high rim of hills which surround the igneous rock. The Kells range borders the granite along the east side with the dominating heights of Corserine (2668), Carlin's Cairn (2650). What may be called the Lamachan Hills form the southern barrier, with Lamachan itself attaining a height of 2349 ft. Along the western side is the Merrick range, with Merrick itself having the distinction of being the highest peak (2764) in Southern Scotland. Kirrieroch Hill (2562), Shalloch on Minnock (2520), Benyellary (2360) are the next three summits in order of altitude. The northern barrier is much subdued and more breached by gaps, none of the heights attaining 2000 ft. in height.

Viewed from the summit of the Merrick, the granite area, which measures some 10 miles from north to south and five miles from east to west, presents a grim landscape indeed; a landscape of cliffs, crags, boulders and gleaming lochans, that recall the desolate grandeur of the Moor of Rannoch. Within the cauldron area the two granite hills, Mullwharchar (2270) and Craignaw (2115) are the dominating heights. The granite mass is believed to have been intruded into the crust about the beginning of the Old Red Sandstone period, accompanying probably the uplift of the Ordovician and Silurian rocks from out the sea to form an imposing land mass. This was one of these great periods of physical revolu-

tion, of mountain building and ejection and injection of igneous rocks. The other two large granite masses of Cairnsmore of Fleet and Criffel and all the smaller masses such as those of Drumore, Creetown and Carsphairn, as well as most of the fissurelike intrusions known as dykes belong to this period, some 300,000,000 years ago. Three types of granite have been recorded from the Loch Doon mass, the name by which the "cauldron area" granite is known. There is, first, what may be called the typical light-coloured felspar-quartz granite, with the dark-coloured minerals, mica (biotite) greatly subordinate to the felspar. This granite occupies a very small area compared with the entire mass. It is confined to Craignaw Hill and its immediate environs. Next, there is the more basic granite known as tonalite, with the ferro-magnesium minerals such as biotite, hornblende and augite being much more prevalent. This is a darker rock and occupies the major portion of the granite area. The third type is a dark rock known as norite—with the darker minerals augite, hypersthene and enstatite forming the bulk of the mineral components.

According to a comparatively recent paper on the Loch Doon granite mass, Reynolds and Gardner suggest that the three types of granitic rocks imply three stages of injection, presumably at close intervals, the earliest injection probably being still molten when the last was intruded. Hence there is mixing with no clear lines of demarcation along the junctions of the different types.

The foregoing remarks on the granite are based on what may be called the orthodox view of its origin, which is that it has been injected into the crust in a molten condition, having come up from the depths where temperatures are sufficient to keep matter in a molten condition. Being still under a thick covering of rock the molten material cooled slowly allowing the crystals to develop their different forms.

Challenging this conception of origin is another, which in recent years appears to have divided a large section of geologists into opposing groups, known as "granitisers" and "anti-granitisers," with, of course, a third group follow-

ing a non-committal policy of "wait and see." The granitisation theory has evoked much controversy between the opposing factions. It appears revolutionary and rather mystical compared with the orthodox view as to the origin of this rock.

As one of its enthusiastic exponents, Dr D. B. M'Intyre, after a field and laboratory study of the Loch Doon granite, was convinced that it was a product of granitisation; hence our reference to it in this paper.

As the process is mainly chemical and geo-physical it is with some misgiving that the writer—but a layman in such subjects—attempts to give the gist of the process. The basic conception is that of solid diffusion, the movement of atoms and elements in what appears to us to be a solid mass. This starts deep down in what may be called the earth's laboratory where temperatures and pressures are enormous, under great piles of sediments amounting to tens of thousands of feet, that have accumulated in a geo-syncline. What determined or set agoing those focal points of element dissemination is, for obvious reasons, not known, but once started the process succeeded in transforming great masses of the sedimentary strata into granitic rocks. In the transforming process selection is at work, which means the degree of affinity one element has for another, which results in the segregation of the lighter acid minerals such as quartz and feldspar (microcline and oligoclase) with a limited amount of black mica (biotite). These are the chief constituents in the purest of the granites found in the Loch Doon mass. According to the "granitisers," this type of granite marks the stable end product of the process. The bulk of the ferromagnesian minerals which cannot find a place in the final product migrate into the surrounding material along with the surplus feldspar, this has crystallised as tonalite. Farther out on the periphery of the mass is found what is called the "basic front" with predominantly ferromagnesian minerals biotite, augite, enstatite and hypersthene, which form the dark rock known as norite. This marks the "armistice line" as it were, where the migrating transforming elements

were halted. What caused the halt is probably one of the unsolved problems, but one suggestion might be the lack of sufficient heat. If granitisation had, to a large extent, been accomplished throughout masses of sediment while they remained under a thick cover, in the sea, their elevation into a land mass, with the accompanying stripping off, of the overlying strata by the agents of denudation, would slowly lead to diminishing temperatures. Time, we are told, is one of the main factors in granitisation. Tens of millions of years is demanded by its advocates. If the radio-active clock is being read, even approximately right, then they have had it.

The unspecialised man with an interest in geology may well ask why granite should have a different mode of origin to other volcanic rocks? Molten rocks in the form of lava are of common occurrence in different parts of the world to-day and as the geological record shows have been prevalent in past epochs. Volcanic rocks in the form of lavas and intrusions are (if I interpret the diffusionist view correctly) believed to be confined to the upper crust of the earth, but granitic rocks, along with gneiss and crystalline schists amongst others, have originated at much greater depths, mostly in troughs, as already mentioned, under enormous piles of sediment.

Granite is never ejected as lava, although acid rocks, such as rhyolite, are. Rhyolite is believed to be the ejected equivalent of the deep-seated formed granite.

Whether granite has been raised as magma from great depths and displaced or engulfed strata in higher portions of the earth's crust to form an internal reservoir, which slowly cooled and crystallised, as the "magmatists" believe; or whether it is a product of the "digestion" and recrystallisation of strata as the "diffusionists" contend, looks a problem that will be difficult to solve. The controversy is something like that which arose just over one hundred and fifty years ago between the followers of Hutton and Werner. The former were named the Plutonists because they believed that molten rock had been injected into the crust from

internal reservoirs; while the Wernerians, named Neptunists, believed that all rocks had been formed in water.

Now they are grouped into what may be called "Magma-tists" and "Diffusionists." From what is revealed by physicists concerning the constitution and structure of atoms, the Diffusionists may consider it lends support to their hypothesis. The conception of what is called a "dry melt" does not seem so revolutionary nowadays in the light of the revelation into solid matter.

ARTICLE 12.

The Descendants of George Carruthers of Brydegill.

By A. STANLEY CARRUTHERS.

In the account of the Carruthers family of Dormont in the "Records of the Carruthers Family," at pages 128 and 129, some details were given of George Carruthers, fourth son of Francis Carruthers, third Laird of Dormont, and his descendants. An investigation of the Parish Register of St. Mungo down to the year 1800 has provided further particulars and it is now possible to prepare a fairly complete "tree" for this family to that date.

Francis Carruthers, third Laird of Dormont, was born in 1575, as he died in 1679 at the remarkable age of 104 years. He married a lady of the Bell family (Christian name not known) and by her had five sons, viz:

1. John, who in 1639 married Katherine, daughter of the Rev. Robert Herreis, and who predeceased his father in 1670, his eldest son, John, succeeding to the Dormont estates.
2. James, of Breckonhill, who married in 1666 Margaret Henderson of St. Mungo Manse.
3. Walter, of Whitecroft, who married Janet Carruthers.
4. George of Brydegill (see below).
5. Francis, mentioned 1634.¹

Full details of the Breckonhill and Whitecroft families are given in the "Records" (See Charts on pages 24 and 25).

George Carruthers "of Braidgill" was infeft by his father in a wadset of 800 merks from the lands of Medilshaw.^{1a} He died before 1680,² but it was not until 1705 that his son John Carruthers was infeft in the Medilshaw wadset as heir to his father, George.³ John some time prior to 1684 had married Mary Carruthers.⁴ George Carruthers had another son, James Carruthers, in Breckonhill, who on 5th October, 1710, married Agnes Davidson.⁵ Particulars of their descendants will be given later.

John Carruthers, called of Brydegill and thereafter of Guileburn, had two children, at least: William, who succeeded him in the estates, and James, who died at Guileburn, aged 76, and was buried 21st March, 1763.⁵ According to the pedigree accompanying the Petition of the late Lieut.-Col. Francis Carruthers of Dormont, for a grant of Arms (Lyon Register Office) two further sons are named, John and George, but other than the pedigree there is no evidence to support this so far as can be traced.

William Carruthers of Guileburn was served heir general to his father, John, on 21st August, 1737,⁶ and under date 19th September, 1744, he received sasine as elder son and heir of deceast John Carruthers, "called of Brydegill and *thereafter* of Guileburn," in a merkland of Sorrysye and a $\frac{1}{2}$ -merkland of Guileburn.⁷ William married, *circa* 1720-21, Mary, daughter of John Bell in Bankside⁵ and by her had six children, viz:

1. John Carruthers of Guileburn, of whom later.
2. Christopher, in Kirkbank, mentioned 1768, who married Janet Ker, and had a daughter, Elizabeth, baptised 11th October, 1760.⁵
3. William, in "Sorrysick," baptised 24th May, 1737,⁵ and mentioned in February, 1768.⁸ (For descendants see later.)
- 4, 5, 6. Elizabeth, Mary and Jean,⁸ mentioned in February, 1768.

John Carruthers of Guileburn was baptised 19th September, 1721⁵ and on 11th December, 1797, was infeft heir to his father in the lands of Sorrysye (Dumfries Reg. Sas.). In 1798 he disposed to his son, James, a merkland of Sorrysye and the $\frac{1}{2}$ -merkland of Guileburn in which James was infeft in 1818 (Dumfries Reg. Sas.), having as "younger of Guileburn" been infeft in part of Middleshaw in 1791 (*ibid*). On 13th February, 1810, there was a Bond of Provision to his younger children by John Carruthers of Guileburn and his eldest son and heir apparent James Carruthers: the children named were William, John,

Christopher, David, Walter and Mary, the only daughter (Sheriff Court Deeds).

John Carruthers was married twice. The name of his first wife is not known, but his second wife was Jean Johnston.⁵ In all he had nine children, four being by his second wife:

1. John, baptised 13th July, 1746,⁵ but who must have died in infancy before 22nd August, 1755.
2. James, who succeeded him, and of whom later.
3. William, baptised May, 1753.⁵
4. John, baptised 22nd August, 1755.⁵
5. Mary, baptised 11th March, 1759, and married 2nd August, 1786, John Carruthers in Know.⁵

By his second wife, Jean Johnston:

6. Robert, baptised 17th July, 1768,⁵ but who must have died before February, 1810, as he is not mentioned with the other children in the Bond of Provision.
7. Christopher, baptised 25th November, 1769.⁵
8. David, baptised 22nd December, 1771.⁵
9. Walter, baptised 22nd July, 1775.⁵

John Carruthers of Guileburn must have lived to a ripe old age as he was 88 years of age when the Bond of Provision was entered into in February, 1810. James Carruthers, of Guileburn, was baptised on 2nd October, 1748. He was dead by 24th March, 1824, when his son Walter, then of Guileburn, was infeft heir to his father, James, in Sorysyke, etc. (Dumfries Reg. Sas.). James married Mary Carlyle as she is referred to in a sasine dated 29th January, 1825, as "relict of James Carruthers of Guileburn" (ibid). They had six children:

1. Walter Carruthers of Guileburn, heir to father, 24th March, 1824.
2. Philadelphia, baptised 6th August, 1775.⁵
3. William, baptised 26th February, 1778.⁵
4. James, baptised 28th April, 1783.⁵
5. Christopher, baptised 25th September, 1798.⁵
6. William, 14th March, 1800.⁵

Descendants of James Carruthers in Breckonhill.

James Carruthers in Breckonhill (son of George Carruthers of Brydegill—see above) married on 5th October, 1710, Agnes Davidson.⁵ They had four children:

1. Isobel, baptised 7th November, 1711.
2. George, in Sorrysick, baptised 18th August, 1713, who married Janet Bell and had three children—
 - (a) Agnes, baptised 18th May, 1744.⁵
 - (b) William, in Ecclefechan, baptised 13th July, 1746.⁵
 - (c) Janet, baptised 23rd September, 1748.⁵

George was dead when his daughter, Janet, was baptised.⁵

3. Philadelphia, baptised 23rd September, 1715.⁵
4. James, baptised 14th July, 1719,⁵ may be identified as the James Carruthers, farmer in Bankhead, Middlebie Parish, who married Mary Johnstone. She died 28th January, 1790, and was buried in Langholm Churchyard.⁹

James Carruthers, farmer in Bankhead, and his wife, Mary Johnstone, had four children:

1. John, cotton thread manufacturer in Langholm, married Janet Armstrong, and died 1st December, 1810, aged 66.¹⁰
2. James, cotton thread manufacturer in Langholm, married Janet Cartner, and died 7th June, 1821, aged 75.¹⁰
3. Johnstone, mentioned 11th July, 1818,¹¹ was probably a son.
4. Janet, who died 15th July, 1794,⁹ may also have been a daughter.

For details of their descendants see Chart on page 33 of "Records of the Carruthers Family."

Descendants of William Carruthers in Sorrysyke.

William Carruthers in "Sorrysick" (third son of William Carruthers of Guileburn—see above) was baptised

24th May, 1737.⁵ He is mentioned in the Dumfries Register of Sasines⁸ along with the other children of his father, William Carruthers. The name of his wife is not known, but he had seven children :

1. William, baptised 18th February, 1768.⁵
2. Janet, baptised 20th October, 1771.⁵
3. James, baptised 4th June, 1773.⁵
4. Jean, baptised 22nd March, 1775.⁵
5. Elizabeth, baptised 6th March, 1777.⁵
6. Mary, baptised 15th November, 1781.⁵
7. Christopher, baptised 22nd December, 1782.⁵

In conclusion, may I say that I am indebted to Dr Jean Dunlop of Edinburgh for carrying out the search in St. Mungo's Parish Register. This was undertaken as part of a general search through south Dumfriesshire Parish Registers for Carruthers entries down to the year 1800.

¹ Dumfries Reg. Sas. Vol. iv., fo. 75a.

^{1a} Dumfries Reg. Sas., 2nd Ser. Vol. vii., fo. 125.

² Dumfries Testaments. Vol. v.

³ Dumfries Reg. Sas., 2nd Ser. Vol. vii., fo. 75.

⁴ Reg. Priv. Conc., 3rd Ser. Vol. ix.

⁵ St Mungo Parish Register.

⁶ Retours.

⁷ Dumfries Reg. Sas. Vol. xiv., fo. 354.

⁸ Dumfries Reg. Sas. Vol. xx., fo. 120. Four grandchildren, viz., Joseph, Mary, Elizabeth and Jean are also mentioned.

⁹ Langholm Parish Register.

¹⁰ Tombstones, Langholm Kirkyard.

¹¹ Dumfries Reg. Sas., 1781-1820.

ARTICLE 13.

Note on the Grey Friars at Kirkcudbright.

By Mrs A. I. Dunlop, O.B.E., LL.D., D.Litt.

The friary of Kirkcudbright was the eighth and last conventual friary of the Scottish Grey Friars (Franciscans) to be founded in Scotland. It was erected by King James II. about the year 1455 when, on the fall of the Douglasses, he took measures to establish the royal supremacy in Galloway. Kirkcudbright was created a royal burgh and the friary was built "upon a headland formed by a bend in the River Dee." Moir Bryce, the historian of the Grey Friars, says that "the church occupied the eastern portion of the ground overlooking the creek or harbour" and that the ruins of Maclellan's Castle "mark the old western boundary of the demesne."¹ By way of endowment the King promised the friars an annuity of £10 Scots; and the chapter was at least nominally in existence before 17th September, 1456, when it received the sum of 40s from the proceeds of a Justice Ayre as the King's alms.

Moir Bryce states that "the charter of foundation, and the names of those who were associated with the settlement of the friars within the burgh have long since been lost," but suggests that the house was colonised by brothers from Dumfries. It is by way of helping to fill in the gap in our records that the following supplication derives its chief significance.

It grants papal confirmation of the King's foundation, and in so doing it not only sheds new light, but also raises fresh problems respecting the origins of the friary. The text is vague and formal and in places corrupt; but it is apparent that the foundation of the house had not gone smoothly. Perhaps "some brothers" of the Order, "as simple and ignorant of law," had begun to carry out the terms of the

¹ W. Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, I., 251. The history of the Kirkcudbright friary is fully treated, along with the documentary evidence, in the two volumes of Dr Bryce's book.

royal grant with consent of Thomas Spens, Bishop of Galloway (1450-59); but without permission of the Provincial Vicar as head of the Order in Scotland. Be that as it may, any opposition on the part of the Vicar seems to have been removed before 1470, because the present supplication represents him as making common cause with the warden and brothers of the new friary in seeking papal approval and confirmation of the royal grants, with absolution to all those whose previous action had been irregular.

The supplication was granted by Pope Paul II., signing with the initial of his baptismal name (Pietro Barbo).

The petition has been carelessly transcribed into the Register. It does not mention, for example, that James and Mary were the *late* King and Queen of Scots (James II. and Mary of Guelders) and it omits verbs as indicated by square brackets. If the king's grant was made after the rebellion of the Douglasses in 1455, the bishop of Galloway would be Thomas Spens, who was followed by Ninian Spot in 1459. The Register has been checked by photostat.

29th December, 1470. Approbatio et confirmatio. Jo. Urbin.

Formerly [the late] James King of Scots, taking into consideration that the inhabitants of the burgh of Kirkcubright, Galloway diocese, and the subjects of the temporal lord of those parts, on account of the lack of churches and religious houses were unable conveniently to hear masses and other divine offices on Sundays and other feast days—especially double feasts²—and were compelled to resort to distant places and to suffer many inconveniences or to let the days pass without hearing them, to the danger of their souls, and desiring to provide means for them to hear masses and other divine offices, and also for the soul's weal of himself and of Mary [late] Queen of Scotland, did grant certain possessions and other immoveable goods (then expressed) to the vicar and brothers of the Friars Minor of the vicariate of Scotland—that there they might found a house with a church, tower, bell, cemetery, dormitory, cloister, garden and gardener [?] and other necessary offices, for a dwelling for some brothers of the Order; and for the fabric and conservation of the said house with offices he assigned certain annual rents (then expressed), as is more fully contained in certain authentic letters

² Double feasts is a technical name for the more important feasts in the Roman missal and breviary.

under the seal of the said King. Then some brothers of the said Order, now dead (as is believed), as simple and ignorant of law [? took] the possessions, rents and goods thus granted and assigned; and with the pious alms of the King and other Christian faithful and by consent of the then Bishop of Galloway they founded anew and for a great part built the house with church and offices foresaid; and they had the church consecrated by the said Bishop of Galloway or another Bishop, and began to inhabit the house as soon as they conveniently could; and they inhabited it for several years, as some of the brothers do at present, believing that the Bishop would not have given his consent unless they could do so lawfully. The vicar and brothers foresaid, who [desire] to complete the foresaid house and to hold it canonically for their dwelling, for the augmentation of divine worship, the propagation of religion, the safety of their souls and the convenience of the brothers—if the Pope would grant licence thereanent—supplicate that the Pope would approve and ratify the royal grants and assignations and all the contents of the royal letters with the consequences, and would absolve those brothers who incurred ecclesiastical censures on account of their receiving and inhabiting the said house, and would dispense and rehabilitate them and grant them licence to retain and dwell in the said house in perpetuity, and that he would grant indult that the warden and brothers who inhabit the house may enjoy all and sundry the privileges, immunities, exemptions, etc., which the houses and brothers of the Order enjoy in general.

Fiat ut petitur. P

Rome, St. Peter's, 4 Kal. Jan., anno 7.

Reg. Supp., vol. 663, f. 5.

Addenda Antiquaria.

St. Malachy's Oratory, Leswalt.

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD.

The crosses found at Larg Liddesdale and Glaik, which date from the eleventh or twelfth century, suggest that the road from Loch Ryan to the west coast of the Rhinns then ran across the peninsula rather south of Rough Cairn Hill. (D. and G. N.H. and A. Soc. Trans., 3rd series, XXVII.—p. 193.) From the bays on this coast Ireland is clearly visible and it would be possible for small boats to use these bays. The oratory built by St. Malachy while waiting for a passage to Ireland in October, 1140, should therefore probably be sought in this district.

The Royal Commission records three "forts" in the area south of Rough Cairn Hill (Inventory Nos. 177, 178 and 179). All three have been ploughed out and the sites are now barely identifiable with the aid of the precise directions given in the volume. The position of each of these forts on a slope facing roughly south and their form, oval with a major axis of less than 100 ft., shew that they fall into the class known as homesteads. The type is most fully recorded in the Parish of Mochrum, where an example was excavated at Chippermere (D. and G. N.H. and A. Soc. Trans., 3rd series, XXX.—p.143). Though the evidence was not conclusive it suggests that these homesteads were farms of the early mediæval period (400-1100) comparable with the Welsh example at Pant y Saer, Anglesey, which yielded a silver brooch of the sixth century and contemporary pottery (Arch. Camb., 1934, p. 1; Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments: Anglesey, p. 20). In any case these "forts" are unlikely to represent an ecclesiastical site of the twelfth century.

The shore on either side of the burn which runs into the sea through a deep glen below the farmhouse of Knock and Maize is fringed by a flat narrow strip of cultivatable land raised a few feet above the shingle of the beach and lying immediately below the heughs. As elsewhere this sheltered strip has been enclosed with dry stone walls to form small fields. These were used for early potatoes until about 1920 or a little later, when the difficulties of lifting the crop up the steep path led to their disuse.

On one field about 100 yards north of the burn there are traces at the back of the potato field of earlier dry stone walls. These run back up the slope on to ground that could never have been cultivated. The slight, much robbed, remains cannot be dated, nor can their purpose be determined.

Analogy with Chapel Finnian (D. and G. N.H. and A. Soc. Trans., 3rd series, XXVIII.—p. 28), would suggest that St. Malachy's oratory should be sought on the shore below the heughs. The older walling at the back of the enclosure might be the remains of a garth round the oratory, but the church itself would have stood on the flat ground covered by the potato field. This modern cultivation is likely to have destroyed all trace of the mediæval building, whether it was wood or stone, so that certainty is unlikely to be obtained.

Sir Andrew Agnew, who died in 1892, states in his "Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway" (II. 58), that Cairngarroch anglicised in recent maps to Roughcairn, lies at the southern extremity of Larbrax Bay and St. Malachy has left his name at Tapmalloch or Malloch's hillside. The Ghaist's Ha' at Tapmalloch preserves possibly a recollection of a burial ground (p. 59). He also mentions a St. Malloch's well at the foot of Tapmalloch (p. 413). But to-day all these place names seem to have been forgotten, for enquiry at Knock Farm was unavailing.

The MacTiers in Mochrum.

By MISS JOAN GLADSTONE.

According to Sir Herbert Maxwell¹ the surname MacTier means in Gaelic—a wright or carpenter's son. The first recorded man of that name was Paul McTyre, known as the Wolf. Sir James Balfour Paul wrote in 1914 as follows:

Walter Ross 3rd of Balnagoun married sometime about 1400 Catherine daughter of Paul McTyre a noted freebooter. She got for her dowry the lands of Strathcarron, Strathoykell and Westray. McTyre is said to have been great grandson of Lady Catherine and Olave king of Man, but this is very doubtful. He married Mary de Graham and had a charter of Gerloch, Argyllshire, from king Robert II. dated at Dalgheni April 1372. Whether that marriage gave any right to the MacTiers to wear the Ross tartan is not a matter about which I feel competent to speak. It is very doubtful if there was a Ross tartan as early as 1400.

It is not known what descendants Paul McTyre may have had but he is claimed as the ancestor of the MacTiers in Ayrshire, Wigtownshire and Ireland. As early as 1520 a Finla McTere was a witness at Ayr,² whilst one Katherine MacTier was accused of witchcraft in 1504³ and one Thomas MacTier, cook to Gilbert

¹ Per litt. 1914.

² Prot. Bk. of Gavin Ross.

³ Pitcairn Criminal Trials.

earl of Cassillis actively participated in the torture of the abbot of Crossraguel in 1571.⁴

In the Wigtownshire Parish Lists of 1684⁵ between 30 and 40 persons of that name figure but with the exception of the MacTiers of Garchrew—a place name of many variants—in the parish of Mochrum, the descendants of no other MacTier named in those lists has been traced consecutively. The list gives as occupants of Garchrew—Alexander McTier, Janet Morison (presumably his wife), Archibald, William and Helen MacTiers and lower down John McTier and Agnes Thomsons (presumably his wife). There is a tradition in the Garchrew family that they came from the north to watch the coast for smugglers.⁶ But as early as 1578 Michael MacTier and Patrick Coltrane were joint tenants of Direblair.⁷ On 4th May, 1685, Sir William Maxwell gave a seven years' tack of Drumblair to Andrew and William MacTiers (Culvennan MSS.). The extant tacks of Garchrew date from 1724 when the owner was Sir George Dunbar of Mochrum. From 1756-75 the tack was from William earl of Dumfries to William MacTier and his brother Samuel. From 1780-99 William MacTier had the lands from Patrick earl of Dumfries and in 1781 William wished to rent Garchrew to John MacTier. Later the lands became the property of Lord Bute.

ALEXANDER MACTIER (1684) married Janet Morison who was buried in 1724. In 1673 he had been sued with others for small debt in the Sheriff Court by Gilbert McKennet in Corholloch. His son

WILLIAM MACTIER (i.) was possibly buried on 22nd February 1738. His son

WILLIAM MACTIER (ii.) was alive in 1741 when his wife Margaret Murchie (b. 1687) was buried (Mochrum Tombstones). In a Rental of the Barony of Mochrum, 1737, William MacTier is recorded as tenant of Garchrew at a rent of £187 4s 8d Scots. He had received that tack on 7th February, 1724 (Mochrum Inventory *penes* Hunter and Harvey). His son

WILLIAM MACTIER (iii.) was baptised at Mochrum 12 August 1720 but the name of his wife is unknown. He had two sons, Alexander the elder son being the ancestor of the MacTiers of Durris House, Kincardineshire. Alexander's occupation in Wigtown is not known. His interests could not have been in farming as his younger brother William (iv.) took over the

⁴ R.P.C., i.

⁵ Scots Rec. Soc.

⁶ According to H. S. MacTier of Carleton, and Miss Annabella MacTier.

⁷ See testament of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum.

lease of Garchrew. Born in 1744 he died in May 1810 according to his tombstone at Wigtown, having married Rosina MacTier (b. 1749, d. 17th Jan., 1806). For his descendants see pedigree chart.

WILLIAM MACTIER (iv.) born in 1750 and died in 1827, married Rosanna McGeoch (1756-1833). He died at the age of 77 as recorded on a Mochrum tomb which narrates that three previous generations had been buried there. In addition to his son William (v.) he had another son Peter MacTier tenant of Corwar and Knockglass who married Anne Euphame Douglas with issue, a son Peter and a daughter Euphame D. MacTier whose beauty attracted the attention of Rigby Wason, M.P.; of Corwar near Barrhill in Ayrshire. They had issue Eugene Wason M.P. for Orkney, and Cathcart Wason M.P. for Ross and Cromarty. A large enclosed tomb at Corwar records the family.

WILLIAM MACTIER (v.) whose life covered the period 1796-1858 married Jane Blain of Changue. He erected the Mochrum tomb to his father and mother and in 1827 petitioned Lord Bute for a reduction of rent stating that his forebears had been tenants of Garchrew for more than 100 years. In addition to his lease he is stated to have been an exciseman in Dumfries, Kirkeudbright and Thornhill in 1817 and 1818.

With other issue he had

- (i.) William MacTier (vi.) of whom hereafter.
- (ii.) Anthony MacTier b. 1852 died at Drumblair 1875.
- (iii.) Henry S. MacTier in Carleton born 17th August 1846 and died in 1918 having married Euphemia J. Anderson with issue.
 - (a) William H. S. MacTier in Carleton and Cairndoon.
 - (b) Alexander Anderson MacTier in Corwall and Boghouse. He married Edna Rankin and their eldest son is now in Boghouse and his younger son Alexander M. MacTier has bought Corwall from Lord David Stuart.
 - (c) Annie (Annabella) I. W. MacTier.
 - (d) Euphemia J. B. MacTier.
 - (e) Elizabeth J. MacTier.
tenants in Cairndoon.
- (iv.) Mary MacTier b. 14th April 1832 married Walter McLellan who died at Drumblair in 1875.
- (v.) Rosanna MacTier b. 4th December, 1833, married Murray Skate.

WILLIAM MACTIER (vi.) in Garchrew, born 21st June 1835, died in 1914 having married Catherine Milligan of May Farm (b. 1845. d. 27th July 1880) with widely scattered issue in New Zealand, Australia and United States of America, one of whom Robert MacTier is tenant of May farm. Others are Andrew S. MacTier in New Zealand with issue, James MacTier in America and Anthony MacTier in America with issue.

About the year 1920 Lord Bute terminated the family lease of Garchrew much to their distress as it had been in the family for 200 years. The lease had included the right of salmon fishing in the sea and on the lands are the arched remains of an icehouse set into the side of a glen, where salmon were stored.

The MacTiers in Garchrew.

Alexander MacTier in Garchrew (1684) = Janet Morrison.

William McT. (i.) in Garchrew.

William McT. (ii.) in Garchrew, alive 1741 = Margaret Murchie.

William McT. (iii.), bapt. at Mochrum, 12th Aug., 1720.

Alexander McT. in Wigton, d. 14th May, 1801.

= Rosina MacTier, 1749-17th Jan., 1806.

William McT. (iv.) in Garchrew = Rosanna McGeoch.

See text.

Anthony MacTier of Durris House, 7th Feb., 1773-5th Aug., 1854, m. in Calcutta, 16th Feb., 1819 Maria Binny, 1800-52 dau. of Alex. B. of Prior's Gate, St Andrews.

Joanna McT.
1776-26th Nov., 1853.

= Capt. Alex. Macdonald,
shipmaster, resided at
Duncan Cottage, Wigton.

Robina McT.

1790-8th July, 1823.

Brig.-Gen. William McT., C.B.
1793-1st Sept., 1855.
Buried at Kensal Green.
= Harriet Armstrong.

Alex. W. McT. of Durris, d.s.p. 1892.
= (i.) Marion A. Ward
(ii.) Jane Dick widow
of a Presbyterian minister.

Anstruther McT.
b. 6th May, 1821,
in India, 22nd Feb.,
1857 = Mary Smith.

Issue

Dr. W. Fullerton McT.
of St Andrews. At
siege of Delhi, 1822.
1915 = 1863 Adeline A.
Bayley, 1842-1906.

Thomas B. McT.
1824-60. unm.

Issue

Anthony McT.
1833-1925. In New
Zealand = Susan Seaman.

Maria McT.
1835-1914.
= Dr. Wm. Thurso
in Bombay.

Issue

Robert F. McT.
b. 1828, I.C.S.
= Anne E. Cochrane.
— descendants in
Liverpool.

Dr Wm. B. McT., M.D.
St Andrews, b. 25th
Mar., 1853.
= (1910) Margery
McIntosh.

Issue

Anthony D. McT.,
of Montreal.
b. 27th Dec., 1867.
= Ethel Waddell.

Issue

Maria L. McT.
d. 1876.

Henry M. McT.
K. at Neuve
Chappelle.
b. 21st July,
1916.

Charles B. McT.
1872-1910.

Isabella B. McT.
b. 18th April, 1830.
d. 9th April, 1860.
= Sir Lyttleton H.
Bayley, 1827-1910.

Issue

John McT.
d.s.p. in
Australia
before 1914.
= Harriet []
a widow.

Stewart McT.
Major, Bengal
Army, d. 1882.

Thomas B. McT.
1873-1880.

Adeline McT.
d. 4th May, 1900. = F. O. Wethered.

Issue

Minnie M. McT.
d. unm.

Capenoch.

By JOHN GLADSTONE, OF CAPENOCH.

The meaning of the name Capenoch is said to be "the place of the tillage plots or tree stumps" and this, I think, indicates its location in what must have been, in the Middle Ages, one of the few remaining areas of oak forest in the south of Scotland. The oaks of the "Keyr Wood," which is marked on a map in my possession dated 1763 and on Kitchin's map of 1769, would gradually give way to the axe, but enough remains—mostly now on the Capenoch Estate and among my most treasured possessions—to show that extensive woodlands between the 200 and 500 foot contour lines once existed in this parish.

The only other Capenoch known to me is in the parish of Kirkcinner in Wigtownshire and in this area there are also indications that forests once existed.

The name Capenoch first appears in the year 1483 when a grant of land was made to "Peter Grersone" of "Capinache." At that time Capenoch formed part of the lands known as the "£36 land of Keir," which was the property of the Abbey of Holywood and was included in the parish of Holywood (the parish of Keir was not erected until 1637). The occupiers of this £36 land of Keir, which comprised most of the present parish, were "kindly tenants" of the Abbey and, after its acquisition in 1522 by Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, kindly tenants of the Maxwells. They were mostly of the family of Grierson and it is said that although their superiors were first the Abbots of Holywood and then the Maxwells they recognised the Laird of Lag as their "chief and master."

Griersons of Capenoch are on record during the sixteenth century, but it is not known in what degree of relationship they stood to the Laird of Lag. In 1606 Cuthbert Grier in "Capen-hauch" was ordained by decree of the Lords of Session to remove from the six merkland of Capenoch in an action at the instance of Robert Maxwell, brother and assignee of John, ninth Lord Maxwell. The reasons for this decision are not known but it would appear to have been the end of the earlier Griersons of Capenoch.

In 1609 John, Lord Maxwell, was sentenced to death and, following his execution in 1613, the £36 land of Keir was granted to Sir William Grierson of Lag, at that time the head of the Grierson family; it is from him that the later Griersons of Capenoch are descended. In 1616 Sir William granted a charter of the lands of Capenoch in favour of his second son, John, who married Elizabeth Murray, daughter of Sir James Murray of Cockpool, and died in 1638, leaving an only child, a daughter.

John Grierson was succeeded by his brother, James, who married Sarah Brown, daughter of John Brown, Minister of Glencairn, and widow of Thomas Grierson, younger, of Barjarg. His son, John, was served heir to his father in 1665.

John was succeeded at Capenoch by his son James in 1687; the latter was three times married but was survived at his death in 1715 by only one child, a daughter, Susan or Susanna, the heiress of Capenoch.

She married, in 1727, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, third Bart. of Closeburn, and Capenoch thus passed from the Griersons to the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn.

The traditional site of the old house or "toun" of Capenoch lies about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south-west of the present house, some 100 feet or so higher up the hill. The *Historical Monuments Commission* in their Dumfriesshire Report, published in 1920, say that the foundations "appear to be those of a small rectangular tower with buildings surrounding a courtyard attached to it." Personally I find it impossible to say which are the foundations of the tower and which are the foundations of the other buildings, and the answer, I think, will only be given after excavations have been undertaken.

It is recorded that in 1741 Sir Thomas and Lady Kirkpatrick stayed at Capenoch "during the summer"; and in 1748 one John Brown was "tenant in Capenoch." In the map of Keir parish made in 1763 referred to above, the site is marked "Old houses, old K" (K being presumably for Capenoch) and it is possible that the old house was being abandoned about this time. The name of the field in which are the foundations is the "Auld Toun field"; this field name must therefore be over two centuries old.

I have been unable to discover the date of the building of the oldest and central portion of the present house of Capenoch. On 29th August, 1748, there occurred the disastrous fire which destroyed the House of Closeburn, which had been built in 1685, together with all its contents—and it might be thought that the most likely date for the building of the new house of Capenoch would have been shortly after this fire. Yet, it is stated on good authority that after the fire Sir Thomas and Lady Kirkpatrick went to live in the old tower of Closeburn (which is still standing). Sir Thomas died in 1771 and was succeeded by his son, James. It is he who is said to have built the new house of Capenoch, but it has been stated that the building was not begun until after the sale of the Closeburn Estate—which took place in 1783.

In a paper published in the 1928-29 *Transactions* of the Society I gave a description of the house of Capenoch as it was until 1848 and an account of the later years of the Kirkpatrick ownership. In 1846 Capenoch was sold by the trustees of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, fifth Bart. (d. 1844), the son of Sir James,

and the purchaser was James Grierson, a grandson of James Grierson of Dalgonar (b. 1755) who had died in the previous year at the age of 90. The latter had left Dalgonar equally between two of his grandsons, James (b. 1825), and Philip (b. 1828) and, after Philip had come of age in 1849, James purchased the former's share of Dalgonar and thereafter sold Capenoch.

The new owner, whose entry was at Martinmas, 1850, was Thomas Steuart Gladstone, whose family had been settled in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire for centuries and whose father, Robert Gladstone, had been a shipowner in Liverpool. Thomas Gladstone was the present writer's great-grandfather.

An Excavation at Blacketlees.

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

On information received from Mr Aitken, the farmer at Blacketlees, near Annan, of soil-markings appearing in the plough, and of crop-marks of defences and a roadway in dry weather, in a field near his farm (Map Reference E.188, N.687), preliminary investigations were made in the spring. A four-day excavation was carried out over the last week-end in July, and a final examination of further stretches of the apparent defences in November.

The result of this work was to establish the existence of a site 260 ft. E.-W. by 200 ft. N.-S., enclosed by a ditch ranging from 8 to 11 feet in depth and of a wedge profile. This ditch is approximately straight on the N., W. and S., but bow-shaped on the E. On this side the ditch is interrupted at its centre for a roadway which here enters the site. The West side of the site is just across the modern road from the rest of the site. At one point on this side, near the S.-W. corner, the ditch appears to have a stone revetment on its inner side, though this is obscured by later stonework built over it. Spread over this side is a layer of cemented ferrous material.

In the ditch, on all but the South side, was several feet of perfectly preserved organic matter—rushes, leaves, twigs—brown when exposed but turning black within minutes. Mixed in this material was a considerable amount of animal bone—small oxen, pig and sheep—stained bright blue by vivianite: there was also found a piece of the outer cortex of a large red deer antler sawn at both ends, four inches long, which would appear to have been in process of preparation as a knife or sword handle when it split.

At a point on the N., near the N.-W. corner, a mass of firmly packed stone, backed by apparent cobbling, filled the outer

side of the ditch. Embedded in this fill was a stout post in a good state of preservation. Except for the S.-W. corner a thin scatter of cobbles in the ditch sections was the only suggestion of rampart or facing.

On the S. side this ditch contained a pale grey silt completely different from the peaty organic material found elsewhere. The only apparent artifacts other than the piece of red-deer antler were an apparent piece of plank, in the peaty material, and a square of sandstone with a rectangular hole sunk in it (dimensions, 5 ins. side), found in the topsoil fill of the ditch above the organic material.

The site therefore conforms in character to the "native" farmsteads excavated in Cumberland by Mr Brian Blake, and it is his opinion that the deep steep-sided ditch indicates a date later in the series—perhaps in the 4th century.

The peaty material is being submitted to the Royal Botanical Gardens in Edinburgh for report.

Two fields away, on the same farm, a scatter of large heavy masonry lies in the river bed, some stones showing dovetailing. Some 200 feet down river, on the far (East) bank, a terrace slants up the steep bank towards Warmanbie House. Between these two points, on a ledge of sandstone in the middle of the river, stood the "Pillar of Warmanbie," a masonry pile, which is mentioned in a fishings dispute in the 1790's, as having always been a fishing boundary: the same case apparently records its use as such a boundary back to 1485.

Just above the scatter of large stones is a well-built wall of large carefully-cut stones: a full-grown oak grows out between two of these stones. This wall runs along the foot of a steep sandstone bluff—where no retaining wall could be needed. At its upstream end, it curves out in a large buttress and then back, disappearing into the meadow. This wall and buttress were up to thirty years ago invisible: at that time the river abruptly changed course and in a short time cut 100 feet into the meadow until stopped by the wall, which was thus revealed. There is a possibility of a cobbled road surface crossing the field in which the side of the ditched site lies, continuing the line of the modern farm road in a N.-W. direction. The assistance of Mr Aitken and his two stalwart sons cannot be too highly praised. Mr Cormack and Mr Little, of Lockerbie; General Scott-Elliott and (for one day) Mr Urquhart, of Dumfries, all gave most valuable assistance.

Mr Murray-Brown, of Kinnelhook, shared supervision of the work and prepared a plan of the site and sections of the defences. Without him the project could not have been carried through. It is hoped that, with the nature of the site provisionally established, a detailed examination of its interior will be made by Mr Blake in summer, 1958.

Note on a Site at Glenhowan.

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

In April, 1957, General Scott-Elliott and Dr Werner Kissling brought to the writer's notice a site on the landward side of the Glencaple-Caerlaverock shore road in the sharp angle between that road and the first stretch of the Glenhowan road, at map ref. E.305, N.665. Here in a marshy meadow a circular mound of 44 feet radius rose some two feet above the rest of the meadow. A trial trench was taken from its centre to its S. margin, and this revealed two much water-worn hearths of clay and cobbles at 31 inches depth, with four inches of perfectly clean fine undisturbed sand over them. These were near the centre of the site: one at seven feet and one at 12 feet from the centre. The latter had a hard carbonised layer just above it and sinking steeply over its face. Extending some eight feet towards the centre from the perimeter was a layer of dark ashy occupation soil extending to 29 inches from 5 inches depth. At eight feet from the perimeter a large post-hole, six inches side and square in section, filled with dirty sand, was clearly visible in the occupation soil and was followed from five inches to 21 inches depth.

No datable finds were made. It is clear, however, that there had been human occupation on the site at two periods and that when the early hearths were abandoned fine sand was deposited above them. Apart from one point where the upper occupation soil has accumulated in a shallow trench, evidently open during the occupation, to a depth of 29 inches, there is over a foot of sterile, sandy, stony subsoil between the two layers. Above the later occupation, just a few inches below the grass roots, is loose dirty sand which suggests that conditions even at the end of the later occupation were much more maritime than they are now. Professor Piggott, who has been given a full description of the site, is keenly interested and hopes to examine it in the near future.

Finds at Twiglees.

Mr John Forsyth, late of Twiglees, presented the Museum in July, 1957, with over 200 chert and flint microliths and larger flints, plus an unfinished scraper and two fragments of Arran pitchstone, found by him at two chipping-floors near Twiglees. Mr R. B. K. Stevenson agrees that the whole assemblage is of Mesolithic type—the first such to be found between the Mull of Galloway and the Tweed basin. A full specialist report on the assemblage is being obtained. The material was found in the upcast of an open Forestry drain.

A. E. T.

Castledykes, Robertson.

By R. C. REID.

It was in 1952 that members of this Society decided to search for a Roman road connecting Crawford with Corbiehill (Carstairs) Roman Fort. The success of the expedition is recorded in D. and G. *Transactions* (1952-3) xxxi. 30, and is referred to by Mr Ivan D. Margary in the second volume of his *Roman Roads in Britain*. All archæologists should be grateful for this work, which with its system of road numbering is of great value and will be a permanent addition to libraries and a boon to all workers. On page 199 of this second volume Mr Margary describes the road. He accepts the findings of the report and points out that "the Clyde must have been crossed at Robertson, no doubt by a bridge and the road then passed close to the Roman Fort at Castledykes there." The site which he calls a Roman Fort is at present entirely unproven. It was examined carefully by Mr Raleigh Radford and his colleagues who could find nothing on its surface to justify the assumption. Occupation in the remote past was obvious, but there must be many occupation layers for it is incredible that such a naturally strong position should not have been utilised for defence. It is also equally difficult to believe that the Romans left this river crossing unguarded by some sort of Fort, but at present it is an assumption until it is tested by air photography and excavation.

Both crossing and site raise points of interest. It is rather remarkable that the Romans used this point for a crossing where the river is wider than most of its course. On the Robertson side the bank is high whilst on the eastern bank the ground sloped gently down to the water's edge. There may have been a ford here in former times. But the changes of a river course are quite unpredictable. Yet half a mile upstream there is a formidable rock formation through which the river long ago has torn a narrow course—the obvious site for a bridge. Here the modern road from Abington to Edinburgh crosses the river which is still cutting down into its bed, necessitating the recent strengthening of the bridge. Yet we may postulate a twelfth-century crossing at this point—perhaps a wooden bridge. Hard by this modern road bridge is the Anglo Norman Mote of Robertson, the erection of which must be attributed to Robert, brother of Lambinus, both of them Flemings in origin, the founders of Robertson and Lamington. Robert's descendants called themselves de Robertson and Stephen de Robertson of the county of Lanark swore fealty to Edward I., but forfeited the lands when Robert the Bruce came to the throne. The siting of Robert's Mote must surely have been deliberate, to guard the crossing at the rocky narrows. One wonders whether this was not the Roman crossing. After a few generations the

cramped discomfort of the Mote must have caused abandonment of the site. The Mote was forsaken for a stockaded manor house and Castledykes was the obvious selection. A manor house implies a church and a mill. Both adjoin Castledykes. The church was originally a chapel dependent on the church of Wiston, both having been granted to Kelso by another Fleming named Wice, who gave his name to Wiston. But Roberton had become a parish before 1279 and by 1668 had been created a burgh of barony. By 1772 Roberton ceased to be a parish, being conjoined again with Wiston (Chalmer's *Caledonia* (1890) VI., 728-31). Castledykes may therefore expect to present a very mixed problem to the excavator. He will probably find the earliest occupation layer to be a native fort on which was superimposed a Roman Fort. Above that may be the foundations of a manor house of the de Roberton family and perhaps a later tower of fifteenth-sixteenth centuries to complicate the task. This at least might explain the confused ground view of the site.

This short Roman road 10½ miles long is numbered 78a by Mr Margary, but much more detailed work is required at both ends. Careful search might also establish signal stations at Howgate Mouth and on Cairngrype Hill.

ARTICLE 15.

Reviews.**An Antonine Fort, Golden Hill, Duntocher.**

By MISS BRENDA SWINBANK, B.A., Ph.D.

An account of excavations carried out on the Antonine Wall and fort on Golden Hill, Duntocher, Dunbartonshire (under the auspices of the University of Glasgow) by Anne S. Robertson, Dalrymple Lecturer in Archaeology and Under-Keeper of the Hunterian Museum. Demy 8vo; pp. xii. plus 134; 20 text figures; 3 figures at end of volume and 8 plates. Published for the University of Glasgow by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1957. Price 15/-.

To the outside world, if not to the specialist, the story of the Antonine Wall in Scotland had been written exhaustively and with finality in 1934. "The Roman Wall in Scotland" (2nd edition) by Sir George Macdonald was a magnificent book and remains a fitting memorial to a great archaeologist. Within a generation the Antonine Wall forts of Mumrills, Rough Castle, Castlecary, Westerwood, Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Cadder, Balmuldy, and Old Kilpatrick had all been investigated in part at least and their secrets disclosed to the public in a series of excavation reports published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland or in monograph form. It was Macdonald's task to collate and summarise this vast accumulation of archaeological data and to deduce a general historical interpretation from them. He succeeded magnificently in 1934. It was as if an epoch had come to an end. A sense of the conclusiveness of Macdonald's work produced a lull, the loose ends of the Antonine Wall were forgotten while the attention of Scottish and English archaeologists alike was focussed, and rightly so, on the virgin fields between the two Walls. If Macdonald's explanation of the initial erection and organisation of the Antonine frontier in Scotland was accepted almost without question, the pen indicated that his interpretation of the historical sequence had not met with unreserved approval. The spade ceased to dig on the Antonine Wall. Soon theory rather than new fact began to hold the field and the student of the Antonine occupation of Scotland has become confronted with a bewildering complexity of conflicting hypotheses based upon a confused synthesis of scientifically obtained and out-modedly acquired facts. Here indeed was a challenge to the post-war Scottish archaeologist and the glove has been taken up.

The publication of the excavations of 1947 to 1951 at Golden Hill, Duntocher, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the study of the Antonine frontier in Scotland. The excavations, conducted under great difficulties and restrictions with a skilful patience and unprejudiced judgment which excite the admiration of all, are in themselves an achievement. But more important, their results "of a wholly unexpected character" provide a new and long-necessary stimulus to the study of the Antonine Wall.

The Antonine Wall and Ditch have been traced from the eastern to the western slopes of Golden Hill and the exact position of Duntocher fort has been located. But the earliest Antonine structure to occupy the most commanding position on the hill was a fortlet. It measured internally 59 feet by 57 feet and was defended by a turf rampart set on a 12 feet wide stone foundation, and by a steep-sided V-shaped ditch. Its northern corners were squared as if expecting a rampart to join it, but its southern corners were probably rounded at first. No convincing northern gap for a gateway was found in contrast to the clearly defined 9 feet wide gap in the southern rampart. Three large post-holes on either side of this gap once held supports for a gateway with superstructure. The fortlet sat symmetrically within its enclosing ditch which left a 20 feet gap on the north side slightly west of centre, but none opposite the south gate. (The existence of the enclosing ditch lends support to the suggestion that the fortlet was originally an independent structure.) Three periods of fortlet occupation were distinguished by structural modifications to the defences. The fortlet ditch was deliberately filled, the southern external angles squared, when a fort was added to the fortlet. At a still later date the elaborate southern gateway was replaced by a simple door associated with a cobbled layer which covered the gateway post-holes; the north gateway, if it ever existed, may have been blocked up and a secondary doorway inserted in the eastern rampart. Internal structures fell into two main periods, each possibly sub-divided into two phases. Perhaps the earliest features were two long, narrow north-south sleeper trenches disposed one to the east and one to the west of a central street. Four black-filled post-holes not certainly contemporary with the sleeper trenches belonged to period I. Period II. was represented by a group of stone-lined post-holes, dug through made-up soil, once supporting a wooden building in the western half of the fortlet. They were associated with the cobbling of the interior of the fortlet which sealed beneath it the sleeper trenches, the black-filled post-holes and the post-holes of the south gateway. Three post-holes with collapsed packing probably represent a still later phase. The fortlet, described as "the first structure of its kind to be discovered on the line of the Antonine Wall" resembled in

size, shape, plan and possibly function the Turf Wall milecastles of Hadrian's Wall.

Structurally secondary to the Antonine fortlet was the smallest known fort on the Antonine Wall, of only half an acre in internal area, placed awkwardly on the southern slope of the hill, abutting uniquely against the pre-existing fortlet and utilising the latter's eastern rampart as the northern portion of its own western one. Yet this fort, too, was erected and its triple eastern ditches dug before the Antonine Wall was brought to abut on to its eastern rampart, so awkwardly that the north-east corner of the fort was left to project to the north of the Wall and a buttress had to be inserted to prevent the Wall from slipping into the innermost eastern ditch. Within the fort enclosure were indications of only two structural periods: the first associated with black-filled post-holes and two probable *ascensus*, the second involving a reinforcement of the north rampart, the reconstruction of a building, a resurfacing of the streets and the erection of wooden buildings supported from stone-lined post-holes. An annexe on the west was envisaged from the first and a ditch system enclosed the whole. To the north of the conjoined fort, fortlet and annexe ran the Antonine Ditch, 20 feet wide, here uniquely supported by an outer ditch 14 feet wide, running at approximately 36 feet to the north. Covering the north fronts of the fort, fortlet and annexe and swinging sharply southwards to merge with the Antonine Ditch to east and west, its purpose may have been to break up the level ground left outside Roman control. Immediately to the north of it a line of piled turves about 10 feet wide suggests the exciting possibility of a Flavian camp or even of a proto-Antonine labour camp erected for the construction of the Antonine structures on the hill.

Such were the rewards of the patient excavation recounted with admirable clarity by Miss Robertson. Her book commences with an historical retrospect, continues with a summary account of each season's work and then proceeds to a detailed description of the structures found in their structural order. A survey of the finds completes the excavation report, for the conclusions are reserved for more general treatment in a comprehensive review of the problems of the Antonine occupation of Scotland. Perhaps it is to appeal to the specialist and non-specialist alike that the book is arranged in this manner. But much is lost, for a concise exposition of the results and interpretation of the Duntocher excavations is nowhere to be found.

Illustrations include 8 plates, adequate but rather lacking in variety. For example, if economy was necessary, instead of illustrating two different angles of the foundations of the north-east corner of the fortlet and of the junction of the Antonine

Wall base with the east rampart base of the fort, one would have liked to see the post-holes of the south gate of the fortlet or perhaps the oven or gutter of the fort. All plans included in the volume, exhibiting an excellent standard of neatness and precision, are of immense value to the reader. Yet many would have gained in usefulness if provided with a key—figures 7, 20, 21, 23 might be mentioned particularly in this connection—for plans should be self-explanatory without reference to the text. But these are minor points.

Sections are disappointingly few. For instance, it would have been illuminating to have illustrated a section across the south gateway showing the precise relationship of rampart base to post-holes, their covering (and filling?) of turf (elsewhere described as "fallen turf"), the exact find-spot of olla base 20h and the superimposed cobbling. Figure 9, on which so much of Miss Robertson's interpretation hinges, is inadequate. It may illustrate, if hardly explicitly, the point that there was no rapid silt or growth in the bottom of the ditch. But it does not prove that the ditch was dug and deliberately filled in Antonine times. It could belong to the Flavian period. Proof would have come from a section showing the Antonine Wall or the fort north rampart placed immediately above the filled-in ditch. Was this in fact the case, or was there an intermediate layer suggesting a pre-Antonine date for the ditch and its deliberate filling? No section is given of the fort, except a general one showing its position on the slope of the hill. A section across the western limit of the north gateway, illustrating clearly the relationship between rampart foundation, supposed extension, small post-hole and two layers of cobbling of the intervallum street, is surely essential. Does one layer of cobbling underlie the extension, or is the latter simply an afterthought of period I.? Moreover a section across the north rampart, *ascensus* base and oven, would have spoken more clearly than words of the structural sequence at this point. Lastly, the unusual phenomenon revealed in sections cut across the innermost southern ditch must be mentioned. Here the northern scarp of the ditch was "banked up with turf laid over clay and hardened with large cobbles in order no doubt to increase the depth of the ditch." The embankment stretched northwards to support at least the outer kerb of the south rampart. This treatment of the ditch is so unusual that it deserves illustration by means of a drawn section. For is this necessarily correctly interpreted? Could not this turf embankment be part of the southern rampart of the Flavian or proto-Antonine camp, the northern limit of which was discovered just north of the outer north ditch? A drawn section could have silenced would-be disbelievers. Enough has been said to demonstrate the necessity of adequate sections. They serve as proof or at least evidence for an archaeologist's interpretation, and with-

out them the specialist is deprived of the tools of his trade. One feels certain that sections such as those listed above were drawn during excavations undertaken with such evident precision, foresight and care as at Duntocher.

The pages dealing with finds are varied in quality and usefulness. Bronze objects are treated with interesting detail, iron objects, daub, brick and tiles with as much as they deserve. It is in the pottery section that inadequacies are immediately apparent. One feels that Plain Samian No. 3, of such vital significance, could be dated more closely, as could Decorated Samian No. 2. The arrangement of coarse pottery into classes is perhaps the best under the circumstances, since so many of the find-spots have so little significance. The arrangement within each class, however, according to gradation of colour, is scarcely the best, leading to an irritating punctuation of the illustrated example by mysterious a's and b's. One would expect, for example, that within the bowl class Nos. 28 and 41, from the oven, might logically be placed consecutively to ease reference and obviate the duplication of find-spot details if nothing else. But the chief disadvantage of the chosen arrangement is that vital pieces, valuable for dating purposes and clearly stratified, are lost amidst a welter of others. There are so few clearly stratified pottery deposits from the Antonine Wall that when the stratification is significant such groups or individual pieces should receive special note. The pottery from the oven at Duntocher should be published as a stratified group. Stratified pieces should be mentioned in the text and the necessary conclusions drawn there. But to note in the text every fragment found in loose soil is not only of doubtful utility, but most distracting. Unstratified finds are of value only in a general sense, giving an approximate upper limit for the length of occupation of a site.

The drawings and descriptions of individual fragments of pottery are good, but little or no evidence is given to support the categorical statement on p. 16, that "all the pottery found in the excavations could be assigned to the Antonine period." Parallels are cited from Antonine Wall sites, but no attempt is made to date individual fragments from closely dated deposits, except one casual reference to Corbridge in No. 29. All stratified pieces, at least, should be dated as accurately as possible by reference to more than one site. It is unfortunate that many of the stratified fragments from Duntocher are not susceptible of illustration. But can we be certain that Nos. 20a and 20e are Antonine and not Flavian, for soft grey clay was commonly used in the Flavian period? Platters Nos. 24, 25, and 26 do not appear certainly Antonine, though 26 was found in an Antonine context. Surely Nos. 39 and 41, representing different stages in a continuous typological development of the same type

of bowl, could be related more significantly to their respective find-spots. Little use is made of this valuable form of archaeological evidence.

The novel character of the discoveries on Golden Hill makes inevitably for problems of interpretation. Miss Robertson's interpretation is summarised here.

FLAVIAN PERIOD.

The only suggestion of Flavian occupation of the site is a possible camp north of the outer north ditch, but this may prove to be of Antonine date.

ANTONINE PERIOD.

Period I.—(a) An isolated fortlet was erected with two gates, a surrounding ditch, and internal structures possibly represented by two sleeper-trenches and four black-filled post-holes.

(b) The Antonine Ditch, in a curious double form, was dug—partially destroying the fortlet ditch.

(c) An Antonine fort was erected and its ditches dug, involving the filling-in of the ditch and perhaps the blocking of the north gate of the fortlet, the internal buildings continuing unchanged under its new rôle as military enclosure.

(d) The Antonine Wall, the annexe and its ditches followed rapidly the construction of the fort, in no clear sequence.

Period II.—The military enclosure was provided with a surface of cobbles and new buildings set in stone-packed post-holes, its south gateway being reduced in status to a doorway. Within the fort itself new buildings, including an oven, were erected, its streets were resurfaced with cobbles, and its northern rampart reinforced.

Period III.—The only evidence for a third phase comes from three later post-holes in the military enclosure.

The above interpretation of period I. is not without difficulties, as Miss Robertson is anxious to emphasise. Does it make sense that although the Antonine fortlet was built in expectation of the Antonine Wall joining it on either side, it should have been provided with an encircling ditch? Was there time for this to have occurred? Is it not strange that no north gateway has been found facing the gap in the fortlet ditch, whereas the ditch is continuous opposite an elaborate south gateway? Could the ditch belong to a Flavian fortlet facing northwards, the two sleeper trenches representing its internal structures? Is it significant that no sleeper trenches are found within the fort itself?

Could the Flavian ditch have been deliberately filled, the fortlet's wooden buildings burnt to the ground when the withdrawal from Scotland took place? Such questions are mere conjecture, permitted only by the uncertainty of the evidence, itself the result of the denuded nature of the remains. Inconsistencies are evident. The erection of a proto-Antonine labour camp for the construction of the fort cannot be fitted into the above sequence if its southern ditch determined the course of the outer north ditch. The Antonine double ditch must be later in the sequence. Nor is the structural sequence of fort, ditches, annexe, and Antonine Wall satisfactorily explained. The following sequence may ultimately prove to be the simplest solution:

- I. (a) The erection on an earlier Flavian fortlet site of an Antonine fortlet, with northern corners squared in the expectation of the arrival of the Antonine Wall, with internal wooden buildings represented by the four black-filled post-holes, the whole resembling a Turf Wall mile-castle.
- (b) The construction of the Antonine Wall foundation (at least) starting from the west side of the fortlet.
- (c) The erection of the fort (anticipated by that of the Antonine labour camp), the ditches and annexe, and the taking-over of the fortlet to act as a military enclosure.
- (d) The arrival of the Antonine Wall on the east of the fort and the construction of the Antonine ditch and the outer north ditch.

None of these phases need be separated by a long period of time. If the erection of the Antonine Wall on the west of the fortlet is accepted as so early in the sequence, it throws interesting light on the construction of the Antonine Wall from east to west. Judging by the evidence from Brunton turret (26b), the gangs of curtain builders on Hadrian's Wall commenced each section at a Wall structure and ended it on the east side of another. Could this be the first evidence of a similar system on the Antonine Wall? Or does the evidence from the distance-slabs prevent such an interpretation? That the Antonine ditch and its unusual concomitant, but contemporary, loop to the north were dug after the erection of fortlet, fort, annexe, and Antonine Wall, is suggested by the fact that the Antonine ditch runs roughly parallel to the Antonine Wall on the east of the fort and twists downhill on the west where the Antonine Wall does the same. The position of the outer north ditch, though no doubt conditioned by the contour of the hill, is best explained by supposing that the fort complex was already in existence.

The problems raised by the discovery of the Antonine fortlet are immense. Miss Robertson admits of the possibility that it

may have formed part of a scheme involving the use of other fortlets. The guard-house at Watling Lodge (midway between Falkirk and Rough Castle), the recently discovered ditched enclosures in Wilderness Plantation (between Cadder and Balmuildy) and at Glasgow Bridge (between Kirkintilloch and Cadder), the Bonnyside "expansion" (between Seabegs and Rough Castle), described by Horsley as 66 feet square, and another between Castlehill and Duntocher, both included as "minor structures" by Sir George Macdonald and drawn to my attention by Professor Birley—all acquire an enhanced significance. In reciprocation, the existence of such similar enclosures suggests that an explanation of the Duntocher fortlet is to be found in its function as part of a system rather than in its isolation. It is as yet impossible to detect a regular system of fortlets such as that on Hadrian's Wall; nor can any regular pattern of Antonine Wall forts be distinguished, based on size, spacing, and their relationship to the Antonine Wall, as has been done on Hadrian's Wall. Though a regular fortlet system is possible, proof has yet to be sought. The Duntocher fortlet has furnished a new slant on the problems of the Antonine Wall, with exciting possibilities for future research.

Miss Robertson's interpretation of the structural modification to fort and military enclosure, as a second period of occupation, carries its own conviction. Yet no explanation of the necessity for modification is offered, except by general reference to the vicissitudes of Antonine forts in Scotland. In view of the poverty of stratified evidence it would indeed be hazardous to attempt to date the end of Period I. except by reference to evidence elsewhere. But the nature of the end is left unclarified. No significance is drawn from the fact that post-holes in both military enclosures and fort were filled with black earth (signifying burnt material?), that the post-holes of the south gateway of the fortlet were covered with fallen ash, that ash and burned material underlay the secondary cobbling of the north gate of the fort. "Made-up soil" is mentioned in three connections: firstly, unelucidated, as a layer covering the early post-holes and sleeper trenches of the fortlet, yet not reaching the south gateway; secondly, as a base (mixed with small stones) supporting the north rampart extension; and lastly, interpreted as occupation debris containing stones, burned clay, charred wood, ash, etc., sealed beneath the long secondary building near the centre of the fort. Is the "made-up soil" different in each case? Is it all deliberately made up, or is it in fact a destruction layer? The evidence certainly suggests a thorough destruction of the site, since not only had the internal buildings to be rebuilt but the north rampart needed reinforcement.

The lack of the usual Antonine Wall Period III. is puzzling.

Does this mean that the history of Duntocher corresponds with that of Antonine forts in Scotland where only two Antonine periods exist? Or did Duntocher simply escape one of the destructions which befell all other excavated Antonine Wall forts? Does the find series end earlier than that of other forts on the Wall? Only a careful comparative study of finds can throw light on this problem. Here no attempt is made to ascertain on internal evidence the length of period II. at Duntocher. To refer only to the controversial subject of the abandonment of Antonine Scotland for evidence of the date of the close of occupation at Duntocher, leaves much to be explained. It is new evidence that is needed to throw light on an old controversy and not vice-versa, and this can only be provided by excavations such as those at Duntocher. Sparse though the harvest of finds may have been, the evidence for occupation to the closing years of the second century is to hand in the shape of a few pottery fragments comparable with those found in the A.D. 197 destruction deposits at Corbridge.

Of intrinsic value to the reader is the survey Miss Robertson provides not only of prevailing theories concerning the three Antonine Wall periods and the final abandonment of the Wall, but also the evidence on which they are based. The literary evidence is recounted but little is gained from noting the bewildering interpretations of the passage of Pausanias. Epigraphic evidence for the reconstruction work of Julius Verus is mentioned, Netherby cited erroneously as a Veran fort (see CW2, LIII., p. 25, no. 14). Coin evidence is quoted in illuminating detail, particularly with reference to the final abandonment of the Antonine Wall. But pottery evidence is dismissed firstly with the promise of a long-awaited publication of the finds from Bar Hill, and secondly with the plea that "stratified pottery has seldom been recorded from Antonine Wall forts and pottery is, in any case, not a completely reliable guide when a close dating is sought." If it be considered hazardous to argue for a period of abandonment of the Antonine Wall from negative pottery evidence, however attractive this may be, at least enough positive evidence exists from Antonine Wall forts and Antonine sites generally to warrant the assertion that the Antonine occupation of Scotland lasted as long as Hadrian's Wall period I.B., and to the A.D. 197 destruction. If coin evidence can only take us to A.D. 186, ceramic evidence takes us convincingly farther.

Miss Robertson is at pains to point out the difficulty of garrisoning the new Antonine forts in Scotland in c.A.D. 142 in spite of the abandonment of Wales, the Pennines, the milecastles of Hadrian's Wall and the reduction of its forts to the charge of caretaker garrisons. It is an interesting suggestion (as yet

incapable of proof) that the milecastle garrisons may have been moved to man both Antonine fortlets and smaller structures on the Antonine Wall (unless we are to agree with Mr C. E. Stevens that the milecastle garrisons were local levies now drafted to Germany to man the new forward Antonine frontier there), though this could scarcely account for the resemblance between Duntocher fortlet and a Turf Wall milecastle. The similarity is accounted for by the presumption that Duntocher fortlet, as well as Hadrian's milecastles, was erected by legionary troops. But it is hardly likely that the skilled legionary craftsmen would be left as mere patrols on the furthest edge of Rome's frontier.

If the demands on the garrison of Roman Britain were so severe, in the initial establishment of the Antonine frontier, as to lead to a dangerous thinning in the Pennines, her garrison capacity must have been stretched to its limits when Hadrian's Wall was reoccupied in *circa* A.D. 160. Yet, as Mr Gillam has shown, it is at this point of time that inscriptions record reoccupation at Corbridge, Chesterholm and Carvoran on the Stanegate, at Ilkley, Ribchester and Hardknott on the fringes of the Pennines. Pottery adds other forts to the list, extending the garrisoning commitments of Rome as far as Castell Collen in Wales. The lack of similar ceramic and epigraphic evidence on the Antonine Wall may then be significant. Is it unreasonable to suppose that the Antonine Wall was abandoned for a few years at least, or to suppose that, whether the distance slabs were buried or not, the first destruction of the Antonine Wall forts was a deliberate policy of abandonment?

To which governor this withdrawal may be assigned is a moot point. Calpurnius Agricola, the author of reconstruction on the Stanegate and in the Pennines and the probable restorer of Hadrian's Wall, is favoured by Mr Gillam. The late S. N. Miller and Professor Richmond incline towards Julius Verus, who is known to have dealt with Brigantian trouble in the rear between A.D. 155 to 158. But did he simply "hold the wolf by the ears" until reinforcements arrived? Verus may have recommissioned Hadrian's Wall, its milecastles and turrets. For reinforcements for the three British legions contributed from the Germanies arrived in the Tyne, and an inscription dated to A.D. 158 (CIL. VII. 563) was found on the line of the Wall between Halton and Heddon-on-the-Wall (a point drawn to my attention by Professor Birley). Inscriptions of Calpurnius Agricola have been found not from Wall forts but from Stanegate forts behind the Wall.

The date of the commencement of Antonine Wall period II. presents a still greater problem. The choice seems to lie between Calpurnius Agricola and Ulpus Marcellus. When sent to Britain in c. A.D. 163 to deal with a threatened British War, was it

Calpurnius Agricola who reoccupied Scotland in the manner of his famous namesake, re-establishing his forts and also the Antonine Wall? Pottery evidence appears to forbid such an interpretation. An impasse has been reached concerning the dating of Antonine Wall periods II. and III. and we must agree with Miss Robertson to wait for further excavation to furnish the necessary evidence.

To summarise: "An Antonine Fort, Golden Hill, Duntocher." is a record of excavations ably executed and of far-reaching significance. The structures revealed demand a thorough reconsideration of the Antonine Wall as initially constructed; new light is thrown on the sequence of the construction of the Wall components, and interesting evidence is disclosed concerning the vicissitudes of occupation. The bearing of each discovery on the problems of the Antonine occupation of Scotland is discussed, old theories are reviewed and some discarded; sound conclusions, providing a basis for further research, are reached by caution rather than speculation. But any criticisms only serve to throw into higher relief the excellence of the whole. In a compact and lucid form this publication brings into perspective all problems, channels and redirects the thinking mind, and opens up new vistas for the future.

Proceedings, 1956-57.

12th October, 1956—The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ewart Library at 7.30 p.m., there being 60 members and friends present. The Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer were adopted and the list of Office-Bearers recommended by the Council was confirmed. There were elected 17 new members and Mr Adam Birrell, a member of long standing, was elected an Honorary Member. Mr Cunningham then vacated the chair and installed Dr Harper as the new President of the Society, who called on the outgoing President to deliver his Presidential Address on the Solway representatives of the groups of moths known as the Prominents. It is hoped to publish this address in our next volume.

26th October, 1956—Mrs Phinn gave the Society an account of her experiences with the Scottish Summer School in Archæology in Orkney and Shetland, describing the archæological wealth of the Islands as well as the humours, discomforts and delights that attend such conferences. In the absence of the author, Mr J. Roddick, the President read a paper on Col. Dirom of Mount Annan and the improvements he wrought on his estates (see these *Transactions*, Article III.).

9th November, 1956—Mr R. S. C. Eckford delivered a geological address, illustrating it with a fine series of slides (see these *Transactions*, Article II.).

23rd November, 1956—Mr G. A. Willis, who is engaged in research under The Wildfowl Trust at Slimbridge, Glos., addressed the Society on Duck Counts in Great Britain, the object being to detect any change in the species wintering here, the documentation of rarities and the changes in the size of population ("Standard," 5th December, 1956).

7th December, 1956—Mr Stanley Thomas, of Glasgow University, spoke on Pre-History: Roman Britain and the Dark Ages, emphasising the need for archæologists to be specialists (see "Standard," 12th December, 1956).

11th January, 1957—Dr Milne-Redhead, from Mainsriddle, who had made a special study of the bryophytes, gave a most interesting account of his study of mosses and liver worts entitled "Plant Hunting in Dumfriesshire, Galloway and Carrick," and displayed many of his finds (see "Standard," 19th January, 1957).

8th February, 1957—Mr A. Bruce Webster of the Department of Mediæval History at Glasgow, spoke on "English Outposts in Fourteenth-Century Dumfriesshire" which, under a modified title, figures in this volume as Article VI.

22nd February, 1957—In his address entitled "They live in sand of our Shores," Dr R. B. Pike described how a transect examination of the inhabitants of a fore-shore could be carried out by the quadrat method (see "Standard," 2nd March, 1957).

8th March, 1957—Mr Donald Watson delivered an interesting address on "Some Experiences of a Painter Naturalist in Galloway," illustrated with some excellent slides, some of his own studies of birds (see "Standard," 16th March, 1957).

22nd March, 1957—Dr Balfour-Melville, secretary of the Scottish History Society, gave a scholarly and delightful address on "Some thoughts on the reign of David II," in which the ignominious successor to the great Robert Bruce, and the intrigues of his nobles appeared in their true colours (see "Standard," 30th March, 1957).

Following on the above meeting a special meeting of the Society was held to deal with the finance of the Society. It was ultimately decided to raise the subscriptions of Ordinary Members to a guinea; Life Members to 15 guineas; and Junior Members to 5s. It was also decided to make an appropriate reduction in the size of the *Transactions*.

5th April, 1957—Dr Werner Kissling, an authority on the material culture of Scottish peasant communities, gave an interesting address beautifully illustrated with lantern slides on "The Black-Houses of South Uist" (see "Standard," 20th April, 1957).

Field Meetings, 1956-57.

11th May, 1957—A cheerful company of Society members went to Carlisle, where a most interesting visit was paid to the Cathedral under the able guidance of Mr Harrington, the verger. A brief visit was then made to Tullie House Museum, with Mr Truckell as guide. Recent excavations in the Museum courtyard were described, after which the Roman Room, the folk-material collection and the art gallery were visited. After a welcome tea the party rushed for the 'bus in torrential rain and lightning and, in the calm after the storm, visited the Eden gorge at Wetherall, where a pleasant walk along the river bank, among delicious spring greenery, with salmon rising in the river every now and then, was much enjoyed. Returning to the 'bus, the party made good time back to Dumfries.

1st June, 1957—A large party proceeded on a pleasant though cool day to Moffat where Mr Truckell spoke at Auldtton Moat, an excellent example of its kind, on the development of mottes,

what they looked like when in use, and how they were distributed in South-west Scotland. The party then proceeded to the partly eroded fortification at the mouth of the Tail Burn, where after a talk by Mr Truckell on the site, a battle was fought for lunch with insatiable sheep, who seized sandwiches, bags and all from protesting hands. A few miles farther up the glen the real business of the day began when, under the capable and enthusiastic leadership of Mr Eckford, late of the Geological Survey, the party followed the rocky bed and flanks of Dobb's Linn to near its summit, finally cutting across to regain the 'buses at Birkhill. The significance and age of the many species of fossils revealed in the shales of the classic Dobb's Linn series was clearly explained by Mr Eckford, who was besieged by inquirers, fragments of shale from the screes in their hands. Over 100 specimens were collected by the gathering for Dumfries Museum.

22nd June, 1957—On a day pleasantly threatening rain at the end of a long drought, a large attendance of members visited Capenoch, where Mr Gladstone spoke, on the ruins of Old Capenoch in pleasant parkland above the present house, on the history of the estate, and where Mr Truckell spoke of tower-houses in general. Thereafter the party returned through the woods, where Mr Gladstone described fine trees of many species, to Capenoch House where a lavish buffet tea had been most kindly provided, and where Mr Gladstone spoke on the house and on the magnificent natural history library collected by his late father, which was examined with keen interest by members of the party.

6th July, 1957—On 6th July a visit was made to several mid-Annandale sites. First the party ascended Barrhill, where Mr Truckell spoke on the fine bi-vallate fort and on Iron Age forts in general and the kind of people who lived in them. Proceeding to Gotterbie Moor Mr Truckell spoke on the Moated Grange there and the party then took tea within the defences. Rain had begun to fall but did not prevent a brief inspection of the Roman fort at Birrens, a full description of the site and of what was known of its occupants being given by Mr Truckell in the shelter of the 'bus.

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

Membership List, 1st March, 1958.

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 (13 Bow Lane, Durham City) ...	1935
Blackwell, Philip, F.B., Lt.-Commander, R.N. (Ret.), The Ark, Warblington Road, Emsworth, Hants. ...	1946
Borthwick, W. S., 92 Guibal Road, Lee, London, S.E.12 ...	1943
Breay, Rev. J., Warcop Vicarage, Appleby, Westmoreland	1950
Brown, J. Douglas, O.B.E., M.A., F.Z.S., Robertson, 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
Carruthers, Dr. G. J. R., 4A Melville Street, Edinburgh, 3 (Ordinary Member, 1909) ...	1914
*Cunningham, David, M.A., 42 Rae Street, Dumfries (Presi- dent, 1953-56) ...	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
Geddes, Nathan, Boghall, Buittle, Castle-Douglas ...	1955
Kennedy, Alexander, Ardvoulin, South Park Road, Ayr (Ordinary Member, 1934) ...	1943
Kennedy, Thomas H., Blackwood, Auldgirth, Dumfries ...	1946
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
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, Commander T. H., 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

HONORARY MEMBER.

Birrell, Adam, c/o Carrons, Sunnyside, Rotchell Road, Dumfries (Ordinary Member, 1925)	1956
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ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Adamson, D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dumfries . .	1958
Adamson, Mrs D., Doonholm, Castle-Douglas Road, Dum- fries	1958
Allison, Carrick B., junr., A.R.I.C.S., 10 Burnbrae Avenue, Milngavie	1956
Anderson, Miss Mosa, Charlton Cottage, Peaslake, Guild- ford, Surrey	1953
Angus, Rev. J. A. K., Manse of Hoddam	1956
Angus, Mrs, J. A. K., Manse of Hoddam	1956
Armstrong, Col. Robert A., Brieryhill, Langholm	1946
Armstrong, Mrs R. A. Brieryhill, 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
Baird, Hugh, Brownhall House, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1956
Balfour-Browne, Miss E. M. C., Goldielea, Dumfries . . .	1944

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Balfour-Browne, V. R., J.P., Dalskairth, Dumfries	1944
Barr, J. Glen, F.S.M.C., F.B.O.A., F.I.O., 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1946
Barr, Mrs J. Glen, 9 Irving Street, Dumfries	1951
Bartholomew, George, A.R.I.B.A., Drumclair, Johnstone Park, Dumfries	1945
Beattie, Miss Isobel H. K., A.R.I.B.A., Thrush Wood, Mouswald, Dumfries	1947
Beattie, Lewis, Thrush Wood, Mouswald, Dumfries... ..	1947
Begg, Miss R. E., Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1952
Bell, W. D., 1831 23rd Avenue, S.W., Calgary, Alberta, Canada	1954
Bell-Macdonald, A., Rammerscales, Lockerbie	1958
Biggar, Miss, Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Biggar, Miss E. I., Corbieton, Castle-Douglas	1947
Black, Miss Amy G., Burton Old Hall, Burton, Westmore- land	1946
Blair, Hugh A., New Club, Edinburgh	1947
Blake, Brian, 97 Scotby Road, Carlisle	1953
Bone, Miss E., Stable Court, Castle-Douglas	1937
Boyes, Miss M., 34 Cardoness Street, Dumfries	1957
Brown, Commander Gordon, R.N., 4 Liverpool Road South, Maghull, Liverpool	1955
Brown, Mrs M. G., Caerlochlan, Dumfries Road, Castle- Douglas	1946
Bunyan, David, Ibadan Grammar School, Nigeria	1955
Buchanan, John, Sunnysdene, Mainsriddle	1957
Buchanan, R. I. M., Bank of Scotland, 8 English Street, Dumfries	1957
Byers, R., Munches Kennels, Dalbeattie	1951
Caldwell, A. T., L.R.I.B.A., F.R.I.A.S., "Avmid," Kirk- cudbright	1944
Calvert, Rev. George, The Manse, Mouswald, Dumfries ...	1945
Cameron, D. Scott, 4 Nellieville Terrace, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1945
Cameron, Dr Ian, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1954
Cameron, Mrs, Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1954
Campbell, Alexander, Mid Park South, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1956
Campbell, Mrs Margaret, Mid Park South, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1956
Campbell, Mrs Keith, Low Arkland, Castle-Douglas ...	1953
Cannon, D. V., 3 Kenwood Gardens, Ilford, Essex	1949
Carlyle, Miss E. M. L., Templehill, Waterbeck, Lockerbie	1946
Carmichael, Rev. J. A., The Manse, Lochmaben	1956
Carruthers, A. Stanley, 9 Beechwood Road, Sanderstead, Surrey	1954

Carruthers, Mrs L., 43 Castle Street, Dumfries	1946
Carruthers, Dr Wm., Catherine Street, Dumfries	1957
Cessford, G. A., Oaklands, Kippford, and Chapmanton, Castle-Douglas	1956
Charteris, Mrs N., Kirkland Bridge, Tinwald	1955
Chrystie, Wm. C. S., Merlindale, 104 Terregles Street, Dum- fries	1953
Clarke, John, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 95 Hyndland Road, Glasgow, W.1.	1947
Clavering, Miss M., Clover Cottage, Moffat	1948
Chuckie, James, Lochanlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries	1955
Cochrane, Miss M., Glensone, Glencaple, Dumfries	1946
Coles, Francis E., Glebe House, Dumfries	1957
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. Sir J. G., O.B.E., M.C., LL., Duncow, Dumfries	1911
Crosthwaite, H. M., Crichton Hall, Crichton Royal Insti- tution, Dumfries	1943
Cumming, Ian, Moniak, Grantown-on-Spey	1956
Cunningham, Mrs David, 42 Rae Street, Dumfries	1948
Cunnington, T. M., Glensone, New Abbey	1957
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
Dickie, J. Wallace, Glenlee, 17 Palmerston Drive, Dumfries	1954
Dickie, Rev. J. W. T., 6 Hannay Street, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1951
Dickson, Alex. Bruce, Solwayside, Auchencairn, Castle- Douglas	1955
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
Drysdale, Miss J. M., Ediumara, Glencaple, Dumfries	1946
*Duncan, Arthur B., B.A., Gilchristland, Closeburn, Dum- fries (President, 1944-1946)	1930

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Duncan, Walter, Newlands, Dumfries	1926
Duncan, Mrs W., Newlands, Dumfries	1926
Dunlop, Mrs, C.B.E., D.Litt., 73 London Road, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire	1952
Dunn, Mrs, Saughtree Cottage, Annan Road, Dumfries ...	1956
Eckford, R. S. C., Summerhill, Grange Road, Moffat ...	1956
Edwards, Frederick J., M.A., 2 Brooke Street, Dumfries ...	1953
Fairbairn, Miss M. L., Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ...	1952
Fairlie, Mrs R. P., 96 Craigcrook Road, Blackhall, Edin- burgh, 4	1953
Farries, T. C., 1 Irving Street, Dumfries	1948
Ferguson, Ronald, Woodlea House, High Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire	1953
Flett, David, A.I.A.A., A.R.I.A.S., Grovehill, Newton- Stewart	1947
Flett, James, A.I.A.A., F.S.A.Scot., Mount Vernon, New- ton-Stewart	1912
Flinn, Alan J. M., Clydesdale and North of Scotland Bank House, Castle-Douglas	1946
Flinn, Mrs A. J. M., Clydesdale and North of Scotland Bank House, Castle-Douglas	1953
Ford, D., Radar Station, Lowther, Wanlockhead, Abington	1957
Forman, Rev. Adam, Dumcrieff, Moffat	1929
Forrest, J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ...	1953
Forrest, Mrs J. H., Ashmount, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1953
Francis, Major S. F. B., 12 de Marley Road, Morpeth ...	1957
Fraser, Brigadier S., Girthon Old Manse, Gatehouse-of- Fleet, Castle-Douglas	1947
Gair, James C., Delvine, Amisfield	1946
Galbraith, Mrs, Murraythwaite, Ecclefechan	1949
Galloway, The Countess of, Cumloden, Newton-Stewart ...	1955
Gardiner, Rev. W. W. D., D.D., D.Litt., Whinnyknowe, Ruthwell, by Dumfries	1957
Gardiner, Mrs, Whinnyknowe, Ruthwell, by Dumfries ...	1957
Gass, R., " Santos," Mossel Bay, Cape, South Africa ...	1953
Gate, Miss Mary, c/o Ewart Library, Dumfries	1957
Gibson, Mrs, Lochenlee, Ardwall Road, Dumfries	1957
Gillam, J. P., M.A., 5 St. Andrew's Terrace, Corbridge, Northumberland	1953
Gillan, Lt.-Col. Sir George V. B., K.C.I.E., Blackford, Haugh-of-Urr, Castle-Douglas	1946
Gillan, Lady, Blackford, Haugh-of-Urr, Castle-Douglas ...	1946
Gillanders, Farquhar, M.A., 4 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries ...	1956
Goldie, Gordon, British Institute of Rome, Via Quattro Fontane, 109, Rome	1947
Graham, Mrs, Kirkland, Courance, Lockerbie	1954
Graham-Barnett, N., Blackhills Farm, Annan	1948

Graham, Mrs Fergus, Mossknowe, Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Lockerbie	1947
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
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
Harris, Bernard F. D., Benmore, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1955
Harrison, J. E., Greylands, Moffat Road, Dumfries	1956
Haslam, Oliver, Cairngill, Colvend, Dalbeattie	1927
Heatley, Rev. Mr. Annan Old Kirk	1953
Henderson, I. G., Beechwood, Lockerbie	1951
Henderson, Miss J. G., 6 Nellieville Terrace, Dumfries ...	1945
Henderson, Miss J. M., M.A., Ardgowan, 5 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1945
Henderson, John, M.A., F.E.I.S., Abbey Cottage, Beckton Road, Lockerbie	1933
Henderson, Thomas, The Hermitage, Lockerbie	1902
Hendry, Miss H. W., Kildonan, Montague Street, Dumfries	1956
Henry, Mrs Janet, 153 Kingstown Road, Moorville, Carlisle	1953
Hepburn, James, M.P.S., 35 Victoria Street, Newton-Stewart	1954
Hetherington, Mrs, Larkfield, Dumfries	1955
Hopkin, P. W., Sunnyside, Noblehill, Dumfries	1948
Hosie, John, 121 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1957
Hull, Christopher R., Denbie, Lockerbie	1956
Hunter, Mrs T. S., Woodford, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries...	1947
Hyslop, Provost J. W., Glengarth, Maxwell Road, Langholm	1953
Inglis, John A., Achadh nan Darach, Invergarry, Inverness-shire	1951
Ingram, Dr Malcolm, Crichton Royal	1955
Ingram, Mrs Christine, Crichton Royal	1955
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

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Irving, J. W., Milnhead, Kirkmahoe	1957
Jameson, Col. A. M., J.P., D.L., Ardmor, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jameson, Mrs A. M., Ardmor, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Jamieson, Mrs J. C., c/o Mrs Henry, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1930
Jardine-Paterson, Mrs, Dalawoodie, Auldgirth	1955
Jebb, Mrs G. D., Brooklands, Crocketford, Dumfries	1946
Jenkins, Miss Agnes, 2 Langholm Place, Dumfries	1946
Jenkins, Mrs A. M., Birkbank, Annan	1953
Johnston, F. A., 11 Rutland Court, Knightsbridge , London, S.W.1	1911
Johnston, Capt. F. J., 61 Chester Square, London, S.W. 1	1957
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Patrick, Bury Hall, Therfield, Royston	1956
Johnstone, Miss E. R., Cluden Bank, Moffat	—
Johnstone, J. E., Strathnaver, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1955
Johnstone, Major J. L., Amisfield Tower, Dumfries	1945
Johnstone, R., M.A., Schoolhouse, Southwick	1947
Kellett, Dr. J. R., Ferndene, Crossmichael Road, Castle-Douglas	1955
Kelso, Miss Bet, Kilquhanity House School, Haugh-of-Urr	1956
King, Norman, 9 Lathom Road, Southport	1954
Laidlaw, A. G., 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1939
Laidlaw, Miss Margaret, 84 High Street, Lockerbie	1953
Landale, David, Dalswinton, Dumfries	1955
Lauder, Miss A., Craigiebank, Moffat Road, Dumfries	1932
Laurence, D. W., St. Albans, New Abbey Road, Dumfries ...	1939
Leslie, Alan, B.Sc., Glen Prosen, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1949
Lessels, Miss, Loudon Lee, Balmaclellan	1955
Lodge, Mrs A.	1946
McAdam, Dr. William, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1952
McAdam, Mrs, Maryfield, Bankend Road, Dumfries	1953
McBurnie, James, Flat 6, 15 Baker Street, London, W.1.	1950
McCaig, Mr, Barnultoch, Stranraer	1954
McCaig, Mrs Margaret H., Barnultoch, Stranraer	1931
McCaig, Miss, 26 Royal Avenue, Stranraer	1953
MacCalman, D. A., Bank of Scotland, 8 English Street, Dumfries	1956
MacCalman, Mrs D. A., Braeside, Islesteps	1957
MacCartney, Dr A., M.B., Ch.B., F.S.A.Scot., 23 Crawford Road, Burnside, Rutherglen	1957
McClure, Miss J., Wellwood, New Galloway	1955
McConnel, Rev. E. W. J., M.A., 17 Horncap Lane, Kendal	1927
MacCowan, Dr P. K., Stewarthall Gardens, Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1957
MacCowan, Dr Muriel, Stewarthall Gardens, Lockerbie Road, Dumfries	1957

McCracken, Dr. Kenneth M., Inglestone, Kelso	1955
Macrae, Farquhar, Schoolhouse, Torthorwald	1955
Macrae, Mrs Schoolhouse, Torthorwald	1955
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, Rev. Fraser Ian, Manse of Tinwald	1956
MacDonald, J. A. B., 7 Langlands, Dumfries	1952
MacDonald, I. A., H.M.I.S., Clairmont, Dumfries Road, Lockerbie	1952
Macdonald, Mr N. H., Hazelwood, Laurieknowe, Dumfries	1952
Macdonald, Mrs N. H., Suswa, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1952
McDowall, Miss P., Meadowpark, Kirkmahoe	1957
McElroy, James, 7 Carlingwark Street, Castle-Douglas ...	1957
McGhie, Miss Mary, 122 King Street, Castle-Douglas ...	1957
McKerrrow, Henry George, Whiterne, Albert Road, Dumfries	1953
McKie, Joseph, 44 Terregles Street, Dumfries	1954
McKnight, Ian, 4 Montague Street, Dumfries	1948
McLean, Mrs M. D., Ewart Library, Dumfries	1946
MacMillan-Fox, Mrs M. M. G., Glencrosh, Moniaive ...	1950
McQueen, Miss Flora, Ford View, Kippford, Dalbeattie ...	1954
MacQueen, John, M.A., c/o Dept. of English, Washington University, St. Louis, U.S.A.	1952
McRobert, 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, Loch- maben	1946
Martin, Mrs J. D. S., Old Bank House, Bruce Street, Loch- maben	1946
Matthews, N. S., 79 Queen Street, Dumfries	1955
Maxwell, Major-General Aymer, C.B.E., M.C., R.A., Kir- kennan, Dalbeattie	1946
Maxwell, G. A., Abbots Meadow, Wykeham, Scarborough ...	1937
Maxwell, Miss Jean S., Coila, New Abbey Road, Dumfries	1947
Maxwell, Mrs, 22 Bonnington Grove, Edinburgh, 6	1954
Maxwell, Miss M., 1 Upper Millburn Avenue, Dumfries ...	1957
Menzies, Mr, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1952
Menzies, Mrs, Elderslie, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1952
Millar, Rev. Charles, M.A., The Manse, Torthorwald	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

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Miller, R. Pairman, S.S.C., 13 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 3 ...	1908
Milne, Sheriff C., Q.C., 9 Howe Street, Edinburgh ...	1949
Mills, A. W. F., Milton Park Hotel, Dalry, Castle-Douglas ...	1957
Mitchell, Mrs E. J., 79 Great King Street, Edinburgh ...	1953
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
Mucha, Dr. Muriel, Crichton Royal ...	1955
Murray, A. M.A., 5 Lixmount Avenue, Edinburgh, 5 ...	1957
Murray, Col. G., Waterside House, Keir, Thornhill ...	1953
Murray, Edward, Castledykes View, Dumfries ...	1951
Murray, Mrs Edward, Castledykes View, Dumfries ...	1951
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. (abroad, address not known) ...	1944
Nelson, Miss C., 1 Baron's Court, Sanquhar ...	1956
Nielson, W. W., 33 Spen Road, West Park, Leeds ...	1957
Noble, Philip, Rest Harrow, Dean Row, Wilmslow ...	1954
Nodwell, Mrs, 66 King Street, Castle-Douglas ...	1957
Oatts, Mrs N. A., Ironmacannie Mill, Balmaclellan ...	1956
Ord, Mrs, 43 Castle Street, Dumfries ...	1946
O'Reilly, Mrs N, c/o Messrs Coutts & Co., 44 Strand, London, W.C.2 ...	1926
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
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., 26 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh, 12 ...	1946
Pullen, O. J., B.Sc., Highfield, Motherby, by Penrith ...	1934
Rafferty, Miss Anne, Glenside, Lockerbie ...	1956

Rainsford-Hannay, Col. F., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Rainsford-Hannay, Mrs F., Cardoness, Gatehouse-of- Fleet	1946
Rantell, Mrs Kathleen, The Studio, Mill Street, Dalbeattie	1956
Readman, James, at Dunesslin, Dunscore	1946
Reid, Rev. Arnold, The Manse, Holywood, Dumfries ...	1952
*Reid, R. C., F.S.A.Scot., Cleughbrae, Mouswald, Dum- fries (President, 1933-1944)	1917
Robertson, Alex., M.A., Kenyon, Albert Road, Dumfries ...	1957
Robertson, Mrs M. A. K., Albany, Dumfries	1933
Robertson, James, O.B.E., Laneshaw, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1936
Roddick, John, Greenbank, Annan	1955
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. M., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries	1953
Russell, Mrs H. M., Nara, Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries ...	1954
Russell, I. R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Park House, Dumfries ...	1944
Rutherford, T. B., B.Sc., 161 Broom's Road, Dumfries ...	1955
Sainty, D. L., M.A., LL.B., Waterside, Ringford	1956
Scott-Elliott, Maj.-Gen. J., Kirkconnel Lea, Glencaple ...	1957
Seymour, Miss Mary, Benedictine Convent, Dumfries ...	1953
Shannon, R. A., 30 Melbourne Avenue, Eastriggs	1955
Shields, Miss, Newtonairs, Dumfries	1951
Simpson, A. J., Morton Schoolhouse, Thornhill	1945
Smail, Miss Isabel, 11 Erlington Avenue, Old Trafford, Manchester	1952
Smith, C. D., Laight, Bowling Green Road, Stranraer ...	1944
Southern, Norman, Merse End, Rockcliffe	1953
Southern, Mrs, Merse End, Rockcliffe	1953
Stewart, Ian F., 5 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries	1952
Stewart, Mrs I. F., 5 Lovers' Walk, Dumfries	1953
Stewart, James, Rigghead, Collin	1953
Sutcliffe, Miss I. M., B.A., Borrowdale, Newton-Stewart ...	1958
Sydserrff, Peter, The Grove, Dumfries	1950
Tait, Robert, 11a Abercromby Road, Castle-Douglas ...	1957
Tallerman, Mrs, Myholm, Rotchell Park, Dumfries ...	1953
Taylor, James, M.A., B.Sc., Drumskeoch, Colvend, by Dal- beattie	1933
Taylor, Robert, St. Maura, Gartcows Crescent, Falkirk ...	1950
Tivey, A. R., B.Sc., 3 Hillaries Road, Erdington, Birming- ham, 23	1957

LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Truckell, A. E., F.S.A.Scot., Summerville Avenue, Dumfries	1947
Urquhart, James, M.A., 5 Braehead Terrace, Rosemount Street, Dumfries	1946
Vardy, J. D., A.R.I.A.S., West View, Albert Road, Dumfries	1954
Vasconcellos, Miss. Crichton Royal, Dumfries	1954
Walker, Lieut.-Col. George G., D.L., Morrinton, Dumfries	1926
Walker, Peter E., B.T.O., S.O.C., R.S.P.B., 10 Delhi Road, Eastriggs, Annan	1954
Walker, R., Cairnvale, Morrinton, by Dumfries	1957
Walls, Rev. R. C., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	1957
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
Watson, Miss Jean, Woodland View, Glencaple	1956
Waugh, W., March House, Beattock	1924
Williamson, T. F. M., Robin Hill, Benvenuto Avenue, Brentwood Bay, B.C.	1956
Wilson, John, M.A., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries	1947
Wilson, Mrs J., Kilcoole, Rae Street, Dumfries	1957
Wylie, Miss, St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries	1951
Younie, Mrs A., Well View, Moffat	1953
Young, Arnold, Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1946
Young, Mrs A., Thornwood, Edinburgh Road, Dumfries	1946

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

Blance, Miss Beatrice, The Plans, Ruthwell Station, Dumfries	1950
Brown, David D. S., Roberton, Borgue, Kirkcudbright	1948
Daly, Gordon, Balmacarry, Kirkgunzeon	1955
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
Keenan, Marie, Maryville, Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries	1956
Lockhart, Christine, c/o Armstrong, Dunaird, Troqueer Road, Dumfries	1953
MacCalman, C. D., Braeside, Islesteps	1957
Macrae, Kenneth, Schoolhouse, Torthorwald	1955
Marchbank, Helen, West Morton Street, Thornhill	1953
Miller, Jean, Benbecula, Annan Road, Dumfries	1956
Mitchell, David, Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir	1952
Mitchell, Malcolm, Watcarrick, Eskdalemuir	1952

Murray-Usher, James N., Cally, Murrayton, Gatehouse-of-Fleet	1946
Noble, Simon Peter, Rest Harrow, Dean Row, Wilmslow ...	1954
Ross, Colin, Clifton, Rosemount Street, Dumfries ...	1955
Scott, John, Glenkiln, 16 Lockerbie Road, Dumfries ...	1955
Scott, Sylvia, Otago, Greystone Lane, Dumfries ...	1956
Smith, Alan, West Grove, St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Dumfries	1955
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
Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, N.E., Cleveland, U.S.A. (per W. Heffner & Sons, Ltd., 3-4 Petty Cury, Cambridge)	1950
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 Museums and Art Galleries (per Registrar) ...	1955
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, Prinzenstrasse 1, Göttingen, Germany	1953
Scottish Record Office, per H.M. Stationery Office, Edinburgh	1955
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 Librarian, University Library, South Bridge, Edinburgh (per Jas. Thin & Co., 55 South Bridge, Edinburgh, 1)	1955
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, 1958.

- Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Science House, 157-161 Gloucester Street, Sydney.
- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Belfast: Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, The Museum College.
The Library of the Queen's University.
Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.
- Berwick-on-Tweed: Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 12 Castle Terrace, Berwick-on-Tweed.
- Caermarthen: The Caermarthen Antiquary.
- Cambridge: University Library.
- Cardiff: Cardiff Naturalists' Society, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
- Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tullie House, Carlisle.
- Carlisle Natural History Society.
- Edinburgh: Advocates' Library and National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1.
Botanical Society of Edinburgh, Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, 4.
Edinburgh Geological Society, India Buildings, Victoria Street.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street.
- Essex: "The Essex Naturalist."
- Glasgow: Andersonian Naturalists' Society, Technical College, George Street.
Archaeological 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 Archaeological 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 Archaeology.
- Uppsala, Sweden: Universitets Biblioteket, Uppsala.

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.

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 Antikvitets, Fornvännen. (K.)

Yorkshire: Archæological Society, 10 Park Place, Leeds.

Cardiff: National Library of Wales, Aberystwith.

Dumfries: "Dumfries and Galloway Standard."

Glasgow: "The Glasgow Herald."

Edinburgh: "The Scotsman."

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

For the Year ended 30th September, 1957.

GENERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

Subscriptions and Donations	...	...	...	£251	4	11	
Grants—							
Carnegie Trust	...	...	...	£100	0	0	
Council of British Archæology	...	...	...	35	0	0	
Ministry of Works	...	...	...	17	5	0	
Scottish Field School of Archæology	...	...	...	11	15	0	
					164	0	0
Interest—							
On 3½% War Stock	...	...	...	£8-	1	0	
On Dumfries Savings Bank	...	...	...	11	19	3	
					20	0	3
Sale of Publications	...	...	...	...	9	5	0
Excursions—Received from Members	...	...	...	...	77	14	6
Mr R. C. Reid for typewriter repairs	...	...	...	...	7	19	2
Transferred from Capital Account	...	...	...	...	150	0	0
					£680	3	10
Balance of Account as at 30/9/1956	...	...	...	...	114	17	4
					£795	1	2

EXPENDITURE.

Publications—							
Printing of Transactions (Two years)	£545	17	0				
Engraving Blocks	...	...	...	29	15	1	
					£575	12	1
Excursions—Transport, etc.	...	...	...	...	70	12	0
Miscellaneous—							
Printing, Stationery and Postages	£52	5	9				
Advertising	...	...	...	19	16	10	
Council for British Archæology	...	...	...	2	10	0	
Lecturers' Expenses	...	...	...	4	14	0	
Cheque Book	...	...	...	0	5	0	
Bank Service Charge	...	...	...	0	18	0	
Caretaker	...	...	...	4	5	0	
Repair of Typewriter	...	...	...	7	19	2	
Honoraria to Library Assistants	...	...	...	2	0	0	
Rent of Gracefield	...	...	...	0	16	0	
					95	9	9
					£741	13	10
Balance at credit of Account as at 30/9/1957	...	...	...	...	53	7	4
					£795	1	2

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

On hand 30th September, 1956—			
£230—3½ % War Stock (at cost) ...	...	...	£218 10 0
In Dumfries Savings Bank ...	...	...	396 13 3
			<u>£615 3 3</u>

EXPENDITURE.

Transferred to General Account ...	...	...	£150 0 0
On hand 30th September, 1957—			
£230—3½ % War Stock (at cost) ...	£218 10 0		
In Dumfries Savings Bank ...	246 13 3		
			<u>465 3 3</u>
			<u>£615 3 3</u>

D. MacCALMAN, Hon. Treasurer.

Dumfries, 27th January, 1958—We have examined the foregoing Statement, and to the best of our knowledge and belief, and in accordance with the books and vouchers produced and information supplied, we certify this to be a true and accurate Statement.

(Signed) R. I. M. BUCHANAN, Auditor.

(Signed) J. H. KENNEDY, Auditor.

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